

BLACK POLITICS - 1992

NOV. —

ANC document supports power sharing with Nats

S/Times 11/11/92. (11A) (20/92)

By NORMAN WEST and CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC is considering a power-sharing deal with the National Party after the next general election.

The suggestion is contained in a draft policy document which was circulated in secrecy among delegates at the Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

The ANC plan also suggests that it would be prepared to cut private deals with the National Party on critical issues such as regional powers and the future of the white-dominated civil and security services.

Although the plan is likely to encounter fierce resistance from other political groups, it is being offered by the ANC as a way to

break out of the present political deadlock.

ANC sources revealed that the document had been drawn up at an ANC *lekgotla* (meeting) on October 14 and 15.

It will be discussed with ANC allies and sent to ANC regions next week.

The document is important because it sets out formally an ANC proposal that the National Party and the ANC share power even after the interim government phase.

"Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the

balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and the NP are the main players," says the document.

The document identifies two main areas which could be subject to bilateral agreements between the ANC and NP: the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa and the future of the security services and the civil service — elements which the document suggests could be severely destabilising after a non-

racial government is installed.

"It may therefore become imperative to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

The basis for the new thinking was set at a late-night meeting on October 9 in Cape Town between government negotiators and ANC members. The next week the ANC *lekgotla* endorsed SACP leader Joe Slovo's document on negotiations which envisages power sharing.

A senior ANC official said the document had no status as an official ANC document yet but was meant to stimulate debate and "allow for different possibilities with regard to transformation."

● ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Spain yesterday that negotiations between the government and the ANC on an interim government would commence on November 22.

ANC told to 'prepare now for elections'

St. Times (Cape Metro)

11/11/92

By CHIARA CARTER (11A)

GEARING up for elections is the central focus of the ANC's regional conference taking place at the Civic Centre this weekend.

The need to prepare for elections and win support for the ANC — particularly in "coloured" areas — was emphasised by a number of key officials at the start of the conference.

In his opening address, the ANC's regional chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, said the conference might be the "last of its kind" before "democratic elections".

"We in the ANC must begin to put all our energies into campaigning for the election victory," he said.

Dr Pallo Jordan, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said the ANC should remind people that the government was responsible for Group Areas evictions, the removal of "coloureds" from the voters' roll and "coloured" education.

"There is no objective reason why anyone in the coloured community would prefer the National Party to the ANC," he said.

It was likely elections would take place in the midst of increasing violence, he said, and violence was likely to get worse as the election drew nearer.

Dr Jordan strongly defended the ANC's alliance with the SACP, saying attacks on the SACP were attacks on the ANC's support for the poor.

Weak

Dr Jordan said the ANC's commitment to redressing "poverty and exclusion" meant the wealthy would have to "tighten their belts" and those who lived in "Constantia, Bishops Court and Vredehoek" would have to make sacrifices.

ANC secretary Mr Tony Yengeni also emphasised the need to prepare for elections.

He said serious work needed to be done, especially in the "coloured" community where research showed the ANC's profile and level of organisation to be weak.

Few surprises are anticipated in the outcome of elections for a new ANC executive committee.

Dr Boesak, Mr Yengeni, assistant-secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr and treasurer Mr Ebrahim Rassool should all be re-elected.

The independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, is contesting the vacant position of vice-chair.

politically controlled

element

ANC heavyweights in bid for Natal peace

FIFTEEN senior ANC members under the leadership of deputy-president Walter Sisulu will visit Natal this week in an effort to calm tensions.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has cancelled a trip to the US to be available the minute any chance of peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party appear likely.

A senior Cabinet Minister yesterday also warned that unless the violence was brought under control there was a danger of countrywide anarchy.

The ANC is pinning its hopes on a meeting of Peace Accord signatories to discuss ways of ending the violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a ray of hope could be found in the talks taking place: approaching bi-lateral talks between the government and the ANC; exploratory talks between the government and other groups, including the IFP; and the Patriotic Front conference held last week.

Warning of conditions of anarchy in parts of Natal, a senior Cabinet source, said: "If all leaders don't get together and resolve these problems

AN explosive situation has arisen in southern Natal as the ANC and Inkatha battle for control of turt
ROY RUDDEN and CHARLENE SMITH report

Sisulu 11/19/92
 "we can run into serious difficulties."

While political leaders are battling to bring peace and get talks resumed, violence is eating into communities along the Natal coast.

At least 8 000 people have been killed in the province during the last eight years. With a current rate of 100 deaths a month, large areas of the province are involved in what National Peace Accord committee chairman John Hall describes as a low-intensity civil war.

Mr Hall, who was this week engaged in shuttle diplomacy — involving meetings with Chief Buthelezi, Mr Mandela and President FW

de Klerk — aimed at removing obstacles to peace, believes a major factor in the ending of violence lies in bringing together Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Both were convinced a meeting of the signatories of the Peace Accord, including themselves, was vital. But they were equally adamant that an ANC/IFP summit would be pointless until a way was found of removing the obstacles to such a meeting. These consisted largely of charges and counter-charges between the two organisations.

Meanwhile, Mr Dominic Mitchell who, as a member of the secretariat of the regional dispute resolution's committee in Natal is as close as any to the conflict, said: "The Peace Accord in this region is more unsteady than ever since it was drawn up in September 1991. We are facing serious challenges.

"There is a hardening of political attitudes. Previously, a hardline atti-

tude prevailed at grassroots level. But it is now appearing in the leadership as well. The latest outbreak of violence is symptomatic of this hardening of attitudes.

"We are at a watershed. We will know if there is going to be a full civil war or not within weeks."

Hopes of an accord were dealt two devastating blows this week. The first was the killing of seven ANC-connected people at Folweni, south of Durban, last Friday. Then came the mass slaughter of 20 people in the Inkatha-aligned Mpushini Reserve near Umbumbulu, also on the South Coast.

While the province was still reeling from these disclosures, news broke of the assassination on Tuesday of Mr Reggie Hadebe, the ANC's Natal Midlands deputy chairman who was enormously popular with his followers but regarded as a major thorn in the flesh of the IFP.

Sporadic incidents of killing have occurred since then, and this has led to the massive security crackdown announced on Thursday by President de Klerk after meetings of the Cabinet and the State Security Council.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett claimed the Transkei Defence Force was training Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres "at the South African taxpayers' expense" and trafficking illegal arms to be used in hit-squad missions against IFP leaders and activists in Natal.

"The unrelenting killing of IFP leaders and supporters in military-style killings is directly linked to the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the proliferation of arms caches. The government appears reluctant to address the issue."

The ANC, not surprisingly, claims it is the victim of the attacks.

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisane Makhaye said the violence against ANC members was accompanied by a tense psychological

warfare unleashed by the IFP, the National Party and the security forces. The "hullabaloo" against the so-called MK infiltration into Natal from Transkei was part of this psychological warfare.

It was clear from reports by monitors of violence, including the Human Rights Commission, that the ANC was on the receiving end of the violence, he said. In August, 70 ANC members were killed, with 74 slain in September and October.

"The violence in Natal has become a national crisis," Mr Makhaye said. "Unless every peace-loving South African stands up against this violence, it will engulf the whole country."

The police view was best expressed by SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo, who said: "The IFP and the ANC have accused each other of being responsible for the violence. As far as the police are concerned, both parties are involved."

● See Page 25

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ON SALE: AK-47s AT R40 EACH

S/Times 11/11/92

By CHARLENE SMITH

WEAPONS are pouring into SA across the Mozambican border and into the eager hands of ANC and Inkatha "self-defence units" who are arming themselves for open civil war.

Spokesmen for both Inkatha and the ANC confirmed this week that thousands of weapons were stashed around the country. Both parties said they would defend themselves from attack and would, if necessary, launch pre-emptive strikes against political foes.

The deluge of weapons, many of them sophisticated semi-automatic rifles, has contributed to the country's 300-a-month death toll from political violence.

Despite allegations from many quarters, including powerful Transvaal Inkatha organiser Themba Khoza, that "there are thousands of AK-47s stashed all over the place", police have confiscated only 7 237 firearms this year compared with 6 006 last year.

Direction

Most arms and ammunition come from Mozambique despite a two-year-old agreement under the Joint Security Commission — established as part of the 1984 Nkomati Accord between SA and Mozambique — to investigate illegal arms traffic between the two countries.

These investigations are under the direction of General Krappies Engelbrecht.

Sunday Times inquiries show that AK-47s sell for as little as R40 to R150 on the Reef and in Natal.

Prosecution and conviction figures are low. The most recent figures show that from July 1990 to June 1991 there were only 4 409 prosecutions (and 3 433 convictions) for the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and 59 prosecutions and 42 convictions for the illegal sale of arms and ammunition.

Purpose

Both the ANC and Inkatha accuse each other of military-style, hit-squad operations and justify their own attacks as self-defence.

In a speech at the University of Zululand last week Mr Khoza said: "Hostel-dwellers are involved in violence (because) they were first attacked. The government and ANC now seek to make self-defence a criminal act by fencing the attacked from the attackers."

Claiming that 260 Inkatha leaders have been assassinated, he said: "The war has been stepped up with one purpose in mind — the future election."

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda admitted in an interview that returned MK cadres may be involved in "defending communities".

"If there is violence on the ground and if they feel they face impending attack, people should defend themselves. We cannot prescribe that if people know they will be attacked, they should launch a pre-emptive attack. It's up to them to decide."

He said he did not believe this fuelled violence: "Apartheid breeds violence, transition breeds violence; it will lessen if there is a political solution. Political contest increases the danger of violence. People such as warlords develop a stake in violence; ordinary people are drawn in when family members are slain."

Mr Nyanda said MK cadres had returned from exile to live in violence-torn areas — "they are highly trained and have come back into an economic depression".

Help

"Communities are fed up that MK is not helping them. It is our responsibility to help our people if they are attacked."

The South African Institute of Race Relations, which says that more than 14 000 people have died in political violence since September 1984, notes that firearms were used in 36 percent of deaths last year.

For the first time AK-47s are being used in moving trains despite police and railway claims of increased security measures.

UP IN A

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SPECIAL ADVERT

By RYAN CRESSWELL

MORE than 20 000 Inkatha supporters marched through Durban yesterday to protest against the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC.

Members from all over Natal marched from Curries Fountain to the city hall.

Women and children carrying banners declaring: "Cultural weapons don't kill our husbands," or "Secret deals won't work," led thousands of chanting warriors armed with shields, knobkerries and spears through the streets.

Inkatha organisers said supporters travelled in about 2 000 buses and by train and taxi to get to the event.

At the city hall a memorandum was handed to a senior policeman for transmission to State President FW de Klerk charging that the government had "leaned over backwards" to appease the ANC/SACP alliance and signed the Record of Understanding.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, dressed in a black safari-suit and with three red feathers in his hair, told the crowd he was protesting in his capacity as Kwazulu Chief Minister and that the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly had ordered the march.

The memorandum — signed by Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha chairman

20 000 IFP members in protest march

S/Times 1/11/92 (11A)

Frank Mdlalose and read out by Minister of Works Inkosi Simon Gumede — said the record alienated millions of South Africans from the government and heightened tensions which had already spiralled following the ANC/SACP alliance's mass action campaign.

Weapons

He said: "We regard the signing of the Record of Understanding as the second betrayal of the Zulu nation by President de Klerk's government. The first being the endorsement of the ANC/SACP alliance's insistence that his majesty the king (King Goodwill Zwelethini) and the Kwazulu delegation be excluded from Codesa.

"We cannot see that anyone who wants a democratic future could imagine any new constitution that is written without our participation as the largest single nation in South Africa," he said.

The memorandum criticised the banning of "Zulu cultural weapons" and the "fencing in" of hostels.

Mr Gumede said the escalation of violence could be laid at the doors of the ANC/SACP alliance and the government because of "perceived collusion".

A police spokesman said there were "no major incidents" but a few pedestrians had been harassed by some of the participants and urged to join the march.

ARES

NATION RETURN FARES

ITH.....	R2990
NEY.....	R3490
BOURNE.....	R3990
SBANE.....	R3990
KLAND.....	R4770

FAR EAST

rg.....	R4990
hannesburg.....	R4990

SEASONAL ADJUSTMENT

30-9320

STOP this train, I want to get off.
Over decades we

have tolerated the bumpy and uncomfortable apartheid train. It's smelly and overcrowded. And it is about to be derailed.

I'm talking about the political train, full of people such as Pik Botha, FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bantu Holomisa, Clarence Makwetu, Nefolovhodwe, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo. The list is endless.

All of them are fighting for a comfortable window seat, with disregard for the very people - you and I - who paid their fares and made it possible for them to have a ride.

They don't give a hoot whether the train is overloaded, whether the rails are intact or whether the signals are working. They do not even care if the train collides with another one.

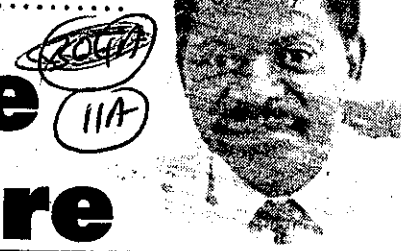
We expect our leaders to show us the way and build a good country for us. No leader can be proud standing on top of the corpses of his people.

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiyi

Train ride to nowhere

c/p 11/11/92



Our country has seen so much blood flowing in the streets that we must now say enough is enough.

But back to my train analogy. The train is packed and I see Mandela, because of his build - remember he was a heavyweight boxer - easily pushing Buthelezi aside. He doesn't want Buthelezi or Mangope or Gqozo near him.

But he has forgotten that nobody pushes Buthelezi around. Shenge - as Buthelezi is known by his clan name - is obsessed with being chief of the Zulu, a tribe that prides itself on its bravado and numerical strength.

What most people don't realise, especially

those who are calling for Buthelezi and Mandela to hold bilateral talks, is that both leaders pride themselves in having royal blood.

Not that ethnicity has anything to do with the feud between the ANC and Inkatha, but it becomes an issue when both leaders unconsciously use their royal standing to settle their differences.

This kind of tribalism has had a negative effect on the followers of the ANC and Inkatha. Ordinary people in the streets now talk of "these Zulus" or "these Xhosas".

I happen to be both Xhosa and Zulu and I do not want to fight myself, so to speak. Or see my

father, who is a Zulu, fight against my mother, who is Xhosa.

This may seem an oversimplified analysis of the cold war between Buthelezi and Mandela but unless they give us the answers, we will never know the truth.

We did not experience tribal problems when the black consciousness movement occupied centre stage in the early 70s and late 80s - and their philosophy is still as relevant now as it was then. Black people knew then and they should know now that tribalism and nepotism have destroyed Africa.

But what is FW de Klerk doing on this messy

political train?

Poor FW, he's not used to be pushed around, especially by the natives, who only yesterday knew their place and who the real "baas" was in this country.

He must be cursing himself for taking the step - which his predecessors were too scared to do - of dismantling apartheid.

But it was the logical thing to do. The country was on the brink of economic catastrophe, the world had turned its back on us, our neighbouring states were getting their independence and folks at home were restless.

FW does have a role to play in this transitional period. He has to move fast to establish an interim government because the sooner everybody is able to vote for the kind of leaders we want, the better for this country.

We must choose who we want on the train. But at the rate at which violence is destroying our country, many of our so-called leaders will find themselves thrown off.

No secret deal

State claims amnesty was for the ANC

CPres 1/11/92

THE ANC effectively denied yesterday that it had made a secret deal with the government on amnesty.

The organisation was reacting to a report quoting NP official Johan Steyns as saying it had backed the Further Indemnity Bill by calling for the suspension of a murder trial against ANC members on the grounds that indemnity legislation was underway.

"This is an unscrupulous distortion of the court record and the Record of Understanding," said ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa.

"We want to reiterate our position that only an interim government can grant amnesty and this we made clear to the judge in the matter referred to," Phosa said.

The Further Indemnity Bill was rammed through on Friday by the President's Council after its passage was blocked in parliament a few weeks ago.

The NP outvoted the united opposition of the other parties by 38 votes to 14 endorsing the Council's Constitutional Affairs Committee recommendation that the State President sign the legislation.

Condemned

The recommendation also proposed the early amendment of the Act in terms of amendments put to the Parliamentary Joint Committee and amendments of its own aimed at reducing secrecy surrounding the granting of indemnity.

It makes provision for the indemnification of persons who committed crimes with a political motive before October 8 1990; the creation of an Indemnity Council whose members are to be appointed under the State President; functioning under chairmanship of a judge; and advising the State President on applications made for indemnity.

It also provides for the privileged hearing of evidence presented by an applicant, confidentiality of the proceedings and the publication of the names of successful applicants without being linked to specific crimes.

The Labour Party has condemned the Bill, saying it only served to protect the government and confirmed that senior cabinet ministers may be implicated in "dirty tricks".

Labour Party justice spokesman Llewellyn Landers said that the question of amnesty and indemnity should be left to an interim government of national unity which would give the process its legitimacy - "something which it lacks at present". - Sapa

- ANC

INKATHA PEACE BID

'In Kangwane new cars are almost free'

By ELIAS MALULEKE and DESMOND BLOW

THE Kangwane government is squandering millions of rands on cars for its officials - both black and white.

New cars, some of them luxury cars costing more than R250 000, are bought for 15 percent of the value and in some cases interest-free loans are made to the official to pay the 15 percent.

It has been estimated that R22-million of SA taxpayers' money - which is part of the R300-million a year the Pretoria government pays towards the Kangwane budget - has been squandered on more than 400 vehicles sold to officials over the last couple of years on what has been described as the "grave train".

Yet despite a complaint by a representative of the auditor general in Pretoria to this effect a year ago, and a police inquiry which followed, no action has apparently been taken, and the "irregular" practices have continued.

An investigation by City Press several weeks has revealed that in August 1991 a new "fringe benefit" car scheme was brought into effect because the old one was being abused. But the new scheme still offered cars at far below market value.

The scheme for top officials of the 11 Kangwane administrative departments alone is believed to have cost the Kangwane administration R7-million, money which it is claimed they do not have.

A cheque for as much as R285 000 is given to an



By S'BU MINGADI

AS Natal teetered on the brink of a full-scale civil war yesterday, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi offered to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss peace.

Buthelezi was speaking to journalists at Durban's Curries Fountain minutes before leading about a 20 000-strong Inkatha-sponsored "Zulu march" through the city in protest against the recent ANC-SA government Record of Understanding.

Buthelezi said in his talks with National Peace Committee chairman John Hall on Thursday he agreed to meet Mandela to discuss the peace process on former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's recommendations.

This, he added, was in spite of the dispute between Inkatha and the ANC over Mandela's charge before the UN Security Council recently that Inkatha was a surrogate of the SA government.

Earlier this week, the Inkatha leader was still holding out for a one-to-one meeting with his ANC counterpart, but Mandela rejected this in favour of a special meeting of all NPA signatories.

However, Buthelezi yesterday rejected a meeting between signatories of the NPA, saying talks between Inkatha and ANC leaders

Buthelezi offers to meet ANC for talks

were needed first.

At least 130 people have died in Natal this month.

In another surprise move yesterday, Buthelezi discarded his traditional garb and weapons for a black suit.

Buthelezi was, however, surrounded by KwaZulu Cabinet ministers, Inkatha leaders and warriors in full traditional regalia and armed with spears, shields, sticks, pangas, knobkerries, machetes and other weapons.

Buthelezi's aides were at pains to point out that there was no connection between Buthelezi being unarmed and threats by the SA Police to prosecute him and other Inkatha leaders for leading a similar march in Johannesburg on October 18 in defiance of a government ban on carrying traditional weapons in public.

In a brief address to marchers yesterday, the Inkatha leader expressed his disappointment that the march attracted fewer people than the Johannesburg one, estimated at 30 000 people.

"I was hoping that because Natal is our home-base this march will be bigger than the Johannesburg march," he said.

At the Durban City Hall Buthelezi presented a petition to a senior SAP officer for transmission to State President FW de Klerk. The petition, by "the Zulu nation's representatives", rejected outright the Record of Understanding.

However, Inkatha has lodged an application with SA's Department of Correctional Services for the release of about 50 members in terms of the Record.

Inkatha prisoners include former deputy interior minister Samuel Bhekizizwe Jamile, serving a life sentence for murder and attempted murder. On Inkatha's list of "political prisoners" are 10 others serving life sentences for crimes against political opponents.

"We promise the government a hard time if they do not relent to our demands," said Inkatha media officer Ed Tillett.

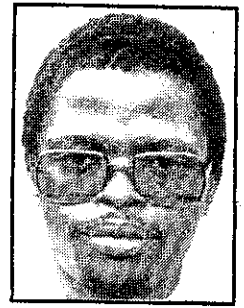
He said Jamile, like some other Inkatha members jailed for murder, were "freedom fighters" who had "committed the offences while fighting ANC tyranny".

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa slammed the move.

"They (Inkatha) would like to use the Record of Understanding, which Record of Understanding they are dismissing out of hand... I have never seen such hypocrisy and political expedience," he said.

Sowetan 2/11/92

A week ago the Pan Africanist Congress and South African Government agreed in Botswana that a new and more representative negotiations forum was essential. Political Reporter **Themba Molefe** details various views:



THE question is: should the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), which collapsed with the withdrawal of the African National Congress (ANC) from negotiations in June, be revived, restructured or replaced?

A spokesman for Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said the Government would not publicly discuss its views on the envisaged new forum before the outcome of bilateral talks with the main players.

The ANC said it agreed Codesa needed to be more representative but this did not mean it should be restructured.

"Throughout the existence of Codesa the ANC has sought to ensure that those political organisations which had not attended will be drawn into Codesa. When multilateral negotiations resume the ANC will seek to ensure every effort is made to ensure that Codesa as a forum becomes more representative..."

"Our experience of the negotiations process in general and the Codesa process in particular teaches us that a comprehensive bilateral meeting with the National Party (NP) Government is crucial before multiparty negotiations resume. It became very clear in Codesa itself that if the ANC and NP Government are at loggerheads, nothing moves forward.

"While the bilateral meetings between the ANC and NP Government are crucial, the ANC will also consult all Patriotic Front allies (in Codesa) and other organisations at both bilateral and multilateral levels.

"We are following this course because the ANC wishes to ensure that when multilateral negotiations resume, they will succeed in speedily bringing about the transition of our country to a nonracial, non-sexist democracy based on one person, one vote for a united South Africa."

The ANC said Codesa came about because negotiations by all political organisations for an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly charged with drafting a constitution were necessary.

The PAC said it was - in line with congress resolutions - not opposed to negotiations but such negotiations should take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate.

The PAC said in a statement: "The constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person, one vote of all Azanians over the age of 18 is the mechanism through which such a mandate is obtained.

"The PAC makes it clear the objectives of negotiations must be the transfer of political power from the minority to the democratically elected majority. The PAC also reaffirms its commitment to the Patriotic Front so that the oppressed can speak with one voice.

"The deliberations, debates and con-

(11A) ~~11A~~



Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha (left) and PAC's deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke led their respective delegations in their Botswana safari.

clusions of such a constituent assembly shall not be fettered by any prior arrangements that the regime may have reached with any other party on any of the constitutional provisions and principles that the constituent assembly was elected to draw.

"The PAC will strive to realise its declared policy of pursuing two-sided negotiations between the regime and its allies and the genuine representatives of the oppressed and dispossessed majority."

The IFP believes Codesa is flawed and unrepresentative and that this is aggravated by the Government and the ANC's bilateral agreements on the negotiation process.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week spelled out his party's stance on negotiations while addressing Commonwealth delegates in Ulundi.

"There will be no return to Codesa. We

must start where the preparatory committee left off in November 1991.

"I have called for a national multiparty conference of review to take the whole negotiation process and the whole peace process under review."

Buthelezi said the multiparty conference of review would bring all the major actors together to ensure that "multipartyism" succeeded.

Such a conference should decide on a viable negotiation forum, Buthelezi said.

Another major player is the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) which has not yet engaged Pretoria.

Azapo believes the Government should be on the one side of the negotiation table and the liberation movements on the other.

It also calls for a constituent assembly to draw up a nonracial constitution.

Azapo leader's tolerance call

(10) 21/1/92
JOHANNESBURG.

The belief that only a single liberation movement would take over running the country was a myth, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Mefolohodwe said on Saturday.

Speaking at the funeral of Azanla cadre Mr Sean Rapiitse in Soweto, he said: "We must guard against intolerance shown by some political leaders towards people who hold different viewpoints."

ANC to look at PWV league

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JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC is to address
the question of its sus-
pended PWV Women's
League, ANC spokes-
woman Ms Gill Marcus
confirmed yesterday.

Ms Marcus said an in-
quiry was under way and
a report was awaited.

Estranged members of
the region said yester-
day they had contacted
the ANC national execu-
tive committee "some
time ago" but had not re-
ceived a reply. — Sapa

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Hopes for a peace summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela faded at the weekend when the Inkatha president ruled out a meeting of signatories of the National Peace Accord.

Speaking after leading about 20 000 Zulus on a march through the city centre on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi said a meeting between him and Mr Mandela was needed to help end the violence in Natal.

Mr Mandela has, however, reject-

IFP/ANC summit hopes fade

CT 2/11/92

(IIA) ~~SAPA~~

ed calls for a one-on-one meeting and said the place to raise the issue is at a gathering of the peace accord signatories. But Chief Buthelezi said a meeting at this stage between signatories of the NPA would be a "farce".

Mr Buthelezi said: "I believe a smaller private meeting (with Mr Mandela) will be a good thing be-

fore (a meeting of the National Peace Committee)."

"It is clear there is a problem between the ANC and IFP, and if we address this first, other things can follow," he said.

Saturday's "March of the Zulu nation" — with some marchers in traditional dress and many armed with sticks and spears — in protest

against the ANC/government's Record of Understanding, went off without incident.

IFP central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela at the weekend expressed the hope at the funeral of 11 people killed in Natal's worst political massacre this year, that local leaders would come together to resolve the escalating violence.

He said violence was pushing IFP and ANC leaders apart, but local leaders should meet to discuss peace.

● Unrest in Natal at the weekend included an incident at Umgeni waterworks near KwaMakhuta, where a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired at a private house.

At Stanger, a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired with an AK-47 rifle at the house they were in. — Sapa

ANC, govt moving closer to compromise

ANC and government negotiators are to meet later this month amid increasing signs that deadlocks between them are being resolved in compromise agreements on power sharing in a government of national unity.

The ANC also appears to have backed off from its demand that violence be ended before democratic elections are held.

Indications that points of dispute were being resolved emerged at the weekend in a speech by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Oviedo, Spain, a secret ANC discussion document and a speech by ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan in Cape Town.

Mandela said government-ANC talks

Political Staff

would resume on November 22. This was confirmed by NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mandela said the talks would focus on establishing an international government of national unity and "a wide variety of topics which we think it is urgent and important to resolve".

The ANC discussion document was circulated privately at the patriotic front conference in Port Elizabeth last week and suggests joint rule with the NP after a general election under a new constitution.

Jordan, opening the ANC's western Cape

conference in Cape Town, appeared to confirm this when he said it was important for the organisation to campaign hard "until we replace the present regime with a government of national unity".

The document, which still has to be approved officially, sets out a proposal for government and the ANC to share power after an interim government phase. "Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players," the document reads.

The change in approach to the question

To Page 2

Differences

of violence being ended before elections were held was underlined by Jordan. He said it was clear the violence and conflict would continue until there was a government of national unity.

"It also appears that elections will be waged in the context of violence. The violence will get worse and worse as the day of the election gets closer and closer."

ADRIAN HADLAND reports Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate reacted to

news of the planned talks by saying government would implement any decisions from bilateral talks "at its own risk".

"Government and the ANC can talk all day about their affairs but if they make decisions that apply to the rest of the country, we will defy them every time."

He said if a new bilateral agreement was reached on 22 November its contents should be ratified by a multiparty conference. If this did not occur, he said, "God only knows what will happen".

From Page 1

SA leaders get 'Spanish Nobel prize'

OVIEDO — Heir to the Spanish throne Prince Felipe de Borbon presented the Prince of Asturias Prize — considered the Nobel prizes of the Spanish-speaking world — to an array of luminaries at the weekend, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk, Spanish cyclist Miguel Indurain and actress Elizabeth Taylor.

"The way to concord has united them in a dialogue, which despite obstacles, has

been promoted again and again by their courage," the prince said of Mandela and De Klerk.

Taylor accepted the prize for "solidarity" on behalf of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, which has distributed about \$50m since 1985 for AIDS research, education and public policy programmes.

Indurain, who won the Tour de France in 1991 and 1992, took home the prize in the sports category. — Sapa-AP.

**WHAT CARS ARE
DECISION MAKERS
DRIVING?**



Nelson Mandela receives his Prince of Asturias Prize from Prince Felipe in Oviedo, Spain, on Saturday night.

Picture: AP

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Communist beats MP to ANC post

Political Staff

(117)
CT 2/11/92

THE acting chairman of the South African Communist Party in the Western Cape, Mr Lerumo Kalako, has been elected vice-chairman of the ANC in the region.

He defeated Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, and Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, an attorney.

Mr Kalako, who served nine years in prison on Robben Island, polled 127 votes. Mr Van Eck received 91 and Mr Ngcuka 53 votes.

The vice-chairmanship was the only change in the top five regional positions at the ANC's Western Cape congress in Cape Town at the weekend.

Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak, regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr and treasurer Mr Ebrahim Rasool were re-elected unopposed.

Others elected to the executive are: Mr Johnny de Lange, Mr Van Eck, Mr Vincent Diba, Mr Cameron Dugmore, Mr Jannie Momberg, Ms Zou Kota, Ms Rashieda Abdullah, Mr Basil Davidson, Mr Lizo Ngqungwana, Mr Chris Nissen, Ms Hilde Ndude, Mr Amos Lengisi, Ms Mavis Makaleni, Mr Bongani Jonas, Mr Mziwonke Jacobs, Mr Mxolisi Petane, Mr Dawood Kahn, Mr Salie Manie, Mr Ngcuka and Mr Christmas Tinto.

'Power-sharing' on the cards

Sowetan 2/11/92.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent



Document proposes devolution of power to regions:

THE ANC and its allies are considering power-sharing with the National Party.

This is revealed in a document which was circulated under strict confidentiality at last week's meeting of Patriotic Front affiliates in Port Elizabeth.

The organisation, however, said the idea was not official ANC policy, but confirmed that it had been explored in the discussion document.

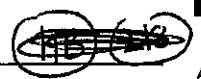
ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said it was "just a discussion document outlining certain views".

The proposals in the document suggest that the ANC would be prepared to enter into deals with the National Party on critical issues such as the devolution of power to regions and the white-dominated civil service in a new dispensation.

IFP denies deal with Renamo

Sowetan 2/11/92.

By Mathatha Tsedu
and Ruth Bhengu



THE INKATHA Freedom Party yesterday denied that a white man was smuggling arms for the organisation.

Mr Bruce Anderson, who represented the IFP at Codesa until he was deported to Britain in July, said in a newspaper report yesterday that guns and explosives had been smuggled from Mozambique's rebel movement Renamo to the IFP for use in political killings.

The IFP has asked the Goldstone Commission to ask Anderson to give evidence before it.

National IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose described the claims as a "pack of lies".

IFP spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos also denied that the organisation ever had any dealings with Renamo or had its own army.

"The IFP emphatically denies that it has ever bought arms or acquired arms in the way Mr Anderson said it has, or in any other way," she said.

Former official says he smuggled arms from Mozambique's rebels:

Vos distanced the IFP leadership from Anderson's allegations.

Anderson's revelations came hardly 24 hours after IFP leader Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi led an estimated 20 000 supporters through the streets of Durban, calling for the disbanding of the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Sizwe.

The IFP has always said killings by AK-47 rifles were the work of ANC guerillas.

Together with the SADF, it last week accused the ANC of infiltrating guerillas from Transkei to commit murders in Natal.

The arms smuggling revelations came as Buthelezi told his followers and the world that he would not attend any multilateral peace meeting to discuss the end of violence before a meeting between himself and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mandela has already rejected such a proposal, saying similar meetings in the past had failed.

As Buthelezi spoke in Durban on Saturday, 11 people who were killed in a raid a week ago, were buried at Mpushini Village, Folweni, near Amanzimtoti.

next *Talkback* topic

The Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show opens the lines tonight for you to raise any topic of your choice.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Outrage over exhumations

Sowetan 2/11/92
■ An explanation demanded on digging up of graves:

By Lulama Luti

(11A) (2/11/92)

THE PAC has expressed outrage at the Roodepoort Council's decision to dig up 900 graves at the old Roodepoort West township to make way for a rubbish dump.

The council intends re-burying the remains in the Dobsonville Cemetery.

PAC secretary for land and environmental affairs Dr Solly Skosana called on the council to explain the decision.

Skosana said it was clear there had not been any attempt to trace relatives of the people buried in the cemetery.

"It treated a culturally sensitive matter with racial contempt by regarding the grave sites of our forefathers as less important than a rubbish dump," he said.

focus on Talks

Soweto 3/11/92

11A



DEEP WITHIN the vicious vortex of violence in which South Africa is trapped, there lies a faint glimmer of hope in the principle of reaching a peacefully negotiated settlement in the country.

This vague promise of peace is only real because the main political formations in the country have expressed a need for a negotiated settlement - although each still differs over the process.

Stark ambiguities still exist over the objectives of negotiations.

It remains, to ordinary people, civilians, a mystery as to exactly what is being negotiated.

South Africans have by and large accepted the political groupings and their respective leaders as theirs, but one of the canons of democracy is, I believe it is safe to say, that a political office-bearer is truly one if he or she was (democratically) elected to office.

Having said that, one must add that political office-bearers have to, in a manner of speaking, work off a mandate or menu, as it were, of issues.

Political landscape

However, looking back across the political landscape of the past two years, the only shadows are those of flaming battlements.

It is estimated that since February 1990 more than 7 000 people have been killed in political violence and thousands more in ordinary (violent) crimes.

The inherent imbalance in South African society reaches far into the lives of ordinary folk in the country.

Television screens in Soweto, Mdantsane and Gugulethu buzz and creak with the same images and voices as they did before February 2 1990.

The people who were appointed to prime positions in the South African Broadcasting Corporation, by the powers that prevailed before February 2 1990, are still there.

The local pensions payout office, railway ticket office, police and traffic officers are all the same as they were before February 2 1990.

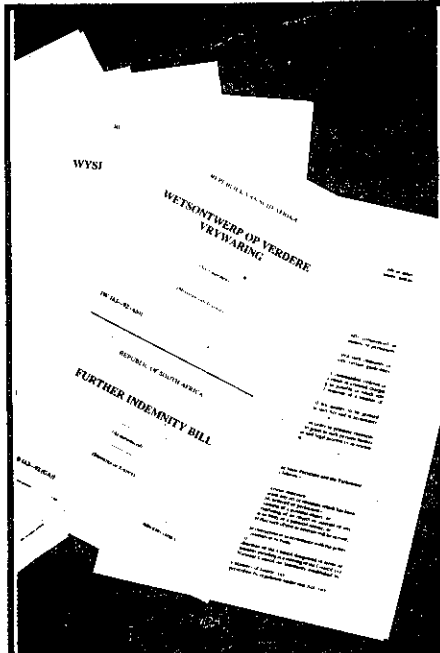
Black pensioners go to the same payout windows and stand in the same queues for their monthly pittance, which, in fact, is a lot less than that of their white counterparts.

Applications for housing loans in certain, formerly white, neighbourhoods are being blocked because of inner city or urban decay, crude euphemisms for black.

To black South Africans, the nascent new South Africa is a perplexing warren of escape routes from poverty, decrepitude and disadvantage that is being filled with the waste and bureaucratic detritus of the old South Africa.

To white South Africans, the nascent new

February 2, 1990 was a day of hope for most South Africans, a day that promised a more peaceful and democratic future. Yet more than two years later, little has changed for those who suffered and continue to suffer. **Ismail Lagardien** reports:



Amnesty Bill as it appeared before Parliament and President's Council.

South Africa means their cricket heroes can return to Lords and Naas Botha and Danie Gerber can return to Twickenham.

To some South Africans, the nascent new South Africa means job losses by the thousands.

The latest figures from Central Statistics Service show that since September 1989, when Mr FW de Klerk became State President and when the now ubiquitous "negotiations" and "new South Africa" were first spawned, 250 000 jobs have been lost.

Foreign trade

To other South Africans, the new South Africa means that foreign trade and tourism can now be resumed - both areas are dominated by white South Africans.

Just this week, it was announced that the South African Foreign Trade Organisation was planning to open new trade missions in Asia - among them was India.

It is ironic, almost, that India imposed sanctions against South Africa in 1948, when the National Party came to power.

India's official cricket team is in South Africa, entertaining mostly white people in the country and the white-led cricket team has accepted an invitation to play a series of games in India next year. The reality is that the ruling National Party is still in power.

The reality is that the ruling National Party is still pushing legislation through Parliament which impacts on black people - who are denied a role in central government.

The sinister silence from the African National Congress (in particular), the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and all the other "black liberation movements", after the Further Indemnity Bill was rushed through Parliament last week is cause for great concern to ordinary black South Africans - civilians.

The ANC, PAC, SACP and Azapo have never needed an excuse to march, picket, petition, stage a sit-in, call for a boycott or strike for issues from the opening of Parliament to a newspaper report.

Their sinister silence was as heavy as it was light.

But, and one is loathe to say it, the two groups, the Government and its extra-parliamentary opposition, probably need to indemnify each other for the deeds they committed (to each other) so as to facilitate negotiations. It must be borne in mind that these two factions were involved in a war with each other. And because of the nature of this "war" and the objectives of the anti-apartheid movements, this war was legitimised (if one is allowed to say that) by the international community.

The irony is that the implications of the Further Indemnity Bill, which was rammed through Parliament by the National Party last week, will cover crimes that were committed against the people of South Africa - civilians.

Maybe it's safe to say then, that nothing has changed.

It is safe to say, too, that after almost two years of negotiations, the imminent restart of negotiations means a lot less to people, civilians, than it did two years ago.

BILLY PADDOCK

NATIONAL peace committee chairman John Hall is shuttling between Ulundi and Johannesburg in a bid to broker a face-saving reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha which could lead to a meeting between leaders of the two parties.

This follows former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's failure to mediate between the two parties over ANC president Nelson Mandela's statement to the UN that Inkatha was a government surrogate with which he could not conclude agreements.

Neither Inkatha nor the ANC was prepared to comment on Hall's activities, but an Inkatha source said the major problem for the organisation was Mandela's statement that the ANC was not prepared to

New bid for ANC, Inkatha to meet

BLOAM 3/11/92
conclude agreements with Inkatha. If this was so, no agreements reached in any negotiating forum could be relied on, he said.

A further issue which could keep Inkatha out of the process was the ANC's recent discussion document, made public yesterday, in which it stated its desire to conclude a bilateral agreement with government on the powers, functions, duties and boundaries of regions. (11A) (11B)

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said he will reject any bilateral agreement between the ANC and government

~~SEE~~ To Page 2

New bid *BLOAM 3/11/92*

that had implications for other parties.

Hall's attempt at brokering a meeting is specifically aimed at getting the peace accord apparatus to work efficiently and to reduce violence.

A senior government negotiator said yesterday that while it was vital that peace structures be fully supported and that everything was done to make them work, other initiatives had to be found.

He said there was an absolute urgency for multiparty talks to get going again before the violence "really gets out of control". Once that happened any thoughts of an election being held and its result being accepted would be virtually impossible.

He said bilateral talks were vital to clear the path to an understanding.

"No two parties can think of going it alone," he said. "Whatever talks are happening or are going to happen at a bilateral level are preparatory talks for multiparty negotiations."

(11A) (11B) From Page 1

The source said parties had to get together to find a political solution, but also to discuss ways of preventing a further escalation of violence.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said there was absolutely no attempt on the part of the ANC and government to come to conclusive agreements about the future in bilateral talks and then to impose these agreements on other parties. Bilateral talks with numerous parties were necessary to create the conditions to make the multilateral talks successful.

"We see the bilateral process as discussing a range of issues relating to negotiations at multiparty level, and trying to find the common thread where we can find agreement rather than concentrating on the divisive ones. Then we can move ahead more quickly to the real negotiations in a multiparty forum where decisions are taken," Maharaj said.

NEWS Mandela, Mugabe meeting 'without Makwetu' ● Tip-off leads cops to arms

Vital meeting in Harare

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

SJC

Sowetan 3/11/92

■ **Mugabe in quest to find common ground between African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress:**

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu meet Zimbabwean leader Mr Robert Mugabe in Harare tomorrow.

But the ANC insists it will be separately, according to spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma yesterday.

He said the meeting would be private, between Mugabe and Mandela only. Nor would the ANC leader meet Makwetu, Macozoma said.

Mugabe has invited the two leaders in terms of a resolution taken at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Senegal in June.

The OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa, which met in Gaborone on October 15, endorsed the Senegal resolution after Mugabe cancelled, at the last hour, a meeting he had scheduled for September 9 in Bulawayo.

This was because Mandela would not attend following the Bisho massacre of September 7.

As chairman of the Frontline States, Mugabe's mandate is to discuss the reconvening of the Patriotic-United Front of liberation movements, specifically to urge them to find common ground in negotiating with the Gov-

ernment and formulate strategies to end the violence.

The ANC and PAC are officially recognised as observers by the OAU and United Nations and the OAU itself insists that the two's unity, albeit principled, is important in championing the total unity of South Africa's majority.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim said Makwetu had been invited to a meeting with both Mugabe and Mandela.

"The invitation is in keeping with the OAU mandate for Mugabe to pursue the question of a united front of the liberation movements," said Ebrahim.



To add humour to your day, Sowetan cartoonist Len Sak uses his sharp pen to take a look at a slice of South African life

Arms in a vehicle

■ **53-year-old man held:**

A TIP-OFF from a member of the public led to the seizure of an arms cache in a car outside a hotel in Nelspruit on Sunday.

The police special investigation found eight AK-47 rifles, nine magazines, 256 rounds of 7,62 AK-47 ammunition, 27 rounds of VZ26 7,62 ammunition and one VZ26 magazine.

A 53-year-old man was detained. Two more men were arrested. An AK-47 and two magazines were confiscated at a four-way stop in nearby Carino.

SAP Regional Commissioner Maj-Gen JJ van Zyl asked the public to give information to curtail arms smuggling - Sapa.

news

ANC man was 'mistaken for a cop'

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Sweetan 4/11/92
■ Cuprit shot top ANC man 'by mistake':

By Tsale Makam

MR Bavumile Vilakazi, the ANC PWV deputy regional secretary who was shot by a "possible" Umkhonto we Sizwe member who mistook him for a policeman on September 17, will not press charges against the man.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday after his discharge from the Garden City Clinic, Vilakazi said he was satisfied he had been shot by mistake.

ANC regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said the man had voluntarily come forward when he heard that the ANC was investigating Vilakazi's shooting.

Sexwale said the man, a member of the self-defence unit in the Vaal, said he had mistaken Vilakazi for a policeman and was not acting on behalf of the unit when he shot at him.

The ANC condemned the action as "repugnant", saying it did not condone the killings of policemen and abhorred such actions.

The ANC had not yet established whether the man was an MK member. He was, however, a member of the organisation, said Sexwale.

terness and self-destruction, but not without hope

Abundant hope, humour and love

Sowetam 4/11/92

■ FOREIGN EYES American journalist

Janet Connor looks critically at SA:

SOUTH Africa is a country of irony and contradiction. Is it modern or traditional? European or African? Is it possible to be both at the same time?

I tried to find an answer while in this country since I arrived in July. Unfortunately, I never came close.

But I leave with many impressions of this fascinating country which is engrossed with American influence. Struggling to keep afloat in a sinking economy.

Confused whether to remember or forget the past. Worn out from the violence and destruction but not doing much to curb it.

Deeply disturbed

I am deeply disturbed by the anarchy and callousness that accompanies the enormity of it. I am disturbed by the vastness of the lawlessness, and the constant real and perceived fear.

I am ready to leave behind the meanness and distrust. Not that America has beautiful harmony - it has bitterness and self-destruction. I guess you learn to adjust to what you call home.

Ah, but what an ugly vision of South Africa, and that is not an accurate picture to paint. I found abundant hope and humour and happiness. Unconditional

~~327A~~ ~~1277~~ 11A
I am ready to leave behind the meanness and distrust. Not that America has beautiful harmony - it has bitterness and self-destruction. I guess you learn to adjust to what you call home

sharing is the South African way of life. My first week here I lived in Soweto with a family who gave me their bed while they slept on the floor in freezing

temperatures. They had never had a white person in their house before. In Ivory Park I fell asleep to the sound of rats scampering across the roof but my host family served me tea in the only china teacup they owned.

Protective and cautious

Americans are much more protective and cautious. They'll take a stranger into their home but only after checking him out.

What I'll remember most from this roller coaster experience is peoples' resilience and determination. The many I met who spent years in jail, were exiled or lost family members in the struggle are not bitter, just eager to move forward.

So I left South Africa mentally and physically exhausted and as perplexed by the culture as ever. There are no answers or solutions. I throw up my hands in amazement at the contradiction - how people so giving and irrepressible can live with such abuse and still be hopeful.

focus on Talks

STRATEGIC BALANCE of forces: By the end of the eighties, the strategic balance of forces characterised by the apartheid power bloc was no longer able to rule in the old way.

The balance of forces internally and internationally were such that the regime would be forced, sooner or later, to sue for negotiations.

The crisis in Eastern Europe and the resultant change in the relations between world powers brought the issue of a negotiated resolution of regional conflicts to the fore - in this context, South Africa was not going to be treated as an exception.

This was reinforced by the all-round crisis in the South African region itself.

By the mid-eighties, the liberation movement enjoyed many advantages over the regime, both internally and internationally.

All the pillars of the struggle had grown from strength to strength. But by the late eighties, a number of key factors made it both desirable and imperative that the liberation movement pursues the path of a negotiated resolution of the South African conflict.

The possibility of revolutionary seizure of power and of a sustained and generalised people's war had become remote.

The possibility existed that the international community would itself attempt to impose a settlement plan.

The regime had no option but to seek negotiations with the liberation movement.

Shifts in the balance of forces: The balance of forces is not completely static. However, for the foreseeable future, actions of the liberation movement can result only in "quantitative" or tactical shifts in the balance of forces.

Essentially, changes would only take place within the context described above and not outside it. Nonetheless, "quantitative" shifts in the balance of forces can play a crucial role in influencing the final outcome of the negotiations.

The most dramatic example of this is the impact of rolling mass action and mobilisation of the international community over the past few months.

Negotiation is the preferred option of the liberation movement.

Negotiation has always been the first option of the liberation movement - it is only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we resorted to arms, while for the regime it was the failure of arms that imposed the obligation to concede the need for negotiations.

Consequently, it must remain one of our strategic tasks to deny the regime the possibility of exercising its preferred option of resort to arms by defining the parameters of acceptable political activity as being confined within the field of free political activity, peaceful demo-

The African National Congress and its allies are discussing a possible power-sharing formula with the National Party. The details are contained in a discussion paper which is being circulated among ANC members in the various regions. This is an extract from the document:



Nelson Mandela ... leader of the ANC which is discussing possible power-sharing with the National Party.

cratic action and genuine negotiations.

We must, therefore, contest the notion that the negotiations represent a failure for the Democratic Movement and a victory for the forces of apartheid and therefore that the more difficult we make the process of negotiations, the more revolutionary we are.

Phases of the Democratic Revolution: Our strategic perspective should take into account that the Democratic Revolution will proceed in various phases; our possibilities relevant to each specific phase should not be pursued in a manner that produces defeats later, because of a failure to recognise the dialectical inter-connection between various phases.

PHASE 1: The period leading up to the election of the Constituent Assembly and the establishment of an elected Interim Government of National Unity;

PHASE 2: The period of the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution by the Con-

stituent Assembly;

PHASE 3: The period of the phasing in of the new Constitution, which will include the restructuring of the State machinery and the general dismantling of the system of apartheid;

PHASE 4: The period of the consolidation of this process of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in the position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed to protect and advance this process.

Goals of the national liberation struggle and our immediate objectives: The long-term goals of the National Liberation Struggle should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition.

The objectives we set depend on the balance of forces at each stage.

By entering a new phase (e.g. the establishment of an interim government) the balance of forces themselves transform qualitatively in favour of the Democratic Movement.

Negotiations, therefore, can result in the possibility of bringing about a radically transformed political framework in the struggle for the achievement of the main goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

In setting objectives today, our strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also, (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must at once also focus on ensuring that new democracy is not undermined.

Our broad objectives for the current phase (as distinct from longer-term goals) should therefore be:

The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process.

Ending the National Party's monopoly of political power.

Ensuring a continuing link between democracy and economic empowerment.

OPINION *A country of contrasts, of bit*

Second hand culture from USA

Sowetan 4/11/92

■ **Third World society masked by First World exterior disturbs Janet Connor, who feels her country is mostly to blame for stripping South Africa of its identity:**

WHEN travelling abroad as an American, you assume you'll pine for the amenities of home.

But not so in South Africa. The world gets smaller as American culture gets bigger.

Arriving in South Africa, I had the misconception the country was African. True, I've seen traditional dancing, cows standing on the road and mud huts but what I've seen more is the infiltration of American culture.

Often I shake my head over the ironies and contradictions of this Third World society masked by a First World exterior. First World translates to Western and I can see the British influence fading in this country and American taking over.

Signs of economic and cultural sanctions are scarce. I am amused to watch Beverly Hills 90210, a television programme about the shallowness of rich American teens, dubbed into Afrikaans.

I saw children walking down dirt roads in remote rural areas carrying Coca-Cola bottles. A domestic worker wearing a Guns 'n Roses T-shirt. A university student with a shirt with Pistons basketball star Isiah Thomas on it.

Being a cinema buff, I was eager to watch South African films but there

While British influence is fading the American flavour becomes stronger

isn't much. But I had the chance to see every bad Hollywood flick I passed over at home.

Riding in a black taxi, I noticed an American bandanna dangling from the mirror. I kept up-to-date on the political cartoon strip Doonesbury and had no trouble tuning into my favourite broadcasters on CNN.

It is disturbing to see the influence America has here. Part of my experience going abroad was to be in societies that think the United States is not the promised land we're made to believe. But the propaganda has spread here. It is discouraging to see a culture being stripped of its identity and to realise that my country is mostly to blame.

ANC man was 'mistaken for a cop'

Sowetan 4/11/92 (11A) ~~11A~~
■ Cuprit shot top ANC man 'by mistake':

By Tsale Makam

MR Bavumile Vilakazi, the ANC PWV deputy regional secretary, who was shot by a "possible" Umkhonto we Sizwe member who mistook him for a policeman on September 17, will not press charges against the man.

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The ANC had not yet established whether the man was an MK member. He was, however, a member of the organisation, said Sexwale.

Voter education play being staged on factory floors

(11A) ANDREW KRUMM (12) (13)

JOHANNESBURG's latest play is to be found on the factory floor, and it can only be seen by appointment.

The play, with neither name nor fixed venue, opened briefly in Diepmeadow last week as part of a voter education initiative by the Matla Trust, an educational and empowerment organisation.

Matla spokesman Barry Gilder said the play was designed to be taken to prospective first-time voters at community venues, churches, shopping malls and even the factory floor in the Transvaal.

Gilder said a large construction group had already shown interest, and management would soon be accorded a private viewing. BIDM 4/11/92

Written and performed by the Ukhukhanya Theatre Project, its message is simple: political tolerance and peace before free and fair elections and the mechanics of voting. The audience is led through a series of conflict situations — not all amicably settled — to demonstrate the message most effectively.

Peace prevails, however, ending in a practical demonstration of the workings of the ballot box.

"This is a pilot project. If it succeeds, we hope to start similar projects in other parts of the country," said Gilder.

In most cases the play would be performed on request free of charge.

However, if those to whom it was shown, especially companies, offered to pay for transportation and other costs, Matla Trust "would not refuse".

ANC rejects land grants

BIDAM 4/11/92
A FUTURE ANC government would not feel obliged to honour government efforts to restructure SA's economy and re-allocate land before an interim government took power, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Ramaphosa told a media conference the recently gazetted transfer of 380 000ha to Lebowa and 52 000ha to QwaQwa could be reversed by a future ANC government.

"Any form of unilateral restructuring by a discredited government should stop forthwith," he said.

Ramaphosa said the matter would be discussed at the November 22 summit between the ANC and government.

Speaking at the same briefing, ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha said the ANC believed central government should retain control over defence, foreign affairs and finances, among other areas of government.

"Where there is conflict between central and regional government, the central gov-

ernment should prevail," he said.

The ANC did not support regional control over any aspect of government, but joint control over education, housing, health and related issues was desirable.

The ANC's latest draft document on regional policy, released yesterday, said regions should be allowed limited fiscal powers to help them "carry out their functions effectively and efficiently."

"A permanent Advisory Fiscal Commission structured on a non party-political basis, in which certain powers for advising on the structure and mechanism of fiscal decentralisation would be vested," would have to be established.

The document said the ANC was not "too concerned with the labels 'unitary state and federation'".

Between 10 and 16 new regions should be considered for a future SA, according to the document.

RAY HARTLEY

ANC and says 'ONV'... answered as commuters tried to... to the scene of the killings... phoned Kaitlhone police station... 2x2 drive. Eriston, who took three years to develop the... biking enjoys greater popularity than in SA. He expects the Bidrive will sell for around \$30.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

FW's fall 'his own fault'

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was responsible "all by himself" for any damage to his popularity, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday. **U/A** **4/11/92**
He was responding to De Klerk's complaint on TV1's Agenda programme on Monday night that the ANC had embarked on a "negative" campaign against him after the referendum because he was becoming too popular. **B/DAY**
De Klerk said his growing popularity had been perceived by the ANC as a threat and this had led the organisation to embark on the campaign. **4/11/92**
Niehaus said De Klerk and government's lack of movement towards democracy, and its lack of commitment to this ideal and clearly addressing the violence was the major reason for people losing faith in De Klerk.
The President should look to himself and not others to blame for his political misfortunes, he said.

Report inconclusive on Boipatong tape erasure

THE Goldstone commission had found no conclusive evidence that the Boipatong tapes may have been deliberately erased as suggested by British experts, Judge R Goldstone said in Johannesburg yesterday. British government experts found the tapes had been recorded over and said the technical evidence "suggests that this may have been done deliberately and hurriedly in order to obscure the contents".
Their report was received by the commission on October 29.
After portions of the tapes were replayed on Monday, the commission found that "no conclusions can fairly be drawn on the strength of the tentative suggestion made by the British experts", Goldstone said in a statement issued yesterday.
"The important information ascertained by the British experts is that what was over-recorded is not retrievable," Goldstone said.
The technical experts had offered a further clarification of their findings on Monday, he said.
They said some of the material superimposed on the tapes, which recorded police communications on the night of the June 17 Boipatong massacre, was recorded at a non-standard speed equivalent to between a third or a quarter of the normal

recording speed. **B/DAY 4/11/92**
In addition, some of the superimposed material had been recorded backwards, they found. **4/11/92**
Goldstone said: "The commission would like to emphasise that in its opinion it would be speculative to draw any inferences or conclusions on the information which has thus far been received with regard to the circumstances in which the original information of the tape came to be erased". **4/11/92**
Police told the Goldstone inquiry on August 11 the tapes had been accidentally erased, which was supported by the preliminary findings of a local firm, Grinaker Electronics.
But when it emerged that the company had links with the security forces, the Goldstone commission withdrew the tapes from Grinaker and the British government agreed to have the tapes analysed by its own technical experts.
Goldstone said yesterday that if any party wished to have further witnesses called or if the tapes were required for further technical analysis, the commission would decide on such requests after consultations with the legal representatives of all interested parties. — Sapa.

Standard's actions do not

Police fail to act as train gunmen kill 5

RAY HARTLEY

SEVEN commuters died in two separate incidents of train violence yesterday, just days after police spokesman Col David Bruce said certain officers showed a "lack of commitment" to ending train violence.

In the worst incident, a train carrying attackers passed through four East Rand stations, with gunmen killing five commuters and wounding two more as they fired on three crowded station platforms.

The bodies of two more people, who had been stabbed to death in a separate attack, were found yesterday next to the Johannesburg-Soweto line.

The failure of police to stop the 90-minute killing spree has been criticised by the ANC, who said police telephones were not answered as commuters tried to call them to the scene of the killings.

Police, who were meant to have positioned officers at all stations in terms of agreements reached with the ANC and SA Rail and Commuter Corporation, failed to arrest the killers at the East Rand train's four stops.

Police spokesman Sgt Francois du Plessis said an urgent meeting was called yesterday to analyse what went wrong with the policing operations at the four stations, allowing the killers to escape.

It had been established, he said, that police on the train had been unable to move to the carriage where the violence was taking place because interleading doors had been locked.

The attackers boarded the train at Kwe-sini station at 5.30am. They were carrying Makharov pistols.

The first three victims were shot dead on the platform of Pilot station, with a

further two killed on the Lindela station platform and another two injured at Katlehong station at 7.10am.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said at a news briefing the fact that the train was not stopped after the first attack was "mind boggling".

He said three policemen arrived on the scene of the first killing at 8.30am — about three hours after the event — and did not take statements from witnesses.

Mamoepa said despite the fact that three people were shot dead at Pilot station, the train left for the next stop with the killers on board, as if nothing had happened.

One of the witnesses immediately phoned Katlehong police station, but the phones there were just left ringing. He then realised the train had left and ran towards Lindela station.

"As he ran towards the station, he heard shots being fired from the direction of Lindela station. On arrival there he found two people dead and several injured.

"Again he tried to contact the police and ambulance service, but there was no response," Mamoepa said.

Du Plessis said witnesses were assisting police in compiling an identikit of one of the attackers and investigations into the killings were being stepped up.

He confirmed no arrests had been made.

An SARCC source said a team of ANC, SARCC and police representatives would tour Soweto stations this morning to inspect new security measures being implemented there.

ANC gunman 'targeted police'

WILSON ZWANE

ANC PWV executive committee member Bavumile Vilakazi said yesterday he would not press charges against an ANC member who shot him with an AK-47 rifle after mistaking him for a policeman.

But ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the organisation would take appropriate steps against the culprit.

Sexwale told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC's investigations into the incident on September 17 in Sebokeng found that a member of a self-defence unit had shot Vilakazi after mistaking him for a policeman.

Sexwale said while it was understandable for self-defence units to defend their communities, "indiscriminate" attacks on policemen were deplorable.

He said the ANC and its allies — Cosatu and the SACP — were trying to restore peace to the conflict-ridden Vaal Triangle and efforts to normalise the situation included bringing policemen back into the area.

The Vilakazi shooting was hampering such efforts, Sexwale said, and he called on the people of the Vaal Triangle to "distance themselves from such an incident".

He refused to elaborate on the steps his organisation intended taking against the Vilakazi's attacker.

Vilakazi, who was discharged from Johannesburg's Garden City Clinic yesterday, said he bore his assailant no grudges.

'Disclose list of torturers'

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of former ANC members appealed to President FW de Klerk yesterday to compel the ANC to disclose names of leaders accused of torture in its camps.

The ANC has not yet made their identities public.

The names of some leaders have been published in a report by an International Freedom Foundation-appointed commission of inquiry into the camp torture allegations.

The Weekly Mail recently published names, following its own investigation, of the people it said were responsible

Bid to revive Patriotic Front

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter

(11A)

Sowetan 4/11/92

■ Mugabe will meet ANC and PAC leaders at the same time:

PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe will meet the leaders of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress at the same time in Harare today, Zimbabwe government sources told *Sowetan* yesterday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his PAC counterpart Mr Clarence Makwetu have been invited by Mugabe in terms of an Organisation of African Unity resolution to urge them to reconvene the Patriotic Front of South Afri-

can liberation movements.

The sources said preparations were at such a high level that the Mugabe administration "cannot afford any further waste of time" and would seek commitments from Mandela and Makwetu.

They said a document detailing how the united front could be restarted was ready for adoption by the two leaders.

As chairman of the Frontline States, Mugabe has been mandated to seek ways of uniting, albeit in principle, the ANC and the PAC.


A meeting was initially scheduled for September 9 but had to be postponed when Mandela had to fly to King William's Town in the aftermath of the September 7 Bisho massacre.

The ANC on Monday told *Sowetan* Mandela would meet only Mugabe as theirs would be a private meeting and the ANC leader had no intention of meeting Makwetu in Harare.

The Zimbabwe sources said the ANC and PAC leaders could meet Mugabe separately only after the meeting if they so wished.

News

in brief

Sowetan 4/11/92
Calm returns to Luanda 

LUANDA - Sporadic shots yesterday broke the calm that has returned to Luanda after four days of bloody conflict between Angolan government troops and the former rebel group Unita.

More than 1 000 people are reported to have died in the fighting and yesterday Luanda residents who ventured out found some of the streets littered with corpses. Police used an overnight curfew to disperse armed bands who carried out a brutal house-to-house manhunt for members of Jonas Savimbi's Unita.

Unita's high command has been dismantled.

Warning on fireworks

POLICE will crack down on unlicensed fireworks dealers on the Witwatersrand over the next few months.


Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday: "The police will be very strict concerning any contravention of the regulations promulgated under the Explosives Act. People setting off firecrackers in public must expect to be arrested. We just cannot allow what happened last year when many people - especially children - were injured."

R6,5m case postponed

THE case involving two men masquerading as ANC members and being arrested in connection with R6,5 million fraud was postponed in the Roodepoort Regional Court yesterday.

Mr Henry Smith and Mr Ronald Shabalala have not been asked to plead. The prosecutor, Mrs Charmain Maree, asked that the case be postponed to November 17 when more evidence would be presented and a specific number of charges formulated. The men are in custody.

PAC scholarship fund

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday launched its first scholarship trust fund, named after colourful African nationalist and intellectual Anton Lembede. *Sowetan 4/11/92* 

The trust is to be run independently of the organisation by a board of educationists and academics. However, the PAC will make the initial deposit to get the fund off the ground.

The trustees of the fund, which is also in honour of late PAC leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng, are Professor Eskia Mphahlele, Professor Maje Seroto, Mrs Dallis Hall, Mr Makhudu Ramopo, Mr David Mmutle, Wits lecturer Mr Klaas Mashishi, St Barnabas College principal Mr Michael Corke and Pretoria attorney and PAC member Mr Moss Mavundla.

ANC unveils proposals to clinch negotiations

11A

CT 4/11/92

In its latest strategy document, as circulated for discussion, the ANC sets out its negotiating aims and foresees a government of national unity, with the NP and the ANC as the main players, both in the interim period and after the adoption of a new constitution.

BY THE end of the Eighties, the apartheid power bloc was no longer able to rule in the old way. The balance of forces internally and internationally were such that the regime would be forced, sooner or later, to sue for negotiations.

This crisis in Eastern Europe, and the resultant change in the relations between world powers, brought the issue of a negotiated resolution of regional conflicts to the fore. In this context, South Africa was not going to be treated as an exception. This was reinforced by the all-round crisis in South Africa itself.

By the mid-Eighties, the liberation movement enjoyed many advantages over the regime, both internally and internationally. All the pillars of the struggle had grown from strength to strength. By the late Eighties, a number of key factors made it both desirable and imperative that the liberation movement pursue a negotiated resolution of the South African conflict:

- The possibility of revolution and of a sustained and generalised people's war had become remote.
- The international community might have tried to impose a settlement plan.
- The regime had no option but to seek negotiations with the liberation movement.

The balance of forces is not static. However, for the foreseeable future, actions by the liberation movement can result only in "quantitative" or tactical shifts in the balance of forces.

Acceptable

Nonetheless, "quantitative" shifts in the balance of forces can play a crucial role in influencing the final outcome of the negotiations. The most dramatic exam-

ple of this is the impact of rolling mass action and mobilisation of the international community over the past few months.

Negotiation has always been the first option of the liberation movement — it is only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we resorted to arms, while for the regime it was the failure of arms that forced negotiations.

Consequently, it must remain one of our strategic tasks to deny the regime the possibility of exercising its preferred option of resorting to arms by defining acceptable political activity as being confined to free political activity, peaceful democratic action and genuine negotiations.

We must therefore contest the notion that negotiations represent a failure for the democratic movement and a victory for the forces of apartheid and therefore that the more difficult we make negotiation, the more revolutionary we are.

Delays in peaceful transformation are not in the interests of the masses, who seek liberation now, and do not enhance our chances of effecting this transformation as well as we should.

Dismantling

Our strategic perspective should take into account that the democratic revolution will proceed in various phases, each one of which has its regularities and objective and subjective demands.

Phase 1: The period leading up to the election of a constituent

assembly and the establishment of an elected interim government of national unity.

Phase 2: The period of the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution by the that assembly.

Phase 3: The period of the phasing-in of the new constitution which will include restructuring of state machinery and the general dismantling of apartheid.

Phase 4: The period of consolidation of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in a position to determine the correct path to further democratic change, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed to protect and advance this process.

The long-term goals of the national liberation struggle should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition.

The objectives we set depend on the balance of forces at each stage.

In setting objectives for the present round of negotiations we must bear in mind that neither the ANC nor the regime can enforce a complete surrender of either party at the negotiating table.

In setting objectives today, our

strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also, (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must at once also focus on ensuring that new democracy is not undermined.

Strategic

Our broad objectives for the current phase (as distinct from longer-term goals) should therefore be:

- The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process.
- Ending the National Party's monopoly of political power.
- Ensuring a continuing link between democracy and economic empowerment.
- Minimising the threat to stability and democracy.

We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government — in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components.

Strategic forces we need to consider right now are the SADF, SAP and the civil service in general.

It may become necessary to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement.

Some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of a multilateral (Codesa type) agreements. Other elements of the settlement package would take the form of bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP — such agreements would bind the two parties.

The thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa may be an issue on which we would enter into a bilateral agreement with the NP.

The question of a government of national unity after adoption of a new constitution, and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service, could be dealt with either as part of a bilateral agreement or as part of a multi-lateral agreement.

Mugabe's efforts to bring ANC, PAC together fail

Sowetan 5/11/92
Sowetan Africa News Service

HARARE - Efforts by Zimbabwean president Mr Robert Mugabe to bring the ANC and the PAC together to form a common front failed yesterday.

Mugabe first met ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela before PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu joined them.

"The three of us met informally to look at the situation," Mugabe said.

He said he hoped the Patriotic Front would be revived after Mandela had consulted with his organisation.

Addressing journalists, Mandela said the PAC leader had joined him and Mugabe at the Zimba-

■ Problems must be sorted out:

(11A)
bwe leader's invitation for a briefing.

Mandela said for the two movements to speak with different voices was a weakness.

He added there were problems which had to be sorted out before they could address the question of their relationship.

Makwetu said he went to Harare with a mandate to see why the front was not working.

"I don't have any problem ... The PAC is always ready to meet the ANC at whatever level. If there are any problems between the two of us, it is exactly those problems which should compel the two organisations to sit down and talk," Makwetu said.

Verster intimated on Tuesday that an Webster's murder were announced.

Beuthin could be tried in absentia

STEPHANE BOTHMA

THE kidnap, assault and attempted extortion trial of Gary Beuthin would continue on Monday whether or not the body-builder and former bouncer was in a proper mental state, Rand Supreme Court Judge M J Strydom ordered yesterday.

Beuthin, 28, had delayed the start of his trial since Monday on the grounds that he was unfit to continue with court proceedings since beginning a hunger strike almost four weeks ago.

Harassment and strict prison rules had also prevented him from properly consulting legal advisers and witnesses so he could not fully prepare his defence, Beuthin claimed. He said he was not guilty of the crimes he was charged with because when he allegedly kidnapped and assaulted former model Jill Reeves in May he was "on the most powerful anabolic steroids in the world".

The trial had already been put off three times at Beuthin's insistence. Postponing the matter to Monday, Strydom said it was the last delay Beuthin would be granted. "Whether you are in a proper mental state or not, your trial will start on Monday."

A pro deo team was appointed yesterday to handle Beuthin's defence.

Residents vow to reoccupy hostels

WILSON ZWANE

HOSTEL residents from Thokoza vowed yesterday to forcibly reoccupy hostels they had vacated for upgrading.

Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association chairman Joseph Kubheka said the Thokoza Town Council had refused to allow hostel residents to return to the complex unless they undertook in writing to pay a 300% increase in rent.

Kubheka said residents had paid a monthly rental of R15. They were now being asked to pay R55 a month.

Residents were opposed to the ultimatum and had vowed to "force their way in".

Thokoza town clerk Herman Combrinck said residents and their representatives had walked out of a meeting called on Monday to discuss rentals.

He said municipal police had been deployed at the hostel and would prevent anyone from entering.

In another development, Kubheka said his association and the TPA were edging closer to establishing a joint management committee for the Denver, George Goch, MBA and Jeppe hostels in Johannesburg.

Liberation movements seek unity

HARARE — ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would urgently consider forming a united front with the rival PAC to hasten the advent of majority rule in SA.

"I have undertaken that I will treat the matter (of unity) as one of utmost urgency," he told a news conference in Harare after two-hour talks with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

"I do hope that if certain conditions are fulfilled it will be possible for the PAC's Clarence Makwetu and I to sit down to address the question of our relationship and the absence of a common goal in the liberation movement," he said.

Mandela declined to elaborate but indicated

there was a wide chasm between the two sides. He said he had not spoken yesterday to Makwetu, who also met Mugabe.

Last year the ANC formed a "patriotic front" with the PAC, but the alliance collapsed within a year over differences in strategy in negotiations with Pretoria.

Briefing journalists after the talks, Mugabe said he was trying to get the two organisations to work together.

Mugabe said Mandela and Makwetu would return to SA to discuss the issue of reviving the front. "We have not lost hope, but we cannot talk of having achieved success at this meeting." — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC, PAC
consider (1/11)

united front

ET 5/11/92
HARARE. — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would urgently consider the question of forming a united front with the rival PAC to hasten the advent of majority rule in South Africa.

"I have undertaken that I will treat the matter (of unity) as one of utmost urgency," he told a news conference here after two-hour talks with PAC head Mr Clarence Makwetu chaired by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

"It is a matter of great concern that those who have fought so hard to bring about democratic changes in our country should speak with different voices," he said.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC was ready for the unity negotiations once the ANC had taken a decision on this.

● The Codesa/interim government method of negotiations would delay political processes for years due to fatal structural limitations, the PAC announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

An alternative forum which would speed up the process was needed.
— Sapa-Reuter

Black unity is ^{Sowetan} 5/11/92 Azapo's theme

■ Call to be made to UN: (11A)

By Mzimkulu Malunga

CALLS for black unity are expected to dominate proceedings when the Azanian Peoples Organisation holds its 11th biennial congress in Port Elizabeth at the end of the month.

In addition to renewed calls for unity of black people under Black Consciousness, Azapo will call for the intervention of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force and the installation of a transitional authority, Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng said.

More than 800 branches countrywide are expected to send delegates to the congress while 120 local and international organisations are expected to send messages of support or representatives.

Spotlighting drought

A CAMPAIGN by the ANC to highlight the drought in mainly rural areas begins today when ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu visits the southern Orange Free State. 11A

On November 16 Mr Sisulu will tour the eastern Transvaal, while ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit the northern Transvaal at the end of the month. Sowetan

Announcing the campaign at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said the widespread rains in the past week did not mean the drought had been broken.

"The rains are no guarantee that the water crisis has been resolved," Derek Hanekom of the ANC Land Commission said. 6/11/92

"It will also take a long time before crops come from the land, and a lot of farmers don't have the financial resources to buy seed."

the nation in brief

Sowetan 6/11/92
Prison deaths probe

A POLICE general and 12 former magistrates have been appointed to prevent and investigate deaths in detention, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Twenty former police generals have also been appointed to visit police cells at any time.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had given an undertaking to appoint a team of retired magistrates to look into deaths in police custody.

In the meantime, General Louw Malan, of police headquarters, would investigate every death in detention.

Sowetan 6/11/92
Tutu, Buthelezi meet

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu met Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Ulundi yesterday to discuss a proposal for a joint meeting of all black political leaders.

"The Archbishop's request was part of the continuing efforts by church leaders to work for an end to violence and to facilitate a lasting political settlement which accommodates the aspirations of all South Africans.

"Since this was an issue under discussion in the National Peace Committee, the meeting resolved to await the outcome of current discussions in the committee," a statement from Buthelezi said.

Sowetan 6/11/92
March on Parliament

SEVERAL hundred members of the Western Cape Principals' Forum marched on Parliament yesterday to demand a single, democratic and nonracial education department.

A memorandum was handed to Mr Boetie Arendse, the chief inspector of extra-curricular activities in the Department of Education and Culture in the so-called coloured House of Representatives, to shouts of "We want Abe" (HoR Education Minister Abe Williams). - Sapa.

Friday November 6 1992
WOMEN'S PRESS

also expected to testify at hearings is
also expected to make a difference.

NEGOTIATIONS

Softly, softly

FM
6/11/92

(11A)

Mindful of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's fury at its alleged "bilateral deals" with the ANC, government moved swiftly to put into perspective Nelson Mandela's statement last weekend that ANC-government talks on an interim government would start on November 22.

The urgency attached to setting up an interim government was reflected in a speech by former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly in Canada this week. Relly said an interim government would have to be put in place without delay to restore authority and control the violence.

Responding to Mandela's statement, Con-

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM

6/11/92

~~SECRET~~

(11A)

stitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer let it be known that "government had no intention of signing bilateral agreements pertaining to constitutional negotiations with any single party or organisation." It is only by means of multiparty negotiations that agreements can be reached regarding an interim government of national unity, he explained.

"The government's aim is for multiparty negotiations to start as soon as possible. In view of that, bilateral negotiations with various political role players continues regularly." Meyer added that peace and stability could be attained only if all the main political players were included in the process "to their satisfaction."

Meyer's statement noted that government and the ANC had agreed on September 26 to have intensive discussions on the continuation of multiparty negotiations. But there were no final arrangements. Similar discussions with Inkatha and other role players had also been mooted and exploratory talks were taking place.

All this is fascinating in relation to the ANC discussion document entitled *Strategy Perspective* and dated October 1992, which outlines compromises on various issues in a clear attempt at quickly reaching agreements with government to have an interim government set up as soon as possible. The document appears to have been adopted at a meeting of the Patriotic Front in Port Elizabeth last week.

Originally marked confidential, it was made public after it was leaked to the press and was this week being sent to all ANC branches. So it should have been. For, in stark contradiction to at least one resolution adopted by the ANC's western Cape region at the weekend, the strategy document prepares members for a significant dose of power-sharing. ANC western Cape chairman Allan Boesak had not seen the document.

Among its proposals is one advocating bilateral deals with government on the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government. It also says that a general amnesty for the security forces is necessary, as is the question of civil servants' pensions and job security since these branches have enormous potential to delay the transition to democracy.

"We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government of national unity — in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components," says the document. "However, we also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players."

The organisation notes, however, that its long-term goals should not be confused with immediate objectives set for each phase of the transition — from constituent assembly elections and the establishment of an interim

government, to the drafting and adopting of a new constitution, to be phased in with a restructuring of the State machinery, consolidation and reconstruction.

"At all stages we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in a position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change." Necessary compromises and alliance formations are seen as part of this process.

In the present round of talks: "We must bear in mind that, in the main, one would not achieve at the negotiating table that which one could not achieve on the ground.

"That simply means that neither the ANC nor the regime can enforce complete surrender of either party at the negotiating table."

Whatever the ANC's long-term strategic objectives are, urgency in reaching agreements with government, as a prelude to forming an interim government, is uppermost. Government and business also think so. Yet government won't be wrapping up anything with the ANC until it has calmed Buthelezi and brought him into the talks.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, a member of the "Concerned Citizens" grouping formed with Buthelezi and other homeland leaders in rejection of the government-ANC Record of Understanding, has welcomed Meyer's assurance on no bilateral deals. Mollifying Buthelezi will be harder.

WJW
6/11/92 12/11/92
11/4
Everyone is gunning for

Ngonyama

By PHILA NGQUMBA:
King William's Town
AFRICAN National Congress Border president Smuts Ngonyama is not dead yet, but opposing organisations are already accusing each other of his assassination.

In an interview on Ciskei radio this week, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo warned Ngonyama that he would be killed by members of the ANC.

Gqozo was reacting to a claim by ANC intelligence officials that Ciskei security forces, in collaboration with members of the disbanded South African Police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, planned to assassinate Ngonyama.

Gqozo denied meeting members of Koevoet to plan the assassination of Ngonyama. "Let's wait until he dies and then it will be revealed that he was killed by his own people."

"I want to warn Ngonyama he is going to die and be killed by his own people. These people (from the ANC) are liars, as there have never been Koevoet members in Ciskei."

Gqozo said Ngonyama was a "madman" and his "death should be placed squarely in the hands of the ANC".

The Ciskei Council of State described the allegations of Ngonyama's impending assassination as "ridiculous and incredible disinformation. The Ciskei government now suspects Mr Ngonyama's own people desire to kill their leader, or it may be an attempt to improve the low profile of the ANC's regional president by making him appear to be a hero."

The Ciskei government has reported the matter to the National Peace Monitoring Group and other peace keeping structures.

Ngonyama has good reason to watch his back. In May last year he and his family escaped injury when shots were fired at their Dimbaza home. Last month his neighbours reported that Ciskei security forces had looted his house and destroyed property. — Veritas

The Dutch version of Operation Vula

w/mailed 6/11-12/11/92

11A

A new book by a Dutch anti-apartheid leader reveals details for the first time of Operation Vula, the ANC's bid to establish an underground insurrectionary network during the 1980s, reports **GAVIN EVANS**

When Nelson Mandela was in Victor Verster prison, he was kept informed of the African National Congress' top-secret Operation Vula — and he used its covert networks for regular communications with then-ANC president Oliver Tambo.

This is one of the many surprises contained in a new book by Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam about Vula. The book gives the first detailed account of the ANC's bid to create an integrated political and military command network within the country, under the noses of the enemy.

Operation Vula — South Africans and Dutch in the Struggle against Apartheid, is an insider's view: Braam co-ordinated much of Vula's very substantial international component. Her book goes some way towards unveiling the Vula conspiracy.

The idea behind the ANC/South African Communist Party plan was to set up a command network within the country. But just when most of the pieces were in place, ready to be moved, February 2 1990 arrived and insurrectionary dreams were washed away forever. Six months later the security police detained some of the key leaders, and the already downscaled Vula quickly ground to a permanent halt.

From the ANC-SACP point of view, Vula was a good idea, but...



Dutch courage ... Anti Apartheid Movement leader Connie Braam Photo:KEVIN CARTER

glimpses being provided of the hundreds of internally-based ANC/SACP activists who contributed to setting up the Vula network.

What it does succeed in providing is a very colourful account of the methods used by the Vula commanders in smuggling into the country

Ebrahim), Braam's sometime lover, who was abducted from Swaziland by the National Intelligence Service, and severely tortured in detention.

It also throws out several significant claims, previously unpublished. For instance, there are several allusions to the Vula "command network"

set up safe houses in South Africa and other southern African states. They were also extensively involved in setting up the highly effective computer-coded communications system, and in a range of other tasks such as building compartments for vehicles to enable weapons to be smuggled into the country.

Though narrative tends to gloss over the problem areas, it does offer hints of difficulties encountered. Braam describes how she and Klaas de Jonge were poisoned by South African agents. She mentions the psychological problems the years of tension caused for some of the volunteers. There's a vignette on Vula member and former Cape Town activist "Rita" whose boyfriend confessed to working for Pretoria while in ANC detention, and then "committed suicide — leading in turn to Rita's detention. There's another on the confusion and disbelief felt by exiles when they first encountered the collapse of socialism.

The aim of Operation Vula was to introduce a qualitative change in the way the ANC-SACP alliance conducted its struggle. No more would things be commanded from outside South Africa's borders, with all the problems that produced — long and dangerous supply lines, poor intelligence, inappropriate military targets, a complete separation of the internal and external, military and political components and massive infiltration by the "enemy".

Instead a sophisticated cell structure would be established, with the key command centres increasingly being based within the country. From Braam's book it appears that much of this was already in place, but still extremely vulnerable, when the ANC and SACP were unbanned.

The book provides an outside command room

FOR PREACE

BY BULELWA PAVI
A DECISION will be taken in the new year on whether to remove historical plaques containing the word "kaffir" from the Cathedral of St Michael in church

LABOUR

Will the ANC play ball in Cosatu's new game plan?

W/Mark 6/11-12/11/92
FROM the ashes of resistance politics, the Congress of South African Trade Unions is emerging as an organisation determined to carve a pivotal role for itself in the economy and the workplace alongside business and the government.

Last week's launch of the National Economic Forum (NEF), the new-look National Manpower Commission (NMC) and the negotiated restructuring of the mining, auto and clothing and textile industries all point toward a new or strategic unionism.

In a provocative article on strategic unionism in the latest edition of the *South African Labour Bulletin*, Karl von Holdt argues that South Africa is not yet ready for this new and powerful role of labour.

The African National Congress lacks the political will to give Cosatu and the rest of the labour movement this power in a new order, while the federation itself is divided over whether the new unionism is the correct strategy or a sell-out.

"The ANC is unlikely to pursue a decisive, coherent policy in support of strategic unionism. We are more likely to see a series of ad hoc measures designed to avoid displeasing any major constituency," writes Von Holdt.

A new government will have to give teeth to tripartite negotiating bodies like the NMC, the NEF and the National Training Board.

It will also have to slash the red tape in the Manpower Department and the economic ministries to ensure easy trade union access and give unions a genuine role in industrial policy. The government will have to make resources available to strength-

The union movement in South Africa is planning

a whole new game, but will the African National

Congress play?

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

en the union movement in order to level the playing fields between it and big business.

But Von Holdt doubts an ANC-led government will do this: "The ANC has not yet developed a coherent policy towards labour. Many unionists fear that big business, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are increasingly influential in the top ranks of the ANC's leadership."

Strategic unionism also demands that Cosatu and other federations take up workplace issues with the same vigour Cosatu has tackled macroeconomic negotiations: "Unions will demand increasing autonomy and control on the shopfloor, in exchange for commitment to productivity, efficiency and quality."

Line managers will be replaced by worker leaders and efficiency and investment will be co-determined. The spoils of the new deal will have to be shared, notes Von Holdt.

Negotiated bonuses like those in the gold mining industry last year, employee share ownership schemes and wage earner funds are some of the options.

Cosatu also faces the challenge of broadening its unity to the National Council of Trade Unions, white unions and the independent unions in order to make strategic unionism effective.

Election talk is focus of ANC conference

S04714

7/11 - 11/11/92

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~~3/11A~~

The ANC wants your vote. But how does it intend to get it? **Rehana Rossouw** reports on the organisation's regional conference held last weekend:

THE ANC is about to embark on the biggest mass campaign since it was formed 80 years ago — to win a majority vote in the election for a Constituent Assembly.

This was the signal that came from delegates and speakers at the ANC's Western Cape conference held last weekend.

Delegates were reminded that a key sector which had to be persuaded to vote for the ANC was the coloured community whose members formed the majority of potential voters in the region.

According to one recent survey, 70 percent of coloureds in the Cape support the National Party while only 10 percent support the ANC.

Yet in the past 12 months, ANC activists in the coloured community have become increasingly demoralised at the emphasis placed by ANC leadership on organising in African areas while support in the coloured areas has dwindled.

Keynote speaker Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC head of information, told the conference to take into account the "specific problems" of the Western Cape when mapping out an election strategy.

"We are aware of the hopes the National Party entertains. Because of the racial makeup of the region they believe they will be able to make headway among some of the oppressed communities."

Jordan asked ANC members to begin to work collectively to build the image of the organisation as a home for all South Africans.

Political work should show potential voters that the ANC was not racially exclusive.

"We have a tradition and a culture to draw on. In the seventies and eighties we saw in this region magnificent demonstrations of unity among the oppressed," Jordan said.



KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Pallo Jordan

"In the Western Cape we can deliver a brilliant rebuff to the NP strategy and its hopes of winning coloured people as voter cattle."

Jordan said there was no reason why anyone in the coloured community should prefer the NP to the ANC.

The ANC should remind coloureds that the NP was responsible for District Six, the dumping of people on the Cape Flats, removing coloureds from the voters roll and for the system of coloured education.

"If we remind people of these things, I don't think anyone will be confused about what to do on election day," Jordan said.

Regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak said the NP's strategy for holding on to power involved using old apartheid differences and describing them as group rights. But no-one else was interested in ethnic politics. There was little talk of coloured nationalism.

Boesak said the ANC had to take into account the fact that 57 percent of the population in the region were women and work for equality between the sexes, he said.

Also colouring the debate was the admission that the ANC's mass action campaign had failed to draw significant support from the coloured and Indian communities.

Branches in coloured areas were small and weak and since the last regional conference,

few new coloured leadership figures — especially women — had emerged with support in all communities.

The violence in the country has also influenced coloured perceptions of the ANC. The SABC's biased reporting of "black-on-black violence" could have played a major role in deepening the rift between coloureds and Africans.

The worsening economic situation in the Cape and the drop in living standards could also have contributed to the fear that an ANC government, committed to affirmative action to improve living conditions in African communities, could ignore needs in coloured communities.

Key issues identified for campaign work in the next 12 months were the restructuring of coloured education and the sale of land the state acquired through dispossessing people under the Group Areas Act.

The organisation will also sharpen its focus on bread-and-butter issues which affect the standard of life of people in the region.

But the composition of the 25-person regional executive committee (REC) elected on Sunday fails to convince that the ANC is taking these realities into account.

The gender and community makeup of the new REC does not reflect the majority of voters in the region.

Some coloured delegates left the conference bitterly disappointed by the decrease in the number of coloured members on the REC, but they acknowledged that the elections had been democratic.

What they need to be convinced of is that the elections were strategic, that the people chosen are best placed to convince voters that the ANC is the party to vote for.

Although it will not be the responsibility of the REC alone to muster support for the ANC in an election, REC members will have a higher profile than rank and file members and people's impressions of the ANC will be influenced by the character of its leadership.

There is already talk among members of how to correct the imbalances on the REC. One suggestion is that the REC should use its authority to co-opt additional members.

Another suggestion is that the ANC use full-time organisers to rebuild branches in coloured areas.

This will not be achieved by only reminding the electorate of the sins of the NP. Hard work and crafted strategy is required.

Top ANC man in scathing attack

ANC ideologue Pallo Jordan has attacked the organisation's new strategy for negotiations, which envisages power-sharing with the government and protecting the status of the public service and security forces.

The ideas behind the new strategy were first floated by Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo in an article in the journal African Communist, but were refined and fleshed out at a recent meeting of top ANC negotiators.

A paper called "Strategic Perspective", which encapsulates the new thinking, was circulated to the ANC's Patriotic Front allies and branches last week.

In response, Dr Jordan has produced a document of his own in which he describes the authors of the Strategic Perspective as "utterly confused" and "charmingly ignorant of the history of the 20th century".

His paper is a direct attack on the thinking of not just Mr Slovo but other ANC heavyweights, such as Thabo Mbeki and Mac Maharaj. It was their input at the ANC's mid-October summit, attended by its full negotiation team (of which Dr Jordan is not a member), that laid the basis for the Strategic Perspective.

Amnesty

Key elements of the Strategic Perspective, as reported in the Sunday Times last week, are fears that the SADF, SAP and the public service may destabilise any future dispensation they perceive as negative to their interests.

It suggests that not only may the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty need to form part of a negotiated settlement, but also that a government of national unity, after the adoption of a constitution "in which the ANC and NP are the main players", may be necessary.

This closely parallels the views put forward by Mr Slovo in his article, which warned of the potential for a "counter-revolution following a major transformation" from the ranks of the army, police and public service.

Mr Slovo advised a general amnesty for the future and the protection of existing public service job contracts, and suggested a "sunset" clause "which would provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of the constitution".

The "sunset" clause comes in for the most scathing comment from Dr Jordan, who is a committed socialist

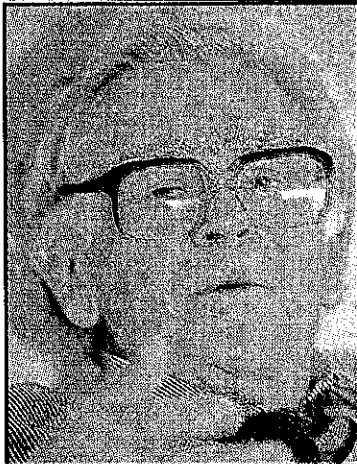
on 'sunset' Joe Slovo

S(Times)

8/11/92

11A

By CHARLENE SMITH



SLAMMED ... Joe Slovo put forward the original ideas



OBJECTOR ... Pallo Jordan says ANC negotiators are confused

but not a member of the SACP, and an ANC National Executive Committee member. He has previously clashed in public debate with Mr Slovo.

Under the heading Happy Trails to You or Riding into the Sunset Together?, Dr Jordan argues that long-held ANC goals aim for not only the creation of a democratic state, but also the dismemberment of the racist state.

"It is these organs of white minority state power that we are now

being told should not be tampered with to enable the liberation movement and the regime to ride blissfully into the sunset together.

"We would keep in place a public service that has no interest in serving the mass of the oppressed who are the ANC's constituency; keeping in place a public service that will do everything to undermine the democratic government; and keep under arms the agency that can ensure the democratic dare not touch that public service when its disloyalty is uncovered.

"A national liberation movement that did that (would) not be riding into the sunset, it would be building its own funeral pyre!"

He criticises the leadership of the ANC for arriving at the new strategy without internal discussions, and questions whether the government of President FW de Klerk has "arrived at the seminal political decision that it must give up power".

"The violence betrays that; its negotiations position betrays that; its clinging to its alliance with the IFP betrays that."

Strategy

Dr Jordan says the ANC and government entered negotiations with "diametrically opposed immediate and long-term objectives ... one or other party to the dispute must go under".

"Negotiations, in such a situation, are ... aimed at liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics. This should determine the alliance's entire approach to negotiations."

Dr Jordan says the ANC is deviating from its long-term position that negotiations are part of a multi-pronged strategy, to making them the only strategy. "The unwarranted elevation of negotiations to the ANC's primary strategy has the unfortunate outcome of reorienting the movement away from confrontation with the enemy to a search for common ground."

Commenting on the "deep-seated pessimism" that runs through the Strategic Perspective document, he warns that appeasing the security forces could see those who seek to destabilise taking "courage from such leniency".

Each had their own idea about the same thing

Deputy editor ZB MOLEFE continues the series on federalism in SA.

THE federalism debate rolled like a giant wave in Johannesburg this week.

For three days participants at a seminar organised by the German Konrad-Adenauer Foundation and Groundswell, an educational movement which promotes participative democracy for a post-apartheid SA, had a good go at the topic.

The seminar was addressed by key political players - the ANC, PAC, SACP, Inkatha, NP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

They were able to make use of the expertise of local and overseas political scientists.

The debate became more urgent this week after the powerful SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) unanimously endorsed a proposal that federalism is the only viable option for a future prosperous SA.

Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager was at pains to explain his party's stand. The former Conservative Party MP made every word count.

"Let us not give a name to the child before it is born. When it is born, let the academics give it a proper name," De Jager said after he had told the seminar that any constitutional model must be free of racial discrimination and built on democratic principles.

If this could be achieved, promised De Jager, "my people could become the co-defenders of that new SA".

He continued: "This concept can revolve round the European Economic Community model. This may sound an easy solution, but there are no easy solutions in SA."

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ibrahim wasted few words in reminding the seminar that his liberation movement could not pronounce on federalism in SA, except in a constituent assembly forum.

"Federalism, as propounded in our country now, is linked to apartheid, which we are fighting to eradicate and not reform. Whether we believe in a unitary or federal SA, the correct forum to discuss this will be the constituent assembly on a one-person, one-vote basis," said Ibrahim.

Ibrahim warned of the Yugoslavia tragedy "where they had a federal system and created a nationality of Muslims".

He said: "Islam is not a national-state concept. To me it is a religious



The PAC's Gora Ibrahim had a terse message.

concept. This has led to what we have today (in Yugoslavia)."

A former exile, Ibrahim was one of the moving forces behind the expulsion in 1964 of the whites-only Olympic Committee from the Olympic movement.

DP leader Zach de Beer did not mince his words. "I'm a federalist," he proclaimed, going on to speak of its benefits.

He said federalism increased the sites of (political) power "and it has the advantage of increasing liberty".

"We are federalists because we are liberals. Federalism brings government nearer physically to the people," said De Beer.

He cited how in the health, education and police administrations "people's power" could be entrenched.

Inkatha central committee member and KwaZulu health minister Baldwin Ngubane came charging like a wounded elephant when he reminded the seminar that his party had suffered "so much distortion that people have

been doomed to believe that we are surrogates of apartheid and that we want to preserve it".

Ngubane also said: "There is no party in SA which can claim purity in the liberal-democratic tradition. Perhaps the DP can. That is why we are for federalism through the German model. The proposed constituent assembly is already the route to a unitary state. We will be doomed to a future like that of what is happening in Mozambique and Angola."

The SACP's Essop Pahad warned that the international experience with federalism had to be debated.

However, he said: "Our struggle against apartheid will be the determining factor."

Pahad, who read for his masters degree at the UK's Sussex University, did not pull his punches: "It would seem to me the unitary State-federalism debate (in SA) is sterile. We need to shift the parameters of the debate."

He said the SACP/ANC alliance had first called for a Bill of Rights in a future SA. This, emphasised Pahad, proved beyond doubt that his groups were "taking power closer to the people".

He said political and labour formations like the United Democratic Front (UDF), Cosatu and the civics were in favour of "people's power".

Giving federalism the kiss of death, Pahad said: "Let us throw federalism out of the window. We must move away from this propagandist (federalism) approach."

ANC constitutional development committee head Zola Skweyiya said of federalism: "It is a question that is sensitive within the broader perspective in SA and within the ANC."

Skweyiya said the ANC's national conference in May had not resolved the issue and a conference later this month or early next month would discuss it.

However, he warned: "No movement would agree in dividing the African people."

New Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont, who came into prominence during Codesa 2, said it was not true that "federalism would prevent the central government from uplifting citizens, particularly blacks".

He said federalism should not be approached from a theoretical view, "but at the grassroots level, the South African level".

Free-market author Frances Kendall said SA was likely to get a federal system, even if scholars and scientists did not label it as such.

Rebels without cause

ANC jitters over wild defence unit members

C/Pren 8/11/92

By THEMBA KHUMALO

UNRULY elements within the self-defence units (SDU) in Vaal Triangle townships have once again set tongues wagging after the ANC revealed that one of its leaders, Bavumile Vilakazi, was shot by an SDU member.

Bavumile, former general secretary of the ANC's PWV region, spent almost two months in hospital after he was shot twice and his car set alight on September 17 outside his home in Sebokeng.

He was wounded in his left eye and back after the assailant shot him with an AK-47.

The ANC's investigating team tracked down the assailant who admitted to being an SDU member.

He told them that he shot Vilakazi by accident after mistaking him for a

policeman.

The PWV region's publicity secretary, Ronnie Mamoepa, said the man handed himself over to the ANC and apologised a day after the shooting.

A statement issued by the ANC this week said the assailant voluntarily approached the ANC and confessed to the shooting. He said the decision to attack Vilakazi was his alone and no colleague was involved.

The statement read: "After this information was made known to Vilakazi, he and his family decided not to lay charges. However, the ANC expresses its horror and dismay that an SDU member could summarily decide to make an attempt on the life of a leader of Vilakazi's stature.

"It's even more repugnant that the murder attempt was made because the SDU member was be-

lieved that Vilakazi was a policeman. The ANC calls on the community to distance itself from such and other unbecoming behaviour."

Mamoepa said the ANC would send the assailant for political re-education. He would not say whether any disciplinary action would be taken against him.

Vilakazi said although he had not met his assailant, he and his family had forgiven him because of his ignorance.

The SDU became a focal point after SACP secretary Chris Hani conceded that there were unruly elements within these structures who were harming the image of the ANC with their deplorable behaviour.

Mamoepa said that SDUs in the Vaal had been infiltrated by criminals and agent provocateurs to discredit the structures.

SIYAYA E PITOLI
NO MANDELA

VENUE: BROWN STR.

(PRETORIA)

DATE: 5 AUGUST 1992

TIME: 10h00



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CLOSE SHAVE... Bavumile Vilakazi and his wife Gisi at a media conference after the incident.

Photo: ANDRIES MCINEKA

ANC spells out transition plans

CT 9/11/92
~~3/2/92~~ (11A)

By PETER DENNEHY

THE ANC's blueprint for South Africa's transition — spelled out this weekend at a Peninsula Technikon seminar — includes replacing the cabinet, provincial executives and city councils.

Mr Mathole Motshekga, vice-chairman of the PWV region of the ANC and deputy head of its local government department, outlined how the powers of the cabinet should be transferred, before an election, to a transitional executive council (TEC).

This would be made up of representatives of all parties, he said. The TEC would in turn form commissions, including one called the Multi-Party Commission on Local Government (MPC-LG).

"The minister of local government's powers will go to the MPC-LG."

Another task of the cabinet-replacing TEC would be to appoint "regional executive councils", which, Mr Motshekga said, initially would be the equivalent of the present provincial executives.

New (provincial) administrators could be appointed as well, he said. The four existing provinces would, at first, form the "interim regions".

Interim parliament

Then the TBVC states ("independent homelands") would be provisionally incorporated into the provinces, and after that the same would happen to the self-governing territories like KwaZulu.

Eventually, there would be 10 or 16 regions, depending on whether the larger metropolitan authorities should constitute regions in themselves or not. The ANC wanted to leave this choice to the

people of South Africa.

"The regional executive councils will appoint local executive councils, for Cape Town and Johannesburg," Mr Motshekga said.

When the constituent assembly was elected, it would act as an interim parliament. Only those parties with 5% or more of the total votes would get seats in parliament.

"Then we will restructure the Multi-Party Commissions (under the cabinet) to include only those parties which have seats in parliament."

At a meeting between the ANC and the government last Monday, both parties had reaffirmed the commitment they had made on October 2 to the formation of a National Negotiating Forum.

● Positive signs for local government negotiations — Page 7

Army chief Meiring hits out at 'ANC operations teams'

PIETERSBURG — Army chief Lt-Gen George Meiring lashed out on Friday at what he called ANC-sponsored "special operations teams" which, disguised as security force members, wreaked mayhem before putting the blame on security forces.

Addressing a medal parade at Far Northern Transvaal Command, Meiring said "special operations teams" were attempting to discredit the security forces and specifically, the army.

He said according to an instruction issued by Umkhonto we Sizwe acting chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda and SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasrils, it had been decided to make available arms and arms caches to MK self defence units and the special operations teams.

"Although some commanders have maps indicating some of the arms caches, detection is difficult because of criminal control over those caches," Meiring said.

He said while there were good indications of the extent of the arms caches, it could be expected, if the "underground" instructions were carried out, that incidents of violence involving MK and the special operations teams would increase.

Meanwhile, government rejected at the weekend a call by the ANC for the inclusion of MK in a joint security

venture to quell rising violence in Natal.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said: "We firmly believe MK is part of the problem of violence in Natal."

The call by the ANC follows the deployment of 2 000 SADF soldiers to assist the SAP and KwaZulu Police in a massive joint operation aimed at preventing civil war in Natal.

ANC Natal Midlands executive member Blade Nzimande said last week: "Our demand is for a speedy move towards an interim government and joint control over the security forces."

"You have to have a neutral force which is accepted by all sectors of the community before there can be peace."

Kotze said: "We don't believe in any private army, including MK, usurping the functions of the police force or the military, and in fact it is illegal to do so."

But support for the concept of a joint peacekeeping force has come from national peace committee vice-chairman Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

He recommended that a joint peacekeeping force comprising the existing security forces and MK and other military wings of political organisations should be set up under international command. — Sapa-AFP.

Buthelezi 'will never give in'

GINGINDHLOVU — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi vowed on Saturday to continue resisting the ANC/SACP alliance, saying KwaZulu and Inkatha were the country's final guarantee of a democracy.

Addressing about 15 000 people at Nsingweni near Gingindhlovu in Zululand, Buthelezi condemned what he called ANC president Nelson Mandela's failure to respond to repeated invitations to participate in a peaceful SA.

He said: "We will resist and we will go on resisting the ANC/SACP alliance until one day there is a democracy in SA."

"We in KwaZulu and in the IFP are the final guarantee there will be democracy."

□ In Johannesburg at the weekend, Inkatha Youth Brigade officials alleged that Sphiwe Nyanda, Joe Modise, Chris Hanu, Ronnie Kasrils and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa were responsible for the violence in the country.

The officials said they were going to "target the four and others whom we believe are masterminding the killing of our leadership and membership".

Holomisa denied on Saturday the Transkei Defence Force was training or assisting Umkhonto we Sizwe members. — Sapa.

Slovo: ANC debate must end

(11A) CTID/11/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MR Joe Slovo, currently embroiled in a "big debate" on strategy within the African National Congress, said yesterday it was time the organisation made a decision one way or another.

This "healthy" internal debate was long overdue and it would "bring greater clarity about where we are going", the chairman of the SA Communist Party said in an interview.

However, Mr Slovo would not be drawn on strong criticisms by the ANC's head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, of his recent strategy paper and a policy document called "Strategic Perspectives".

Dr Jordan's paper attacked the ANC's new strategy for negotiations, paving the way for power-sharing with the government and guarantees for the civil service and the security forces.

In his strategy paper, Mr Slovo suggested a general amnesty for the future and suggested a "sunset" clause "which

would provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of the constitution".

Dr Jordan argued in his paper that long-held ANC goals aimed for the dismemberment of the racist state.

"It is these organs of white minority state power that we are now being told should not be tampered with to enable the liberation movement and the regime to ride blissfully into the sunset together," he said.

Broke SACP's raffle offers a trip to China

B/D/M 11/11/92
ADRIAN HADLAND

THE SACP has launched a raffle aimed at replenishing party coffers left empty by the virtual collapse of international communism.

In the party's inimitable style, the purchasing of raffle tickets is compulsory for card-carrying members.

Last month, the SACP raised R75 000 from businessmen who forked out R500 each to attend a slap-up meal at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel.

The party's planners couldn't exactly make such fund-raising meals a weekly affair, and have settled on the raffle as an

alternative method of raising cash.

Raffle tickets would be sold across the country within the next few months for R10 each, SACP general secretary Chris Hani confirmed yesterday.

Hani said he hoped more than 500 000 tickets would be purchased by "workers, unions and civics", thus providing several millions of rands for party structures.

Top prize in the first SACP raffle was two tickets to China, courtesy of the Chinese Communist Party, during the coun-

try's summer in May or June next year, Hani said.

Tour highlights included a trip to the Great Wall of China and a tour of the country's rural areas and communes, together with instruction in the functioning of a socialist market economy.

If the first raffle is successful, the second stage of the strategy for economic self-sufficiency will be implemented.

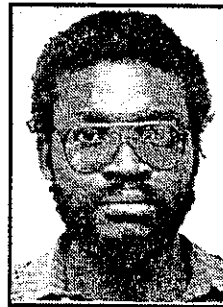
With a shrinking list of destinations available for the traveller in search of sun-filled party orthodoxy, two tickets to Cuba have been suggested as the next prize.

focus on Natal

ANC hardliner and Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala says violence in Natal is orchestrated by the National Party to maintain minority rule. He told **Mathatha Tsedu** and **Ruth Bhengu** the struggle invigorates his life and that his people survive by hitting back at their attackers:

Sweetam 11/11/92

IIA



THE KILLINGS in Natal are quite simple to understand, according to ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala.

The National Party is simply using surrogate forces such as Inkatha and mercenary forces such as Renamo to destabilise revolutionary forces to maintain its minority rule.

And the answer is simple, too, according to Gwala.

"When we are hit, we do not call for peace processes. We hit back and that is why we are surviving," he said.

Gwala, known for forthright views which he expresses without reservation, is a gentle man whose "hardliner" image does not truly reflect him at all.

Crippled in both hands, he speaks softly but forthrightly about what the struggle is all about.

He criticised leaders who are more concerned about "the fears of the minority" and said the majority have fears too.

"The fear of the majority is that their struggle for freedom and democracy may be betrayed by people and leaders who stay in expensive houses in town.

"I am called a radical and Stalinist because I want revolution. I believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. The criticism by liberals does not affect me because I know that what I am saying is what the people think and feel.

"I live with them and I struggle with them. I do not stay in town because that is not where the struggle is. In fact, I would get very worried if those liberals start praising me," he said with a chuckle.

Gwala said the fighting in his region had claimed at least six leaders, including his deputy chairman, Mr Reggie Hadebe, who died in an ambush two weeks ago.

He, however, denies that Umkhonto we



ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala

Sizwe fighters were responsible for the killing of Inkatha leaders. He said had MK been involved, "no IFP leader would still be walking around here.

"They are warlords but we rub shoulders with them at meetings and we do not kill them. We have produced very fine soldiers here who have

acquitted themselves ably in defence of their communities," he said.

He said his organisation had information that the IFP had a hit list which included himself, Hadebe, Chief Mhlabanzima Maphumulo, Shakes Radebe, Siso Nkabinde and Anton Xaba. All, except Gwala, have been killed.

He said the SADF had infiltrated "many soldiers into the ANC to kill in our name. If MK fighters were to get involved in such killings, why would they go about it with their membership cards and T-shirts?" Gwala said.

He became visibly moved when we spoke about Hadebe and the ambush. "He did most of my work. He was a very hard worker and very capable. He was a theoretician in his own right and a fearless fighter," he said.

Gwala said he was, however, undaunted by the killing as he knew that the struggle would eventually triumph. Then he would be able to leave the high profile office and support from the background.

A widower and father of three surviving children, Gwala likes soccer and is a keen supporter of Orlando Pirates. Due to his paralysis, caused by a weakening of the spinal muscles and for which there is no known cure, he no longer plays chess and draughts, games he used to enjoy.

Instead, he now sits in front of the television set watching soccer. He regrets that he is old and cannot give his all to a struggle that has dominated his life. "The struggle invigorates my life. I am sure I would have died if I was not involved in the struggle."

There is great admiration and respect for him in the Midlands. The office staff refer to him as father, and he enjoys that. A jocular man who likes his jokes, his body rocks when he laughs.

It is a stimulating laugh that surfaces rarely these days as more and more of his people and co-leaders get killed in a war that has defied logic and continues despite peace efforts.

But for Gwala the way forward is to hit back equally hard when attacked. Many will obviously differ with him on this approach - but for him and his people it seems that this the only recipe for survival that they know works.

Theories may come and go but Gwala stays with his people - for better or for worse.

“The fear of the majority is that their struggle for freedom and democracy may be betrayed by people and leaders who stay in expensive houses in town.”

- ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala

Talks: IFP
(11A) CT 11/11/92
blames ANC

Political Staff

DURBAN: — Inkatha yesterday blamed the ANC for the failure of a meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela.

A statement by the IFP executive committee yesterday alleged that "time and time again the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance has refused to allow such a meeting".

The ANC was indulging in various "stalling initiatives" to shift the focus away from the meeting, it said.

Nation Building Manifesto

Sowetan
11/11/92.

(11A)

Nation Building means picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in our communities;

It means striving for the best in all that we do for ourselves and our people;

It is the search for the acquisition and control of structures of power required for the survival of a nation;

It is creating an efficient leadership and increasing the value and quality of life among all inhabitants in our country;

We have a vision of a future society we want to create for ourselves and our children;

Let us, therefore, set ourselves goals and design objectives and a programme of action that will set the wheels of Nation Building in motion.

Nation Building is our hope for the future

Sowetan

Building the Nation

**NATION
BUILDING
COMMEMORATIVE
ISSUE**

Sowetan

WEDNESDAY
NOVEMBER 11
1992
SPECIAL
ISSUE

Building the Nation

Nation Building 1992



Gospel Choirs

The second annual festival of Gospel Choirs of the Daveyton Cultural Foundation



Community building

CCV-TV sponsored Community Builder of the year nation building project



Business & entrepreneurial conference

Sowetan business and entrepreneurial development conference sponsored by the Development Bank of Southern Africa.



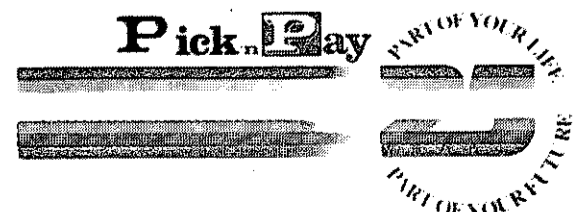
Ecology

Identifying spoor at a waterhole in the Kruger National park. The National Parks Board sponsor several ecology courses



Devoted to the Pick 'n Pay parenting workshops

From left to right: Mrs. Anne-Gloria Masetle heads up the Pick 'n Pay sponsored parenting workshops. Pearl Majola - one of Sowetan's Nation Building team of journalists who is devoted to the Pick 'n Pay parenting workshops.



news in brief

Report on deaths an error

POLICE will continue to provide the Press and public with information on deaths in custody, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday. *Sowetan 11/11/92*

Referring to a report in a Johannesburg daily newspaper which claimed the contrary, he said the report occurred as a result of a misunderstanding between the newspaper and police public relations officials. Kotze denied that Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe had issued a statement saying such information would not be provided.

'Bolo Punch' to be buried

SOWETO boxing promoter and businessman Mr Isaac Nkumane, who died after a short illness at his home in Mofolo last week, will be buried in the Avalon Cemetery today.

"Bolo Punch", as he was affectionately known, is the father of former *True Love* editor Pearl Luthuli.

He is survived by his wife Christine, three daughters, two sons and 10 granddaughters. A memorial service will be held at his home at 3 Roodepoort Road, Mofolo North, from 11am.

Problems referred to DRC

PROBLEMS leading to the non-payment of rent and the discontinuation of services in Mokgophong township near Naboomspruit have been referred to the Dispute Resolution Committee. *Sowetan 11/11/92*

The decision was taken after the Naboomspruit Town Council and the local business community refused to meet the Mokgophong Civic Association, which had asked the Transvaal Provincial Administration to organise a meeting to resolve the current water and electricity crisis in the area. Supply to the township was cut following a three-month boycott.

ANC branch chairman dies

THE CHAIRMAN of the ANC branch in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, Mr Marcus Sekano (70), died of a heart attack on Sunday. Sekano went into exile in Zambia in 1962 and became chairman of the northern Copperbelt branch of the ANC, a position he held for 20 years until he moved to Harare in 1984. He is survived by his wife Juanita and six children. *Sowetan 11/11/92*

Council 'acted in bad faith'

POWER was cut off in Tokoza on the East Rand yesterday and community organisations have blamed the local town council, accusing it of acting in bad faith. This follows a statement last week by the town clerk, Mr Herman Combrink, that power cuts in the township were "imminent" because the council was experiencing problems with the "very low and inconsistent" payments by residents. *Sowetan 11/11/92*

NATION BUILDING *The tool to repair our ravaged communities* ● *Index to what's in this special*

Healing a wounded country

WHILE IT HAS BEEN difficult and often frustrating to help repair through Nation Building the damage done by apartheid, the post-apartheid job will be even more onerous.

We shudder to reflect on the mess that a post-apartheid government will inherit from the past. Everything that can be done must be done to help the majority government to build a new country.

Nation Building, which was mooted in 1988, has tried to encourage people to repair the ravaged black communities. We also tried to make concrete plans towards reparation of civic order and the social fabric, which lies in tatters in almost all black townships.

The job has been difficult but eminently worthwhile. It has been worth-



**By Sowetan editor
Aggrey Klaaste**

while because it is not popular. It has given us immense satisfaction because it is like restoring to health a family that has been destroyed.

Sowetan 11/11/92 (11A)
Part of the thinking behind Nation Building has seen attempts, which superficially appear to be hopeless, to halt the violence.

Part of the programme has looked at healing the wounds. The success of these ventures is not measurable. Even worse, the ugly spectre of violence seems to continue with added vigour and intensity.

Under most other circumstances we would have been tempted to give up the struggle. As we are convinced we are on the right track - although we may not have supplied the magical cure - we will continue.

We have in fact become convinced that doing something about the violence after it has happened is like closing the door after the mare has bolted.

We are convinced that all the Nation Building initiatives, from our BP Matric-Rewrite School to the festival

we hold annually, are the answer to fighting violence. It is not just a short-term way of putting out the fires but a long-term panacea that will give us a peaceful, creative and exceptionally successful future.

The process, for instance, to rebuild the family structure, which we address in the Parenting Workshops - funded by Pick 'n Pay - is not a quick-fix plan. It will take time because it is a process of growth. It will take blood, sweat and tears, as we keep on reminding ourselves. But that gives it timeless value.

Some of the festive events like the Massed Choirs, funded by Caltex and held at the Standard Bank Arena, are becoming an annual fixture. We are seeing these events becoming not only a national cultural occasion, but a spectacle that will ignite the continent of Africa in interest and scope.

We are naturally very proud of Na-

tion Building. We are at the same time thankful to all those companies, to all those individuals, who singly and together have helped us try to put Nation Building on the national agenda.

South Africa is going through an anxious transitional period - an interregnum that causes the weak to wish to give up.

We are using this time, through our programmes to celebrate our problems, to proclaim to ourselves that we are going to turn South Africa around.

We are getting an understanding through four years of Nation Building that is likely to give South Africa the vision it will need to go forward into our uncertain future.

We make no excuses about our vision of making South Africa the saviour of millions of Africans who are dying through neglect and sheer inhumanity on the rest of the continent.

JEREMY Cronin's article, "A mass base, not party politics, is ANC's best option" (Business Day, October 29) correctly states that the ANC is under no immediate obligation to transform itself into a conventional political party just because its opponents would like it to. His call for "speedy progress towards democratic transition" and the establishment of a transitional government is likewise one to which few would take exception. Two arguments advanced in his article do, however, warrant critical examination.

The first is his view that there is "growing unease with normal party politics" in many parts of the world, from which he seems to conclude that multiparty democracy is a spent force. Is this really so?

It is true that in the '80s Americans became somewhat disillusioned with the two major parties, hence the appearance of the quixotic Ross Perot, who hoped to capitalise on this discontent, but in a free society abstention is a perfectly legitimate, if rather passive, political statement.

Along with all the hype of the recent US election campaign, we witnessed three (or six) individuals slugging it out with no holds barred, defending their political and personal records and their visions for the future. Since America's dire economic situation warranted action and the calibre of the candidates deserved it, more than 100-million people turned out to vote on November 3.

Cronin's references to political apathy in eastern Europe are no more convincing as an argument against party politics. After more than 40 years of Soviet-imposed, one-party "democracy", and against a background of economic and ethnic problems and weak democratic traditions, it is little wonder that eastern Europe's political systems have teething troubles.

Nevertheless, 86% of the electorate voted in Czechoslovakia's national elections in June and nearly

A mass movement will not secure democracy in SA

B/D/007 11/11/92.

SARA PIENAAR

11A 3037A

as many in Romania's September/October presidential contest. What is more, both elections passed off peacefully, despite inflammatory issues and irresponsible demagoguery.

Further east, that authoritarian democrat Boris Yeltsin maintains a shaky hold over a country which has spawned literally hundreds of political parties. Nearly all of these are ludicrously small, hopelessly disorganised and pathetically poor. Yet they represent every political persuasion in the spectrum, despite Yeltsin's highly undemocratic ban on the Communist Party, and they freely produce newspapers, print and distribute broadsheets and hold meetings and rallies.

Little more than a year after the failed coup of August 1991, it is too early to talk of multiparty democracy in Russia, but it is not too early to sense the dawning of a political climate in which it may be born. Whether it will be allowed to survive and grow is another matter.

Cronin has therefore failed to prove that party politics are on the wane in the US and the former eastern bloc, but the main weakness of his article, and one ominous for SA's future, is his interpretation of history.

He maintains that there have been only two revolutions in modern times — 1848, a year in which virtually every European country was convulsed by revolutionary disturbances, and 1968, when various politically significant "social movements" erupted. Cronin holds that 1848 "established two lineages" — socialism and the national liberation movement, both of which inform the ANC/SACP alliance which, in its "mass democratic" mode, is also related to the "social movements" of 1968.

Cronin completely disregards the ancestors of 1848 — the French and American revolutions of 1789 and 1776, and before them Britain's "glorious revolution" of 1688 which forced the Crown to bow to parliament. It is therefore not surprising that he fails to mention the most profound and influential consequence of 1848 — the rise of liberal democracy.

1848 was not only a matter of revolutions and wars of independence. A less dramatic, but no less significant, phenomenon was the Frankfurt "parliament" where democrats from

all 38 German states met to establish a united and democratic Germany, inviting the king of Prussia to become their constitutional monarch. He refused, of course, and the exercise ended in failure, but when a united Germany was established in 1871 its universal male franchise made it, on paper at least, the most democratic of states.

Elsewhere in Europe, the 66 years between 1848 and 1914 saw the gradual extension of democratic rights and the formation of many new political parties. All this was a direct response to the climate created by the events of 1848.

After the First World War, US president Woodrow Wilson insisted that the new states of central Europe should be multiparty democracies. That the countries concerned were soon engulfed by fascist totalitarianism is no argument against the ideals which shaped them. If perfect workability were the main criterion, the SACP should disband immediately, so great has been the failure of communist governments to live up to most of their ideals over the past 75 years.

Indeed, the democratic political systems of western Europe stood in stark contrast after 1945 to the so-

called "peoples' democracies" east of the Iron Curtain although, beyond Europe, democracy in most decolonised countries either withered or survived in less than perfect shape. Yet, coming closer to home, if liberal democracy is so insignificant as to escape Jeremy Cronin's attention, why are so many African states today trying to re-establish it? Angola, Nigeria, Kenya and even Malawi cannot be treading this path solely to curry favour with aid donors and investors.

Cronin argues that SA's democratic constitution must harmonise the nationalist, socialist and mass democratic forces whose roots lie in 1848 and 1968. With our history, it is debatable whether nationalism should be encouraged, though it cannot be ignored. Similarly, the equality which socialism promises holds a powerful appeal in a country where wealth and power are so unequally shared, and mass democratic movements are probably inevitable where the majority has for so long been denied political rights, economic empowerment and adequate education.

History teaches us, however, that none of these forces will survive, nor can SA become a free country, unless it practices multiparty democracy with a government fully answerable to its people through regular and free elections of individuals and/or parties to a sovereign and independent parliament. Government must, of course, be confronted by strong, peaceful and well-organised opposition parties whose programmes, like those of the government, are regularly exposed to the electorate's scrutiny. It is a cumbersome and inefficient system, but a better one has yet to be found.

This is why the liberal democratic traditions of 1848 must be kept constantly in mind, not least by Jeremy Cronin, his SACP and ANC colleagues, but by all who seek to fashion our future.

□ Pienaar is research associate (former Soviet Union and eastern Europe) at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

AIDS epidemic 'at crisis levels'

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE AIDS epidemic had reached crisis proportions in SA, but health authorities had failed to respond effectively, a Baragwanath Hospital doctor said recently.

Haematology Department head Prof Alan Fleming told the Township Aids Project that SA was seven years behind other African countries in the spread of the epidemic, but, he added, health authorities had wasted the "period of grace".

Fleming said more than 4% of women in antenatal clinics were HIV positive and the epidemic had now reached the stage where figures would increase dramatically.

The only effective responses to the epidemic locally had been the national surveillance programme and the universal screening of blood.

Important measures which were presently not in place included AIDS information and education centres in black townships, and a national strategy for health care delivery.

This was essential because the predicted numbers of the sick would overburden the existing health care system.

Fleming said government had established its AIDS training and information centres only in locations where they would serve almost exclusively the white population.

The highest priority should have been given to an AIDS educational programme in primary and secondary schools, he said.

Budget problems behind jail releases

RAY HARTLEY

BUDGETARY difficulties had prompted government to announce the early release of 7 000 prisoners during the first six months of 1993, Correctional Services spokesman Lt Bert Slabbert said yesterday.

Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok announced yesterday that the prisoners — none had committed violent crimes such as rape and murder — would be released at a rate of about 1 000 a month.

Slabbert said the prisoners would be drawn exclusively from those whose release had already been approved by the Prisons Release Board.

He did not elaborate on the extent of the department's budgetary difficulties, but said the freeing of the 7 000 prisoners would not "solve the problem on its own".

Other mechanisms had to be developed to deal with the overcrowding of prisons, which would, according to the department's figures, still hold 19 000 prisoners too many.

Sapa reports Vlok will consult police before finally authorising the releases.

Prisoners already selected for release would be given their freedom a few months earlier to ease the overcrowding.

"I want to make it clear that this process of additional releases will definitely not be implemented during the remainder of this year.

"We foresee that it could be applied

during the first half of 1993," he said. Vlok said the question of imprisoned children would be addressed urgently.

There were 2 656 convicted juveniles between the ages of 14 and 18 years in prison, and 6 485 between the ages of 19 and 22 years, he said.

Meanwhile, government and the ANC are expected to meet today to draft a final list of political prisoners who will be released by Sunday in terms of agreements they have reached.

A short list of 48 prisoners, 10 of whom had been disputed by Vlok, had been drawn up for discussion at the meeting, ANC legal department official Matthew Phosa said yesterday.

He said additional motivation had been faxed concerning the 10 disputed prisoners and there were "a few" other names that could still be added to the list.

The release of the 48 would bring the total of ANC-aligned prisoners released this year to 339, with 141 being released prior to the September summit on violence and 150 as a result of the record of understanding agreed on at the summit, Phosa said.

Originally, the ANC submitted a list of 520 political prisoners for release.

Slabbert said a process of identifying further political prisoners with other political parties would begin in weeks.

SA told to do more for health

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE spending of 6% of GNP on health in SA was a great achievement, but considering that SA's GNP was about seven times higher than China's or Sri Lanka's, SA still had a life expectancy of less than 80% of those two countries, says a health expert.

Speaking at a conference of the National Association of Pharmaceutical Wholesalers in Bophuthatswana yesterday, the head of the University of the Western Cape's School of Pharmacy Peter Eagles said SA's lower life expectancy could be attributed to the unequal distribution of health resources locally.

To improve health care significantly and to eliminate poverty over the next few decades, SA would need an annual economic growth of about 10%.

Since that was impossible, attempts would have to be made to improve health

care provision by other means — particularly in the field of pharmacy.

The training of health professionals in SA had almost no bearing on the health needs of the country.

It had also not taken into account the emergence of a massive peri-urban settlement and its implications for health, Eagles said.

There was an urgent need for more information on factors such as access to sanitation and water supplies, and the disadvantages of rapid urbanisation. Innovative new health promotion strategies focused on those who exhibited "risk-taking behaviour" — violence, alcohol and substance abuse, and unsafe sex — were also needed, he said.

ANC acts against rogue elements

ADRIAN HADLAND

INDIVIDUALS claiming to be members of the ANC in the Vaal Triangle had ignored the policies and mandates of the organisation and were involved in violence, rapes, killings, harassment and extortion, it was announced yesterday.

At a news conference in Vereeniging, regional leaders of the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP, and civic representatives, said a code of conduct "to end all undisciplined acts" would be developed by the end of the month.

A monitoring committee was created to end conflict between organisations in the region, facilitate reconciliation and draw up a binding code of conduct.

An ANC PWV region statement said rogue members had "found their way into legitimate community structures such as the self-defence units", where they had caused havoc, chaos and dissension.

This situation had been exploited by "criminal elements", the statement said. Primary blame for the escalation of violence, however, was placed at the feet of government.

"Through its low intensity conflict strategy, the state has unleashed a number of proxy forces to visit violence on our people in an attempt to undermine and discredit the ANC in particular and the democratic movement in general," the statement said.

"We distance our organisations from acts of criminality meted out against members of the community by elements who claim membership of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu".

France to host management trainees

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE French government would host six South Africans on a two-week visit to France, French embassy cultural councillor Georges Lory said yesterday.

The six are top participants in the French government's joint management development programme, which it co-sponsors with the Paris Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and several SA organisations including Nafec, the Urban foundation, the Black Management Forum and Clive Acton and Associates.

Since the programme was launched in 1985, French financial involvement has risen to R600 000, and this year eight additional bursaries were given to participants from non-profit organisations such as Operation Hunger.

Participants from SA companies study towards a diploma which leading French

business schools, including the Paris School of Business and the European School of Management, endorse and award.

Lory said the increased involvement was a result of the positive results achieved so far, and that a recent survey of more than 300 candidates had shown that 74% had received promotions and advanced in their jobs.

Each year participants received training from senior professors drawn from French and local academic institutions.

Surveys had shown that trainees were instrumental in building bridges between management and the shopfloor, and had improved management quality in general, said Lory.

Umkhonto set to sue SADF

SA MILITARY leaders are about to engage in battle in court. Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda plans to sue army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring, who accused him of giving orders that would increase violence.

Attorney Chris Watters, who works with Nyanda's lawyer Sheila Tyacke, said: "We have instructions to sue Lt-Gen Meiring, but letters of demand have been sent off."

Nyanda confirmed he had instructed his lawyers to sue Meiring, but would not comment further.

Meiring made his remarks while addressing a medal parade at Far Northern Transvaal Command last week.

The Goldstone commission asked Meiring yesterday to attend a December hear-

11A RAY HARTLEY

ing in Cape Town to provide details of the evidence used for the accusation against Nyanda, so that the commission could investigate further.

Judge R Goldstone said in a statement that Meiring's allegations "relate directly to the terms of reference of the commission", particularly to the inquiry which would be held in Cape Town on December 19. This inquiry would investigate "ways and means of curbing the illegal importation, distribution and use of automatic weapons in SA".

An army spokesman said no comment could be given as Meiring was "not available".

BIDAM 12/11/72

The born losers of SA politics

Soweto 12/11/92 (11A)

WHAT MORE CAN the Pan Africanist Congress do to convince everyone that it, too, has a stake in this country's future?

Put another way, what has the PAC done to deserve the cold shoulder whenever it tries to play a meaningful role in the changing face of South African politics?

Since its unbanning in 1990, the PAC has had to live with a string of manmade misfortunes, the most glaring being an incident in Cape Town earlier this year.

Senior members of the organisation had made an appointment with representatives of the Organisation of African Unity, who were in the country on a fact-finding mission, to meet at DF Malan Airport.

They had intended taking our fellow African brothers on a tour of poverty-stricken and crime-riddled townships around Cape Town. But somehow, something went wrong somewhere along the line.

The PAC hierarchy waited for two hours for the OAU men to arrive. But they never pitched up.

They could not believe it when they later learnt the men had ended up in a luxurious Government aircraft and taken to a place somewhere in Cape Town.

What a strange way of losing your way indeed.

Then came June 16. The PAC made arrangements with the mother of Hector Petersen, the first victim of the 1976 Soweto riots, to be present at the organisation's commemoration service at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre.

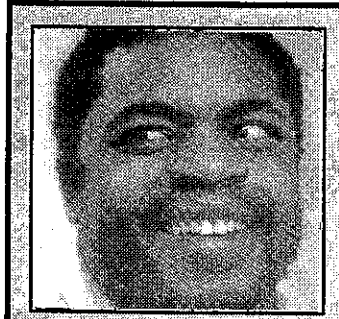
When PAC officials went to pick her up, they were told she was sick in bed.

Bed, it later turned out, was Orlando Stadium where the African National Congress was holding its commemoration service.

What's more, Mrs Dorothy Petersen seemed perfectly healthy and in good spirits when she posed for pictures with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Only last week PAC chief Mr Clarence Makwetu was made to wait outside for two hours while Mandela and Zimbabwean Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe were holding talks at State House on the revival of the Patriotic Front.

This was after an impression was created that both Mandela and Makwetu would meet Mugabe at the same time.



Sy
Makaringe's

WHISPERS

After the deliberations, Makwetu was called into the meeting, not to make a contribution but to be briefed.

It's so true, it hurts.

PSST ... Tongue-twisting double-barrelled surnames, if that's the word, are becoming a common feature we'll have to live with in these fast changing times.

While I have nothing against people with twin surnames, I particularly find them to be a waste of time, if you could please excuse the unfortunate pun.

People have to go to extreme, painful lengths trying to pronounce these names, wasting valuable time in the process. In these times, every second counts.

A 14-character surname like Tlhotlhamajane (with apologies to my favourite DJ Cocky "Two Bull") is long enough, poetic and acceptable.

But the tongue begins to lose its rhythm when it has to deal with a name like Dr Mary-Jane Myakayaka-Tlhotlhamajane

It is even worse when one of the names is African and the other German, British or Bosnian.

Boob of the week:

"I raised the *meeting* at the Patriotic Front conference here in Lebowa." *Agenda*

Nelson Ramodike, Chief Minister of Lebowa, on *Agenda*.

Apology for Nelson Mandela

LUSAKA - The Zambian government has apologised to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for officially linking him with a gun which had been used in criminal activities in Zambia. *Sowetan 13/11/92.*

Last month Zambian Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba displayed an automatic weapon on national television which he said had been given to Mandela by Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni as a present.

■ ANC rifle was mislaid by Zambian army

The gun, a Scorpion pistol, bore the inscription: "Presented to ANC leader Nelson Mandela by President Yoweri Museveni."

Zimba added that unnamed people had maliciously linked Mandela and Museveni to the criminal activities of ANC cadres in Zambia. - *Sowetan Africa News Service.*

PEOPLE'S LIVES *Wide range of organisations come together in new body for women's rights*

Women launch campaign

Sowetan 13/11/92

By Pearl Majola

RESEARCH PROGRAMME *Move to ensure that rights are protected in constitution of new South Africa:*

THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL Coalition (WNC) campaign for a countrywide research programme to find out what women want in the new South Africa has been

launched. The campaign was introduced this week in Johannesburg at a Press conference hosted by former Canadian Foreign Minister and chairwoman of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Flora MacDonald.

"We (women) are not in the constitution," said WNC convener Frene Ginwala.

"The campaign is aimed at finally getting us there by formulating a charter which will ensure women's rights in the constitution.

Field workers

"We are going to deploy 100 field workers countrywide to discuss with women what they want," she said.

"Codesa promised to create a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state. So we want to solicit views, educate people and generally make South Africans gender conscious and ready for that time."

MacDonald said the IDRC, whose newest office is in Johannesburg, was attracted to the WNC's proposals of uniting women and seeing to their equality being entrenched in the South African constitution.



WNC Convener Irene Ginwala with Flora MacDonald, former Canadian Foreign Minister.

"The promotion of gender equality is a central component of IDCR's overall programme," MacDonald said.

"We are therefore pleased to be involved in the work being undertaken by the WNC."

The WNC, launched earlier this year, brings together a wide range of organisations that cut

across racial, cultural and political boundaries. Its aims are to engage women who constitute about 53 percent of the South African population in the process to ensure effective equality in the new democratic order. It also aims to involve them in formulating and adopting a charter or other document that will entrench equality in the new constitution.

Founding Mothers envy of US counterparts

Sowetan 13/11/92
■ Campaign for women's equality will turn others green says visiting American journalist Kimi O'Donnell: *(205A)*

(205A) *(11A)*
ON the surface Monday's Press conference announcing the Women's National Coalition's (WNC) campaign for women's equality seemed like all the rest: a few quotes, a few good photos and a couple of hard-hitting questions for the road.

But, as I walked out of the Carlton Hotel where the event had been hosted, I realised that I was witnessing an historic process: women, representing 70 national organisations, had joined efforts to ensure their participation in the building of a new South Africa and the recognition of women's equality in the new constitution.

In 1776, when the United States of America was born, women were entirely absent from the nation building process, and as a result, the struggle for women's equality has been long and painful.

Despite major accomplishments, such as suffrage, abortion rights (although shaky), political representation and equal opportunity in the workplace, American women still do not have constitutionally guaranteed equality.

The Equal Rights Amendment, a 20-year-old idea, has yet to be recognised and the fight for its passage continues. Because of the efforts of the WNC, the architects of this new democratic, non-racist, non-sexist society, as conceived at Codesa, may actually include "Founding Mothers".

Press conference host Flora MacDonald, former Canadian Foreign Minister and chairwoman of the board of governors of the renowned International Research Development Centre, argued that the WNC's effort is "the best good news story about South Africa in a long time".

Not only is it the best news of late, it is an extraordinarily exciting prospect that, if taken to its full potential, will mark history and will make women in the United States terribly envious.

The WNC is potential greatness in the making and deserves close attention. It presents opportunities this outsider can only dream about.

ANC slams covert operation

THE disclosure of a covert operation to undermine the ANC by linking it to the IRA and PLO proved President F W de Klerk had a double agenda, the ANC said yesterday. It said government "speaks peace while it wages war".

"How can anyone expect the ANC to trust the army if it is led by individuals who still hatch and execute plans to destroy the government's fellow negotiator?"

Government officials were tight-lipped about the covert operation yesterday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer refused to comment on a document which said he was aware of the covert action while serving as Defence Minister and as a senior government negotiator at Codesa. A spokesman for Meyer said it was "a defence matter" and could be dealt with only by the SADF.

But an SADF spokesman said the issue

RAY HARTLEY

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could be dealt with only by army officials.

Army officials said no comment could be given as the documents in which the allegations were made had been submitted as testimony in the inquest into the murder of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni.

The SABC denied suggestions in one of the documents that its London correspondent, Cliff Saunders, had played a role in the operation.

The documents, marked "top secret", include verification that army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring personally authorised the operation and rubber-stamped the expenditure of more than R20 000 to pay for overseas flights by SA agents.

A document signed by Meiring gave details of how the media would be used to

To Page 2

ANC B10M 13/11/92

link Umkhonto we Sizwe to the IRA and PLO. "By dealing with contacts in the British Press and the representative of SABC TV in England, this relationship (between MK, the IRA and PLO) can be brought to the surface and this will expose the hidden agenda of some negotiators.

"For this purpose, we plan to send a member of this directorate to England to hand the information over to the media," the document said.

The operation failed in April when the two operatives, who had been sent to Britain to collect information on the ANC's links with the IRA and PLO, were arrested, according to the documents.

A section of one document said: "The Minister of Defence and the Chief of the

(11A) From Page 1
SADF have been briefed on the information obtained during the investigation and advised that the SADF operation was contaminated by one of the members of the operational team who appeared to have a hidden agenda."

One of the two agents, Leon Flores, is referred to in the documents as a one-time member of the security police's Vlakplaas unit, along with Almond Nofomela, who claimed the base was used to launch hit-squad activity.

The other operative, Capt Pamela du Randt, assumed a senior communication post at army headquarters in 1991, according to the documents.

● Comment: Page 10

'I was doing it for ANC'

Sowetan 13/11/92

■ FW defends Indemnity Act

ALLEGATIONS that the Government had intended covering up activities of security force members when it promulgated the Further Indemnity Bill were "simply nonsense", State President Mr FW de Klerk said last night.

Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association, De Klerk said without the approval of the Act, the Government would not have been able to honour its undertaking to the ANC to release its political prisoners by November 15.

He said it would also not have been able to grant indemnity to many ANC members who were "chargeable on similar crimes".

It was also not true that the security forces had applied pressure on the Government, he said.

Explaining his thinking prior to the promulgation of the Act, De Klerk said he did not have appropriate powers to intervene where people had not been charged or were on trial.

He had needed an impartial body to provide advice on indemnification of individuals and the release of the prisoners.

"The main purpose of the Further Indemnity Act was to provide the Government with an acceptable instrument - an instrument to deal with the release of prisoners yet to be charged. Its application to political motivation and the promotion of negotiations and reconciliation", he said.

Sapa.

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tory

**Abuse: Clerics
'shocked'** (11A)
21/11/72

JOHANNESBURG. —
The abuse, torture, hu-
miliation and brutalisa-
tion of detainees in ANC
camps outside South
Africa has shocked and
grieved church leaders,
the South African Coun-
cil of Churches said yes-
terday.

The SACC said the
contraventions of the
United Nations Univer-
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PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

FM 13/11/92

Getting cold out there

11A

With no alternative to talks, the PAC bluster fades

For about a year after its unbanning in 1990 the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) remained intensely suspicious of the reform process and hostile to the idea of negotiations — unless on its own terms.

It continued to preach armed struggle and said sanctions should be intensified until there was a nonracial democracy in Azania (its name for SA).

"There is no way negotiation can be regarded as a panacea for all our social malaise; therefore it is bound to fail," said a leading PAC official with startling logic. Conflict between the dispossessed and the white minority was seen as inevitable.

The PAC took this stance as a response to the pre-negotiation accords signed between government and the main liberation movement, the African National Congress — whose leaders the PAC castigated as sell-outs. It looked like a PAC strategy to position itself nicely in order to outbid the ANC, which it claimed was making "unacceptable compromises."

Though concrete signs of PAC support are scant, radical outbidding might yet happen in the longer term. The ANC could come to be perceived as having sold out to whites; black anger may need an outlet when expectations are not met by an ANC-dominated government. The ANC itself is aware of this and is careful to keep in touch with what is happening over its left shoulder.

But the ANC remains the main opposition party, nearly three years after President F W de Klerk's dramatic reforms began. It seems that the PAC is, in its grudgingly stand-offish way, preparing to board the negotiation train after all. It has no credible alternative; it does not have the resources or the structures to pursue its own independent struggle, armed or otherwise.

Therefore, it faces being sidelined if it does not join in the process. After all, the PAC's aloofness from Codesa — though perhaps intellectually vindicated by the subsequent deadlock — hardly threatened to undermine the negotiation process.

Inkatha clearly has a more weighty potential veto on any arrangements that might be clinched between the major players, government and the ANC. The PAC does not have the capacity to sabotage talks or a new constitution if the other players reach agree-



Moseneke ... emphasising ideological soundness

ment. That being the case, the PAC politicians — like all politicians — are now considering how best to ensure that they do not get left out in the cold.

The best way for the PAC to secure representation in a constituent assembly or parliament could well be as part of an alliance — such as the patriotic front — with the ANC. This would ensure that its leading lights, at least, would be high up on the candidate list in a proportional representation election. A united front of African organisations is a PAC priority, which explains the PAC's standing offer to mediate between Inkatha and the ANC.

This suggests that efforts to revive the moribund patriotic front may yet succeed. A second meeting to this end between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and the ANC's Nelson Mandela, brokered by Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, took place in Harare recently. A revival of the front would suit the ANC, which would then be less anxious about being eroded from the radical Left.

The PAC's slow entry into multilateral negotiations is, ironically enough, being assisted by the "colonial settler regime" — the PAC's term for the government — which has decided to accommodate at least one PAC precondition for talks: that the principle of "neutrality" be injected into the process. This has taken the form of bilateral meetings with government on foreign soil, under the chairmanship of an outside party.

The first such meeting took place in the Nigerian capital, Abuja, during a State visit by De Klerk in April and was chaired by Nigerian military leader General Ibrahim

Babangida. A second encounter was in Botswana recently (*Current Affairs*, October 30) at which common ground was reached on certain primary issues, including the need for an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new nonracial, democratic constitution. Perhaps most important was agreement on the "urgent need to establish a more representative negotiating forum, as inclusive as possible and managed impartially."

The PAC says it would like to see this new forum in place not later than next February, but would prefer it as soon as possible "so we can start discussing voter registration to set in motion the much desired constituent assembly." What precisely is meant by a more representative forum will no doubt emerge in due course. Until now, the PAC has rejected participation by the homelands, for example, and has called for organised labour to have a seat at constitutional talks. Nor did it consider the two local judges who chaired Codesa as being sufficiently neutral.

Meeting the PAC's precious symbolic need for holding talks-about-talks outside the country was a small concession by the Nats. It was doubtless worth making in order to give the PAC a face-saving formula for coming in. Naturally, the PAC sees the concessions, together with the agreement on an elected constitution-making body (long ago accepted in principle at Codesa), as a major victory.

But the PAC's famously romantic demand for the return of "the land" to the indigenous population as a precondition for talks, seems quietly to have been downscaled; it must now be a major item on the agenda of any constitutional talks, which is fair enough.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, to give the PAC its full title, has always been something of an enigma in SA politics. It was formed in 1959 after a group of Africanists broke with the ANC to form a separate, more militant liberation movement under Robert Sobukwe (who died in 1978, not long after he was released from Robben Island).

Some regard the PAC as a bunch of micky-mouse militants who can't organise a demonstration; others believe it to be a highly principled watchdog of the revolution, which just might come to eclipse the ANC and "repossess the land" which is so central to their cause.

Those who caution against writing off the Africanists suspect that the organisation taps a deep and abiding vein of support among blacks — even though its visible adherents seem to be found mainly among the black intelligentsia (journalists, especially) and the radical chic.

These hardliners simply don't like the idea of whites continuing to rule the roost in a



Alexander ... no panacea in negotiations

black country. They profess a hatred of capitalism, which is seen as part and parcel of white, Western neo-colonialism and exploitation. It is a stream of sentiment shared in some degree by elements of the ANC. But nobody outside the Africanist camp is as concerned as the PAC is with "African leadership" of the struggle.

The organisation denies it is racist. True, its definition of African is elastic and includes anyone who identifies with and puts Africa first. They claim to have white members; they certainly have Indians and coloureds. As an overall political position, "the PAC stands for a government of Africans, for the Africans, by the Africans — with everybody who owes his or her loyalty only to Azania and Africa and accepts the democratic rule of an African majority in Azania being regarded as an Azanian and an African."

Special protection of minority rights is rejected; individual and personal freedom are guaranteed within the collective interests of all citizens. However, "since Azania is an African country, the interests of Africans (as defined by the PAC) are supreme and must be dominant above all else." This sounds much less liberal than the ANC.

The organisation has always been cagey about disclosing its membership, which most observers suspect is small. General secretary Benny Alexander claimed 18 months ago that the organisation had more than 200 000 members. In an interview in April, PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke told the *FM*: "We have just over 400 branches nationally with at least 100 members in each." In a general election, moreover, he said the PAC expects to win "more than 50%, nothing less."

But they would say that. Whatever the resonant appeal Africanism is claimed to have, opinion surveys have always put PAC support at under 5% — less than half Inkatha's showing. It may be significant, for instance, that when the PAC (and Inkatha) came out against the ANC alliance's work stayaway in August, it had no visible effect. Not since the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, when the PAC led members in a march to burn their notorious passbooks, has the organisation directly or indirectly mounted any campaign or initiative of real significance against the "settler regime."

The PAC was hardly known among whites, until its infamous slogan "one settler, one bullet" began to be heard about three years ago. This is not official PAC policy even though it is regularly chanted at their rallies.

The PAC, Moseneke explains, has always emphasised "ideological soundness" among its members. "We have been less of an omnibus, catch-all movement. Our long-term survival rests on the purity of our membership."

He adds: "It must be understood that the PAC is about Pan Africanism, which is a long-term goal in the context of the continent." The philosophy was first expounded by Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah ("seek ye first

the political kingdom"), which explains the PAC emblem of the sun rising out of west Africa; and has its roots in the back-to-Africa movement associated with Marcus Garvey and WEB du Bois. It is clear why the PAC is said to be a movement for intellectuals rather than the masses.

The perceived PAC ambivalence towards whites, or white leaders in "the struggle," sets this stridently socialist organisation apart from the SA Communist Party. The SACP, of course, emphasises the concept of class rather than race. Significantly, the PAC's friends and backers have tended to be radical Muslims (Libya and Iran), Maoist China and, in black Africa, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe. All share a deep antipathy towards what they perceive as Western hegemony.

After Sharpeville and the ban which forced it into exile, the PAC's star sank and it appeared to drift into obscurity. Unlike the ANC, its larger, more prominent and better organised rival (with which relations have historically been strained), the PAC had no coherent internal wing, such as the UDF, to keep its home fires burning.

During its exile years, the organisation was also marked by internal strife and disarray. There was hostility between factions loyal to two leadership contenders, Potlako Leballo and John Pokela, in the late Seventies and early Eighties. This sterile squabbling threatened to undo the PAC's status as a liberation movement recognised by the Organisation of African Unity. Had the OAU withdrawn recognition, the PAC would almost surely have withered away.

It was only in the late Eighties that a sense of order and renewed purpose seemed to be restored, when Johnson Mlambo, now first deputy president, assumed the chairmanship.

The PAC of course rejects the view that it had drifted into obscurity and become practically inactive. It maintains that the PAC always had an "underground presence" in the country, essentially in the shape of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), which has "operational independence."

Apla's military contribution to the struggle is, however, questioned and not merely by its rivals in the ANC. Apla seems to have concentrated, in recent years anyway, on assassinating policemen. In the Eighties, the SA police attributed 1%-2% of terror attacks in SA to Apla — though in about 1988 there appeared to be a sudden rise in PAC insurgency. Happily, though, this did not see the translation into practice of the vicious "one settler, one bullet" slogan (wittily turned

into "one settler, one ballot" by the ubiquitous graffitists).

It was after the internal front organisation of the PAC — the Pan Africanist Movement (PAM) — was launched in Johannesburg in December 1989, that the slogan began to be heard. The PAM was, of course, shortlived; scarcely three months after its launch came De Klerk's lifting of the ban on organisations such as the PAC.

However, it was decided that the PAM would officially become the internal wing of the PAC, while the external wing remained in Dar es Salaam — hence the PAC's dual leadership structure.

In an indirect admission of the failure of key aspects of liberation movement policy, PAC economics chief Siphoshe Shabalala observed (in an address read out by a colleague to the hawkers' association, Achib, last year) that the armed struggle has failed and that negotiations are inevitable. This caused an uproar by the PAC youth wing who labelled Shabalala a "CIA agent" and described his economic policy discussion paper as a sellout. Things were patched up with the youth league on the basis that Shabalala's state-



Makwetu ... giving leadership stability

ment was merely a draft document.

Moseneke has instilled new purpose and direction in the PAC; Makwetu, who lives in Transkei, tends to keep a low profile. The decision to begin circling the negotiating table for a vacant seat has drawn harsh words from its youth league.

But change was inevitable. Even in its economic policy, the strident, heavily Afro-socialist demands are underplayed these days. Addressing the *FM*'s investment conference last month, for instance, Shabalala said nationalisation would not be necessary provided business and the economy were "democratised." However, the PAC unashamedly envisages redistribution and a strong role for the State.

The failure of Codesa 2 was predicted by Moseneke and appeared to vindicate the stance of the PAC.

Somewhat opportunistically, then, the PAC have used the period of semi-deadlock in multi-party negotiations to seek, in bilateral discussions with government, a face-saving formula for getting on aboard the "train" which it says never left Codesa.

The PAC's future can only lie in electoral politics. Its potential strength as a party may seem minimal now, despite its romantic appeal — but if the ANC, burdened with office, fails to keep enough blacks happy, the PAC could be well-placed to take advantage. The prospect of blood-curdling rhetoric becoming policy should concentrate the minds of the major players. ■

LEADERSHIP

FM

13/11/92

11A

When the charm runs out

"No other touchstone can test the heart of a man, the temper of his mind and spirit, till he be tried in the practice of authority and rule." (Sophocles)

In recent weeks we have watched one of our leading politicians, ANC president Nelson Mandela, reveal something of the temper of his mind and spirit, in addressing the endemic violence in Natal.

In what was widely reported as an "olive branch" speech, at the funeral of ANC Natal leader Reggie Hadebe, Mandela generously emphasised conciliation. He also made a direct and humbly phrased appeal to the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, to help end the violence. Yet at the same funeral, Mandela also heard the ANC's leading and most unashamed Stalinist, Harry Gwala, and its Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba talk provocatively of a march on Ulundi and of war and vengeance.

Such ANC contradictions are frequent, uneasy and dangerous; only the Mandela magic enables him to escape from them with his dignity intact. Such is his stature that many commentators are either kind about the contradictions or they simply do not notice them. If Mandela says it, it is so — and everyone wakes up rubbing his eyes and reaching for metaphors which employ olive branches and doves. But can we be sure it is the view of the ANC at large?

There is a hint of John Major and Bill Clinton about Mandela. Personal charm gets all three of them a lot of mileage and they have the capacity to twist seasoned observers around their little fingers.

But, as Major's performance is showing to devastating effect, the real business of a politician is politics, not being

charming to everyone. Nice Mr Major has dithered over economic policy; been humiliated over the withdrawal from the Exchange Rate Mechanism; and retreated over planned coal mine closures. He threatened to call an election if defeated on a motion supporting the Maastricht Treaty — and was promptly accused by his own MPs of bluffing.

Having taken his gamble, Major survived the parliamentary motion by only three votes, which was almost as bad as losing it. Then, less than 24 hours after his escape, he changed his mind again; final ratification of Maastricht will not take place until after the second Danish referendum next year.

Politicians must expect some unpopularity, but Major, by his pleasant vacillation, has succeeded in upsetting everyone: his enemies; his own MPs; his weary parliamentary whips; his patient Foreign Secretary; and his European partners. The time is not far off when nobody will take him seriously and then he will be finished.

Major's honeymoon is long over. Clinton's will last a few weeks and then the blood will flow somewhere in the US body politic — because if it does not, Clinton will also not be taken seriously and his four-year term will be a misery.

For Mandela, of course, the honeymoon continues; he still enjoys the luxury of not having to govern. But sooner or later he will have to force a showdown to establish the kind of discipline in the ANC which President F W de Klerk exercises over the National Party caucus. For any Nat MP to contradict his leader on a public platform would be unthinkable, which is why De Klerk is taken seriously — even by his enemies. ■

ANC, 'Kei talk peace

13/11-19/11/92
11A

THE war talk in Ciskei came to an end on Wednesday. After four hours of intensive talks between a high-level Ciskeian government delegation and African National Congress alliance leaders it was announced the ANC would be allowed free political activity in the homeland.

Both sides announced a "cessation of hostilities" — in essence a formal truce in the conflict which has raged in Ciskei since the Bisho massacre of September 7. The conflict has left scores dead and hundreds wounded since the shooting in Bisho which resulted in the deaths of 29 people.

Taking the peace process further, both sides agreed to meet again on November 18 following report-back meetings to their members and supporters which would set in motion "lasting peace in the region".

Those talks, like Wednesday's, would be chaired by a retired Johannesburg lawyer, Ben Mansell. In a joint statement, read by Mansell after the meeting, both parties reiterated their commitment to the National Peace Accord and their "resolve to work for the successful implementation of the accord in the area".

"This is the beginning of a process where we will be in a position to build long term peace and stability in our region," ANC Border president Smuts Ngonyama said after the talks.

"We don't just want to see words — action is needed," said Ciskei Defence Minister Col SS Pita, who led the homeland talks team. "We believe the ANC is sincere and committed to peace." — Sapa

The volatile cocktail of Umkhonto's

They expected to come home in a blaze of glory, but instead the soldiers of Umkhonto weSizwe found only poverty. Many have turned to crime or joined 'the other side'.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

WIM 13/11-19/11/92

THE rumblings of discontent in the ranks of Umkhonto weSizwe are turning into an all-out crisis for the African National Congress.

Former MK chief of staff Chris Hani admitted this week that the problems arising from the growing disenchantment of returned MK soldiers had the "potential to explode" in the absence of a speedy political solution.

And current MK chief Siphwe Nyanda said he was surprised more MK returnees had not turned to crime.

The problem was confirmed this week in interviews with MK cadres who now live in the Vaal. Instead of returning to the country in a glorious blaze of victory, the cadres have trickled back to an ignoble fate of poverty and obscurity: in the eyes of many in the movement they are no more than an embarrassing refugee problem.

They have emerged from the bush in neighbouring countries to face a barrage of hardships: economic recession, unemployment, hostile security forces, the cold shoulder from many ANC internal leaders guarding their posts in regional and branch structures and little recognition for their efforts in exile.

Little wonder that some alienated, cash-strapped MK cadres are turning to crime, drink and hijacking self-defence units for gangster purposes, while others are finding the outstretched hands of the police and Inkatha — with offers of houses and money in return for Askari-



This photo from the album of a returned soldier shows cadres receiving training in the former Soviet Union. Now they have returned to an ignoble future in South Africa

type activities — very attractive. Commented Hani: "It would be dishonest on my part to say there is no problem. It's important for all of us, particularly in the leadership, to recognise the enormity of the problem."

Nyanda said he was surprised that many more cadres had not reverted to complete lawlessness, given the mountain of problems facing them.

According to research conducted by the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, at least 34 MK cadres have been gunned down over

the past two years and scores of others have been harassed and assaulted. As a result, many cadres live an aimless life, moving from one place to another to avoid being targeted.

A commission, headed by ANC deputy general-secretary Jacob Zuma and including MK cadres, is looking into the crisis and the future role of MK. Training in conventional warfare is taking place in Tanzania and Uganda in preparation for the integration of MK into a new army. However, strict educational requirements rule out the participation of many MK soldiers. Those leaving for military training tend to be new recruits rather than MK returnees who either don't qualify or do not relish going back to the camps where they spent many frustrating years impatiently waiting for missions.

"Life in exile was not a bed of roses. MK soldiers in the camps and in the bushes had the toughest time," said Hani.

He stressed that the crisis could not be adequately addressed until an interim government of national unity was in place. However, steps could be taken: "We have to improve the lines of communication, identify these people, find out where they are and foster a sense of belonging. We must take political steps to save these comrades from further demoralisation and alienation... this way we will arrest the tendency to move towards gangsterism and crime... after all, they gave the people hope to fight in the country — knowing they had an army in exile."

Hani urged MK members to get involved in self-defence units and by imparting knowledge and skills, so earn the respect of their communities. "MK is not a recipe for leadership. Leadership is achieved in the course of struggle. It is not thrust upon you."

A group of unemployed MK returnees in the Vaal voiced their grievances this week.

"We have been left in the lurch," said "Vusi". "The ANC can no longer support us."

"When we were told of the suspension of the armed struggle, the general feeling was one of disenchantment," said "Dume".

Most, if not all, MK combatants were still ready to engage the enemy militarily... but now they will tell you a different story. That militancy has dwindled.

Pouring over recent press reports of corruption in the National Co-ordinating Committee on Repatriation, the soldiers expressed outrage at the fact that their stipends have all but dried up or disappeared into the hands of "greedy administrators". Most MK cadres have not received the full complement of their R800 a month stipend, to be handed out over a six-month period.

"The ANC is strapped for cash," said Nyanda. "Now cadres feel that the ANC has neglected them. They don't have money to feed themselves."

After an MK conference in Venda last year, cadres asked to help run the self-defence units. They were also instructed to help build the political strength of the ANC.

But Nyanda described a growing frustration over the lack of ammunition for SDUs. "They may help in building barracks but they feel vulnerable without the means to protect themselves."

The Vaal group said that they and other cadres in their area were reluctant to get involved in SDUs beyond the level of consultation. Attacks orchestrated by undisciplined youths, they said, were often badly planned and arbitrary, exposing them to the perils of police crackdowns in a messy war with many enemies and few rules.

At a press conference this week, Vaal representatives of the ANC alliance acknowledged that SDUs in the area were running amok: "We are alarmed that certain individuals, who claim allegiance to the ANC and its allies, are acting completely outside the mandate and policies of these organisations."

The communities in Vaal townships were disappointed with MK's hesitancy to get involved in SDUs. "We were highly revered when we returned," said "Dume". "We were looked upon as their saviours, particularly in the light of Inkatha and security force attacks. But we couldn't just act impulsively."

We are being hunted every day.

"They now see us as cowardly, but we are political soldiers. We follow orders. And the order of the day is loud and clear — ceasefire."

They spend their time hankering after their days abroad and waiting for the moment when a political settlement will lead to their integration into a new army. "We are convinced that negotiations are not yielding any positive results. They are just dragging on and on. Whatever happens in those talks — let there be results. Particularly in MK there must be changes. We have highly trained MK cadres who are just roaming the streets. We are not that concerned about whose going to be the next president. We just want our future participation in the army ensured — that is where we belong."

While many MK cadres have been absorbed into regional structures, others complain that leaders who rose to prominence in the United Democratic Front era are clutching on to their positions, leaving no space for the returnees. They say they have been marginalised by "civilians waiting in the wings for power" who are trying to defuse the militancy of the ANC as they move closer to a negotiated settlement with the National Party.

"We are not that concerned about whose going to be the next president. We just want our future participation in the army ensured — that is where we belong"

The recent attempted assassination of Vaal activist Bavumile Vilikazi was perhaps testimony to such frustration. Many MK soldiers have accused Vilikazi of "blocking positions for them". Though the ANC announced last week that an SDU member had confessed to attacking Vilikazi (who he claimed to have mistaken for a policeman), other sources gave a different story, reporting that the culprit was an MK member who acted out of revenge rather than ignorance.

Hani attributes the confusion and alienation expressed by many MK cadres to the failure of the ANC to reorientate the cadres to the "new reality" of struggle — from the goal of military solution to negotiated settlement.

"Unlike the classical colonial situation, the ANC came back into the country not as a movement about to take

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over government but one which was to continue the struggle under new conditions — from a movement which fought the struggle in underground, illegal conditions to a movement which had to wage the struggle openly and legally.

"What became key was building mass-based organisations again, to empower the ANC and its allies in the process of negotiation ... in my own view we must accept that we did not embark on political orientation."

Those leaders who rose to prominence in the UDF and mass democratic movement of the 1980s were well-versed in the skills of mass mobilisation. They were also educated, particularly those who spent years in prison.

Many exiles, including some in MK, completed courses in host countries like the Soviet Union, East Germany and Cuba. But most MK soldiers returned with only the most basic skills in guerrilla warfare.

"We never fathomed the potency of the internal struggle here," said Hani. "The MDM produced outstanding comrades who, graduating under conditions of illegality, now occupy that legal space. There has been a feeling that those of us outside were the people who really did it, instead of accepting that we did it inside too."

"The struggle inside produced its own leaders ... right down to regional and branch structures (which meant) we had to compete for leadership at a number of levels with other cadres.



Chris Hani ... The MK situation has the 'potential to explode'

Some of us thought we could get positions ready-made for ourselves. This was a mistake. We should have prepared our people for this sort of thing."

Many MK soldiers use weapons from arms caches to rob. Some are no strangers to gangsterism and theft, having thrown themselves into such activities in exile. Others are looking elsewhere for financial reward and recognition. Nyanda pointed to the string of MK members who have been gunned down and the murder of key Hammer Unit informant Andre de Villiers by MK members as proof that police are recruiting cadres as Askaris.

"As long as these people are dangling money they will be seduced by this. There is a desperate situation with food and shelter and people are exploiting this," said Hani.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Albert Mncwango claimed that MK cadres, disgruntled with the ANC, had joined his organisation and were training their protection units. "Why shouldn't we use their skills?" he said. Neither Hani nor Nyanda ruled out this possibility. It is well-known that Pat Hlongwane and other "turned" MK soldiers from the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee are with Durban-based Inkatha "warlord" Thomas Shabalala.

Hani denied South African Defence Force allegations that MK was running training camps in Transkei to train people to fight against Inkatha in Natal. The ANC has approached the Goldstone Commission to call on the SADF to produce evidence or retract its allegations.

Nyanda also intends to sue SADF chief General Meiring unless he retracts and apologises for alleging last week that Nyanda had issued orders for SDUs to be equipped with arms and that special MK operations teams would be set in motion.

"The suggestion that MK is training people in Transkei is ludicrous," said Hani. MK, he said, was all over the country, training SDUs. Hani admitted that relations between the Transkei Defence Force and MK were "good". "Holomisa's position is MK is legal. He receives MK and Apla officers." Hani said war-ravaged youths seeking refuge in Transkei may be approaching the TDF for military training.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

AS the sun sets on Natal's lush hills, a tall, well-built man emerges cautiously from the bushes in a location somewhere in the war-ravaged province.

After much persuasion, the Umkhonto weSizwe cadre proffers some scanty detail about his che-

quered history and his daily experiences of training the local self-defence unit to repulse attacks from Inkatha imps living over the hill.

After leaving the country in the early 1970s for military training, and then fighting alongside the MPLA and Swapo, he infiltrated back into the country a decade later, and has since borne the brunt of repeated torture at the hands of the police.

"I have been shot many times by the police but they never get me. My *muti* protects me," he says simply. "If I was weak I would have died long ago."

"We defend ourselves with *muti* which we wash all over our hands and body. It's something that helps us."

Now he has moved his home away from the road to a more secret place concealed behind dense shrubbery.

Expressing none of the aimless dissatisfaction common to many MK cadres, he has a clear mission "I train the people how to defend themselves. I train the young ones in karate and how to defend themselves without weapons." He is also lucky enough to have a job.

He tells how the self-defence unit, made up of men of all ages in the community who are not members of public African National Congress or civic structures, is mobilised in the event of

an attack.

"If I whistle, then the next person whistles, and the next, until we all know there is to be an attack. It's hard for them if they attack this area — it's a stronghold for comrades and it's easy for us to plan strategies."

Reluctantly he concedes that some youths may be heading to Transkei for military training. "It's the only option open for them to defend themselves."

How does this man, who claims to shy away from accumulating any knowledge the police may want to extract from him, know this?

"They don't talk about their experiences but we see through their actions that they have had military training. It's not wise for me to advise them where to get training. There are many people the police befriend and then give money for information."

"There are many MKs from here," he offers. "But they have moved away because of the police crackdown."

They are afraid to live at home but usually base themselves fairly nearby.

"The problem with many of them is that they want to be treated great by their communities. They feel they are superior."

This self-possessed warrior needs no symbols of power. His *muti* and military training suffice.

"I don't have a gun. But I will still lead the others in battle. Then I will take away a gun from someone on the other side. Most of the weapons we get are from the attackers."

An MK cadre with a mission

W/M Mail 1311-1911192

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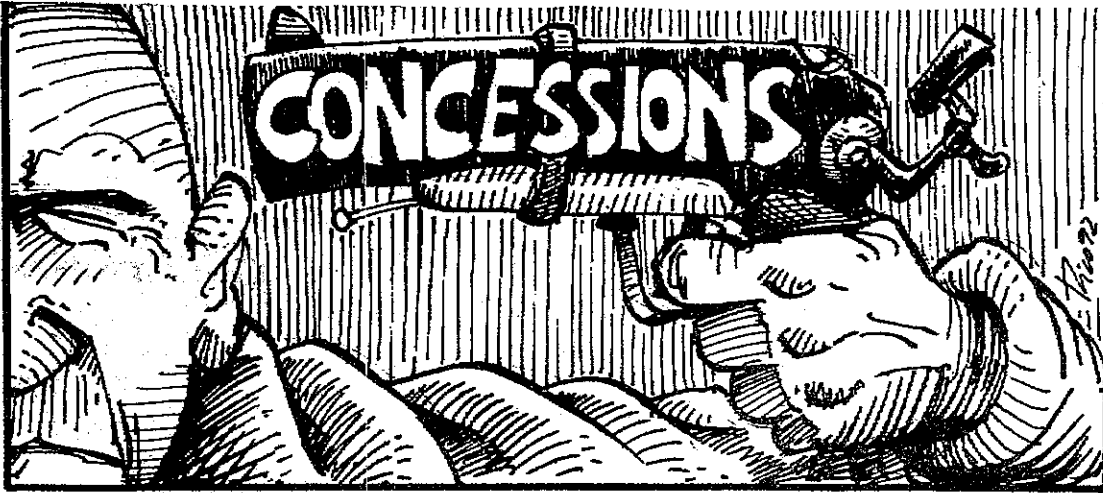
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Committing suicide by

W/Mail 13/11 - 19/11/92

(11A)

THERE appears to be a deep-seated pessimism that runs through Joe Slovo's proposals. True, we have not defeated the regime. But neither has the regime defeated us. The thrust of the document suggests that we are suing for the best terms we can get from a victorious enemy.

These measures, which would amount to capitulation to some of the core objectives pursued by the regime at this time, we are advised to adopt as a hedge against the destabilisation of democracy by the South African Defence Force, the South African Police and the racist civil service. If, as the authors seem to fear, the officer corps and ranks of the SADF and SAP are likely to be opponents of a democratic order, I would have thought that underlined the need to have them vacate these strategically important posts as soon as possible. The gravest danger to a transition and the democratic order is precisely such fifth columnists.

It is foolhardy to imagine that a democratic state will contain subversion by the racist civil service by giving guarantees about pensions, job security, and perks. If they act they will act as a corporate body on behalf of their perceived interest as a group and appeals to individual benefits accruing from loyalty will be seen for what they are — attempts at bribery to desert their side.

The authors also seem to have no appreciation of the feather-bedding and wastefulness of the incumbent regime. Once we factor in considerations of competence, honesty, public service ethos and loyalty to the democratic political order the case becomes hopeless. The imperatives of good government — which our posters boldly proclaim our people should vote for — would dictate that we take a very sharp axe to the civil service.

I have often questioned the realistic prospect of the regime embarking on serious negotiations in the full realisation that their inevitable result must be the loss of

In this extract from ANC head of information and publicity
PALLO JORDAN'S
response to Joe Slovo's proposals, he argues that making such concessions would lead to the downfall of the organisation



power. I have consequently insisted that the alliance must take seriously De Klerk's words that he seeks to reach an accommodation about sharing power, and not to surrender power.

De Klerk's strategy — a mix of reformism coupled with the systematic destabilisation of the ANC alliance — has as its immediate objective rendering the ANC too weak to resist such a compromise. There is ample evidence that the SADF, the overt and covert security forces, assisted by a range of irregulars and freelance auxiliaries, have been assigned the task of continuing the counter-insurgency war.

Contrary to what some, including the authors of "Strategic Perspective" appear to think, there is no contradiction between reformism and the informal repression that the De Klerk regime is employing. It is clear that its broad parameters are the outcome of collective decision. De Klerk's demonstrated unwillingness to do anything to stop the violence can have no other explanation.

The De Klerk regime obviously has not come to terms with the inevitable outcome of serious negotiations. It has not arrived at the seminal political decision that it must give up power. The violence betrays that; its negotiations position betrays that; its clinging to its

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Daggers drawn in the Slovo sunset

W/M and 13/11-19/11/92.

11A

Previously hidden differences of opinion within the ANC and its allies have been revealed in a fiery and public debate sparked by Joe Slovo's opinions on concessions to the government.
By **PAUL STOBER**

AN unprecedentedly public debate has erupted between the leading theorists of the African National Congress and its allies over what kind of deal to cut with the National Party during the transition to democracy.

It has pitted communist against communist, and democrat against democrat, and has revealed a far richer, more complex breakdown of positions than the usual hardliner versus moderate characterisation.

Last month, ANC and South African Communist Party leader Joe

Slovo sparked a heated debate within the organisation when he suggested the ANC make sweeping concessions to the government to speed up the transitional process.

The debate reflects deep-seated division within the ANC, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) over how prepared the NP is to surrender state power.

One reason why Slovo's paper has provoked such virulent responses from within the ANC, is a nagging suspicion that it is an attempt to give ANC negotiators room to make far-reaching concessions to the government without having to go back for a mandate.

Added weight was given to this view when the ANC's negotiations commission presented a paper titled, "Negotiation—A Strategic Perspective", to the organisation's national working committee, late last month.

The commission, on which ANC militants tend to keep a wary eye, is often accused of seeing the establishment of a constituent assembly, which would break the National Party's hold on state power, as a cure-all for South Africa's ills. To this end, they are determined to tie the government to an agreement on a CA at whatever cost to ANC policy and principles.

In their paper, the commission, which consists of key ANC strategists like Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, Mac Maharaj and Valli Moosa, proposed the NWC accept Slovo's suggestion wholesale. The working committee rejected the paper.

One of the ANC's most influential intellectuals, department of information and publicity head Pallo Jordan, described the paper as a fundamental departure from the ANC's objectives.

Jordan points out: "The dominant aspect of our relationship with the regime is that of opposition. To reduce this to competition, as if we are discussing a difficult marriage, is dangerous."

The fact that Jordan, an independent socialist, is supported by self-proclaimed Stalinist and SACP stalwart, ANC Natal midlands chairman Harry Gwala, indicates deep division on how far to go in comprising with the government.

Other objections to the Slovo paper have come from Ronnie Kasrils and Blade Nzimande, executive committee members of the SACP and, to a lesser extent, from ANC political

education head and SACP central committee member Raymond Suttner.

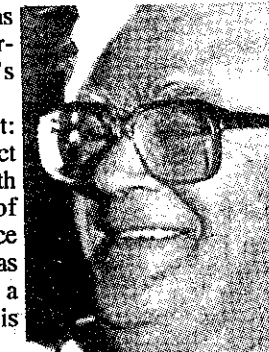
A paper more or less supporting the Slovo paper and the negotiations commission's recommendations has been produced by another leading Party theorist, Jeremy Cronin.

These awkward internal alliances indicate how disillusioned sections of the ANC have become with the government as a negotiating partner.

Gwala heaped scorn on Slovo's opinion that the government and its allies are no longer able to continue ruling in the old way and were genuinely seeking to break with the past.

Gwala asserts: "It would be folly for the liberation movement to imagine that the enemy has suddenly seen reason. The bottom line of the ruling class is to retain the monopoly of the country's wealth and the coercive state machinery. Hence the so called protection of minority rights. Any compromises must be seen in this light."

Slovo's position, however, is that if the ANC is not prepared to compromise it should not be at the negotiating table.



Joe Slovo ... sparked row

JOE SLOVO'S "Negotiations: What room for compromise?" has touched off a heated and public debate inside African National Congress-alliance ranks. For many South Africans, politics has come to mean insincere mumbling on TV, or worse, dirty work in the shadows.

No wonder, then, that for many this intra-ANC debate should appear unseemly. Here we are, ANC and South African Communist Party leaders, lined up on all sides, attacking each other with polemical gusto.

I think it is all to the good.

When the ANC-alliance negotiates, it brings one primary strength to the table — mass support. The regime conducts politics with other, more opaque resources — bureaucratic and repressive power. Unlike them, we have to conduct politics transparently. For us, public transparency is, if nothing else, a necessary virtue. When we fail to practise it, we fail.

But why has Slovo's intervention provoked such heated debate within our ranks? Just as with his earlier 1989 intervention ("Has socialism failed?"), he has had the courage to pose the difficult, the unpopular questions. His answers to these questions are, in my view, sometimes incomplete and partial. He is advancing a negotiations strategy, rather than an overall strategy. But, just as with his earlier intervention, his answers are an important start.

Essentially, Slovo reminds us we are dealing with a chastened, crisis-ridden but still powerful opponent. Both sides find themselves locked in a reciprocal siege. From our side the objective remains the total dismantling of apartheid. But we cannot simply will this objective into being.

So how do we move from here to our longer term goals? Slovo suggests principled compromises — notably a power-sharing executive for a fixed period after the adoption of a new constitution.

This and the other measures he suggests are compromises because they are considerably less

Nothing to gain from all-or-nothing tactics

W/Mail 13/11-19/11/92

ANC national executive committee member

JEREMY CRONIN argues that Joe Slovo's 'sunset clauses' are an important step towards the fuller objectives of the organisation



than what we want. But they are principled because, he argues, they will not block advance towards our fuller objectives. In fact, they will lay a more substantial basis for real advance.

Not so, say his most outspoken critics (notably Pallo Jordan, Blade Nzimande and Harry Gwala).

It is perfectly sensible to assess and, if need be, criticise the concrete proposals Slovo is making. Will power-sharing or an amnesty serve to check the threat of future counter-revolution, as Slovo suggests? Or will these compromises simply have

the opposite effect — emboldening apartheid securocrats?

These are legitimate questions. But it is not questioning of this kind that has generated the heat in the debate. It is something else.

The most interesting consequence of the debate provoked by Slovo has been that it has compelled his loudest critics to elaborate counter arguments.

In doing this Jordan, Nzimande and Gwala uncover the anatomy of a particular style of political thinking that is common within our ranks. It is a style, however, that is seldom elaborated theoretically, and which is therefore difficult to pin down. Now we can see it and debate with it.

What is the essence of this style?

In the first place, it confuses longer-term objectives with immediate possibilities. The present negotiations, according to Jordan, "are aimed at the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics". It's a nice thought, but is it realistic?

Likewise Nzimande: "Our immediate goal should be the total defeat of the NP and the apartheid regime ... If we decisively defeat the NP and its surrogates in the democratic election let them become the opposition or disappear from the

face of a democratic South Africa."

Everything is "total", "decisive" and "immediate".

One is reminded of Lenin's sharp rebuke of the "ultra-left" of his time who, he said, "have mistaken their desire, their politico-ideological attitude for objective reality".

In the second place, this line of argument thinks of political struggle in the simplistic two-army terms, two monolithic fortresses, them and us. Thus, for Nzimande, there are two moralities, their's and our's. "Whilst it is important to occupy moral high ground all around," he tells us, "this is in most cases impossible."

Occupying "moral high ground", contrary to what Nzimande implies, is not about trading moral principles. It is about winning hegemony for the ideals of the national democratic struggle. But it is precisely this hegemonic project that the two-fortresses logic cannot begin to grasp. It cannot think moral leadership. It cannot imagine leaving our fortress to interact with others. It can only think "liquidation", "smashing", "disappearing off the face of the earth".

Which brings me to the third, most characteristic feature of this position. It does not understand transformation as process, but only, in Jordan's graphic words, as "the final showdown", an epic moment.

To be sure, there are sometimes epic, all-or-nothing moments in politics. But when one is simply not in such a moment, then all-or-nothing tactics are liable to yield ... nothing.



Chris Hani speaks frankly on the bubbling discontent in the ANC's armed wing ...



MK rebellion simmers

W/Mal 13/11-19/11/92

RUMBLINGS of discontent in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe have "the potential to explode", admits the armed wing's former chief of staff Chris Hani in an interview this week. (11A) ~~(11A)~~

And current MK chief Sphiwe Nyanda echoes this, saying that he is surprised more of his disgruntled men have not turned to lawlessness.

Cash-strapped MK members who expected to return to South Africa as conquering heroes and instead found only poverty and loneliness, have turned to crime and drink, hijacked grassroots organisations for their own gain and joined forces with Inkatha and the police — for money.

The danger to peace is that MK consists of highly trained, armed units ... increasingly answerable to no-one.

PAGES 4 and 5

Patriotic Front (11A) decision next week

ANC 14/11/92
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE fate of the Patriotic Front will be known on Tuesday when a deadline given by Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe to African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela expires.

Given a mandate by the Organisation for African Unity, Mr Mugabe met Mr Mandela and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu in Harare two weeks ago to discuss the PF's future.

Not much has been said about what happened behind closed doors in the Zimbabwean capital, but PAC sources said they expected Mr Mandela to tell them whether there was a future for the PF.

"A full meeting of the PF, the first since it was formed, depends on what they say on Tuesday," said an ANC source.

Regarding an election, he added: "It would be unwise for the ANC and PAC to split the African voting by fighting each other. If we do this, the regime and Inkatha Freedom Party could poll more votes between them.

"Then, all those years of struggle would have been in vain."

Brokered by the OAU, the PF was launched in Durban last October, but it has remained a front on paper only. The ANC and PAC, two of the most senior players in the PF, have been at each other's throats since it was founded.

Relations were strained further when the ANC decided to take part in Codesa.

It was against this background that the OAU gave Mr Mugabe a mandate to meet Mr Mandela and Mr Makwetu.

November 14 to November 18 1992

Closing book on Christian education

SOUTH 1411-18/11/92

THE future of religious education was the subject of debate at the Cecil Road Primary School in Salt River at a meeting this year of about 150 parents, teachers and administrators.

Most members of the school community are Muslim and as such had been marginalised from education decision-making.

They could have used that April meeting to defend or promote their religion and set a Muslim policy for religious education at the school.

Instead, the meeting showed an overriding concern for the goals of public education for a new, unified and democratic South Africa.

Three options were argued:

- That religious education be eliminated from the school curriculum.

- A "parallel approach" creating separate education programmes for Muslims and Christians.

- A "multi-tradition" approach with a unified curriculum for the study of religion.

At the end of the debate, the matter was put to the vote. The school community voted overwhelmingly in support of the third option — that religious education promote understanding of religious diversity in South Africa and the world.

The debate at Cecil Road Primary reflects a wider, national debate.

In July last year, the Institute for Comparative Religion in Southern Africa was launched. It is committed to ongoing research on religion education.

At a workshop at the weekend,

debated a 130-page document produced by the institute and titled "Religion in Public Education — Policy Options for a New South Africa".

ANC constitutional committee member Professor Albie Sachs welcomed the publication of the document, saying it was a reversal of past practices in which policy was drafted in secret committees.

He urged policy-makers to adopt a participatory, democratic approach to forging new religious education policy. The views of the community should be respected, even if these differed from those of the experts.

"Religious intolerance here is largely due to the way in which religion was associated with conquest and oppression," Sachs said.

"Christianity was proclaimed the only official religion. When the Dutch colonists conquered Malaysia and brought their political prisoners to the Cape, Muslim husbands became lovers and their children were illegitimate.

"This is why the ANC feels strongly that there be equal respect for all religions and that the right to religious freedom has to be a central theme in a new constitution."

Sachs said the country would need a constitutional court to deal with issues which affected people's right not to be offended and their right to access of information.

The courts could deal with issues like the banning of the "Satanic Verses" and the "Last Temptation

Christian national education has been the norm at state schools since the days of British colonialism. But it may be on the way out in the new South Africa.

REHANA ROSSOUW

looks at alternatives:

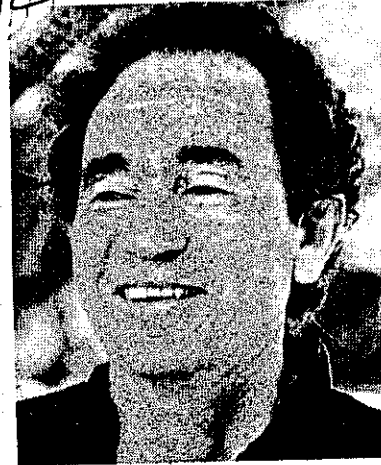
"There are no clear answers to a lot of the issues of principle in the religious field. But as long as there are mechanisms, we can solve problems of principle in a pragmatic way," Sachs said.

The institute's document emphasises that religious diversity in South Africa should be the starting point for policy thinking. It says grassroots participation is essential for the successful design and implementation of any new policy.

"The role of religion in public education must be consistent with human and civil rights to freedom of religion, conscience, thought and expression," the document reads.

"Freedom of religion guarantees freedom for religious expression, but it also guarantees freedom from religious coercion or discrimination.

"Any exclusive single-tradition programme in religious instruction



Albie Sachs

inevitably brings religious coercion and discrimination into a public institution."

The first policy option — eliminating religion as a subject from the school curriculum — stems from the argument that religious aims are already being served by religious institutions.

Educational aims, such as learning about religious diversity in South Africa and the world, could be served by other school subjects.

Another option could be the development of parallel programmes designed to serve the religious interests of different faiths. But this would multiply the problems of coercion and discrimination.

A preferred option appears to be multi-faith, multi-tradition religion education. This teaches pupils

about religion, rather than serving religious interests.

The institute's document says that: "Although the 1983 constitution declared South Africa a Christian country, and although about 77 percent of the population claimed allegiance to some variety of Christianity in the eighties, South Africa is not a Christian country."

It says South Africa is home to a variety of religious traditions — African traditional, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist and others. In many cases these have established strong, vital constituencies.

"Also, South Africa cannot be declared a Christian country without violating the principle of freedom of religion that must surely be enshrined in any Bill of Rights within a new constitution."

In South Africa today, most departments of education retain "Bible Education" on their syllabi, although some have introduced Religious Education as a subject.

The House of Representatives included Islamic Studies as a local option for their schools after a long struggle waged by representatives of South Africa's half-million Muslims.

Most schools have kept their single-tradition, Christian and biblical framework for religious instruction.

"Change is in the air, but there is also considerable uncertainty about the alternatives," said the report.

"We offer this outline of policy options for the role of religion in public education in the hope that it will be useful in thinking about the possibility of a new direction in the study of religion in public schools."

Coloureds 'see ANC as black group'

By Rehana Rossouw

THE ANC is fighting a losing battle in the coloured community, say "Brown Nat" members and officials.

One of the 11 full-time NP organisers in the Western Cape, Mr Hubert Loubser, claims that most coloured people blame the violence in the country on the ANC and the "kaffirs fighting among each other".

"Most of the coloured people who have joined the NP have a religious background and they are scared that if the ANC takes over the country their churches will be closed down and satanism will be the official religion of the country.

"Of course, I know this isn't true, but this is what the people tell us."

Most coloured NP members interviewed by SOUTH said they had joined the party to ensure there would not be black majority rule in South Africa.

Mr Attie Talmakkies, of Lentegeur, Mitchells Plain, says that although he was an ANC supporter during his school years, as a Christian adult he found that he could not depend on the ANC for a prosperous economic future.

"I grew up in the platteland and no-one can talk to me about the pain of apartheid. I experienced it every day," Talmakkies says.

"But I saw Mr Mandela on TV one night when he was asked if he was a Christian. He couldn't answer the question — that's when I changed my opinion."

Talmakkies says South Africans must learn lessons from what happened in Africa. Socialism cannot provide employment and the NP's promise to build a strong free market economy is more convincing than the ANC's economic policy.

"I have to think of my family's future. I have no other option but to vote for the NP," he says.

"The ANC is an organisation for blacks and we can't trust blacks to run the country efficiently. I feel more confident with white people in parliament.

"People ask me how I can vote for the boere who oppressed me but I say better the devil you know than the one you don't know."

Mr Henry Scheepers, of Bonteheuwel, where the NP claims it has 17 branches, says he joined the party because it offered a "new vision" for South Africa.

"The majority of people in Bonteheuwel support the NP. The ANC is fighting a losing battle here," Scheepers claims.

Scheepers says De Klerk does not have to ask for forgiveness for apartheid as he is not responsible — his forefathers were.

"I don't have any problem with the fact that people were moved to Bonteheuwel under the Group Areas Act. I'm proud to live in Bonteheuwel," he says.

'I feel more confident with white people in parliament'

NP organiser Loubser insists that the NP's role in designing and enforcing apartheid for four decades is not a stumbling block in its recruitment campaign.

"We don't hide the fact that the Nats were responsible for apartheid," he says. "We tell them the NP today is a different party with different leaders."

Loubser says NP leaders have apologised on numerous occasions for apartheid and that more apologies will not serve any purpose. "The best way of atoning is to build a better South Africa, he says.

Loubser says he cannot give an accurate estimate of how many NP branches or members there are in the Western Cape as an audit is only being done later this month.

But the party claims a "presence", if not a branch, in every residential area in the region.

The thrust of the NP's recruitment campaign is not to discuss NP policies in depth with potential members, but to focus on the future of the country, particularly its economic future, Loubser says.

NP organisers find that in working class areas particularly, people are reluctant to discuss politics but are concerned about feeding their children, finding jobs and houses.

"We get involved with the community, in their social lives, showing them that we care," Loubser says.

"In Bishop Lavis recently there were two funerals and NP women made tea and sandwiches for the mourners.

"People will remember the political party that gave them bread, not the one that gave them policies."

In an election the NP's chief opponent in the Western Cape will be the ANC, Loubser says, and he is confident that the majority of coloured people will vote NP.

He believes this is mainly because coloured people have closer ties to the white community than the African community.

"The sentiments I get from coloured people are that they regard the ANC as a black organisation, one which caters for Xhosas.

"We try hard to stop the racism among our members. The days of kaffir jokes are long over. We chastise our members if such terminology is used in our meetings."

Loubser says the election of Dr Allan Boesak as regional leader of the ANC will not help the organisation win coloured votes. Coloured voters are more impressed by President FW de Klerk, he claims.



BACKING THE NATS: Hubert Loubser predicts that coloured people will vote for the Nats because they have closer ties to the white community than the African community



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Communists plan new strategy

114
SOUTH 14/11 - 18/11/92
By Lucas Mati

THE SACP in the Western Cape will hold a two-day congress later this month to discuss its election campaign strategy.

SACP regional secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki said the strategy would be adopted as a resolution.

He said the SACP strategy aimed to win the support of the coloured working class.

"The coloured community has a predominantly high percentage of the working class in the Western Cape. Naturally, there are serious problems faced by the working class in this community.

"We need to move into that area, not only to win votes in the election, but to build the party."

The congress would review the process of negotiations and formulate a new political strategy.

One of the crucial issues at the congress will be the election of the regional chairperson and deputy



Joe Slovo

chairperson, Nkonki said.

These two key posts are vacant following the resignations of the regional chairman Mr Fred Gona and his deputy Mr Lerumo Kalako.

Mr Kalako, who spent nine years on Robben Island and five in exile, was recently elected to the ANC's regional executive.

Ms NormaIndia Mfeketo is likely to be elected chairperson, according to informed sources in the party.

Mr Joe Slovo is expected to give a keynote speech at the congress, which will be held on November 21 and November 22.

Freedom Square goes green

By Diane Coetzer

SDMT4 14/11 - (8/11/92)
THE greening of South Africa's townships has begun.

On a clear and hot Spring day last week, pupils, community leaders, activists and ANC veterans gathered at a site used for ANC meetings in the fifties — Freedom Square Park in Worcester's Zwelethemba township. The mission? To plant trees.

Pupils raced to the park's perimeters to plant the 15 trees destined to ring the township's only piece of green space.

Earlier, they listened to leaders

explain why the 200 trees donated by Trees for Africa were an essential part of the community.

ANC Youth League member Mr Nana Khohlokoane said it was useless, to become politically free if the country in which that freedom was to be exercised was sick and dying.

The organiser of the event and co-ordinator of the Boland Land Committee, Mr Tumelo Moleleki, said the tree-planting ceremony was a continuation of Arbor Day last year when trees were planted at schools, community halls and near the library.

ANC and government in talks (11A)

REPRESENTATIVES of the government and the ANC on Friday held talks as a follow-up to bilateral meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa. CP 15/11/92

"Progress in the implementation of the Record of Understanding of 26 September 1992, was noted. It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon to ensure further implementation," said a terse statement issued by both parties.

It is believed the meeting was held to discuss the agenda of a proposed meeting between the two parties later this month (26/11/92).

Now ANC says renegade unit slaughtered family

ST Times 15/11/92

11A
278

THE ANC has blamed renegade members of one of its own self-defence units for the slaying of a family of six in Sebokeng this month.

When the family of Mr Ephrain Zwane, believed to be ANC supporters, were shot dead this month, the ANC claimed that an assailant wearing an SADF T-shirt had been seen running away from the scene.

ANC members called on the authorities to find quickly the perpetrators of the "heinous crime".

But now, after investigation by a committee co-ordinated by Mr Obed Bapela, deputy general secretary of the ANC's PWV region, the organisation believes members of one of its own self-

By CHARLENE SMITH

defence units were responsible for the killings.

Members of the investigating team say that there appears to be a power struggle in the Vaal between returned exiles and internal members.

They add that they also suspect the involvement of criminals and "third force elements" from the state security services who have infiltrated the self-defence units.

SA Communist Party head Chris Hanu, who has been involved in peace efforts in the area, said the renegade SDU members were involved in vehicle hijackings, forcing traders to pay "protection

money", setting up roadblocks and barricades, and robbing people.

"Rape has become prevalent, with schoolgirls being raped and killed. We feel some SDUs have been infiltrated by the system, and criminals have taken over due to the volatile situation in the Vaal."

Mr Hanu added: "The situation is very dangerous for the ANC alliance. People are beginning to say these people call themselves Comrades and they are killing us. It is a situation the government, military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service would enjoy. I suspect they are fishing in troubled waters.

"But it is not enough for us to make pious statements opposed to the violence; we have to take affirmative steps to end the violence."

Mr Hanu said an urgent summit would be convened in the Vaal before the end of this month to try to find ways to end the violence.

He said a contributing factor to renegade forces within MK was that large numbers of former soldiers had returned with no jobs or prospects into violence-ravaged communities which expected assistance from MK cadres.

A R330 000 fraud recently uncovered at the National Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles had also meant that large numbers of returning exiles had received little or no money to assist them to re-integrate into society.

Two ANC commissions are investigating increased lawlessness among its alleged supporters in the Vaal. The first, headed by Mr Bapela, is concentrating specifically on violence in the area.

The other, headed by the organisation's deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma, is investigating problems being experienced by Umkhonto we Sizwe, including the involvement of some of its members in the Vaal violence as well as elsewhere.

The Vaal commission has paid particular attention to conflict between the National Union of Metalworkers of SA

and self-defence units under former MK cadre Ernest Sotsu.

Mr Sotsu's wife and two children were killed by unknown assailants while he was attending the ANC national consultative conference in Durban last year.

After that Mr Sotsu went to live in the Sebokeng hostel. This coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between Numsa unionists and a rival committee called Top 20, with which Mr Sotsu is involved.

These units have been blamed for the killing of eight Numsa members, including five shop stewards, since May this year.

Similar

ANC leaders also admit that similar hit-squad activity is taking place among SDUs in other parts of the Vaal, the Natal Midlands and southern Natal.

Other incidents in which the involvement of rogue self-defence units is suspected are:

- The gunning down of Mr Prince Mhlambi, a community worker in Phola Park, who became the third member of that community's civic association to be assassinated after MK members had seized control;

- The death of an elderly woman in the Witbank area;

- The attempted assassination a fortnight ago of Mr Bavumile Vilikazi, a senior ANC Vaal activist;

- The shooting of two teenage girls, Jacobeth Rantso, 18, and Rose Mohalane, 19, in Evaton after an ANC SDU claimed they fraternised with Inkatha residents in the Kwamadala hostel.

- MPHO GIFT SOLOMON MOSEBI, 14, the youngest victim of the Sebokeng massacre, was buried at Evaton cemetery yesterday to the rattle of AK-47's fired in salute by youngsters.

At the funeral, a child — no older than 13 — was seen to borrow an AK-47 from a youth, cock it, fire rapidly into the air and then return the weapon to its owner.

Brazen Gerhardt back, but he keeps silence

11A By CHARIS PERKINS

THE spy who sold his country's military secrets strolled out of the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters into the sunny streets of Johannesburg this week.

Dieter Gerhardt, the former Soviet agent who was sentenced to life imprisonment, came back this week to thank the people who helped secure his release and to talk to the ANC top brass about security forces in a new South Africa.

Or so he said. For, despite 10 years behind bars, the 57-year-old former Simons Town dockyard naval commander is as mysterious about his activities as he was when he was arrested while drinking scotch in a New York hotel in 1983.

From his John le Carré raincoat and the compact tape recorder he keeps in his briefcase, to the way he wriggles out of questions, he is exactly what one expects of a spy.

At lunch in a restaurant, he manoeuvred the seating arrangement so he could keep a watchful eye over the room, admitting that he was worried about his safety.

He took notes of all the questions put to him during the two-hour interview, recording them in his diary with a gold-plated pen and ticking them off with military precision as he responded.

He was evasive about his plans for the future. But he made one revealing comment: "I don't really need to work full-time."

At the time of his trial, there was widespread speculation that Gerhardt was paid handsomely for his spying activities, but he has consistently denied that this is true.

Nor would he comment on the possibility of his returning to South Africa permanently.

Damaging

"Home is wherever my family is," he said. Since his release from Pretoria Central two months ago, Gerhardt has lived with his Swiss-born wife and spy partner, Ruth, and his son, Gregory, 14, in a flat in Basle, Switzerland.

He would say nothing about his 19 years as a spy beyond: "I was a very damaging element."

Nelson Mandela invited Gerhardt to return to South Africa to advise the ANC on military matters shortly after he was released. They will meet tomorrow.

He has also been sharing ideas on the composition and duties of a future defence force with ANC officials, but says he has no ambition to play a public role in its establishment.

"It would be inappropriate considering the discomfort people feel about the role I played during my years as a spy for Russian intelligence," he said.

Apart from Mr Mandela, he will meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa this week to thank them for their part in securing his release. He also plans to see Gertrude Shope to discuss the role of women in breaking negotiation deadlocks.

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The conservationists include surfing pro Mike "Rose" Roscoe, Gordon

The surfers have gathered a 1 500-strong petition arguing against the

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perior.
"The Mother Superior told me they made a lot of

ANC boots press out of US meeting

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THE ANC's permanent US representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, had the press ejected from a public meeting with US anti-apartheid activists at New York's Riverside Church last week.

Although the meeting, a preliminary session for this weekend's National Conference in Support of the ANC and other Democratic Forces, was open to any member of the public, Miss Mabuza prevailed on the conference chairman, the ANC's US attorney Lennox Hinds, to bar reporters from attending proceedings.

By SIMON BARBER
New York

Mr Hinds, much to the surprise of Dr Nthato Motlana, with whom I was in conversation, approached and ordered me to leave. He then instructed the church's "security" to bar me from the meeting hall.

All other persons, whether or not they were registered to attend the conference, were permitted to enter. The meeting attracted more than 100 people, drawn in expectation of hearing ANC foreign affairs

director Thabo Mbeki. By the scheduled close of the session, at 10pm, Mr Mbeki had not appeared.

Mr Hinds brushed aside suggestions that he was damaging his client's image and said the presence of journalists would inhibit "activists" from speaking.

According to participants, many of whom left early with dazed expressions of boredom, nothing new or unusual was said during the meeting.

There was, however, one oddity. Pamphlets were distributed urging

a campaign against Citibank, Chase Manhattan and manufacturers Hanover on the ground that they were still providing correspondent services to South African banks.

Under a plan endorsed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, the targeted institutions are all providing in-house training to black South Africans.

The pamphlets, authored by something called the Immobilise Apartheid Coalition, said: "Tell these banks they should stop business with South Africa and start lending us more money."

in brief

Sowetan 16/11/92 (11A) (S) (A)
The newspaper quotes De Klerk as saying no deal will be made unless the ANC fully accepts NP's "fundamental requirements".

These, the paper reports, include the installation of a government of national unity, the introduction of a Bill of Rights to protect minorities and individuals and provision for strong regional government. - *Sowetan Foreign News Service.*

DP woos blacks

Democratic Party is to take far-reaching measures, including the promotion of blacks to leadership positions, to broaden its image and attract black supporters.

The decision was taken at the DP's national congress in Johannesburg at the weekend. *Sowetan 16/11/92*

Black delegates told the congress of intimidation by members of rival organisations, especially the African National Congress.

DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the party aimed to win between 10 and 12 percent of the vote in the country's first democratic elections.

De Klerk warns ANC

Sowetan 16/11/92
LONDON - President FW de Klerk has vowed to continue white minority rule indefinitely unless the African National Congress agrees to his demands for power sharing, according to the *London Sunday Times*.

De Klerk is said to have taken "a hardline stance" to head off National Party MPs who accuse him of giving too much away in talks with the ANC.

(11A) (S) (A)

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC has called a summit of all ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations in the Vaal area to discuss ways of controlling renegade "self-defence unit" members. *BIDAY*

The announcement of the summit, scheduled for Friday and Saturday, came after a weekend report said ANC officials believed renegades had killed six members of an ANC-supporting Sebokeng family this month. The report said an ANC investigation had found that defence units had been involved in several similar incidents in the Vaal and Natal. *16/11/92*

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the report was not accurate as the

ANC calls summit on defence units

ANC had not yet established the truth of rumours that the family had been gunned down by defence unit members.

Defence unit members found to have committed criminal offences would be handed to police for prosecution, while those who had committed "political offences" would be disciplined by the organisation, he said. *(111)*

Mamoepa said elements of defence units had been involved in forced recruitment to the ANC, extortion, killing and rape, "causing chaos, confusion, dissension and disunity in our ranks".

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Talks to continue, says joint statement

ANC and government negotiators are pressing ahead with bilateral talks despite government's alleged refusal to fully implement undertakings given in the record of understanding and new disclosures of alleged corruption and dirty tricks.

While no date has been set for a formal *bosberaad* between the ANC and government, neither party appeared concerned at the weekend that unrest hostels had not been fenced by the November 15 deadline.

A statement issued by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend made no reference to hostels. "Progress in the implementation of the record of understanding was noted. It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon to ensure further implementation," the statement said.

Some progress towards implementation of the record was achieved at the weekend when 42 political prisoners were released.

A senior ANC source said government's refusal to fence hostels by yesterday's deadline would not affect talks. The ANC was aware of the difficulties and was itself meeting hostel dweller organisations to "try and work something out".

Ramaphosa and Meyer agreed at the weekend to hold several meetings to deal with the record's implementation.

At a weekend meeting of the Campaign

11A
RAY HARTLEY

for Open Media in Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC regarded itself as "well within the transition process".

"We see the next phase being the period from the establishment of the transitional executive council leading up to the election of the constituent assembly and the establishment of an elected interim government of national unity," he said. After this, a new constitution would be drafted.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said disclosures that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had personally authorised the covert Operation Echoes, aimed at undermining the ANC, would not affect bilateral talks.

Macozoma said "the purity of a particular individual" would not affect the ANC's decision to forge ahead with talks.

The ANC source said President F W de Klerk's announcement last week that government would stand by agreements reached during Codesa II would boost the negotiation process.

Government is believed to be trying to bring Inkatha back into negotiations before it continues with a second high-profile bilateral meeting with the ANC.

However, Macozoma said army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring was becoming a serious stumbling block in the way of fresh talks between the ANC and government.

Legal challenge to Bop death penalty

LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR) would institute legal action challenging the constitutionality of the death penalty in Bophuthatswana, a spokesman for LHR said at the weekend. *BIDAY*

The move followed a successful urgent application by LHR in the Mmabatho Supreme Court on Friday for the stay of execution of three death row prisoners.

Bophuthatswana Chief Justice Theal Stewart granted a 90-day stay of execution, LHR's Andries Nel said.

The three convicted murderers, Jonathan Molema, Stephen Mashinini and Joseph Mnisi, were to be executed in Bophuthatswana tomorrow. *16/11/92*

Nel said the 90 days would allow the three men time to seek legal remedies — petitions to the State President and fur-

STEPHANE BOTHMA

ther psychiatric observation — denied to them previously. In addition, LHR would institute legal action to challenge Bophuthatswana's constitutional right to execute death row prisoners, he said.

Molema was given the death sentence in 1987, Mashinini in 1985 and Mnisi in 1989, but on November 5 the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court handed down execution orders for the three.

Sun International, whose MD Ken Rosevear last week agreed to assist LHR to appeal to Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope for clemency for the three, welcomed the court decision which was "in the interest of everybody".

ANC probes Vaal rivalry

■ Officials suspect rival groups may be behind the violence in Sebokeng:

By Nicolette Tladi *Sowetan* 16/11/92.

THE African National Congress is investigating the organisation's internal rivalry in the Vaal amid allegations that renegade elements of its self-defence units are wreaking havoc in the area.

The probe followed the slaying of the Zwane family in Sebokeng two weeks ago.

Mr Ephraim Johannes Zwane, a teacher whose wife was a recruitment officer for the ANC, and three other family members were gunned down in their Zone 12 home two weeks ago.

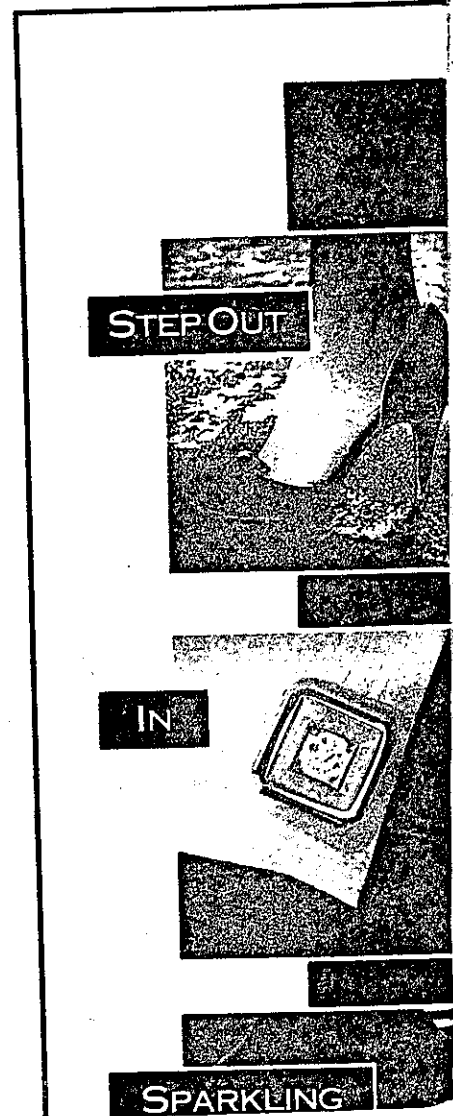
Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, ANC PWV spokesman, yesterday confirmed the launching of the investigation in response to weekend newspaper reports that their self-defence units were responsible for the family's gruesome death.

"It has not been established yet that the killing of the Zwane family was linked to feuding within the ANC ranks in the Vaal.

"We are investigating sources of violence in the Vaal and we have found that the bulk of it has been visited by the State on the people," Mamoepa said.

In an interview with *Sowetan*, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said the solution was that self-defence units should be "revamped" so as to defeat the violence "visited on the communities by the State and its surrogates".

"But self-defence units must be accountable to the direct political leadership of the community in which they are operating."



Govt hopeful

**Outcome of meeting with ANC could
pave way to full-blown negotiations:**

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE South African Government's hopes that full-blown negotiations will resume before the end of the year rest on talks-about-talks which get underway with the African National Congress next week.

There were other signs following a series of meetings between Government negotiators and various organisations.

During his visit to London at the weekend State President F W de Klerk told the British media he hoped all parties would meet before the end of 1992.

The PAC's chief negotiator, Mr Gora Ebrahim, who met the NP's Roelf Meyer last Wednesday, yesterday said his organisation and the Government would meet on December 9 to finalise a new and inclusive negotiations forum.

Sowetan also learned Mr Meyer met IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

The government and ANC are scheduled to hold a top-level "bush summit" on November 29.

focus on Azapo

THE Azanian People's Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement has been correctly dubbed the "think tank" of the black struggle, says Don Nkadmeng, the organisation's secretary-general.

Nkadmeng spoke to *Sowetan* as Azapo prepares for its 11th biennial national congress at the Great Centenary Hall at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, from November 26 to 29.

Is Azapo right? Does it have power? Is it effective?

"Azapo and the BCM can look back over the past two years with a sense of achievement. Notwithstanding international conspiracy to marginalise the movement by denying it access to capital and the media, the movement stands poised today to resume its leadership of the black struggle," says Nkadmeng.

"The congress happens at the worst possible time for our people: violence, unemployment, economic recession, a record crime rate, political intolerance, corruption and assassinations. In the past, despite the unrelenting efforts of the capitalists and imperialists, the BCM never failed to provide a political vision for the future, and this is what this congress is going to do."

The theme of the congress will be "Black unity for power, peace and liberation".

Azapo will urge the oppressed black majority to unite to end the violence in the country, to agree on a minimum programme to unseat the "regime" and to install a transitional authority which will supervise elections for a new government, says Nkadmeng.

"More and more people, even those within the establishment, are realising that the destiny of black people, and indeed of the whole nation, lies in the acceptance of the majority of black people of the need to return to Black Consciousness. The journey back to black is not a slogan.

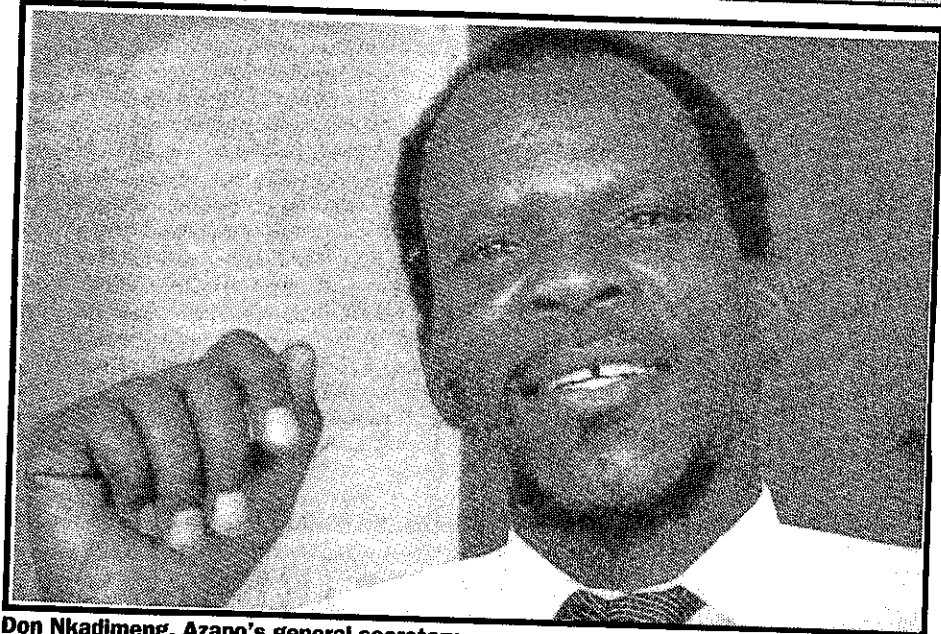
"Those who do not have short memories will recall that for a decade (1970-1980) the BCM was leading the struggle in this country. It was unthinkable that the present violence could have happened if this were still the case. There was no rivalry within political organisations. Blacks were conscientised by the millions, and had oneness of purpose - to free themselves completely from the shackles of political oppression, economic exploitation, landlessness, poverty and squalor.

"Those who sacrificed their lives and property for the struggle did so for the liberation of all black people - not for certain political organisations as is the case today. Black people are prepared to make more sacrifices for the liberation of black people. But as long as organisations of the oppressed make fools of themselves by fighting among one another for an imaginary vote in an imaginary election, blacks will turn their backs on them because no black man will be prepared to engage in something twice re-

Azapo will map out a political vision for the future of South Africa at its annual conference. **Themba Molefe**, Political Reporter, reports on new moves:

Sowetan 16/11/92

(MIA)



Don Nkadmeng, Azapo's general secretary.

moved from reality.

"The reality of our situation is that the present regime is still firmly in control and has not indicated its willingness to resign or transfer power to the national majority. Codesa has provided the evidence for this."

On the question of black unity, Nkadmeng says that in addition to renewed calls for unity of black people under BC, Azapo will call for the intervention of the United Nations peace-keeping force and the installation of a transitional authority.

"Yesterday's apartheid gatekeepers cannot be suddenly transformed into freedom fighters. Only the international community can lead the process to majority rule."

On violence Nkadmeng points out: "In the same way, the violence cannot be solved by those who are part of it. The regime, the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party have disqualified themselves from being part of the solution to the violence.

"Whether they are involved consciously in the violence or not, the fact of the matter is that public perception that these three parties are part of the violence in the country is too strong to

ignore.

"Only a neutral, independent and international mediator can resolve this problem. Without such intervention, violence in Eastern Europe, Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere will continue because any attempt to force people to end violence in which they are personally involved will not work. This amounts to staging a soccer match without a referee.

"The congress comes as the only hope in a hopeless situation of economic recession, organisational posturing, struggle for political turf and a lack of vision from political leaders. It comes at a time when the liberation movement is at its weakest. When our people are at their most confused.

"Given the support the BCM needs, we are ready and willing to lead black people out of the political wilderness," Nkadmeng concludes.

Sub-themes of the congress will include the position of women in the struggle, negotiations, the formation of a solidarity front, the involvement of the international community and the enlargement of the organisation's leadership to accommodate the ever-growing number of people joining Azapo since the death of Codesa.

FW denies bid to undermine ANC

RAY HARTLEY

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk denied yesterday that government organs were being used to undermine the ANC, but hinted there could be members of the security force with a hidden agenda.

In a BBC World Service interview just hours before Judge R Goldstone's disclosures on a Military Intelligence project regarding Umkhonto we Sizwe, De Klerk said: "Obviously there might be individuals who have their own agendas. We have nothing to hide. There is no third force. There is no sinister cabal within the security forces working against government. The government is in firm control of the security forces." *6/08/17/11/92*

De Klerk said he could not comment on disclosures last week that SA agents had been sent to Britain to smear the ANC by linking it to the IRA and PLO because the matter was under "judicial review".

There was no plan to split the ANC and he continued to "get along well" with its president Nelson Mandela, he said.

"In the party political sense, we are definitely opponents because we will be vying for support and we will be fighting an election against each other. But I regard him as a very important interlocutor in the negotiation process."

De Klerk said multiparty talks could resume "in a month or so". There was convergence between negotiating parties on a government of national unity, regional government and increased majorities in a constitution-writing body.

Switzerland, he said.

Malaysian, SA meeting

ACTING President Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir bin Mohamad at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. *BINA*

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Botha and Mandela met Mahatir together to discuss constitutional affairs and economic matters, before meeting him separately. *7/11/92*

Between their meetings with Mahatir, Botha and Mandela held talks. *(11A)*

Mahatir, en route to Namibia for a four-day visit, left later for Windhoek, where he was met by Prime Minister Hage Geingob and Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab. *(11A)*

Mahatir is leading a delegation that includes senior government officials and businessmen connected with mining, agriculture, trade, banking and shipping. — Sapa. *(11A)*

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Financial Mail

ATTENTION EN

PLAN NOW TO ATTEND THE

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN

INTERNATIONAL

ANC drafts code to curb its renegade members

THE ANC is planning a code of conduct to bind its errant self-defence units to party policy and make them more accountable.

The PWV region is to consider a draft code today.

Last week the ANC said renegade members of self-defence units in the Vaal Triangle and Natal had become involved in activities ranging from extortion and killing to rape and forced recruitment.

An ANC investigation into the recent slaying of the six-member Zwane family of Sebokeng had also found that self-defence unit members may have been involved.

ANC spokesmen said the details emerging from the investigation, which was headed by ANC PWV region deputy secretary Obed Bapela, had not been confirmed.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the allegations had come

BIDAM 17/11/92 11A
ADRIAN HADLAND

from communities as well as witnesses.

"We have not verified the allegations. We are investigating sources of violence in the Vaal Triangle, and in Natal we have found that the bulk of the violence has been visited by the state on the people."

The draft code of conduct, which will be tabled at a summit of ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations at the weekend, would include clauses on "behaviour, conduct, discipline, accountability and a commitment not to become involved" in unsanctioned acts, Mamoepa said yesterday.

The self-defence units had been "operating loosely, taking far-reaching decisions with national implications", Mamoepa added.

"We have to bring the self-defence

units under control as the ANC must take final responsibility for their actions."

He said the final version of the code of conduct would be negotiated at the summit before it was implemented.

While individual members of self-defence units would not be represented at the summit, an "umbrella body" acting on their behalf would contribute to the debate, Mamoepa said.

He said the ANC was not prepared to divulge the number of self-defence units operating in the Vaal Triangle and Natal, because of "security considerations".

He said this weekend's summit was aimed at facilitating the building and strengthening of the self-defence unit structures, improving accountability, the adoption of a binding code of conduct and measures aimed at bringing the self-defence units firmly under ANC control.

Doors closed on inquest

BIDAM 17/11/92
FORMER CCB information officer Derrick Louw was granted an application to testify in camera yesterday at the resumption of the inquest into the murder of Wits University academic David Webster.

Minutes after the hearing resumed, Louw's counsel Jurie Wessels applied for his client's evidence to be heard behind closed doors in order to protect his identity.

Wessels' application for an in camera hearing was also heard behind closed doors. Judge M Stegmann granted the application.

State counsel J van Vuuren later told the media a transcript of Louw's evidence and cross-examination would be made available within a day or two.

However, members of the media were given a copy of Louw's statement to the Harms commission in 1990, which was submitted at the inquest yesterday.

The former CCB information officer said his task had been to collate

BIDAM 17/11/92
information and make it available to the various CCB regions as needed.

During the Harms commission Louw was shown a list of names which commission officials had found among CCB documents. The list included Webster's name, next to which Louw had drawn an arrow.

Louw said Webster had been unknown to him until after the academic's death, and to the best of his knowledge had not been monitored by any CCB member.

After Webster's death, CCB MD Joe Verster had asked him if there was any information on Webster.

Louw said since the academic was unknown to him he had done a search of the CCB's information documents and, finding the list which had been drawn up by another CCB member, had put an arrow next to Webster's name to show Verster later.

Cross-examination of Louw will continue behind closed doors today.

Children slain in Natal attack

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Two young children and two adults were killed in the latest wave of violence in Natal when several kraals near Umgababa, south of Durban, were attacked early yesterday by unknown men armed with AK-47s.

SAP spokesman Capt Bala Naidoo said Ambrose Khomo, Catherine Gumbi and her two children were killed. BIDAM

At least 21 people have died in Natal/KwaZulu since Friday, including six people who were shot dead at Nxamalala near Maritzburg on Saturday. 17/11/92

KwaZulu Police reported at least nine other deaths in their area at the weekend.

Meanwhile, Umlazi mayor Maria Xulu yesterday survived a second assassination attempt in weeks while travelling through "H" section.

THE politically correct wing of the American parasite class went into conclave at New York's Riverside Church over the weekend to consider how it could continue feeding on SA now that the sanctions era is coming to a close.

The ANC, which called the gathering and sent about 50 of its officials to brief it, seemed only too happy to oblige. Even now, with all the power and resources of the state within its grasp, the movement lacks the confidence to believe it can operate without them.

To be sure, the new SA will need all the outside help it can get. If groups like TransAfrica, the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility and the American Committee on Africa can rejig their activism away from sanctions towards generating real inflows of capital and development assistance — as ANC president Nelson Mandela asked them to do in a videotaped message — it would be churlish to criticise.

Unfortunately, most have another agenda. Themselves. They are in the game to sate their own appetites. The ANC is merely at the head of the queue for whatever crumbs they may brush from their table.

This is a ferocious judgment. But it can be documented. Furthermore, many in the ANC know it to be true, having witnessed the scandalous siphoning off of funds Mandela raised during his 1990 tour here. Sadly, they seem resigned to letting the travesty continue, at the expense not only of their dignity, but of their sovereignty.

Last October, TransAfrica's Randall Robinson convinced Mandela to sign a "memorandum of understanding" endorsing the creation of an entity called the SA-American Business Council (SAABC). Its purpose: "To foster a closer working relationship in the areas of business and economic development between dispossessed South Africans and African Americans."

This sounds reasonable. But the kicker comes a few paragraphs later, where it is stated that one of the

ANC's American allies queue up to sponge off new SA

B/om
17/11/92
SIMON BARBER in Washington

SAABC's principal functions will be to "review investment and business proposals from US corporations planning to locate or relocate in the New SA in order to assure that appropriate affirmative action guidelines are adhered to and respected".

In short, Robinson the sanctioneer is to become Robinson the gatekeeper. Having helped force scores of US corporations out of SA, he now proposes to dictate who shall be allowed to re-enter once an interim government is in place. He is joined in this endeavour by former congressman Walter Fauntroy, the ANC's US lobbyist, who seems to have taken the movement for a \$230 000 ride on a promise to raise millions for the Mandela Freedom Fund.

There is no mystery about the use to which the SAABC intends to put its ANC-granted shakedown licence. The idea is simple, and none of those involved has made any attempt to conceal it. It is to ensure that Robinson and his associates reap, as compensation for their supposedly leading role in the anti-apartheid struggle, a "fair" share of whatever profits are to be generated from post-apartheid reconstruction.

Harlem International Trade Centre Corp president Gene Norman puts the case thus: "As emerging democracies come into being, they get a lot of emotional, cultural and other

support from African Americans, but not much in return. A new SA government must encourage and include us in their development plans."

The "programme of action" developed at the conference goes further. It explicitly calls for "a definitive policy statement by the democratic forces in SA that will serve as an invitation for direct involvement by the African-American business community, including such mechanisms as set-aside programmes for African-American business".

In other words, an ANC government will be expected to adopt affirmative action policies not only for its domestic constituency. In procuring goods and services, it will be pressed to grant a specific percentage of contracts to wealthy Americans who like to call themselves members of "the African diaspora".

It might be understandable if the ANC were to decide, of its own volition, to throw a little business in the way of its foreign supporters once it had the opportunity to do so. But the Riverside statement is couched as a bald-faced demand. It is an insult to the millions of South Africans who have suffered and died for the right

to govern themselves. It is effrontery on a cosmic scale, yet the ANC raises not one word of protest. One can only wonder what someone like Steve Biko would have thought.

Such behaviour on the part of people like Fauntroy and Robinson renders their motives suspect even when they propound seemingly sensible initiatives.

One such is the creation of a US-government financed enterprise fund for SA, modelled on funds established by Congress for post-communist Poland and Hungary. The concept is straightforward. A private investment company is established, with an independent board of directors drawn from the US and the beneficiary country. Initial finance is provided by the US Treasury.

The Polish fund, launched in May 1990, was capitalised at around \$245m, but it is also permitted to raise further finance from private sources. Through individual investments ranging from \$3 000 to \$15m, it is helping finance about 1 400 small- to medium-sized enterprises, all selected using solid business criteria. It has also capitalised Poland's first private mortgage bank to provide loans to residential developers and mortgages to home buyers.

Legislation that would grant \$240m to a similar fund for post-apartheid SA was introduced last

April by Congressman Mervyn Dymally, the retiring chairman of the House Africa subcommittee, at Fauntroy's urging. It has gone nowhere, prompting Fauntroy and others to cry racism.

This ignores a couple of points. First, the Polish and Hungarian funds were established after the countries had governments committed to free-market reform. SA's political and economic future has yet to be determined. Second, supporters of the east European funds were able to make a serious case that the US taxpayers' capital would be soundly managed and efficiently absorbed.

Unfortunately, the advocacy of Fauntroy and his colleagues has not inspired similar confidence. To begin with, there is Fauntroy's own rhetoric. Judicious is not a word that springs to mind. He does not talk about dreary things like risk and return on assets, but about getting his hands on "other people's money", or OPM, as he likes to call it.

"Give us the money," he cried at the Riverside conference. "We know what to do with it."

He then explained he would invest in the ANC/Cosatu Media Project's Press trust so that he "can get the ANC the means to communicate with its people before the election" for a constituent assembly. In short, he would use the fund for political purposes rather than to stimulate economic growth.

Secondly, the proposal is couched in overtly racial terms: membership of the SA fund's board would be restricted to black South Africans and African-Americans. Inclusion of the former is fair enough, so long as it is on a non-partisan basis. Not so giving a monopoly to the latter.

The Polish fund does not limit board membership to Polish-Americans. And even if it did, that would in no way justify the Fauntroy position. The relationship between Polish-Americans and Poland is somewhat more direct than that between African-Americans and SA.

Not, however, in the view of Fauntroy, Robinson, Dymally *et al.* They evidently believe that SA is theirs. Theirs for the taking.

Rebel units: ANC takes action

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is planning a code of conduct to bind its errant self-defence units to party policy and make them more accountable.

The PWV region is to consider a draft code today.

Last week the ANC said renegade members of self-defence units in the Vaal Triangle and Natal had become involved in activities ranging from extortion and killing to rape and forced

recruitment.

An ANC investigation into the recent slaying of the six-member Zwane family of Sebokeng had also found that self-defence unit members may have been involved.

ANC spokesmen said the details emerging from the investigation, which was headed by ANC PWV region deputy secretary Mr Obed Bapela, had not been confirmed.

ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ron-

1119 17/11/92
Mamoepa said the allegations had come from communities as well as witnesses.

The draft code of conduct, which will be tabled at a summit of ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations at the weekend, would include clauses on "behaviour, conduct, discipline, accountability and a commitment not to become involved" in unsanctioned acts, Mr Mamoepa said yesterday.

NEWS Fencing of 18 hostels on the agenda ● Judicial inquest was closed to the public

Meeting between Govt, ANC is on

Sowetan 17/11/92

2/11A *11A*

A "BUSH SUMMIT" between the African National Congress and the Government may be held before the end of the year, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma confirmed yesterday.

This confirmation follows an agreement between the Government and ANC in Pretoria last week to hold a meeting to ensure the further implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

Mr Macozoma said the date for the meeting still had to be jointly announced. He would not confirm a report that November 29 was the day scheduled.

Asked if further "talks about talks" were necessary or if the meeting was on track, he said: "The meeting is on track... We hope it will be before the end of the

■ BUSH SUMMIT Discussion on implementation of Record Understanding:

year."

Certain to be on the agenda of the meeting, to be held at an as yet-unnamed bush retreat, are the issues of political prisoners and the fencing of hostels.

The Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC stipulated that ANC political prisoners would be released and 18 hostels would be fenced by November 15.

From September 26 to November 15, the Government released 195 political prisoners from the ANC's list. The National Council on Indemnity is seeking information on another 22 prisoners.

Correctional Services spokesman Lt Burt Slabbert said the department's understanding was that the ANC, having accepted the October 8 1990 cut-off date for political crimes, was satisfied with this.

Constitutional Development and Communications Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa last week issued a terse joint statement saying "progress in the implementation of the Record of Understanding ... was noted.

"It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon." - Sapa

Calls for unity of black people

11A

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE political scene is a circus: the government is playing games, corruption scandals have rocked the country and violence is everywhere.

Callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night said to solve all these problems, black people must unite and set a good example for the whole continent.

They also called for an insurrectionist revolution to topple the racist government.

One caller, Mitha, warned against the appointment of whites who defected from the erstwhile exclusively white political parties to senior positions in the African National Congress.

Sowetan 17/11/92
"They are going to neutralise our struggle. They will inevitably dilute the struggle," she said.

"We need confrontation - open total confrontation. The national party has a history of telling lies. It is high time we call a spade a spade. We must push revolution into top gear and oppose the enemy physically."

Anonymous,
Durban

"We should wake up and support mass action. We

must tell the United Nations to freeze all the Government's assets overseas."

Ishmael,
Cape Town

"An Africanist approach to solve the problem of settler colonialism is imperative. Our enemy is not apartheid. Our enemy is a settler. Any solution running short of armed revolution amounts to capitulation. A liberated Azania should set a trend for a Socialist African Republic that transcends

colonial balkanisation."

Sibusiso,
Daveyton, Benoni

"Like father like son. The recent homelands scandals have been blown out of proportion. The government needs to clean itself up. Moreover the armed struggle should not be disbanded. It should be intensified in tandem with the government's underground activities to undermine the ANC."

Baxton Sedamba,
Kimberley

next *Talkback* topic

What is the future of negotiations? What is the meaning of the ANC's "sunset clause" mooted in discussion documents? Joe Slovo is a special *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show studio guest to answer these and your questions between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

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ANC supports probe into all armed forces

IIA RAY HARTLEY **SAP**

ANC official Mac Maharaj said on the SABC's Agenda programme last night that the ANC supported the investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and all other "armed formations" as recommended by the UN.

He said government had not shown a similar commitment to an impartial investigation of the SADF, SAP and KwaZulu Police.

The ANC would decide whether government was negotiating in good faith based on the response to the Goldstone commission's revelations of a covert campaign to undermine the ANC undertaken by Military Intelligence (MI), Maharaj said.

He said the question of whether or not government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer was aware of this campaign would not dictate the ANC's attitude to talks with government.

President F W de Klerk's response to the Goldstone report was "unfortunate" and he should have accepted its recommendation immediately that its powers be extended, said Maharaj.

Meyer said on the same programme that government supported in principle the Goldstone commission's recommendation that its powers be extended, but would need more details on the issue before a decision was reached.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday Inkatha would support investigations to expose MI efforts to undermine the ANC.

But Mdlalose defended the KwaZulu Police, saying while the force would not object to specific allegations being investi-

gated, it would oppose "a fishing expedition launched in respect of an entire police force consisting of thousands of members".

Sapa reports that the SACP called for the sacking of the former and present Defence Ministers, Meyer and Gene Louw, as well as top leaders in the military and police.

Those to be dismissed should include SA Defence Force Head Gen "Kat" Liebenberg, Chief of the Army Lt-Gen Georg Meiring and Police Commissioner, Maj-Gen Johann van der Merwe — all of whom the SACP alleged were the "masterminds of a government low-intensity war against the mass democratic movement".

Azapo said government had to resign immediately because of Goldstone's disclosures.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said: "De Klerk cannot hide any longer behind the tired cliché, 'We did not know'."

The CP said De Klerk, as SADF commander-in-chief, should assume responsibility for any irregular SADF acts.

The CP lamented the fact that the Goldstone commission had brought the integrity of SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg and Army chief Gen Georg Meiring into question by insinuating that Meiring's statements on MK were questionable.

The SA Council of Churches (SACC) said it was appalled at government's "blustering responses" to the "many recent revelations of corruption and falsehood".

Police chief takes issue with Goldstone

PRETORIA — Judge Richard Goldstone has come under fire from SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe, who said yesterday the police had been prejudiced by his commission.

Goldstone had indicated that a witness brought before the commission by the SAP was the initial link in providing clues to an MI role in covert operations.

Van der Merwe said the witness had been presented

to disprove allegations made by a Mozambican army deserter that he was paid by the SAP to commit acts of violence.

He said claims that former MI agent Ferdi Barnard had gained access to the SAP Criminal Bureau's computer system had as yet not been established. Police had not been given an opportunity to do so, or to respond.

He took issue with Goldstone's comment that police had been "singularly unsuccessful in apprehending the culprits responsible for thousands of political murders..."

When untested allegations were presented so that they were perceived as facts, it contributed to a false perception that the SAP was unwilling or unable to perform its task, he said. — Sapa.

18/11/92
BIPM

Slovo stands by his 'sunset clause' (11A)

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mizimasi Ngudle

SOUTH African Communist Party chairman and ANC executive member Mr Joe Slovo defended his "sunset clause" on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback show yesterday.

"The premise of the 'sunset clause' still remains intact despite revelations of the Military Intelligence dirty tricks to destabilise the African National Congress.

"The regime's principled position is that it knows it cannot govern it in the old way. It recognises that a universally acceptable regime must come into place.

"To this end the Government is intent on weakening the ANC and retain power. Hence its strategic position evidenced by the recent revelations,

"The point is not what commissions are revealing, but what (President FW) De Klerk doing is about the ghastly crimes against humanity as well as attempts to discredit the ANC.

"The issue is what has De Klerk done about it. He has done nothing up to now," Slovo said.

He said there was obviously a dark cloud following the Goldstone Commission's disclosures. He said the ANC structures were busy consulting and would determine what effect will the disclosures have on the negotiating process.

He said the "sunset clause" proposals were his assessment and those of the people

generally. *Sowetan 18/11/92* of which the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has so persistently emphasised.

"Clearly the enemy is not defeated. Neither are we suing for surrender. But surely the enemy knows our strength is the people and that is why all the dirty tricks campaigns. My basic proposition is that we have come across a give-and-take situation. We need a package that, while not compromising the interests of the people, will also adequately address the interests of the minorities."

He said his proposals underpinned the "virtue of necessity" to accommodate minority interests, the importance

of which the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has so persistently emphasised.

"These issues have to be addressed now. We cannot wait until a democratic settlement is in place."

Slovo told Mr Tito Mboweni of the ANC's economic desk that there was less risk in dealing with forces which were bent on sabotaging the negotiation process from within than from outside the negotiating table.

"You must not forget that what I meant was a short transition period with definite time frames," he said.

next *Talkback* topic

The Government continues to reel from one scandal to the other. How deep is the rot and how far does illegal State clandestine activities stretch? How does it affect the future of negotiations? Share your view by phoning DJ Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

BIDAY 19/11/92
**Camp abuses
probe on ice**

ADRIAN HADLAND (11A)

THE ANC was unable to indicate this week when a follow-up investigation into ANC detention camp abuses would begin. (607)

A commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela in March this year detailed an "extraordinary abuse of power" including "violence for the sake of violence" by ANC security department officials during the 1980s.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said discussions were under way concerning who would be appointed as commissioners in the follow-up investigation.

Mokaba plans to sue govt

B/DAM 19/11/92
ADRIAN HADLAND

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba is considering legal action against the state following disclosures that Military Intelligence (MI) may have conducted a campaign last year to discredit him.

Mokaba said he would also be calling on the ANC leadership to launch an investigation into the matter.

"There is no question of me keeping quiet. I intend taking action against the state and will also ask the ANC leadership to look into it," he said.

Details of proposed smear campaigns against members of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) were released this week by Judge Richard Goldstone.

Files recovered from a secret MI operations centre by Goldstone commission investigators stated that

"as an example of the manner in which MK would be compromised criminally or amongst their own members reference is made by (MI chief agent Ferdi) Barnard to the case of Peter Mokaba"

"During May 1991 Mr Mokaba was widely reputed in the Press as having been a police spy. That was denied by him and soon thereafter he was elected as president of the ANC Youth League," Goldstone said this week.

Mokaba said allegations,

apparently encouraged by MI, that he was a police spy had "caused a lot of grief" and resulted in a "life-threatening situation".

"At that time people who were accused of being police spies were necklaced."

Mokaba said that while he was in detention police interrogators had threatened to "plant something" on him.

"Goldstone's report has important ramifications for the ANC. The people who accused me of being a police spy are still working for the organisation," he said.

Two men killed on trains

TWO MEN were killed and four people injured on Witwatersrand trains yesterday, police spokesman W/O Andy Pieke said. *B/DAM 19/11/92*

He said the body of a man inflicted with stab wounds was found between the New Canada and Crown railway stations. Police suspect he was attacked on a train before being thrown off.

The body of a man with gunshot and stab wounds was found on a stationary train at the New Canada station.

Pieke said a man was stabbed, robbed and thrown from a Springs-Randfontein train at the Angelo station near Boksburg. Two men, one shot and the other stabbed, disembarked from the same train when it stopped at Braamfontein station in Johannesburg.

A fourth man disembarked at the Mayfair station in Johannesburg after he had been stabbed on a train. No arrests had been made. — Sapa.

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Wits professor

PE TOWN RARY

26 NOV 1992

NEWS FEATURE *ANC regional chairman talks about his vision*

Sexwale is preparing for a new government

Sowetan 19/11/92

DUTY CALLS

ANC out to strike a blow during polls:

By **Themba Molefe**
Political Reporter



TOKYO SEXWALE STARTS talking about his vision before he even offers you a seat. The chairman of the African National Congress's largest region is a giant in all respects. He is a big man who speaks with power and who smiles readily. His small office in Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, appears to shrink in his presence.

He states his mission immediately: "Very soon we will be faced with national elections and we accept that the PWV region will deliver the largest vote for the ANC. We will strike a blow from the PWV. The challenge is here. Everyone is here, even the Government and the IFP."

Words like *action, organise, mobilise* and success seem his favourites.

"We cannot be on top of the situation if we lack proper organisation. We need a good ship to withstand the tempest."

He says the Pan Africanist Congress's existence "is a challenge to the ANC."

"I like the PAC's challenge. It keeps us on our toes and that makes us better. When the ANC becomes the government, the PAC will be a good opposition."

"But," he cautions, "the final test will be the election." Sexwale believes the ANC has succeeded in its recruiting drive. This has been proved by scientific polls, huge rallies and door-to-door campaigns.

"The ANC leads but we are not sitting on our laurels. We will organise and organise."

Sexwale says he believes in Black Consciousness because black aspirations are paramount.

However, he warns: "If you address black anger alone you are wasting time. So are you if you look exclusively at white fears and concerns."

"You have to note that black anger is 80 percent more than white fear which is 20 percent. If you pander to white fear and do not address the black anger you will be undermining democracy."

"People are hungry for democracy and need safeguards which will prevent the Angola choice."

"The best safeguard is a democratic constitution. No forgery. A Bill of Rights. People want habeas corpus, not detention without trial. These are the safeguards that whites must accept. The chickens have come home to roost."



Tokyo Sexwale ... preparing for elections.

Pic: SELLO MOTSEPE

Sexwale says democracy means a police force that is under control. "People must not cringe when they see a police officer."

He leans forward and gestures as if to embrace the whole African continent as he makes a point on democracy.

And a certain fire rages behind his words: "We must take pride in our (future) system. For instance, in the United States the best speech after an election is of the defeated candidate. George Bush is a case in point."

What he said after losing the presidential elections strengthened the Americans' faith in their system.

"In Africa we have Kenneth Kaunda who took his loss to Frederick Chiluba well. We

need a Kaunda here - a statesman who loses gracefully. We don't need a Savimbi."

Inevitably, the interview shifts back to elections. Sexwale says he is obsessed.

"De Klerk (State President F W) and his Government have created no-go zones for us by denying us access to domestic and farm workers and the homelands."

They will be shocked because we are going to free those voters. We will fight all the way to protect the polling booths and see that democracy is born."

When ANC becomes government PAC will make good opposition

Tokyo's tales

Born and grew up in Johannesburg. Member of Black Consciousness Movement in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Joined ANC underground in 1971. Studied B Comm in Swaziland. Went into exile in 1975 and completed military officers training in the Soviet Union.

Upon return to South Africa in 1978 arrested after skirmish with South African Police.

Served 13 years of 18 years sentence on Robben Island.

Released on June 9 1990 in terms of Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

Elected to ANC PWV executive in September 1990, elected chairman in October 1991.

October 1992: re-elected PWV chairman and heads 25-member committee.

Abusing
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It's an old saying - "don't cut off your nose to spite your face". If you do if you abuse your medical aid. Although long run you'll lose. Because misuse mean everyone. Be wise. Take action now. Be resto

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ANC says yes to 'sunset clause'

Sowetan
Sowetan Correspondent

19/11/92

THE ANC's national working committee yesterday adopted a strategy document which proposes power sharing with the National Party during the transition.

The document, entitled "A Strategic Perspective", contains most of the proposals made previously in a paper by SACP chairman and ANC executive member Mr Joe Slovo.

The document notes that the ANC and the NP occupy a central role in the transition and that their relationship is marked by conflict arising from attempts by the Government to block the transition, and by constructive interaction in pursuing agreements.

"We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity - provided that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of

■ Movement proposes power-sharing with National Party:

government," the document said.

Discussing the basis for minimising the threat to stability and democracy during the transition, the ANC recognised that the SADF, SAP, other armed formations and the civil service had the capacity to disrupt and delay the transition if the transition to democracy affected them wholly negatively.

"In this process it may be necessary to address the question of job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement. These measures will need to apply to all armed formations and sections of civil service," the ANC said.

The document said some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of multi-lateral agreements while other elements of the settlement package would involve "binding" bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP.

Hani calls for peace

Soweto 20/11/92

SACP chief warns undisciplined youths of 'strong action':

By Isaac Molede

THE African National Congress yesterday undertook to uproot wayward elements who committed murder under the guise of self-defence units.

While saying self-defence units were an essential "mechanism to protect the community against terror", Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, said it was time undisciplined elements were uprooted.

Speaking at a meeting aimed at bringing peace between feuding factions at KwaMasiza hostels in Sebokeng, Hani said self-defence units were created by the ANC to defend people and be accountable to the community they served.

He condemned individuals who committed crimes in the name of the ANC and warned that the organisation would take strong steps against them after the Vaal Peace Summit to be held this weekend.

Afrikaner Volksunie meets ANC leaders

THE Afrikaner Volksunie presented its ideal of self-determination to the ANC yesterday and in turn listened to the organisation's stand on regionalism.

Headed by Volksunie leader Andries Beyers and ANC president Nelson Mandela, the two organisations said they would be considering the possibility of establishing a joint committee to discuss detailed constitutional questions.

A joint statement issued after the meeting at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters said: "The parties agreed on the need for negotiations between all parties to re-

sume as soon as possible. (11A)

"The parties also agreed to consider ways of ensuring Afrikaner nationalists would be defenders of the new order."

Reading the statement, Beyers said both organisations had acknowledged the significance of the meeting. "The Afrikaner Volksunie expressed its perception of the concerns of the Afrikaner community, their hopes and visions," he said.

Mandela said earlier that by sitting down with each other, the two organisations had "already cut down our problems by 50%". - Sapa. 8/10/92 20/11/92

Negative poll expected

MARKINOR's latest political survey should be free of the "referendum halo" which characterised results produced in May, Markinor senior research executive Mari Harris said yesterday.

The last poll, which measured popular support - or lack thereof - of the country's political bodies and their leaders, was conducted shortly after the referendum when the general mood throughout SA had been positive, said Harris.

She said the latest survey, to be released next month, would probably show that people of all races had lost some of the high expectations that followed the "yes" vote.

Continued violence and the recent corruption scandals would have a strong impact on how the public viewed politicians and their organisations.

She said support for the NP might have dropped

GAVIN DU VENAGE

while the ANC would have reached its plateau.

Although corruption in the homelands had been no secret, official confirmation of its scope would have influenced people, she said.

The latest poll was conducted among 800 whites, both rural and urban, and more than 1 300 metropolitan blacks. Rural blacks were excluded because of financial restraints. (11A)

Harris was confident the results would be an accurate reflection of the prevailing political climate.

Harris said polls were already a recognised political planning tool in SA.

"The big danger for politicians is to lose touch with the electorate," she said. Polls provided a voice for the populace and gave political leadership a barometer of their followers' feelings at a specific time.

UNIQUE
NEW WINE
FROM
HAMILTON
RUSSELL
VINEYARDS



Mandela and ANC differ over probe

BIDAM 20/11/92

(11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC has criticised government's appointment of a general to report on restructuring the SADF's intelligence activities, saying such an investigation would come to nothing.

But the organisation's president, Nelson Mandela, took an opposing line to the official statement, telling reporters: "It is a good encouraging step . . . as a government they acted on the facts they could find." He was "not disappointed" by the appointment of Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn to head the probe.

The ANC leader added, though, that he would await the outcome of the investigation and a proposed meeting between President F W de Klerk and Judge Richard Goldstone before commenting further.

The official ANC response condemned an internal investigation and called instead for a probe by impartial specialists led by Goldstone.

"This is similar to past sham commissions, where the police have been set up to investigate themselves.

"Judging from such experiences, the present investigation is a sop to the public and will come to naught. The police and the army have lost all credibility, and cannot investigate themselves."

The ANC also called for full public disclosure of the financing and operations of the SADF's alleged covert campaign, and the people who had been involved in it. Those "who already stand accused" should be suspended.

The DP also said it would prefer to see the Goldstone commission conduct the in-

vestigation. Leader Zach de Beer said the President's decision was no more than a holding operation. "We cannot judge from it whether or not he is going to take effective action about the security forces."

Government defended its decision, with spokesman David Steward saying De Klerk had opted for an internal investigation because he wanted "to retain overall control" of the probe.

But he had also tried to give the procedure credibility by saying Steyn would work in close co-operation with the Goldstone commission, Steward said.

"President de Klerk and government believe that the responsibility lies with it for ensuring that its house is kept clean and in order, and government has no intention of handing over the SADF to anyone who is not under its control. The SADF is not up for grabs," he said.

All the files and information at Steyn's disposal as head of all the SADF intelligence branches and MI would be available to Goldstone, Steward said.

He said that Goldstone's mandate was very broad, and proof of this was that he could launch a raid on an MI operational unit. Nonetheless, De Klerk would meet Goldstone today or, at the latest, by Monday to discuss the judge's request for more resources and wider powers to investigate security forces and private armies.

● Comment: Page 10

off a train.

March on Rosslyn factories

SCORES of Congress of SA Trade Unions members are expected to march on three factories at Rosslyn near Pretoria on Monday to press home certain demands.

Cosatu's Mr Jerry Moropa said at a Press conference yesterday the workers would demand a settlement for a labour dispute at the local August Laepple factory and the reinstatement of colleagues at the Wubbling and Apache engineering works.

Sowetan 20/11/92

1 164 Natal dead

UNREST in Natal has now claimed the lives of 1 164 since the beginning of the year, according to a report by the Human Rights Commission.

The HRC says 19 people were killed in Natal since last Wednesday. Six of the deaths were in the Natal Midlands, another six at Umgababa on the South Coast and the remaining four on the Natal North Coast.

Sowetan 20/11/92

Offensive names changed

THE Government has taken the first steps to remove offensive words from the names of places in South Africa.

This could mean that places like Kaffersdrift and Kafferrivier could disappear from the map to be replaced by more acceptable names.

It is not known at this stage how far the Government plans to go and if it will change the names of places like the Hendrik Verwoerd Airport and P W Botha Airport, or leave this to an incoming government.

The announcement about renaming places was made by Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Mr Johan Scheepers.

Sowetan 20/11/92

AVU and ANC frank talks

THE Afrikaner Volksunie presented its ideal of self-determination to the ANC and listened in turn to the organisation's stand on regionalism in a historic meeting yesterday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela left the meeting early but said the presentation by AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers had been "very frank".

Beyers had suggested that an ANC-AVU committee be established "to look into areas of common interest". The meeting was held at the ANC's headquarters. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa*

Sowetan 20/11/92

Mokaba speaks out on 'sunset clause'

Sowetan 20/11/92

11A

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE president of the ANC Youth League, Mr Peter Mokaba, last night dismissed reports that the organisation had adopted the "sunset clause" proposed by SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

Speaking during the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show*, Mokaba said the standpoint taken by the ANC's national working committee was not necessarily the policy adopted by the organisation's congress.

Mokaba was a Radio Metro studio guest after Slovo spoke on the programme on the "sunset clause" earlier in the week.

"The ANC is not a political party. It is still a liberation movement. That is why the 70 percent concession by the national working committee was pulled

down to the universally recognised 66 percent, which is the ANC position at present," he said.

Mokaba said the ANC would strive to obviate an apartheid settler state after democratic elections that would not be able to deliver.

A caller, who refused to give his name, said Slovo should be kicked out of the ANC because of the proposal, which effectively meant power-sharing between the ANC and the National Party during the transitional period.

"Don't forget Slovo is white. Lean to Black Consciousness Movement and go back to Steve Biko. Slovo's perspective is white.

"Do not forget that the oppressed major-

ity is black. Lest we come into grips with reality, we'll never know where we stand," the caller said.

Mokaba said Slovo's proposals were a serious departure from the ANC's basic standing policy.

Much remains unexplained

"I do not suggest a conscious attempt to infringe ANC policy. But the subsequent uproar ostensibly suggests that much remains unexplained," he said.

Mokaba did not expand on the question of the government of national unity and power sharing.



Joe Slovo

next *Talkback* topic

The *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* throws open the lines on Monday. This is your chance to phone in and express your views on any subject.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Slovo slams Congress hardliners

Political Staff

THE ANC would undoubtedly win a free and fair election but most of the other main levers of power, including the economy, would be maintained by the present power bloc, according to SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

"The army, police, civil service, judiciary and so on, will, broadly speaking, be the same," he said in an interview in

yesterday's issue of New Nation.

Mr Slovo also lashed out at the "triumphalists" in ANC ranks who wanted to scuttle negotiations until a complete surrender could be forced.

This, he said, involved a risk, ignored by the "triumphalists", and there was "no guarantee, however hard we work, that the balance of forces will be more favourable to us in say two years time".

He also rejected the argument by the

ANC's head of information, Dr Pello Jordan, that in the context of the liberation struggle negotiations did not allow for power-sharing.

"This is an unsustainable proposition, more worth of people who have a talent to fight struggles in their heads rather than on the ground," he said.

Mr Slovo said the ANC alliance would immediately take affirmative action to transform the army, police, civil service and judiciary.

(117) 47A

(301A)

CT 21/11/92



Hani stamps authority

11A ARG 21/11/92

THE ANC will demand a firm date for elections when it holds bilateral talks with the government early next month, says Mr Chris Hani, SA Communist Party general secretary.

He broke new ground yesterday by becoming the highest ranking communist to deliver a keynote speech to the Black Management Forum.

Mr Hani also told the BMF annual congress at the University of the Western Cape yesterday that President De Klerk had lost the political initiative to the ANC and its allies.

This, he said, was after Mr De Klerk had succeeded in winning a lot of credibility at home and abroad.

"And let us not kid ourselves. Part of this growing credibility was within our own constituency," Mr Hani said.

Last year an independent poll conducted among African males showed that 60 percent of them believed "De Klerk was doing a good job".

But this August, the same poll showed that the figure was down to 29 percent, he said.

"Polls are not always reliable. But the drop is very significant. It is just one of the many indicators that enable us, as we approach the end of 1992, to say that the political initia-

■ President De Klerk has lost the political initiative to the ANC/South African Communist Party/Congress of the South African Trade Unions alliance, SACP leader Mr Chris Hani has told some of the cream of the black business community.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

tive is no longer so obviously in De Klerk's hands."

But the drop of support for Mr De Klerk did not necessarily mean that the ANC/SACP/Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance had been proportionately strengthened.

"I think this has happened to a certain extent but not entirely."

Mr Hani said that the violence had also devastated black communities and affected the organisational capacity of political groupings.

He said the battlefield had for the past decade been the townships, schools, taxis and trains.

"Although we have improved our position strategically over the past year, it is clear that we have never had an interest in just continuing the war of attrition indefinitely."

He said the alliance believed it was imperative that there was a rapid move towards a negotiated political settlement with elections for a constituent assembly next year.

Mr Reuel Khoza made the call in a speech entitled *The Need for an Afrocentric approach to Management* at the conference.

He said Ubuntu was a concept that brought to the fore images of supportiveness, co-operation and solidarity or communalism.

"It is the basis of a social contract that stems from but transcends the narrow confines of the nuclear family to the extended kinship network — the community."

With diligent cultivation Ubuntu could be extended to business.

He said the Ubuntu philosophy and the community concept of the corporation had significant practical implications for corporate life.

"Among those are the fact that they provide a cultural hotbed for such important values as creative co-operation, empathetic communication and team work."

Ubuntu and the community concept also provided a basis for what should be corporate culture on African soil.

Mr Khoza said he believed that one of the most meaningful acts of empowerment would be if in the next 10 years the senior executive of South Africa's major corporations reflected the natural racial balance in the country.

"At the major ANC-regime bilateral now scheduled for early December, this, the demand for a firm date for elections, will be the main issue from our side. We need the certainty of an election. And we need then to build the rest around such a firm date."

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said his movement would not support "a sunset clause for this regime".

He said white domination and the security forces were largely to blame for the violence.

"It's because a particular regime order does not want to make way for a new order. White domination has to go."

"The PAC is not in the business of coming to terms with white domination. We want to bring about a new non-racial and democratic society," Mr Alexander said.

A strong plea was also made for the traditional African concept of Ubuntu to be introduced into business.

We fight alongside the ANC

(11A) SACP

ARG 21/11/92
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IT was likely that the SACP would fight elections for a constituent assembly as part of an ANC-led alliance, outgoing regional SACP chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako said.

He warned that while the date for elections was not known, the SACP could not wait for the date to be announced before it began its campaign.

"It is most likely we will fight the elections as part of an ANC-led alliance with ANC logos, slogans and programmes," he said in an address to delegates at the SACP (Western Cape) annual conference in Athlone.

He said at the conference which ends tomorrow that the SACP would have an important role to play in elections.

"An overwhelming victory for the liberation movement in the election would go a long way in determining whether a new government would be able to lay a basis for the national liberation of our people."

Mr Kalako said the Western Cape had become one of the major focuses of the regime and the ruling class.

"Their aim is to create a pocket of continued white domination in our region. In the end their vision of the Western Cape has to do more with the needs of tourists and the desire of foreign capital than the demands of our people."

To achieve their goals the regime and the ruling class were trying to win over sections of the coloured community and confining other sections "of our people to the squatter areas of poverty hidden from their eyes".

He said coloured workers were highly unionised members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Communists focus on talks

NEGOTIATIONS and an election strategy will come under scrutiny at the annual regional congress of the SA Communist Party this weekend.

Regional secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki said the congress would not only review negotiations and the national elections but also the strategy for the Western Cape. (11A)

PAC chief talks to UN leader

CT 211142
JOHANNESBURG. — PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu held wide-ranging discussions with United Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York on Wednesday, the PAC said yesterday.

Mr Makwetu briefed the Dr Boutros-Ghali on political events and violence and asked him to strengthen the monitoring team. — Sapa (JA)

Boipatong, Barnard ... what's next?

SOUTH 21/11 - 25/11/92

JUDGE Richard Goldstone's revelations that military intelligence employed a convicted murderer to head a plot against uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, is the most damaging scandal the government has suffered so far.

"This is certainly going to take some of the shine off De Klerk," a European diplomat said.

The South African president reacted cautiously on Wednesday. Instead of heads rolling, he simply instructed army chief of staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to probe the details of the scandal.

He also issued a veiled rebuke to the Goldstone Commission for releasing its information to the press, saying that he would still be considering the full judicial report.

The latest disclosure followed bruising evidence last week of massive corruption in two of the 10 black homelands that were cornerstones of the government's former apartheid policy.

Goldstone's inquiry linked top army officers to a plan to discredit the ANC while De Klerk was engaged in high-profile negotiations with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"All the worms are coming out of the woodwork," said Mr Tony van Nieuwkerk, an analyst at the University of the Witwatersrand Institute for International Affairs.

But diplomats cautioned against an over-reaction to the disclosures, saying De Klerk should be given time to respond.

FW de Klerk's image as the reform-minded white leader trying to end apartheid is being battered by scandals over corruption and dirty tricks:

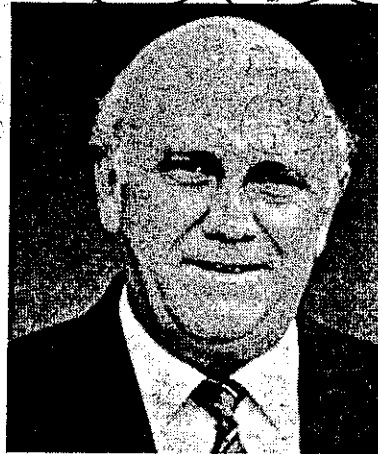
"Let's not be too apocalyptic about this," one Western diplomat said.

The diplomat said De Klerk had to be kept in power if only because there was no obvious successor who could take over the process of dismantling apartheid and persuading whites to share power.

Stellenbosch University political scientist Professor Philip Nel said most Western governments were still inclined to support De Klerk rather than Mandela, mainly because of De Klerk's commitment to a market-driven economy.

Nel said that while the black community probably was most disturbed about the disclosure of military bias against the ANC, white Afrikaners were enraged by the evidence of corruption.

"Afrikaners have traditionally trusted their leaders to be honest and they are seriously disappointed



President FW de Klerk

about the corruption. Disillusionment is a dangerous thing, it makes people unpredictable," Nel said.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said Goldstone, who heads a judicial enquiry into political violence, had "confirmed what we have always known" when he revealed evidence that the military had lied about employing Ferdi Barnard in 1991.

Goldstone told a news conference he had found military intelligence files confirming that Barnard, a former policeman who served four years of a 20-year sentence for killing two drug addicts, formulated a plan to undermine the ANC.

Marcus said the evidence underlined the need for a quick transition from exclusive white rule to democracy.

"It's not a question of whether De Klerk has to go, the whole government must go — that's why we

ANC leadership adopts compromises

SOUTH 21/11 - 25/11/92

THE ANC offered an olive branch to FW de Klerk on Wednesday when its National Working Committee formally adopted a discussion document which opts for a possible power-sharing settlement with the National Party.

The document, "Strategic Perspectives", is a modified version of the paper circulated at the October 29 Patriotic Front conference in Port Elizabeth.

At the time of phasing in a new constitution, the ANC notes that "the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government".

The document identifies the need to restructure the security

forces and civil service and to address the question of a general amnesty because of the potential of these issues to delay transition.

The job security, retrenchment packages and pensions of civil servants and members of the security forces would also be addressed.

The document proposes bilateral deals with the regime on issues such as regional government.

It spells out recent retreats of the De Klerk regime as well as the ANC's ability to mobilise mass action and international support.

However, it admits to organisational weaknesses and insufficient military and financial resources to defeat the "counter-revolutionary movement".

In setting goals for the present round of negotiations, the document warns that "we may not achieve everything we set out to achieve".

want interim rule now and elections by the middle of next year. But there might be some ministers who should go more quickly," she said.

Marcus declined to say, however, whether she wanted Mr Roelf Meyer, the government's chief negotiator, sacked because he was briefly in charge of the defence

ministry.

"Somehow, I doubt whether Meyer was ever actually in charge at the defence ministry," she said.

One diplomat concluded: "The latest allegations are very serious indeed, but we have to keep going, we must keep the process on track".

— Sapa-Reuters, South Reporter

Clinton strategist may aid Mandela

SI Times 22/11/92

From ~~2011A~~ 11A
**Simon Barber
in Washington**

THE POLITICAL pulse-taker and strategist who orchestrated President-elect Bill Clinton's march to power may soon be doing the same for ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Stanley Greenberg, a 47-year-old Yale professor turned pollster, has been in contact with the ANC about helping the movement prepare for the constituent assembly elections it hopes will take place late next year.

A spokesman for his Washington-based consulting firm, Greenberg-Lake, confirmed this week that "Stan has talked with people about the possibility of working for the ANC... it's under discussion".

She said he was "out of the country" on a post-election holiday and would be considering his next moves after talking to Mr Clinton and the transition team when he returned.

UCT professor Herman Hillombee, who has co-authored research with him

and is currently working at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington, said there had been talk for some time in ANC circles about signing him.

Marcel Golding of the National Union of Mineworkers went to see him at Clinton's Little Rock, Arkansas, headquarters two months ago to discuss the ANC's election plans.

Books

A Marxist political scientist while at Yale, Mr Greenberg has written two books dealing with South Africa, *Race and State in Capitalist Development*, a comparative study dealing with South Africa, Israel, Northern Ireland and Alabama, and *Legitimizing the Illegitimate*, a 1986 treatise on the pass laws and influx control.

Although this was not advertised by the Clinton campaign, he also advised the Marxist Sandinista movement in Nicaragua's 1990 elections. The Sandinistas lost.

Despite his leftwing credentials, Mr Greenberg is credited with developing Clinton's centrist strategy to break the Republican lock on the presidency.

"Even though I come from the left", he told the New York Times recently, "I have always been uncomfortable with elitist liberalism, which I think is disdainful of the values of working-class Americans."

His polling in blue-collar areas like Michigan's Macomb County had convinced him this would help the candidate in the eyes of so-called Reagan Democrats alienated by Jackson's apparent hold over the party and its agenda.

He was also the principal author of the minutely detailed battle plan that took Clinton from third place in the polls to decisive victory in November.

The plan scripted a complete image makeover for Clinton and his wife Hillary to convert the candidate from the slick, untrustworthy philanderer of popular imagination to a warm, caring, man-of-the-people with a bright adoring wife at his side.

Greenberg's services don't come cheap. According to one report, he stands to take in \$760 000 (R2,2-million) when the campaign finally settles its accounts. This should give him leeway to offer the ANC a steep discount if he decides to lend it his wizardry.

If the movement does retain him, it will be following in the steps of the government it hopes to replace. After Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980, Pretoria hired as lobbyists two of his closest advisers, John Sears and Stuart Spenser.

IRA connection used to embarrass ANC

STimes 22/11/92
Sunday Times Reporters

SOUTH AFRICAN Military Intelligence agents actively promoted a book by a British Conservative MP detailing links between the ANC and Irish Republican Army in a bid to embarrass the ANC.

Among those approached to publish extracts of the book was the Sunday Times.

The details of the Military Intelligence operation, undertaken by staff at the top secret Directorate of Covert Collection, has emerged in the wake of the Goldstone raid on the unit this week.

Arrested

The raid uncovered evidence that Military Intelligence was involved in a campaign to embarrass the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

This week, Mr Andrew Hunter, the author of the book, confirmed he had been approached by SA Military Intelligence agents about the book, but had been unaware they were agents.

One of those who approached him was Pamela du Randt. Du Randt and a fellow agent, Leon Flores, were arrested in Britain recently on suspicion of plotting the death of Captain Dirk Coetzee, a former police hitman.

At least three Sunday Times members

of staff were also approached by various people about the book — the latest approach being from Randburg entrepreneur Ron Major.

Mr Major, arts director for Digital Computers, said last week he had the manuscript in his possession and asked whether the newspaper would be interested in publishing extracts.

But when the Sunday Times went back to him this week he said he had decided against releasing the manuscript after discussions with his partner, George Joubert.

He claimed he did not want to endanger his life, nor did he want to burn his bridges with any future ANC government.

He said his interest in the manuscript had been of a purely commercial nature and he had no political affiliations. His company has, however, never embarked on a book publishing venture before.

In an interview in Basingstoke, Britain, this week, Mr Hunter emphatically denied he had written the book for South African Military Intelligence or had any connection with the organisation.

He said he had been studying the IRA's links with different organisations, including the ANC. His book, he admitted, was not complimentary to the ANC.

INTELLECTUAL circles in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg are small, and when I mentioned that I was going to interview Joe Slovo, everyone said, "Ah, Joe," with deep meaning, for they all knew him from the old days.

However much they might detest the politics of the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party and former chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation), he was still one of them, a Johannesburg intellectual. In a less-fraught political environment they might have considered him an amusing and ornamental *enfant terrible*.

He remains on the executive committee of the ANC, however, and is one of the organisation's chief negotiators.

I met him in his office on the 10th floor of the ANC's headquarters in Shell House in Plein Street in central Johannesburg. At the reception desk I asked for Mr Slovo; the receptionist called him Comrade Joe.

Security is elaborate at Shell House, but it seems ritualistic and not very efficient.

It was difficult to credit that until recently Mr Slovo was the man most wanted by South African security forces, that while in exile he had been the object of more than one assassination attempt and that his wife, journalist Ruth First, was murdered with a parcel-bomb in Mozambique.

When I met him, Mr Slovo did not look like a man who had just undergone a course of chemotherapy for cancer. Casually dressed (in his characteristic red socks), he looked younger than his 66 most eventful years. He was polite, mild-mannered and affable, even avuncular; and I should guess that he takes delight in appearing the very opposite of the demon he is frequently painted as.

He is soft-spoken with a mild South African accent (his family emigrated to South Africa from Lithuania when he was eight years old, his more distant relatives being killed there in the Holocaust); and he speaks calmly, even in response to questions which are clearly hostile, as though he had reached a state of serenity.

OF late, he has been making some uncharacteristically conciliatory public statements; the author of the pamphlet "No Middle Road", which for many years was the guide of every serious South African revolutionary, was now saying that compromise with the government was desirable and necessary, that the concerns and fears of the whites, including the police and the army, would have to be understood and within limits accommodated, and that a certain (unspecified) period of power-sharing was inevitable.

I asked him whether his proposed compromise was strategic or tactical.

"It isn't a question of strategy or tactics," he replied, "but a recognition on the part of the government that it cannot go on governing in the same old way, and on the part of the ANC that we are not strong enough to seize power. I have been in favour of a multi-party system for many years now."

I was surprised to hear it. I asked whether his experience of exile in African countries such as Angola and Mozambique had affected his views.

"I was never impressed by the so-called socialism of Angola and Mozambique," he

The ultimate aim of the Party is the building of a communist society, towards which it is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism ... To this end, the Communist Party aims ... to end the system of capitalist exploitation and establish a socialist republic based on the common ownership of the means of production ... — *The Path to Power: Programme of the South African Communist Party (1989)*

Comrade Joe: Treading softly on communism's mistakes

SITimes 22/11/92

ANTHONY DANIELS talks to Joe Slovo, leader of the South African Communist Party and the ANC's master tactician

said. "Subjectively, I never thought it worked."

By subjectively he meant (I think) that he did not give public expression to his doubts.

"The fundamental question," Slovo continued, "is who has power, and in whose interest. Or, as Lenin succinctly put it: 'Who Whom?'"

I asked whether his experiences in African countries (including Zambia and Tanzania) had led him to reject nationalisation as a policy.

"Yes," he replied. "Although everyone is agreed that this does not exclude deep involvement of the state in the economy, which is necessary. But things obviously cannot change overnight. Change will have to be gradual."

Had the people in the townships been told this? Was it not rather different from what slogans had led them to believe? Had not their expectations been raised to unrealistic levels?

Mr Slovo replied that the slogans had been necessary to activate the masses; and slogans inevitably simplified matters. However, he believed that when the true situation was explained to the people, they would understand; he had confidence in the political maturity of the South African masses.

Was I to understand, then, that he was now a reformist?

"As against what?" he asked.

"A revolutionary."

He explained that without the revolutionary activity of the past few years there would have been no negotiations now. The same, of course, might be said for the South African security forces.

I asked him about his allegiance to the Soviet Union. I recalled reading an interview in the Independent, circa

1988, in which he had said he first realised that Stalin betrayed the working class, and that the Gulag was no mere figment of capitalist propaganda, the previous year, when revelations were made in the Soviet Press.

"My disenchantment was a long process," he said, "beginning with Krushchev's secret speech in 1956. It wasn't like a sudden religious conversion; it was more a development."

"If you don't mind my saying so, you were a late developer." This seemed to provoke him into a defence of Soviet "achievements".

"You must remember there was more to the Soviet Union than labour camps. It was the pioneer of free education, free health care, housing for the workers and security of employment. Children were looked after."

There were the technological achievements, and for a time the growth rate exceeded that of America. And welfare capitalism was a response to the Soviet example."

I overlooked the gross and self-serving historical inaccuracies in Mr Slovo's remarks, and he continued his self-exculpation:

"Of course, these things did not outweigh the human side — the labour camps and so forth. But you have to remember as well that the Soviet Union occupied only five percent of my consciousness. The other 95 percent was occupied by South Africa. The Soviet Union was the only consistent friend we had, while the capitalist countries ignored us completely."

Had he ever considered the Soviet Union a model for South Africa?

"Yes," he replied. This established beyond reasonable doubt that to hate apartheid was not necessary to love freedom.

"Did you ever go to the Soviet Union?"

"Yes, several times." "Did you not notice anything about it, the shoddiness and the shortages, for example?"

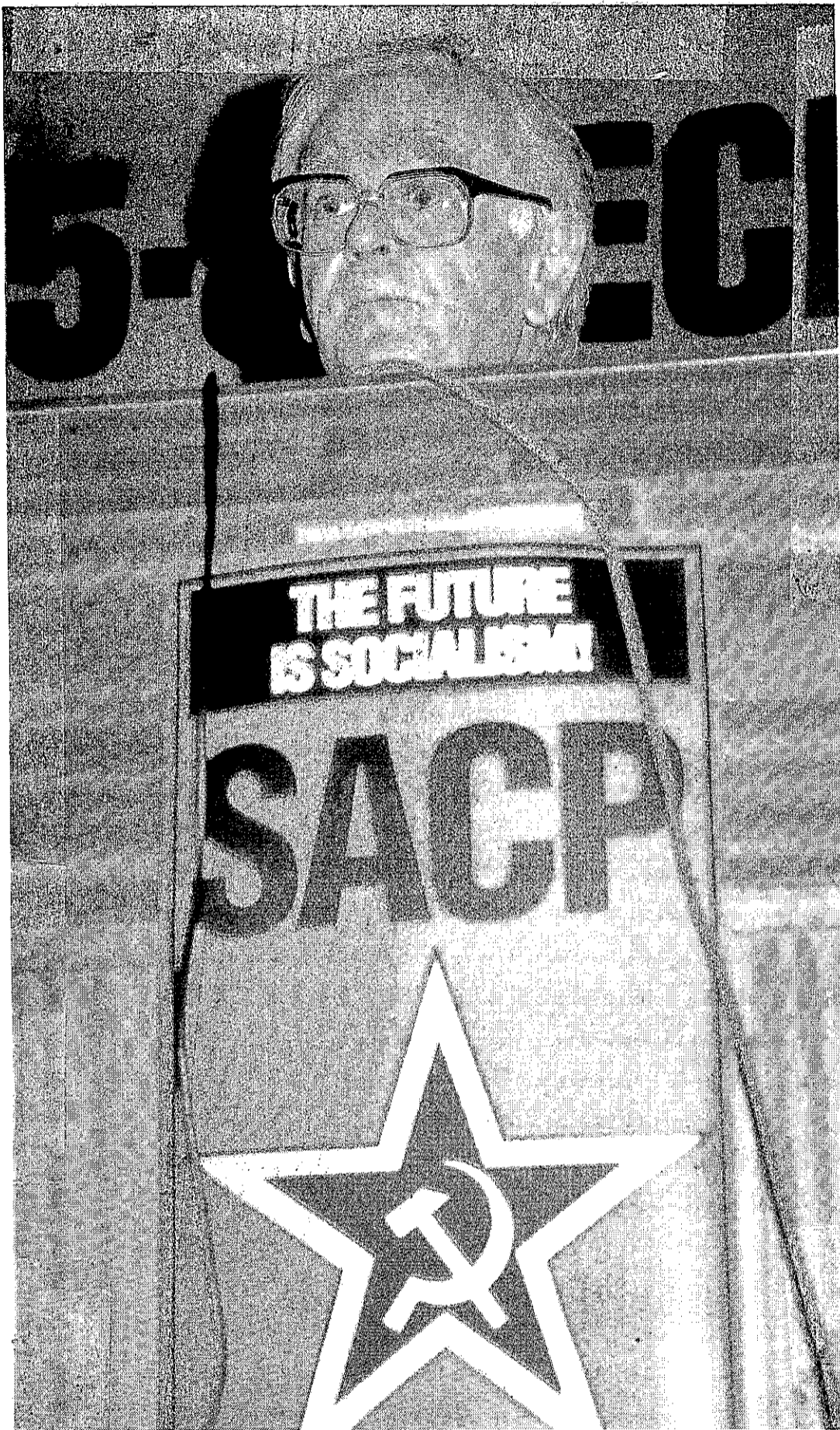
"Yes, we did, but at that time we explained them away to ourselves as the result of the arms race with the Americans."

"And did you investigate other aspects of Soviet reality? Did you visit health-care facilities, for example, or look into housing?"

"You must remember that we were there as guests of the government, and we met only the nomenklatura. They supported us and we believed what they told us; we trusted them."

Slovo seems unaware even now of the insouciance and irresponsibility of recommending so huge an experiment as communism in South Africa on the basis of such profound ignorance — if he was really as ignorant as he said he was.

"We found the idea of an equality of sufficiency attrac-



RETHINK: Slovo says idolising the Soviet Union was a mistake

Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

...tive," he said. "And look at the former East Germany. There was a survey published recently which showed that 60 percent of people thought they were better off under Honecker than under capitalism."

"And in 10 years' time, isn't it likely that black South Africans will say they were better off under De Klerk?" I asked.

"Impossible," he said. "Well, I have travelled extensively in Africa, and many blacks have told me that things were better under colonialism. Would you take that as an argument in favour of colonialism?"

"You have a point," he said. I asked him about the violence in the townships. I said I had heard many stories of in-

timidation there. Had not mass action (strikes, school and commercial boycotts, demonstrations, etc) unleashed something which might prove difficult to control? Would the genie go meekly back into the bottle?

He replied that there had not been a single popular movement in the history of the world whose success was not ascribed by opponents to intimidation and conspiracy. He did not doubt there had been some intimidation in the townships, but it could scarcely account for the attendance of 50 000 or 100 000 people at mass rallies.

I mentioned the strike of auxiliary workers at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, during which the houses of some nurses (and the neigh-

bours of nurses) had been burnt down in an attempt to intimidate them into joining the strike. People had died. "These things happen in all strikes. Look at your miners' strike."

I asked what faith could be put in his political judgment. He had, after all, mistaken tyranny for freedom and scarcity for plenty during nearly half a century. He had systematically disregarded or denied evidence of famine, mass murder, forced labour, repression, terror and brutality.

"We all make mistakes," he said. "Haven't you?"

□ Anthony Daniels is the author of books on Africa and writes for the Spectator, London, in which this article first appeared.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Meyer hits out at Mandela threat

S1 Times 22/11/92

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through unilateral threats.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had taken note of Mr Mandela's statement on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC would cut all bilateral links.

"The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussions by unilateral threats," Mr Meyer said.

He added the government had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected interim government.

Top ANC man is suspended

S1 Times 22/11/92

THE secretary-general of the ANC in the Eastern Transvaal, Mr Joe Nkuna, has been suspended by the organisation for negligence of his duties, pending confirmation by a regional conference to be held on December 12.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the decision followed a meeting by the organisation on Friday in Nelspruit to consider a commission of inquiry into allegations including neglect of duties and corruption by Mr Nkuna.

UN envoy on way to SA

THE United Nations is sending an envoy to South Africa on a two-week mission, according to the UN Observer Mission in Johannesburg.

Mission leader Angela King said in a statement Norway's ambassador to the United Nations would arrive in South Africa today, however his mandate was unclear.

Woman finds body in yard

A MURDERED Gordon's Bay pensioner was found by his ex-wife tied up in his garden.

Mr Ronald Darke, 80, who lived alone, was found on Friday by his ex-wife, Ruth, underneath some shrubbery. His hands and feet had been bound and he had been gagged.

Police said Mr Darke's house had been ransacked.

Another Nat MP resigns

S1 Times 22/11/92

THE National Party Member of Parliament for Umfolozi, Mr James Schmetler, announced his resignation from the House "for health reasons" yesterday.

He is the fourth NP MP to resign in the space of a month. *S1 Times 22/11/92*

a host of African states. On show was state-of-the-art weaponry developed and manufactured by Armscor in the face of the UN arms embargo, ranging from assault rifles to the renowned 155mm G6 motorised cannon — which could explain the warning to visitors photographed by JAMES SOULLIER.

Police informer organised massacre in name of ANC

SITimes 22/11/92

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE Goldstone commission has found that two attacks which claimed the lives of 19 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza last year were organised by a police informer posing as an ANC self-defence unit head.

The results of the eight-month inquiry into serious violence in that township and in the adjacent Phola Park squatter community found that Mncugi Ceba

headed a self-defence unit which, in September 1991, ambushed a march by hostel dwellers killing 16 and injuring 13.

He also led a coup by the Phola Park SDU which violently ousted the Phola Park Residents' Committee (of which three members were subsequently assassinated), falsely claiming that the committee was involved in the fraudulent use of development money to the area.

The report said the "acknowledged use of informers in positions such as that held by Ceba are not conducive to improving the already tense relations and suspicions between the security forces and the communities in question".

Although the Thokoza report was completed before the Goldstone commission's dramatic raid on a military intelligence centre last week, the technique of using people like Ceba,

who claimed falsely to be part of an ANC self-defence unit, in criminal activities tied in with suggestions Ferdi Barnard made to military intelligence last year — and which it claimed it never adopted — to employ precisely such techniques.

The report detailed out-of-control self-defence units, savage attacks by residents against opponents and hit-squad type actions by some hostel members in both Thokoza and neighbouring Phola Park.

However, since the commission began its work a modicum of calm had been restored to the area and a number of upgrading projects have commenced.

During the commission's investigations three witnesses, including a man and his wife, and well-known community worker Prince Mhlambi were murdered.

The 75-page report — the longest yet released by the year-old commission — detailed the attack on hostel inmates during a march, and six other

bloody incidents that took place in the area last year and early this year.

While the commission praised the conduct of the Defence Force in bringing calm to the area after the attack on the march, it raised questions about police investigation methods afterwards.

The commission, which released its report late on Friday, forwarded some of its findings to the attorney-general. It said there appeared to be a prima facie murder case against a Mr Ndebele who belonged to the so-called Kapta squad, the defence arm of the Khatlehong People's Taxi Association, and who lived in a hostel.

The evidence related to an attack on people attending the funeral of civic leader Sam Ntuli late in September last year during which 18 people were killed.

There also appeared to be a similar case against some members of the Phola Park self-unit, of which Ceba was a leader.

The commission heard the testimony of more than 100 people and four expert witnesses.

It found that squatter dwellers and hostel residents felt persecuted by frequent police searches and by the way they believed opposing groups in the area viewed them.

It found there were many weapons available in Phola Park, particularly AK-47s, which witnesses said came from Mozambique via a source in nearby Daveyton township.

Aggressive

It found that on no occasion did the local SDU play a defensive role for the community it claimed to represent. Instead, there were a number of incidents "both within Thokoza and beyond in which the SDU or members of the SDU played a very aggressive and outright criminal role".

The commission said there was no evidence at all that Umkhonto we Sizwe was in any way involved in the SDU.

The report said that political organisations bore a heavy responsibility toward SDUs that adopted them.

"Either they must publicly distance themselves from, and disown, such units if the units act criminally or violently, or the national organisation or party must accept responsibility for those criminal and violent acts. They cannot have it both ways."

PAC is ready to sit down and negotiate

SITimes 22/11/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress is ready to take its place at the negotiation table.

State President de Klerk and the president of the PAC, Mr Clarence Makwetu, plan to meet by the third week of January to arrange the PAC's participation in multi-party negotiations, the Sunday Times has established.

The PAC will insist that Codesa be replaced by a forum of another name but that it will not object to the presence of any of the Codesa One and Two participants.

It is more interested in the agenda for multi-party talks which it believes should be structured to ensure swift movement towards the holding of non-racial, one-person-one-vote elections.

Sources say the PAC would also want a UN Security Council type of veto power vested in the main political parties at the forum to avoid block voting by minority parties on the basis of "sufficient consensus", which the PAC rejects.

The last time the government held bilateral talks with the PAC was on November 11 in Pretoria.

This was a follow-up to a

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

meeting between the government and the PAC in Gaborone, Botswana, on October 24.

At the Pretoria meeting it was agreed to have another round of bilateral talks with the PAC on December 9, sources disclosed yesterday.

The December meeting will focus on two important issues:

- The creation of a "more representative negotiation forum" in the place of Codesa;

- The drawing up of an agenda for a bilateral summit between President de Klerk and Mr Makwetu in late January.

At the November 11 meeting the government was represented by Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, Law and Order Minister Henuus Kriel and Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Tertius Delpont.

The PAC was represented by its secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, and legal affairs secretary Mr Willie Seriti.

Mr Kriel is understood to have made clear to the PAC that the government was aware that members of Apla (the PAC's armed wing) were being trained in Transkei and claimed that a number of attacks were being carried out from there.

Banker turns to bibles

By CHARIS PERKINS

ABSA vice-chairman and deputy chief executive Piet Liebenberg took early retirement this week to devote his attention to raising money for bibles.

Mr Liebenberg, 59, was due to retire from his post in September next year, but decided to leave early after discussions with Absa.

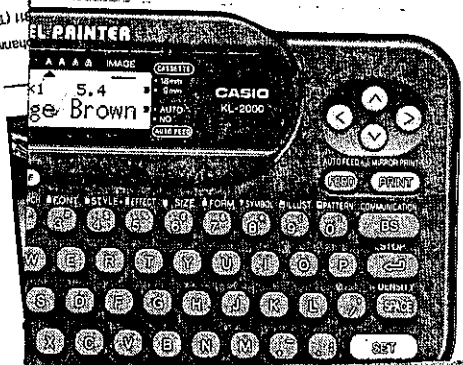
No one has been appointed to take over his post as vice-chairman and deputy chief executive, but chief executive Mr P Badenhorst will take over his role



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NEWS ROUND-UP

Meyer hits out at Mandela threat

ST Times 22/11/92

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through unilateral threats.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had taken note of Mr Mandela's statement on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC would cut all bilateral links.

"The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussions by unilateral threats," Mr Meyer said.

He added the government had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected interim government.

Top ANC man is suspended UN envoy on way to SA

11A

ST Times 22/11/92

THE secretary-general of the ANC in the Eastern Transvaal, Mr Joe Nkuna, has been suspended by the organisation for negligence of his duties, pending confirmation by a regional conference to be held on December 12.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the decision followed a meeting by the organisation on Friday in Nelspruit to consider a commission of inquiry into allegations including neglect of duties and corruption by Mr Nkuna.

THE United Nations is sending an envoy to South Africa on a two-week mission, according to the UN Observer Mission in Johannesburg.

Mission leader Angela King said in a statement Norway's ambassador to the United Nations would arrive in South Africa today, however his mandate was unclear.

Woman finds body in yard

A MURDERED Gordon's Bay pensioner was found by his ex-wife tied up in his garden.

Mr Ronald Darke, 80, who lived alone, was found on Friday by his ex-wife, Ruth, underneath some shrubbery. His hands and feet had been bound and he had been gagged.

Police said Mr Darke's house had been ransacked.

Another Nat MP resigns

ST Times 22/11/92

THE National Party Member of Parliament for Umfolozi, Mr James Schmetler, announced his resignation from the House "for health reasons" yesterday.

He is the fourth NP MP to resign in the space of a month. ST Times 22/11/92

.....
Keeping tabs on the news

ANC leadership gathers in Natal

THE ANC's National Executive Committee meets in Durban tomorrow mainly to discuss violence in Natal, according to NEC member and Northern Natal ANC chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu.

CSP/en 22/11/92
The ANC is also expected to discuss recent Goldstone Commission revelations and other relevant issues - as the agenda is "quite broad", according to Ndlovu.

UAD
Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela will meet French deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman at a luncheon tomorrow.

By QUINTON RHODES

ANC sticks a spanner in the works

THE ANC stuck a spanner in the government's works this week when it formally accepted the principle of power-sharing with the NP government during and even for a specified number of years after the transitional period.

Though the move appeared conciliatory, in fact the effect was to intensify pressure on the government to speed up the process of transformation and to give in to demands for an interim government.

The decision to accept the notion of a government of national unity was taken at a meeting of

the ANC's National Working Committee in Johannesburg this week.

It represents a fundamental departure from the ANC's earlier official position which insisted that the results of elections alone should determine the constitution of the future government.

In terms of the new decision, the ANC is guaranteeing far greater representation in future government to the NP than its support base could democratically claim. It proposes that an interim government of

national unity should be kept in place:

■ During the period of setting up elections for a Constituent Assembly;

■ While the Constituent Assembly is drafting the new constitution;

■ During the period when the old constitution is phased out and the machinery of State is being restructured; and

■ The proposed government of national unity could be retained into the indefinite future.

In the words of the Strategic Perspective document: "The balance of forces and the interests

of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided the parties who have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government".

The document also concedes on other major areas of conflict, including:

■ A general amnesty for the security forces;

■ Job security and pension deals for the civil service; and

■ The framing of policies on the powers and

constitution of regional government by means of bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government.

The document represents an unprecedented gesture of conciliation by the ANC.

More importantly, it meets almost all of the government's stated objections to speedily instituting an interim authority as well as for getting talks back on track. The central point here, as President De Klerk made clear in interviews last weekend in London, is the government's insistence

that it would not be prepared to accept winner-takes-all elections and demanded guarantees for the position of whites in the future.

De Klerk has also held out on the question of strong regional government to balance the central authority.

The ANC's acceptance of the Strategic Perspective document has led to intensified local and international pressure on De Klerk to speedily resolve the present negotiations impasse - and to institute some form of interim

government.

The announcement of the ANC's willingness to enter into power-sharing arrangements came, calculatedly, amid a growing crisis of confidence, credibility - and most importantly of legitimacy - currently facing De Klerk's government.

This week's revelations by the Goldstone Commission - that SADF Military Intelligence continues to be involved in projects aimed at destabilising the ANC by covert and unsavoury means - came on top of revelations

of enormous corruption inside Pretoria's homelands.

In the wake of these and other scandals which continue to break over the government's head on an almost daily basis, the demand for interim government grew in intensity this week when Nelson Mandela stated the ANC would not be prepared to re-enter negotiations until a date had been set for an interim government to take control of the degenerating situation.

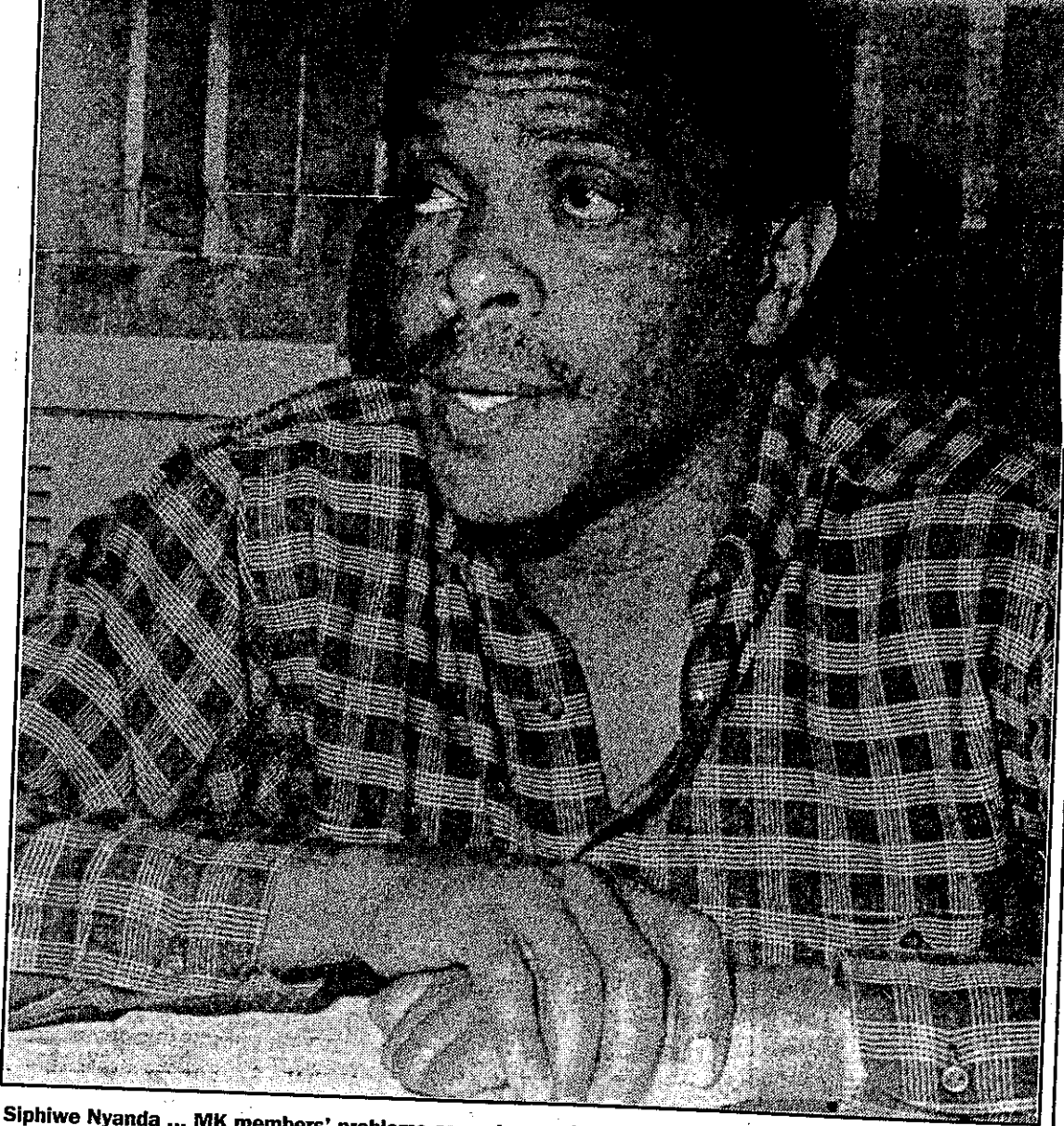
Particularly with De Klerk's bottom line of power sharing having been already guaranteed, the ball is firmly in the government's court...

Buthelezi puts in spanner

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would disregard a date set for the establishment of an interim government if that date was decided bilaterally between the ANC and the Government.

"Anything done behind our backs won't apply to us," he told a Press conference on his return from Canada.

He said he was awaiting a reaction from Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on his proposal for a Multi-Party Conference of Review and added he was very depressed about prospects for South Africa, but had not abandoned hope.



Sphiwe Nyanda ... MK members' problems are not so serious.

(continued from previous page)
 If that is so, it is a very erroneous impression. We have always insisted, from the time when talks started about the SDUs, they are units of the communities and that they should not be confused with MK.

Do you know of any SDUs being led by an MK soldier?

We expect that in many places, because the MK cadreship is active politically, members will serve their communities.

Insofar as you are aware, to whom are the SDUs answerable?

The community structures.

Can you elaborate?

One of the reasons why we said MK cannot conceivably be seen to be in charge of the SDUs is because in many areas, particularly here on the Reef, there is no organisation that enjoys political monopoly.

No organisation can claim to have membership to the exclusion of other organisations. How can MK, therefore, be solely in charge of the SDUs whereas there are other political organisations like the PAC and Azapo who also have their armies?

The SDUs are a product of the community. But, of course, because

MK is in the majority, it will play a key role in the defence of communities.

When people are attacked they are not written ANC, PAC or Azapo. They are attacked indiscriminately. Members of all these three organisations feel a need for self-defence.

In Natal it is said that the fighting is between MK and Inkatha. Do you know of any MK role in that area?

The fighting there is between people defending themselves against Inkatha warlords, who are forcing them to join Inkatha or to leave their homes.

Any involvement of MK will be on the basis of MK cadres being members of those communities under siege.

Is there any other thing that you would like to point out?

I want to say that it is true we came back to a depressed economy - contrary to our dreams that we would be welcomed by ululating women. There are certain frustrations that we endure.

But then we are a well-trained army that is able to bear difficulties. Instead, we have no doubts about our role during transition and in future.

Another point is that we can no



Chris Hanl



longer stand this Government, not for an extra day. We want it to go, now! The sooner this corrupt Government that runs corrupt armies and police forces goes, the better it will be, not only for the ANC and MK, but for everybody.

And when this Government drags its feet, it ought to be reminded to hurry.

23/11/92
 some form



focus on **MK**

MANY MK SOLDIERS were full of pride when they arrived back from the bush. But now some, or many, are said to be turning to crime in order to survive. What went wrong?

I don't think many were beaming with pride as you say. It is possible that a few are turning to crime because of the desperation of our situation.

What is remarkable, though, is that despite the hardships they are suffering they are not turning to crime in general.

Does the leadership of MK have plans to avert a wholesale explosion of the problems?

I don't think that an explosion is about to take place. We are in a position to address the problems facing our cadreship in the short term.

In the long term what has to be addressed is the whole political situation. The sooner the political problems of the country are resolved, the whole matter of MK and its problems will end because MK should form part of the future defence force.

At the moment, we intend keeping MK intact and will train its members in preparation for that.

Are you finding it easy to train MK members despite the current recession and unemployment?

It's always not been easy to train a force, whether a guerilla force or any other. We've got to have the necessary organisation.

And in the face of decreased international support, especially with the demise of the Socialist world, we find it more difficult.

But, of course, there are forces in Africa who are willing to help us realise this programme because it is not designed to destabilise.

It is a programme we want to pursue in order to contribute to peace and stability in future. We want to have a well-trained MK cadreship that would defend the constitution of a free South Africa.

Some of your disillusioned soldiers are said, among other things, to be frustrated by the ANC leadership's apparent lack of appreciation for their soldiering while still abroad. Is this true?

That is an impression some people get because of the problems the ANC encounters to provide for the general cadreship. A perception develops that the cadres are neglected.

But it is not the intention of the ANC to do that. The ANC itself has got to struggle for funds. In the past we received support from many sources but many of those sources have now shrunk.

Since we came back to the country there has been an increasing perception that the kind of assistance we used to get should be reduced. We

Although the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe's returned soldiers are experiencing difficulty in finding jobs, it is not as serious as it is being made out to be, says MK chief-of-staff Siphwe

Nyanda. He spoke to **Abbey Makoe**

Sowetan 23/11/92
can, therefore, not be expected to have more resources than we had in the past. Our cadreship generally understands that.

At the moment are the majority of your soldiers working or unemployed?

Most are not working. You know when many of the cadreship left in 1976 and the turbulent 1980s, most were of schoolgoing age and had not completed their education.

They went to camps, trained and came back to fight and got arrested and others were underground when we were unbanned. Some are still abroad.

There are some skills some of them acquired after training. Some went to Tanzania where they ran vocational camps. But the majority did not do anything apart from the gaining of skills in the art of guerilla warfare.

‘The general ANC membership wants to see a negotiated settlement reached at the earliest possible opportunity’

How difficult is it for cadres to find jobs here?

It is difficult. But, of course, their interest really is not so much to get jobs. When they came back here they came to build up the ANC and they were told that we are negotiating for a future constitution. Their interest is to serve the future defence force.

Are there, perhaps, some, no matter how few they are, who have run out of patience with the ANC's negotiations with the Government?

Of course, there is a sense of impatience. But this is not unique to MK. The general ANC membership wants to see a negotiated settlement reached at the earliest possible opportunity.

Are the majority of MK soldiers outside or inside the country?



11A
I cannot quantify in terms of numbers. A sizeable number of people are still outside. But most of the cadres who were training in the 1970s and 1980s are back.

Suffice it to say outside we are involved in programmes of reorientation along more conventional lines of warfare. We have the figures necessary for these programmes.

What is the total number of MK soldiers?

I am not at liberty to discuss the numbers of MK cadreship.

When you came back to the country did the leadership of the ANC say to the soldiers that the war was over? Or what did you say to them?

We couldn't have told the cadres that the war was over because it was not. And the war is certainly not over.

We told the cadres that armed actions against the regime had been suspended. Many of the cadres were inside the country - hitting at targets we had identified as legitimate.

When the opportunity came for us to give a gesture to peace, we suspended armed actions. Nowhere did we say the war was over. It was our fervent hope that hostilities would never be resumed. It is still our position.

Do you monitor the movement or activities of your returned soldiers?

We certainly do. We have structures all over the country. Those MK structures are responsible for MK cadreship in those regions.

I can say with some fair amount of certainty that we know who is where and what is happening.

What steps do you take against MK or self-defence unit members found to have contravened the MK code of conduct?

Well, in the case of an MK member, action will be taken. But we have no jurisdiction or power over the SDUs. The SDUs are defence structures of the communities.

We, therefore, take action against any of our members reported for misbehaviour. But as I say SDUs are not the creation of MK.

Are you aware that an impression has been created that the SDUs are under the control of MK?

(continued on next page)

ANC draws up SDU code

THE ANC yesterday drew up a code of conduct to control self-defence units in the Vaal Triangle which has been plagued by violence for several months. (11A)

In the declaration adopted at the end of a two-day peace summit on the banks of the Vaal River yesterday, the ANC resolved that SDU membership should be voluntary. (11A)

Soweto 23/11/92



Police tried to infiltrate our region - ANC

Sowetan 23/11/92

11A

200

■ **IDENTITY REVEALED** Woman involved

could be the one police are looking for: 

POLICE were yesterday searching for a woman suspected of stealing police identity documents. The ANC alleges that a female member of the security forces made an attempt to infiltrate their Northern Transvaal region.

The SAP, however, claim that she is not a security force employee and that certain identity documents were stolen from a police sergeant.

Police yesterday rejected as "ridiculous" allegations that security force elements were trying to infiltrate the ANC Northern Transvaal region.

"The whole thing is a load of hogwash. We are not interested in the ANC. The ANC is a lawful organisation and not considered to be the enemy," said SAP spokesman Lt-Colonel Ray Harrald.

The ANC branch, in an earlier statement, claimed a woman had approached them on Oct 21, requesting to join the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

The ANC claimed the woman was a sergeant in the police force and had been in contact with "askaris" - ANC cadres "turned" by State agents.

The ANC region said its investigations "revealed" the woman was a sergeant in the SAP. The statement gave her alleged force number and claimed she was appointed a sergeant on December 1 1990, in Pretoria North. She provided the ANC with false addresses.

Harrald yesterday said police were looking for the woman mentioned by the ANC in connection with a theft charge as they suspected she stole police identity documents.

The police said the woman was an acquaintance of a police sergeant - who had provided her with accommodation.

The sergeant last saw her on October 4, whereafter she discovered that her appointment documents were missing.

The colonel confirmed that the police force number belonged to the sergeant. - Sapa

ANC alliance adopts new strategy to control self-defence units

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance yesterday adopted a new strategy aimed at tightening control over the self-defence units operating in the Vaal Triangle's townships. The strategy was adopted after a two-day summit on violence in Vereeniging, attended by more than 100 representatives from the alliance's PWV regions.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday the summit had resolved that a code of conduct for the self-defence units be established and that the units be subjected to tighter control "by not only the alliance... but also by all community organisations". The strategy was aimed at

instilling discipline in the self-defence units, Mamoepa said. The summit came amid criticism that the self-defence units had been hijacked by hooligans who perpetrated atrocities in the township, murder and rape. The ANC has defended the structures repeatedly, saying they were basically sound but had been infiltrated by "state agents" who caused "chaos, confusion and dissent" in their ranks. There have been a number of incidents of violence in which renegade self-defence units have been implicated.

Senior ANC official Bavumile Vilakazi narrowly missed death recently after he had been shot by a member of Sebokeng's self-defence unit, who mistook him for a policeman. The act was condemned by the ANC, which said it was going to take appropriate disciplinary action against the culprit.

In a more recent incident, six people — all members of an ANC-supporting Sebokeng family — were allegedly killed by renegade members of a self-defence unit. Meanwhile, police were tightlipped yes-

terday about a Goldstone commission report which claimed that the killings of 19 people in the East Rand township of Thokoza last year were masterminded by a police informer who posed as an ANC self-defence unit leader. The Sunday Times reported yesterday that the results of an eight-month inquiry into violence in Thokoza and in the nearby Phola Park squatter camp found that Mzungi Ceba headed a self-defence unit, which ambushed a march by hostel dwellers in September last year. The commission found that "the ac-

knowledgeed use of informers in positions such as that held by Ceba is not conducive to improving the already tense relations and suspicions between the security forces and the communities". Police spokesman Col Ray Harrald said yesterday a statement would be issued only after the commission's report had been studied. Mamoepa said the commission's report vindicated his organisation's conviction that "state agents" had hijacked the self-defence units.

ANC official suspended

(11A)

THE secretary-general of the ANC in the Eastern Transvaal, Mr Joe Nkuna, has been suspended for neglecting his duties, pending confirmation by a regional conference to be held on December 12.

The ANC said at the weekend the decision followed a meeting by the organisation on Friday at Nelspruit to consider a commission of inquiry into allegations, among

So what 23/11/92

Lawyer on SACP executive

Political Staff

(11A) ARG 23/11/92

LAWYER Mr Enver Daniels has been elected to the SA Communist Party's regional executive committee as assistant secretary. He will serve on an executive headed by Mr Lawrence Maduma.

The rest of the executive is: regional secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki, assistant chairman Mr Isaac Siggumo and treasurer Mr Fred Carneson.

Additional members are Ms Melany Brits, Mr Mzukisi Gaba, Mr Mandla Gxanyane, Mr Zou Kota, Mr Richard Martin, Mr Mfanelo Mbarane, Mr Max Ozinsky, Mr Leonard Ramatlakane, Mr Dumisane Rasheleng and Mr Jerimia Thynsma.

Don't fear us - ANC (11A)

SOUTH Africans need not fear that their properties would be nationalised under an ANC government, Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend. Speaking in Port Alfred, Mandela said the ANC had a flexible attitude towards nationalisation. Whites need not be concerned about an ANC government as the ANC was democratic and had the interests of all population groups at heart. - *Sowetan Reporter and Sapa*

Sowetan 23/11/92.

ANC wants date set

■ Congress guns for elections:

Sowetan
23/11/92
THE ANC is to demand that the Government decide on a date for elections for an interim government, the organisation's secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

He was addressing the Vaal Peace Summit organised by the ANC PWV region and several organisations. (114)

(11A) ARG 23/11/92

ANC meets to demand date for all-in election

Political Staff

MEMBERS of the African National Congress national executive committee meet in Durban today to finalise their demand that a date for South Africa's first democratic elections be set.

This ultimatum will be put to the government next month at bilateral talks.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa disclosed this at the Southern Natal conference at the weekend.

As a starter, the ANC is demanding the government agree that multi-party transitional executive councils be put in place by May. These would work with Cabinet ministers in the run-up to the first all-in

elections to ensure security forces, social services and State media remained impartial.

Claiming that the ANC was outwitting the government on a daily basis at the negotiation table, Mr Ramaphosa said the first item on the agenda in December "is the question of setting a date for the elections for a constituency assembly".

"If they do not agree to setting a date, then we might just as well put aside the idea of continuing to talk to them.

"We believe that the date for elections must be set without any further delay and we go to the negotiation table to say put everything aside, let's set a date."

ANC to purge defence units

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Disciplinary measures will be taken against ANC self-defence unit (SDU) members guilty of violence or misconduct, says general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

On the point that military intelligence had sought to infiltrate ANC structures and and criminally compromise Umkonto we Sizwe, he said enemy agents and criminals would be identified and purged.

SA socialism to be fine-tuned

Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party and Cosatu are meeting to refine their policies and approach to socialism.

They hope that their jointly-defined concepts of socialism in a reconstruction pact will then be adopted by the broad ANC alliance.

This was disclosed over the

weekend by a member of the ANC's national executive and a meeting of SACP's central committee, Mr Jeremy Cronin.

When he opened the SACP's Western Cape congress in Cape Town, Mr Cronin said the reconstruction pact was a broad economic and social reconstruction programme "drawn up by the major mass democratic sectoral formations and by national

democratic and socialist political forces, civics and trade unions". It would be a programme rooted in a working-class perspective, he added.

● Trade unionist Mr Lawrence Maduna was elected chairman of the SACP in the Western Cape at the congress.

Another trade unionist, Mr Isac Sigqwano, was elected vice-chairman.

11A

CT 23/11/92

ANC, Bop edge closer to accord

B10AM 24/11/72 DIRK HARTFORD 11A

THE ANC and the Bophuthatswana government have moved closer to agreement on the future structure, functioning and financing of regions, Bophuthatswana's Defence Minister Rowan Cronje says.

He said yesterday it was clear that since Codesa the ANC had rethought the problem of regionalism. He thought it possible that the two parties would set up a joint working committee on regionalism soon.

Cronje said Bophuthatswana's labour legislation — which outlawed SA unions from organising in the region — had been put on hold until March for further consultation with interested parties.

Cronje said the Bophuthatswana government had held two "very constructive meetings" with the ANC last week, characterised by a willingness to respect each other's points of view and to sort out practical problems by avoiding power politics.

The first — a bilateral meeting with the ANC executive committee — had dealt with relations between the parties, constitutional matters and the way forward to a multiparty congress.

The second — under the auspices of the peace secretariat — had looked at ways of relieving tensions in the region and the possible effects of ANC-planned mass action, boycotts and strikes.

Cronje said further meetings were planned after the parties had reported back to their constituencies.

THIS is not a happy time for the US anti-apartheid movement. The ANC expects to join the NP in a governing junta early next year, at which point it will presumably feel obliged to place a higher premium on the welfare of its own citizens — armed as they will be with the vote — than on the employment of its flaky foreign legion.

In the US, the Democratic Party is no longer in opposition, either. Controlling both Congress and the executive, it can now quite happily tell the idiot left to go and play with its navel somewhere else.

For these reasons, it is unnecessary to take very seriously most of the bliviations of the ANC solidarity groups who gathered at New York's Riverside Church on November 13-15 for what was grandly called the National Conference in Support of the ANC and Other Democratic Forces. This is just as well because to read the convocation's programme of action with a straight face requires the kind of self-control that leads to aneurisms.

The text was prepared, after earnest debate, by types who would make it a crime to laugh at a clown slipping on a banana peel. For their own protection, these people are in desperate need of affirmative action programmes for the irony-deprived.

The world must be a very joyless place for the authors of the programme's opening manifesto, article 27 of which reads: "We will maintain conscious communications with each other." How else have the activists been communicating hitherto?

Not that conscious communication seems to be a particularly efficient method of transferring ideas between the ANC and its American acolytes. At the start of the conference, ANC president Nelson Mandela (who wisely decided not to appear in person) delivered a videotaped command to the faithful: go out and generate material assistance for the post-apartheid reconstruction. Evidently, the drafters of the manifesto

Time for the ANC to ditch its flaky foreign legion

B(DAM) 24/11/92

(11A)

~~(11A)~~

SIMON BARBER in Washington

were a little hard of hearing. Not one of the 33 "actions to be taken" referred to Mandela's call.

Instead, the manifesto contained a bizarre mix of demands for closer consultation from the ANC, fantastical conspiracy theories and pledges to carry on as if nothing at all had changed on the ground. Here is a sampling of how the solidarity groups propose to disport themselves on the ANC's behalf in the months ahead.

"We will plan to deliver a political funeral for the George Bush administration to symbolise the death of US policy under past US administrations toward southern and South Africa.

"We will educate the US about the roles of the Heritage Foundation and the International Freedom Foundation which are financing and shipping arms to southern Africa, to the SAP and Renamo specifically.

"We will educate the US public about the army base in Botswana.

"We will use walkathons ... to educate the US public on apartheid, violence, and the US government and private sector role in the violence.

"We will organise youth to start walking through our communities on Malcolm X's birthday to dramatise the need to end the violence by and

against youth in America as a result of the trade in weapons to destabilise the US anti-apartheid movement.

"We will connect the violence in inner cities, black communities and poor communities in the US with the violence in SA.

"We will hook into PeaceNet (a computer network) to send and get messages/information about South/southern Africa struggle. Access Code: REGL.SAFRICA."

A luta continua — electronically.

Helpful stuff for which worshippers at Regina Mundi in Soweto will surely want to deliver a prayer of thanks on Sunday. However, the ANC is expected to play its part, too. Not only must it communicate consciously, it must "strengthen" its US representative's office, keep its friends briefed about its relationship with "other democratic forces in SA", and "determine which groups it will regularly contact in the US anti-apartheid movement concerning the struggle inside SA and the decisions it makes concerning that struggle".

Also, "we expect to see and be informed on a consistent basis about

what the ANC is doing on the question of women". And, perhaps most egregiously, an ANC government will be asked to grant affirmative action contract "set-asides" to African American businesses.

Although the ANC sent about 50 cadres to participate in the writing of this gibberish (at a cost of at least R250 000 in airfares alone), most of the members present did not seem to be treating the exercise as anything more than a chance for yet another transatlantic jol — perhaps one of the last before their movement finally becomes accountable to the masses and turns from being a convenient ideological construct into an expectant (and easily disappointing) electorate.

At least it is to be hoped that this is how the touring side felt. For if they are at one with their American friends, they have endorsed a bid to stifle job-creating US investment long after the ANC's call for an end to sanctions. This was one aspect of the conference's deliberations that was not so funny.

As reported in this space last week, Mandela has already been gulled into signing an agreement that would empower TransAfrica's Randall Robinson, former congressman Walter Fauntroy and their cro-

nies to decide which US companies will be permitted to invest in the new SA. If he means to keep this agreement, the ANC leader has signed away a portion of the SA people's sovereignty before they have it.

Equally disturbing, the Riverside conferees pledged to campaign for an investment code for firms doing business in SA that would be applied and enforced by US pressure groups and, if they are successful, by state and local governments in lieu of existing disinvestment and discriminatory contracting policies. The manifesto states: "We will support the transformation of the sanctions movement into a movement to ... repair damage done by apartheid through a code of conduct."

Recommendations drawn up by a conference working group on legislative lobbying go even further: "We need ... refocused research ... on which corporations are going back into SA and determinations of their vulnerability to boycotts and other economic leverages. This information should be provided to state and local legislators where necessary to induce those corporations to conform to the ANC/Cosatu guiding principles for foreign investors."

It does not matter that the principles are less than stringent. The content is relatively unimportant. What counts is that US corporations already invested or thinking about investing will continue to face harassment from watchdogs and local legislatures at home — harassment not faced by their overseas competitors. This might be tolerable for companies that only want to set up distributorships, but not for firms that want to make things and employ serious numbers of people.

Once in power, and unless its leaders are utterly uninged, the ANC will have to put South Africans and the desperate need for jobs before all else. Loyalty to its solidarity network will then be a luxury it can ill afford. That being the case, why not cut the parasites loose now before, in their desperation to stay employed, they do damage that will not easily be undone?

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Sowetan 24/11/92 (11A)
Communist Party reiterated its demand for a sovereign and democratically elected constituent assembly at its second annual conference in Athlone at the weekend.

A new regional executive committee was elected. Those elected are: Lizo Nkonki, regional secretary; Lawrence Maduma, regional chairman; Enver Daniels, assistant secretary; Isaac Siggumo, assistant chairman; Fred Carneson, treasurer.

SACP's demand

Sowetan 24/11/92

THE Western Cape region of the South African

(11A)

Gwala attacks Slovo strategy

11A CT 24/11/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE differences about transition strategies within the ANC-led alliance have been emphasised by a strong attack on the chairperson of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, by ANC Natal Midlands chairperson Mr Harry Gwala.

Mr Gwala suggests in a six-page document obtained by the Cape Times that Mr Slovo's call for a limited period of power-sharing to check potential counter-revolution by the civil service and security forces would be "an aborted democracy built on expediency".

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) is meeting in Durban this week to discuss the Slovo document, "Negotiations a Strategic Perspective", which was unanimously adopted by the ANC national working committee last week.

The ANC leadership has welcomed the debate on strategies during transition, but hopes the differences can be reconciled.

Mr Gwala, a key figure in the more militant wing of the ANC alliance, criticises Mr Slovo for talking about "we" in his paper on negotiations and said: "We are

'Road to hell paved with good intentions'

not aware of any meeting where the oppressed masses of South Africa spoke in such despair".

He said that "the oppressed" had never ruled out negotiations but stressed that "mass action is inherent in any struggle of the oppressed and is always intended to advance that struggle."

"Mass action assumes different forms, insurrection being one of these forms."

Mr Gwala added: "Today there is talk in some circles that mass action should only be used to break deadlocks and that a stage for negotiations is set."

It would be folly for "the liberation movement" to imagine that "the enemy" had suddenly seen reason, he said.

"It is all a political struggle and must be viewed in the light of strategy and tactics of the struggle, not a change of heart."

Mr Gwala pointed out that in Chile the masses won constitutional power, but real military and economic power remained in the hands of the ruling class.

Mr Gwala charged that what Mr Slovo is advancing is "the revisionism which went under the name of Euro-Communism" in France and Italy and it "failed dismally in both countries".

He suggests that Mr Slovo is arguing that negotiations must not reconcile the oppressed to neo-apartheid dressed in the robes of a new constitution.

He then sarcastically quotes George Bernard Shaw as saying: "The road to hell is paved with good intentions."

Mr Gwala concludes his attack by saying: "It is not the good intentions of the negotiators and their ability to talk that will determine the fate of this country, important as this part of the struggle may be."

"But it will be the strength and ability of the contenders in the struggle that in the final analysis will determine the fate of this country. Any political expediency will lead to disaster," Mr Gwala said.

World in brief

No nationalisation (11A)

GABORONE - The Pan Africanist Congress has come out against the nationalisation of South Africa's giant corporations. *Sowetan*

In a statement issued on Sunday at the end of a three-day economic seminar in the Botswana capital, the PAC said: "Due to a number of weaknesses of the traditional nationalisation measures, and as instruments of redistribution, nationalisation of existing corporations in private hands was not recommended." 24/11/92

Books confiscated

BANGKOK - Hundreds of locally produced copies of pop star Madonna's sizzling book *Sex* have been confiscated by police in the Thai capital.

But police appear uncertain over the legality of the raids on Sunday on several book shops selling more than 1 000 copies of the glossy picture book containing nude photos of Madonna, according to a Press report. The question apparently is not one of copyright, on which Thailand is notoriously lax, but whether the book - in its original version as well as in local copies - violates the country's anti-pornography legislation.

Drivers face 'Raids'

LAGOS - In Nigeria they call it "Raids" and, with some 10 000 road fatalities a year, it makes Africa's most populous country one of the world's deadliest for drivers. (S)

"All categories of road users have been afflicted with Road Accidents Immunity Delusion Syndrome and general discipline," road safety chief Olu Agunloye said, drawing a comparison between the road carnage and the killer disease Aids. *Sowetan* 24/11/92.

Sowetan 24/11/92 (S)

Officials say there are about 240 deaths a year for every 10 000 vehicles in Nigeria, compared with three for 10 000 in Japan and slightly more in the United States. The total comes to some 10 000 deaths a year - roughly equivalent to the number in France, which has far more vehicles.

7 die in train crash

NEW DELHI - At least seven passengers were killed and 15 injured when an express train collided with a derailed goods train in India's northern Uttar Pradesh state yesterday, domestic news agencies reported.

Talks on British aid (S)

HARARE - Britain yesterday held talks with Zimbabwe on future British aid to the country, which is facing a deepening economic crisis fuelled by a crippling drought and prolonged recession.

British High Commission officials said the one-day talks in Harare would map out priorities for Britain's aid programme for Zimbabwe over the coming year, one of the largest for any country in the world. *Sowetan* 24/11/92

Ceasefire is ignored

SARAJEVO - Fighting was reported in besieged Sarajevo yesterday after the worst day in the capital since a ceasefire, virtually ignored, went into force 12 days ago.

The latest outbreak of fighting in the capital and elsewhere in Bosnia came a day after the West launched a full-scale naval blockade against Yugoslavia to try to bring the civil war to an end. The commander of UN peace troops in Sarajevo, General Philippe Morillon, said on Sunday he believed all combatants in the war - Muslims, Croats and Serbs - sincerely wanted peace. - *Sapa-Reuters-AP-AFP*.

Demand for elections

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent



ANC executive committee meeting
will formally adopt a resolution
that a date must be set:

THE national executive committee of the ANC, which meets in Durban this week, will formally adopt the demand that a date be set for a general election.

According to the movement, this demand will be a condition for multiparty negotiations and the ANC will deliver the message to the Government at a *bosberaad* between the two parties early next month.

But the Government, the Democratic Party (DP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) were unanimous yesterday that the decision on the date of an election would have to be made at multiparty level.

The DP's national chairman, Mr Ken Andrew, said while it was important that elections be held soon to create stability, it was absolutely necessary for the decision to be made at multiparty level.

The Government, the PAC and IFP also said that a multiparty forum had to take the decision.

The demand for the setting of the date for South

Africa's first non-racial democratic election was raised by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at the organisation's Natal congress on Saturday.

Ramaphosa said the first item on the agenda for the *bosberaad* was "the question of setting a date for the elections for a constituent assembly.

"If they do not agree to setting a date, then we might just as well put aside the idea of continuing to talk to them.

"We believe that the date for elections must be set without any further delay and we go to the negotiation table to say: Put everything aside, let's set a date. We will settle that first. Everything else will be settled later," Ramaphosa said.

He said the focus of the national executive committee meeting, which started yesterday and ends tomorrow, "will be the forthcoming bilateral negotiations between ourselves and the regime".

for a 20% share in the company, and was expecting a return of almost R400 000. Although projections had

his share of the investment, or what was left of it, would be paid to him once the sale and outstanding obligations had been finalised.

ANC is mum on MK bribery claim

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus would not be drawn for comment yesterday on a weekend report that MK cadres were open to bribery as they were not looked after properly by the ANC, saying the sources of the report were not "legitimate".

Former Military Intelligence agent Ferdi Barnard was quoted by a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper as

saying he had recruited five MK commanders, paying them between R300 and R500 a month.

The report said Barnard claimed he had found it easy to do this because "the ANC is not looking after them, and they cannot feed their families".

WILSON ZWANE

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8/10 AM 25/11/92

11A



ANC unhappy with famine relief concert

810AM 25/11/92
THE ANC is unhappy about arrangements for a musical festival planned for next year in Harare to raise funds for famine relief, according to an informed source.

The staging of the concert was approved by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) recently and the PAC was mandated by the organisation — to which 10 southern African states belong — to facilitate the one-day event.

A source close to the PAC said the SADC mandate had created the erroneous impression that the PAC had hijacked the con-

WILSON ZWANE

cert.

The source said US-based ANC officials were meeting the concert's promoters, Bay Area Promotions, in New York to "sort out the problems".

The source stressed that the concert was not "a PAC thing ... it is an SADC thing".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus denied that his organisation was involved in a wrangle with the PAC over who should organise the concert.

Niehaus said the ANC was not involved in the planning of the event as it had not been asked.

He was not aware of any meeting between ANC officials and promoters of the concert.

International and regional artists will perform live at the concert, which will be beamed worldwide via satellite.

Proceeds from the concert will go to the Southern Africa Recovery Fund (SARF) for transporting food to famine and drought-stricken areas in southern Africa, business development and farming technique workshops.

News in brief

Focus on black unity, peace (11A)

A FOUR-DAY national congress of the Azanian People's Organisation begins at the Great Centenary Hall in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, tomorrow and is to focus on black unity and peace.

The main speaker will be Mr Ibbo Mandaza of Zimbabwe, editor-in-chief of the *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly*. Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe will give a "state of the nation" address under the congress theme *Black Unity, Peace, Power and Liberation*.

Topics to be discussed include President FW de Klerk's "reforms", the role of women in the struggle for liberation, a solidarity front and international involvement.

About 2 000 delegates from all Azapo's branches countrywide are expected to attend and speakers from other political organisations have been invited.

Mayoral election goes on (11B)

THE Diepmeadow Council will hold its mayoral elections tomorrow despite the threat by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to suspend it because of its shabby financial affairs.

According to the Black Local Authorities Act, the mayor and the deputy mayor have to be elected every year, while councillors' terms of office last for five years. Current mayor Mr J Matala was elected amid controversy and division within the council last year. The elections will be held at the mayor's residence, known as the chief's house.

Cops escort heart doctor

A CAPE Town doctor arrived in Durban yesterday to transport a heart donated from a "fairly young" patient at St Augustine's Hospital.

A St Augustine's Hospital spokeswoman said the heart was to be removed by a team of heart specialists and taken to Cape Town. Police would escort the doctor to ensure no time was wasted once the heart was removed.

Special Cabinet post urged

THE Cabinet has been urged by the National Industrial Chamber to introduce the special post of Minister of Small Firms to spearhead a drive to launch thousands more black entrepreneurs into mini-businesses of their own.

The creation of the new portfolio, with Cabinet status, should be made a priority in setting out future industrial strategies, argues the NIC in a policy document it has submitted to the National Economic Forum.

The NIC, the industrial arm of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce, also proposes the appointment at senior civil service level of a Commissioner of Small Firms to remove unnecessary red tape acting as an obstacle to mini-business operations.

Mandela talks to leaders (11A)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to hold talks with Botswana President Quett Masire tomorrow and Mozambican President Joachim Chissano the next day.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday the talks would focus on Southern African issues. The visit follows on the ANC's crucial national executive committee meeting in Durban and ahead of Mandela's forthcoming summit with State President FW de Klerk next week. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa*.

ANC-IFP meeting hammers

Hopes for

By Esther Waugh
and Helen Grange

STAR 26/11/92.
A flurry of bilateral meetings are set to move the country closer to a renewed round of multiparty negotiations.

A mood of optimism swept political circles yesterday after agreement in principle on the long-awaited face-to-face talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was unexpectedly secured at a National Peace Committee (NPC) meeting.

Power-sharing endorsed by NEC

- Page 12

The breakthrough — Mandela and Buthelezi have not met for more than a year — has raised hopes that a "Codesa 3" multiparty gathering might now be possible sooner rather than later.

In addition, negotiators believe a planned meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA) and a Government-ANC "bos-beraad" scheduled for next month will give impetus to stalled negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally adopted an amended version of its "Strategic Perspective" policy document — endorsing power-sharing as an option during SA's transition, and even after the first democratic elections have been held.

Government sources have welcomed the ANC approach, raising hopes for significant progress in the "bos-beraad".

A joint Government-ANC announcement on the crucial bilateral meeting is expected this week. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet tomorrow.

At a media conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said delegates were aware of the urgent need to get multiparty talks under way.

A summit of NPA signatories to address the issue of violence — expected to take place before the year-end — would hopefully facilitate the climate for a multiparty conference, Hall said.

Although no date has been set for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, it is understood that both leaders have agreed to it in principle.

The breakthrough came at Tuesday night's NPC meeting in Johannesburg.

At the first recess, the ANC and IFP delegations spontaneously stayed behind and spoke for 30 minutes.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose then announced that they had agreed on a way forward.

Mbeki said: "We — the ANC and IFP — will have a bilateral meeting as soon as possible, attended by leaders of both organisations."

The preparatory meeting would be attended by delegations of the two organisations and the summit would be preceded by in-depth preparations, he said.

Mbeki added that the issue of a multiparty conference will be one of the items on the agenda.

Mdlalose said: "We are in agreement with the position as outlined by the ANC and would add that discussions ... were thorough, practical and without rancour."

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By Carina
and Brian Sokutu

Two witnesses told T Star last night that a policeman, in full view about 18 colleagues, assaulted a motorist in Berea street.

One witness, Moniq Sagan, said it was a "sick ing assault".

The other, who asked to be named at this stage, s

NEWS Inter-party rivalry would end with the announcement of voter registrations and

‘No Azanian can walk into a train and shoot indiscriminately. How does he know that his relative or friend is not in the train? The callousness betrays the fact that he is not a local and therefore the issue of kith and kin is of no consequence to him’

Gora Ebrahim

Sowetan 26/11/92
■ WHITHER AZANIA? asks Gora

Ebrahim, PAC secretary for foreign affairs:

AT PRESENT SOUTH AFRICA is witnessing three phenomena which are taking place concurrently.

- They are:
- Escalating violence;
 - Series of bilateral talks; and
 - Growing international involvement.

For the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania it is extremely important that the three be thoroughly examined and addressed.

Associated with the phenomena is the escalating decline in the economy, growing unemployment, record bankruptcies and daily scandals concerning the security

forces. The continuing violence and political uncertainty has greatly contributed to lack of confidence by foreign investors.

The primary task must be to address the violence. The PAC has consistently stated that the principal cause of the violence is the presence in the country of mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia.

These trained killers were used to destabilise neighbouring countries. Following the independence of Namibia these "loyal" mercenaries were brought here. Currently they are employed by the regime and deployed for "special" duties. According to the regime these include tracking

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elections, says a senior leader of the Pan Africanist Congress

calls for a multi-party forum

Sowetan 26/11/92

11A

down cattle thieves!

No Azanian can walk into a train and shoot indiscriminately. How does he know that his relative or friend is not in the train? The callousness betrays the fact that he is not a local and therefore the issue of kith and kin is of no consequence to him. It is also interesting that these trained killers disappear after the act.

The other cause of violence often cited is inter-party rivalry. Inter-party rivalry, in democracy, is healthy and necessary but violence, intimidation and cohesion are wrong methods to canvass for support. However, inter-party rivalry basically aims at creating areas of influence or control for electioneering purposes. Therefore, the best way to minimise and end inter-party rivalry is to quickly move towards a democratic electoral process.

For instance, all claim to want a democratic solution but are they acting constructively? What has prevented us from starting voter registration on a common voters' roll? Why can't we all agree to start voter registration on a common voters' roll on March 1 1993?

The PAC has been calling for the start of voter registration and we shall intensify this demand, because this exercise will also contribute towards containing the senseless carnage.

The PAC in August 1990 volunteered to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The late President Zephania Mothopeng wrote to both comrade Mandela and

Buthelezi expressing concern over the senseless killings and offered to mediate. Buthelezi responded positively but the other side did not.

Once more, motivated by the deaths of innocent men, women and children, the president of the PAC, Comrade Clarence Mlamli Makwetu wrote to Buthelezi and Mandela about the escalating violence in October 1992. Buthelezi again responded positively and consequently Makwetu led a delegation to Ulundi. In the joint communique IFP accepted PAC's mediation. To date we have had no official response from the ANC. Instead some ANC leaders attempted to describe our genuine concern and offer to help as "opportunistic".

The PAC could have begun bilateral contacts with the regime as far back as April 1991. In April 1991 we received a letter from Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the then Minister of Constitutional Affairs, accepting the conditions of neutral venue and neutral chairperson as laid down by the PAC. This letter came when the PAC and ANC executives were meeting in Harare.

That meeting decided to convene the Patriotic United Front Conference. The PAC decided to forfeit bilateral contact with the hope that the acceptance by the regime of the conditions would be taken up by the Patriotic Front. The principles of neutral venue and chairperson were adopted unanimously by the Patriotic United Front.

Unfortunately, since the PAC had

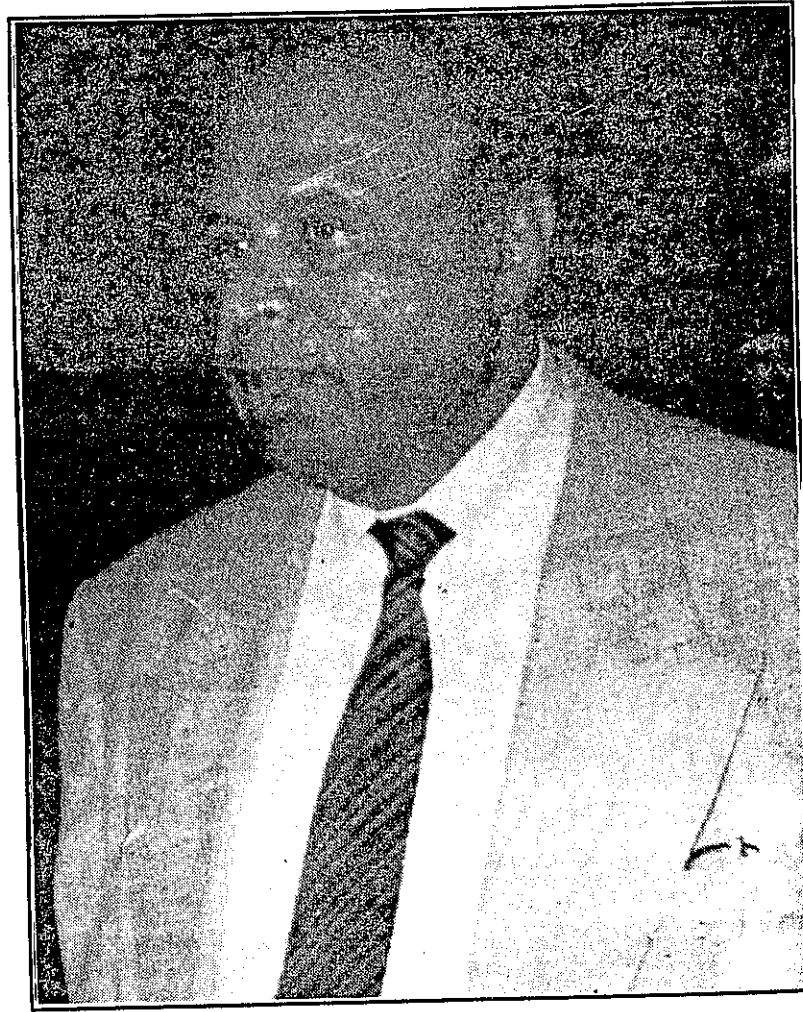
shunned bilateral contacts until then, the arrangements for the follow up of the decisions of the Patriotic United Front was then left exclusively to the ANC.

This monopolisation of bilateral contacts led to the difficulties that confronted the preparatory meeting. These difficulties, especially those related to neutrality and representativity, and the pre-packing of the forum with "sufficient consensus" rendered not only our participation impossible, but sowed the seeds that led to the collapse of CODESA.

Thereafter, the PAC remained committed to the decisions of the Patriotic United Front Conference. Our principled adherence to those decisions led to the first formal meeting between the PAC and the regime in Abuja, Nigeria, in April and subsequently in Gaborone, Botswana, in October. These meetings principally focused on neutrality and representativity.

On two separate occasions the regime has met the PAC under a neutral chairperson. The regime and others have been compelled to accept the presence and involvement of the international community.

Having created these conditions, the PAC is calling for the early convening of the multi-lateral forum which would be chaired by a neutral chairperson, a non-South African and preferably coming from the international organisations. This the PAC was able to achieve precisely because it broke the monopoly of bilateralism.



Gora Ebrahim

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

WHEN the National Party embarked on the redevelopment of South Africa's political landscape, it embraced policies which the Democratic Party and its predecessors had stood for since the early 1960s.

That was in the summer of 1989/90, and at the time, every political analyst in the country said that the fat lady had sung for the DP.

In March 1990, less than two months after the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, and shortly before the start of the now almost passe process of negotiations, obituaries for the DP started filling newspaper columns.

One political analyst was crisp and curt: "The Democratic Party is irrelevant".

Another asked if the music had not died for the DP, and suggested, too, that the liberals had become insignificant in the then nascent political process leading to the next South Africa.

A former leader of the DP (the Progressive Federal Party at the time), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was similarly sceptical about the continued role of his old party at the time, but stopped short of pronouncing it dead.

Speaking, then from All Souls College, Oxford in England, Slabbert made a remarkably prescient comment, which, while directed at the question of the DP's continued existence, subsequently became true, too, of all other political parties in the country.

"The kind of transitional politics we are moving into inevitably must affect the role, composition and style of established parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties. That alone has far reaching implications for the redundancy of the current constitution.

"It is true that the National Party under De Klerk has moved into the space previously occupied by the DP...", Slabbert said.

But, the DP leadership of the time was not prepared to lie down just yet, and the party's role has become increasingly significant, as mediators in conflicts between Government and the ANC in the negotiation process.

The DP also launched itself into the black community with newfound enthusiasm.

At a recent public meeting in Eldorado Park the DP attracted a few hundred people only, but refused to be deterred.

Branches and members are proliferating in the black townships across the Reef and in the Cape.

But, the DP has learnt: Canvassing support in the black community, for years so loyally divided between the traditional liberation movements, is not an easy task.



A member of the DP's National Council, Mr Tsepo Phoofolo.

The general tendency in the townships is that "the Democratic Party is a white party, and black people shouldn't join it," Mr Tsepo Phoofolo, a member of the DP's National Council explains.

Phoofolo, who heads the East Rand recruitment drive and Kathleong Branch of the DP, is not quite running for his life, but details sometimes gruesome incidents of intimidation and violence against people attending public meetings of his party.

"People join the DP, but are scared away from public meetings by the grassroots supporters of the ANC, PAC and even the Inkatha Freedom Party," Phoofolo says.

He blames the (low) level of political education and intolerance, perhaps even racism, for the violent opposition to black people joining the DP.

Black people have for many years, prior to the passing into law of the Prohibition of Interference Act of 1968, been members of the liberal opposition, which the DP now represents.

Phoofolo, and people such as the now deceased Percy Qoboza and the incumbent mayor of Soweto, Mr David Thebehali, joined the Progressive Party, from which the DP ultimately emerged in the early sixties.

The DP believes that it can be a valuable asset, as a coalition partner for an ANC majority party.

Phoofolo explains: "The mission of the Democratic Party is to convince the majority of South Africans that a multi-party liberal democracy and a social market economy must form the basis of the new South Africa.

"The DP will ensure that South Africa is governed according to liberal democratic principles, by becoming the government, or by being part of government, or by helping to bring about a realignment of political parties and thereby forming a government committed to principles of a liberal democracy."

For the DP, the route to the election starting blocks for the next South Africa is treacherous.

To borrow, and twist, an adage from ice hockey, the most dangerous team sport in the world: If you can't beat them in the alleys, you'll never beat them in public.

DP still sure
they'll get in on
the political act

■ Liberal party refuses to lie down or fill the obituary columns or to be irrelevant:

Sowetan 26/11/92
11A

WE CAN DO IT The 'worst school in South Africa' is gradually getting back on track

Leadership workshop

THE Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, will conduct a workshop in Venda tomorrow on leadership training for the organisation's local executive members. *Sowetan*

About 250 members representing more than 40 branches in the Northern Transvaal region are expected to attend the workshop which starts at Mphephu Youth Centre in Klein Tshipise. *26/11/92.*

Alexander will be accompanied by director of publicity Mr Bishop Toboti. (11A) (103)

Commonwealth chief departs on high note

By Brian Sokutu

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku yesterday welcomed an agreement on bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha, which could bring negotiations back on track.

Speaking to the press before flying out of Johannesburg last night, Anyaoku said he hoped the meetings would take place before Christmas — “a prelude to multiparty constitutional negotiations”.

However, he warned of the dangers of a “faltering” negotiations process, stressing that “neither retreat nor stagnation” was an option.

His visit followed a meeting with President de Klerk in London earlier this month.

During his South African visit Anyaoku met with, among others, ANC president Nelson

Mandela, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys of the Peace Secretariat. He also spoke to Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on the telephone.

Calling for “leadership and vision”, Anyaoku urged all the signatories to the National Peace Accord to honour their commitments and move the process forward.

Anyaoku also used his visit to meet members of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, who are currently monitoring the violence alongside other international bodies.

Confirming that the Commonwealth's role in the country would be reviewed by January, he said it was committed to continuing to assist “in addressing the level of violence and in doing all it could to support the negotiations process”.

STARZ 26/11/92

(11A)

2 frontrunners for Azapo's presidency

STAR 26/11/92.
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(11A)

Cambridge University academic Professor Itumeleng Mosala and incumbent Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe are the frontrunners for the organisation's presidency for the next two years, according to publicity spokesman Strini Moodley.

He said Mosala, who lectured at the University of Cape Town before his appointment at Cambridge two years ago, was back in the country for the organisation's 11th congress which begins in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, today.

Although Moodley said he believed other candidates would make themselves available for



Pandelani Nefolovhodwe ... likely candidate.

the presidency, he did not think the position would be contested during voting on Sunday morning.

According to Moodley, there was also "a concerted effort" for the election of women into



Itumeleng Mosala ... Cambridge University academic.

Azapo's next executive committee. He forecast that at least three women — his wife Asha Moodley, advocate Mojanku Gumbi and Thandeka Mgoduso — would be in the new leadership.

INEC endorses power-sharing

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAN 26/11/92

11A

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) has formally adopted a strategic perspective endorsing the option of power-sharing during the transition period, and even beyond the first democratic elections.

After the meeting, which ended in Durban yesterday, the NEC said it recognised "that even after the adoption of a new constitution by the Constituent Assembly, the balance of forces and the interests of SA as a whole may require us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity.

"However, governmental arrangements must be such that they do not delay or obstruct

the process of transition to majority rule and that parties that lose the elections are not able to paralyse the functioning of government."

The document — based on a paper by SACP and ANC leader Joe Slovo and adopted at last week's national working committee meeting — has been amended by the NEC.

Goals

But no major changes have been made and the amended document is more carefully phrased than the earlier version.

The fundamental goal of the liberation struggle was the transfer of political power from a minority to the people as a whole, the NEC said.

In order to achieve this goal the ANC has set itself the following im-

mediate goals: "The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process; ending the NP's monopoly of political power; ensuring a continuing link between democracy and socio-economic empowerment; and minimising the threat to stability and the democratic process."

However, the NEC said its strategic perspective was fundamentally different from the Government's power-sharing proposals.

"The regime's approach seeks to entrench veto powers for minority parties on the basis of constitutionally enforced coalition; to perpetuate such arrangements indefinitely, frustrate the will and aspirations of the majority."

The meeting expressed concern about the violence and said the ANC would take practical measures to curb it.

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ANC's new conciliatory strategy revives hopes for multiparty talks

URBAN — The ANC has adopted a conciliatory strategy for talks, announcing at the end of a special session of its national executive committee that the "crisis in our country has reached a point which demands an urgent breakthrough".

Preparatory discussions with Inkatha begin next week and at the same time it is expected to meet government for bilateral talks — developments that give rise to new optimism that multiparty talks could be achieved soon.

At the end of its three-day NEC talks, the ANC said:

- It had adopted an amended position paper on negotiations strategy that contemplated power-sharing even after a new constitution was adopted. It was stressed that this differed from the NP's proposed "veto powers for minority parties";
- It would be pushing for an agreement from government that elections for an interim government of national unity be held within a year — but ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed this would have to be endorsed by all parties in the negotiation process;
- It would "take all practical measures to

Political Staff

- curb the violence"; and
- It had established an independent commission to probe the treatment of former detainees in ANC detention camps.

Highly significant in yesterday's developments was the adoption of the document titled "Negotiations: A strategic perspective", which says: "We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests in the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establish-

ment of a government of national unity."

There had been reservations about the proposal from some within the ANC hierarchy, but amendments made by the NEC appear to have won them over.

One of the amendments says this proposal should be considered only "provided that it does not delay or obstruct the process of orderly transition to majority rule and that the parties which have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government."

"This is fundamentally different from an approach to power-sharing which en-

talks

trenches veto powers for minority parties," it adds.

NEC member Mac Maharaj told a news briefing: "We are saying that all parties that win more than five seats in the interim parliament will be able to have seats in the (interim) cabinet."

This could include all parties from across the spectrum, including the likes of the CP and the AWB.

After a new constitution had been adopted "we are saying the same principles would apply, but the question of whether or

□ To Page 2

ANC strategy

not there should be a government of national unity (at that stage) will be examined on the conditions at that time".

The document also proposes that the ANC consider ways of minimising the threat to a fledgling democracy from the SAP, SADF and public service, suggesting that job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty based on disclosure might need to form part of a negotiated settlement.

Mandela said the ANC would insist that government agree to a date for elections

for an interim government of national unity during its bilateral meeting next week: "What we have in mind is possible installation within the next nine to 12 months."

While the ANC was seeking common ground with government on this issue, "under no circumstances can we accept that a decision taken by government and the ANC will automatically bind others ... whatever decision we take will be put to the other parties as a recommendation"

● Comment: Page 12

□ From Page 1

1) Are there adults away looking for work but not contributing to the household.

2) If yes, how many

2=No

1=Yes

Inkatha and ANC agree to hold summit

B/DAY 26/11/92

11A

BILLY PADDOCK

NEGOTIATIONS and the stalled peace process were given a major boost yesterday when the ANC and Inkatha agreed to bilateral talks which would include leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The agreement was struck at a national peace committee executive meeting on Tuesday night and confirmed by its chairman John Hall at a media briefing yesterday. It still has to be approved by the parties' principals.

At a separate briefing yesterday, Mandela said the ANC's national executive committee had endorsed the decision for its representatives to meet Inkatha to prepare for the summit between the two leaders, who have been at loggerheads for the past few months.

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said yesterday Buthelezi had accepted the decision and the issue would be discussed at the weekend central committee meeting.

A multiparty conference would be one of the main items on the agenda of the bilateral summit.

Hall said his understanding of the decision was that the stalemate between Inkatha and government had also been broken. He added that much of the groundwork for the summit had already been completed and final preparations should not take too long.

Mandela said the preparatory meeting, which may be held by next week, would address the conditions set by both sides. On Monday Mandela set four conditions for meeting Buthelezi, who rejected them and presented an agenda for discussion.

However, at yesterday's briefing it

emerged that this agenda was not Buthelezi's but the one thrashed out by Hall with Mandela, President FW de Klerk and Buthelezi in shuttle diplomacy since July.

The agenda issues to be finalised are the role of the SAP and the armed forces, the KwaZulu Police and Umkhonto we Sizwe; freedom of political activity; negotiations and the peace process; the suspension of mass action; the record of understanding between Mandela and De Klerk; and an interim peace accord for Natal.

Mandela said no date had been set for the summit but it would be "as soon as possible".

The peace committee also decided to convene an urgent meeting of peace accord signatories to review the peace process and institute more effective mechanisms. Hall said he was confident this would take place this year. Such a meeting was not contingent on the Inkatha/ANC summit, he said.

Hall was pleased with the large turnout at Tuesday's peace committee meeting. He had used the opportunity to confront the executive with the "ghastly" statistics of violence and the stagnating economy.

"I said that none of us could envisage four years ago that we would have been living in a country that looks like this.

"On seeing the statistics and reviewing the situation we decided that it was not an SA that any of us wanted to live in and we had to do something drastic to change the course," he said.

The statistics showed that new invest-

□ To Page 2

Summit agreement on bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha, and he hoped all signatories to the peace accord would meet before Christmas, as a prelude to multiparty negotiations. He warned, however, that the momentum of constitutional talks appeared to be faltering.

□ Our political staff reports that NP peace committee member Chris Fisser, disclosed yesterday that an advertising campaign to promote peace would be launched on March 1. It would be "the biggest advertising campaign yet launched" in SA, with a budget understood to be about R60m.

The ANC's NEC said it was concerned that killings continued in spite of peace accord efforts and the exposure of the involvement of state agencies in violence.

Sapa reports that Commonwealth secretary-general Emeka Anyaoku, wrapping up a two-day visit to SA, said yesterday he was "most encouraged" to hear of the

ANC adopts idea of power-sharing during transition

Political Staff

ARCT 26/11/92 304

THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) has formally adopted a strategic perspective endorsing the option of power-sharing during the transition period, and even beyond the first democratic elections.

After the three-day meeting, which ended in Durban yesterday, the NEC said it recognised "that even after the adoption of a new constitution by the Constituent Assembly, the balance of forces and the interests of the country as a whole may still require us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity".

"However, governmental arrangements must be such that they do not delay or obstruct the process of orderly transition to majority rule and that parties that lose the elections are not able to paralyse the functioning of government."

The document — largely based on an earlier paper by the SA Communist Party and ANC leader Mr Joe Slovo and adopted at last week's national working committee meeting — has been amended by the NEC.

But no major changes have been made and the amended document is more carefully phrased than the earlier version.

The fundamental goal of the liberation struggle was the transfer of political power from a minority to the people as a whole, the NEC said.

news in brief

Sowetan 26/11/92

Mandela for Mamelodi (11A)

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela comes to Mamelodi, Pretoria, for the first time this Saturday since his release from prison. The occasion will be a rally at the H M Pitje Stadium starting at 9am with a number of cultural activities.

news in brief

Sowetan 26/11/92
AWB threatens Mandela *(11A)*

IF an ANC government confiscated land from white farmers, meddled with white pensions, nationalised banks and other institutions and did not deliver promised fruits to its followers, Mr Nelson Mandela would be the first to be necklaced.

This was said by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in an address to several hundred supporters at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall on Tuesday night.

He also said his organisation would never accept an ANC government and reiterated his willingness to declare war should "boere" land be touched.

Sowetan 26/11/92
Pitiful drought relief aid *(ESP)*

THE Government has allocated R2,3 million for drought relief in South Africa - but Operation Hunger says the grant will not last four months.

The organisation also noted drought aid was not reaching remote communities most in need of it. This had resulted in hospitals crowded with children in various stages of malnutrition, especially in Lebowa, Gazankulu and Transkei. *(SOWETAN)*

Distress at Bop march ban

THE SA Council of Churches has voiced its "distress" at the Bophuthatswana government's banning of a planned march by clerics through the homeland capital Mmabatho today. *(SOWETAN)*

"A group of unarmed ministers of religion, in their robes, carrying their Bibles, does not constitute a threat to anybody, including the security of the Bophuthatswana homeland," the SACC said in a statement. *Sowetan 26/11/92*

On Tuesday Bophuthatswana authorities took a hardline stand on the planned march, insisting "no such march will take place".

NEWS Heavy lobbying for leadership positions at Azapo national congress

Azapo split on negotiations

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE NATIONAL congress of the Azanian People's Organisation opens in Port Elizabeth today against a background of intense lobbying by factions for and against negotiations.

Insiders say distinct groupings have emerged within the organisation, with

Sowetan 26/11/92
WOMEN'S ROLE Debate on women's role and their representation on the central committee: **(11A)**

some calling for a departure from the long standing anti-negotiations position.

The sources said "hardliners" were however insisting that negotiations

would serve no purpose. This group is said to be arguing that the experience of the ANC in its dealings with De Klerk, had shown that this route was a dead end, as the Government was insincere.

Heavy lobbying is also underway for the leadership positions including the presidency, secretary general and other high offices in the executive that is to be enlarged.

Sources say incumbent president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, was unlikely to be returned, with strong contenders being former president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, and projects coordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa.

A major debate is also expected around the role of women in the organisation. A strong move is afoot to increase the representation of women in the central committee.

Undaunted by challenge

Souefan 26/11/92

By Nicolette Tladi

■ UPHILL BATTLE Peter Mokaba is no stranger to beating the odds: **IIA**

BEING THE ANC Youth League's national president and a member of the ANC national executive committee, Mr Peter Mokaba has come a long way.

But he remains undaunted by the huge demands and criticism which are part of being in public office.

Born 34 years ago at Mankweng township outside Pietersburg, Peter is the youngest of three children.

His involvement in politics started at an early age under the then rector of Turfloop University, Professor William Kgware.

Betrayal is Peter Mokaba's greatest fear. He is in a better position to know after endless widespread "unfounded allegations of his being a police spy".

It was betrayal by a fellow MK cadre serving under his command that led to his detention and an assassination attempt in 1988 in Hillbrow.

The circumstances surrounding that incident fuelled speculation and rumours about his release from prison and the absence of State witnesses.

He survived those hard times which the ANC branded at the time as "attempts by the organisation's enemies to sow division and suspicion and discredit him as a leader".

He has had his share of detentions under the Internal Security Act and hair-

raising experiences as the commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in the Northern Transvaal during the early '80s.

His family did not escape unscathed as they were constantly harassed by the police and had to seek sanctuary with friends.

His parents divorced and his home was ultimately destroyed after 18 attempts to wipe him out.

In measured tones he expressed his concern about the spiralling violence in South Africa.

"The youth must ensure that violence ends and that the perpetrators are organised and defeated decisively on the battle terrain.

"We will need not only combat political violence and criminal violence through revolutionary violence of self-defence units, but will also need the ability to contribute action development in removing our communities from poverty and squalor to self-sufficiency and prosperity."

He outlined the importance of the young people waging war against the rape of "our women" and against the killer disease, Aids.

Mokaba believes that "the first act of

liberation is education".

He urged all youths to absorb all training programmes available and create others in a quest for liberation.

"The task of the youth must be to rebuild community life and the value system which has been crushed during the apartheid reign," he said.

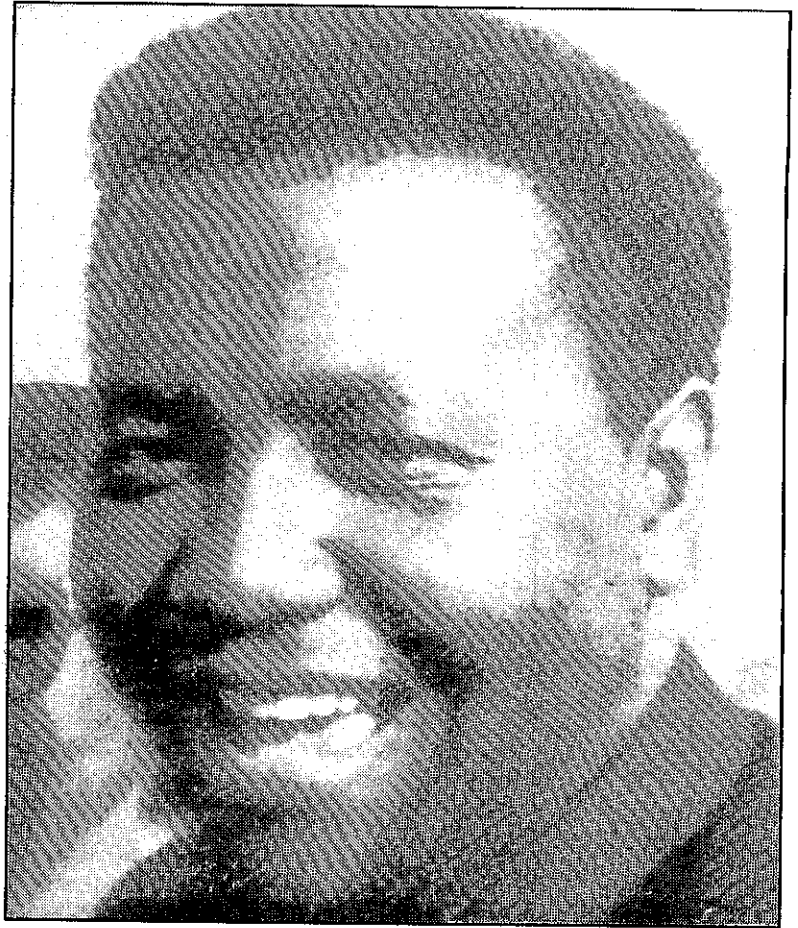
He encouraged the youth to establish firmer relationships with international youth movements and the international community so as to acquire knowledge and share experiences to build a prosperous economy and a thriving non-racial nation.

Asked about general elections in this country, Mokaba said:

"This vote is everything that we have ever sought to achieve by force of arms so we must concentrate all the energies, nerves and strength of our youth in ensuring that the ANC does not only win but defeat the National Party and its surrogates like Inkatha decisively.

"The victory of the ANC is necessary because we must stand firm and work against any power-sharing as some propose and suggest today," he said.

"Our strategic objective is the revolutionary transfer of power.



Peter Mokaba

Negotiations process and drive for peace converge

STAR 27/11/92

EVERY time innocent people have been killed in political violence on the Reef or in Natal, renewed calls have been made for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet.

Until this week, these calls have amounted to nothing.

The reasons advanced by the IFP and ANC on why their leaders should or should not meet have been expanded or changed almost regularly after each massacre.

This has led a source to comment: "Nero is fiddling while Rome burns."

The planned Mandela-Buthelezi summit may or may not lead directly to a lessening of fighting between adherents, real or supposed, of the two major factions.

But increasingly such a meeting, or a multiparty meeting, is being seen by political commentators as the key to progress in the stop-start negotiations process.

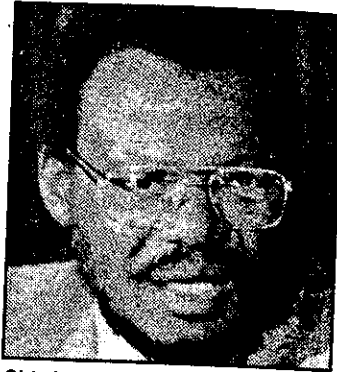
Commentators point out that the negotiations process is now undeniably being linked to the peace process.

Previously the Government and ANC argued that it was impossible to proceed with negotiations if the level of violence remained unacceptably high.

Some observers argue that the violence could not be resolved until an interim government has been installed. On the other hand, because of the violence, negotiations for a transitional government cannot proceed.

It took persistent efforts by National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall to break the logjam. On Tuesday night the breakthrough came

It has been a long, hard road to the forthcoming summit meeting between the ANC and IFP leaders. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the history of the real and purported obstacles.



Chief Buthelezi . . . no Government "surrogate".

after ANC and IFP representatives to the NPC agreed that their leaders should meet.

Earlier this month NPC sources complained bitterly that the ANC, and in particular the IFP, were "shifting the goalposts" of their conditions for a meeting of all signatories. Until this week the meeting of all signatories could still not be nailed down, largely because Buthelezi insisted on meeting Mandela first.

An all-signatory meeting will bring Mandela and Buthelezi together with leaders of the main parties and organisations to find a joint strategy for solving the Natal violence.

Politicians are regarding such a meeting as the likely route to bring Buthelezi back into multiparty negotiations. He suspended talks with the Government after it reached a bilateral agreement with the ANC in the Record of Understanding



Mandela . . . meeting of two individuals can't end violence.

on September 26.

At the crux of the stalemate was Buthelezi's insistence to meet Mandela before a multiparty meeting, while Mandela did not want to meet Buthelezi before the signatories met.

The dispute about such a meeting began when Buthelezi formally objected to the NPC about Mandela's statement to the UN that the IFP was no more than a "surrogate" of the Government.

However, tensions began to simmer at the Codesa working group meetings where the IFP had problems accepting that sufficient consensus — the way agreements were reached at Codesa — meant in practice that the ANC and Government had to agree on a matter.

The tension between the IFP and some of the other negotiating parties finally, bubbled to

the surface when the Government and ANC reached agreement in the Record of Understanding.

This prompted Buthelezi to suspend talks with the Government and to form a lobby, the Conference of Concerned South Africans.

Reacting to the calls for meeting of the two leaders, the ANC has repeatedly said such a meeting would have to succeed because two earlier meetings had produced no results.

At a Patriotic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth last month Mandela said: "The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the PF, is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum, who should come together to address the matter.

"I should also point out that I have gone out of my way over the last two years to sort out the question of violence with Chief Buthelezi, and there has been no progress."

In the latest volley of "I'll meet you, but . . .", Mandela said this week he was prepared to meet Buthelezi if he fulfilled four conditions, but Buthelezi rejected these preconditions, adding that he had only one: the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

Unexpectedly, the deadlock was broken this week, but ANC sources have warned that preparations for the meeting would take some time.

The value of the meeting will be more than a symbolic get-together of two leaders — it could be one of the first steps to get multiparty negotiations back on track. □

ANC stands by its conditions for talks

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC yesterday reiterated its position that a meeting between its president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi hinged on the resolution of problems around conditions the two had set for their meeting. (SIDA)

Sapa reports that Mandela — who is on a brief tour of Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia to brief the Frontline leaders on the state of negotiations — said in Gaborone such a meeting would serve no purpose unless it was certain to “produce results in addressing the question of violence”.

Inkatha spokesman Sue Vos said the statement was “inopportune” when task groups had been formed to prepare for the meeting, but ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said Mandela’s statement was consistent with the organisation’s position.

Unless the task groups dealt with the conditions satisfactorily, there would be no point in the two leaders meeting, Marcus said. Vos said that as far as Inkatha was concerned, the meeting was still on.

Buthelezi had rejected Mandela’s conditions for a meeting, which included a climate for free political activity in KwaZulu and a ban on carrying traditional weapons. Instead he insisted that specific items, such as negotiations, the peace process and the suspension of mass action, be on the agenda. The ANC described Buthelezi’s response as “belligerent”. 27/11/92.

● Comment: Page 14

PAC to meet Govt in Pretoria

By Montshiwa Moroke

Negotiation teams of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Government are set to meet in Pretoria on December 9, PAC president Clarence Makwetu announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

Makwetu, who returned from the United Nations and Norway on Wednesday, said the bilateral talks would deal with the establishment of a more representative multilateral forum.

He said the talks would be positive only if they did not lead to bilateral deals, which would prove catastrophic for the country.

In New York, Makwe-

tu met UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His address to the UN General Assembly had covered violence and bilateral talks.

Makwetu kicked off a press conference yesterday by saying the PAC welcomed the proposed meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said the PAC had been the first to call for international intervention in transitional talks and had insisted on a neutral venue and neutral chairman from the outset.

"We have twice since met the regime at a neu-

tral venue and under a neutral independent chairman in Abuja, Nigeria, and Gaborone, Botswana. We spearheaded the demand to take the issue of violence to the UN Security Council, and succeeded.

"We have been tirelessly working to establish a more representative multilateral forum to discuss the date for voter registration on a common voters roll and the modalities of setting up an elected constituent assembly.

The PAC leader said the organisation had also been consulting with delegations from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa and QwaQwa.

De Klerk proposes transition timetable

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk last night for the first time set out the Government's detailed timetable for transition, targeting March or April 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in democratic elections for a government of national unity.

He said the 15-month timetable would reach its first major milestone by the end of next March with the resumption of full multiparty negotiations, either in a new forum or in a more representative and restructured Codesa.

The Cabinet had decided to release the envisaged timetable to play down unrealistic expectations which were being created by some parties of a government of national unity in five or six months.

It also intended answering criticism that it was clinging to power. As shown by the

timetable, the Government was in a hurry and had set itself certain goals.

He stressed the timetable was envisaged only by the Government and had not been discussed with, or agreed to, by any other organisation. Some of the target periods were "too short" and "rather ambitious" but could be met or even exceeded if all parties co-operated and were fully committed.

The ANC rejected De Klerk's timetable as unacceptable, the PAC said it wanted a democratic government installed by early 1994 and the Democratic Party said there was no reason why elections for a constitution-making body could not be held before the end of next year.

The Government's target dates were:

- Bilateral discussions completed before the end of February 1993.
- A new multiparty negotiating forum or a restructured

Codesa convened before the end of March 1993.

● Agreement on a transitional constitution, a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and an election commission to be concluded before the end of May 1993.

● Legislation for the TEC and the election commission to be adopted by Parliament in May or June 1993.

● The TEC and the election commission to begin work in June 1993.

● A transitional constitution — also providing for a constitution-making body — to be enacted before the end of September 1993.

● Election rules to be promulgated before the end of October 1993.

● First elections for a democratic government of national unity not later than March or April 1994.

De Klerk said he was confident that the multiparty negotiations could resume

● To Page 3

De Klerk's timetable proposal

● From Page 1

by the March 1993 target date, but that the most difficult target to reach would be agreement on a transitional constitution by May 1993:

He also welcomed the ANC's recently adopted "Strategic Perspectives", which endorsed power-sharing even beyond the transitional period, and said it showed growing convergence.

The Government's understanding of power-sharing was that the party which gained 51 percent of the vote should not command 100 percent of power, and that all parties with significant support should take part in a government of national unity.

The Government's proposed constitution would include measures to place the armed forces under "neutral, non-partisan control to ensure they cannot be abused for party-political ends".

Asked whether the Government was ready to relinquish some control of the security forces beforehand, De Klerk said: "We do not envisage handing over the Government piece by piece."

He noted it was agreed at Codesa that before a government

of national unity, there would be a TEC — one of which would deal with security forces.

He said that for these elections to be free and fair, it was inconceivable that political parties could have private armies. The position of these were still under negotiation but all signatories of the National Peace Accord had agreed that no political party should have a private army.

The release of the timetable has further boosted confidence in a resumption of negotiations with the announcement that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi would meet face-to-face to address political violence.

● The ANC said last night that De Klerk's timetable was "totally unacceptable", and demanded elections during 1993 — a year earlier than suggested by the Government.

In a statement the organisation said: "South Africa cannot afford any delay in the process. The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement; the people will no longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing

uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deterioration of socio-economic conditions."

The ANC said it would be holding an extensive bilateral meeting with the National Party soon, "where all these issues are to be discussed". It was "unfortunate that President de Klerk has seen fit to make pronouncements on issues that are the very subject for discussion at a meeting that has taken months to prepare for".

● PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the movement wanted a democratic government installed by early 1994. It also wants Codesa to be replaced by a multilateral forum early next year and an elected constituent assembly in place by November 1993.

● Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew said today there was no reason why elections for a constitution-making body could not be held before the end of next year.

"Elections are necessary and urgent if we are to introduce a greater degree of certainty in economic and constitutional affairs..." he said.

Indignant Schwarz hailed

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Washington Post has complimented South African ambassador Harry Schwarz for his angry outburst at disclosures of evidence pointing to dirty tricks against the ANC by Military Intelligence.

The outburst was made in an interview with The Star and widely quoted in leading American newspapers, including The New York Times, and on national television.

In an editorial yesterday The Washington Post said: "President de Klerk, walking a tight-rope between his military and angry anti-

apartheid groups, has appointed a new military intelligence chief to conduct an internal probe of this latest scandal.

"But he continues to deny the existence of a 'third force' — a cabal within the security forces. *STAR*

"That stance contrasts sharply with the 'anger and outrage' that South Africa's ambassador to the US, Mr Harry Schwarz, expressed at the Goldstone Commission disclosures. 27/11/92

"Ambassador Schwarz reacted as one would expect of an official concerned that his government's credibility could go down in flames."

In discussing the relationship between De Klerk and ANC president

Nelson Mandela, the editorial added: "Remarkably, Mr Mandela and other key ANC leaders have refused to allow this news to divert them from preparing to open constitutional bargaining with the Government.

"It is significant that yesterday the ANC formally accepted the idea of sharing power with Mr de Klerk's National Party, and announced talks with Inkatha, its black rival. This does not mean that mistrust and anger have run their course. But in Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk, South Africa has two leaders who know, despite the unrelenting past that constantly intrudes upon them, that their war is over."

ANC, IFP agree to preparatory meeting

Political Staff

11/19 (11/19) 2/11/19

A tough preparatory meeting between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party — aimed at thrashing out the organisations' preconditions for a summit between their leaders — is due to take place soon.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Gaborone, Botswana, yesterday that a meeting with IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would serve no purpose "unless it was certain to pro-

duce results in addressing the question of violence".

He said Chief Buthelezi had posed certain conditions for the meeting and "I have also put conditions".

Mandela's conditions were the creation of a climate for free political activity in Kwa-Zulu, that the ANC should be allowed to operate there, that IFP followers should be disarmed and Buthelezi should agree to the banning of weapons in public, and that hostels

should be fenced off and regular searches conducted "because hit squads operate from there".

Buthelezi has stated his precondition only as being that the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

An IFP spokesman said yesterday clarity of such items could only surface during the preparatory discussions.

The decision to hold a preparatory meeting resulted from a breakthrough between the two parties at a National Peace Committee meeting on Monday.

5/11/19 27/11/19

SACP doubled membership Hani

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE SACP has virtually doubled its membership in the past year and is having difficulties coping with the expansion.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani said recently new party branches had opened this year in the northern Transvaal, northern Cape and Border regions with paid-up membership increasing from about 22 000 at the party's 8th congress in October last year to more than 40 000 at present.

Hani said a membership of more than 50 000 was expected by year-end.

"There is not a single region where our membership has not risen markedly... we can't cope with the growth."

Hani said the SACP's consistent mili-

tancy against apartheid and its support of the poor and the working class had encouraged the increase in membership.

Trade unions, in general, and the NUM in particular had contributed to new levels of SACP support.

Hani said that while the party was "still small compared with the ANC", it had only recently begun to actively recruit new members.

To provide the expanding party membership and structures with adequate financing, the SACP had embarked on a fund-raising programme, Hani said.

Illegal 'returning exiles' want to stay

WILSON ZWANE

THE National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA Exiles (NCCR) is meeting strong resistance in its bid to send back non-South Africans who have abused the UN repatriation programme by masquerading as returning exiles.

A source close to the committee said of the estimated 80 people in the PWV region who had entered the country fraudulently, only 10 had agreed to be repatriated to their countries.

The 10 who agreed to be repatriated had been accommodated at the committee's centre in the Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng, and consisted of three Mozambicans and seven Zimbabweans.

It is understood that at least six of the 60 people currently accommodated at the centre are non-South Africans.

The source said the NCCR found it extremely difficult — as a humanitarian organisation — to "force" people out of the country, which they had been forced to enter as a result of socio-economic problems in their own countries.

He said the "illegals" were asked, not ordered, to leave the country. Those who had not agreed to leave the country "voluntarily" had indicated that incarceration in SA prisons was preferable to going back to their countries.

Kallu Kalumiya, chief of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees's (UNHCR) mission in SA, could not be reached for comment.

However, he has said his mission was in contact with head office in Geneva about the repatriation of the "illegals".

Kalumiya said a clause in an agreement his organisation and government reached last year, which stipulated that citizenship of returning exiles should be resolved in SA and not in foreign countries, had enabled a number of non-South Africans to sneak in.

Suspended

This was despite the fact that returning exiles were subjected to "vigorous scrutiny" in the countries from which they were being repatriated.

As a result of abuses of its repatriation programme in Mozambique, the UNHCR recently suspended flights ferrying returning exiles from that country.

The NCCR source stressed, however, that it was not only Mozambicans who were abusing the repatriation programme. Even people as far afield as Sierra Leone and Guinea had abused the programme, Kalumiya said.

PAC demands expulsion of 'foreign mercenaries'

THE PAC yesterday demanded the expulsion under UN supervision of foreign mercenaries it said were fomenting township violence.

But it suggested it would not allow independent scrutiny of its own armed wing, Apla, which has claimed responsibility for a string of killings of policemen.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who recently returned from a visit to the UN and Norway, said he wanted the UN to press Pretoria to expel or confine

mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, working in the SA security forces.

"Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated."

He said members of 32 and 31 Battalions, Koevoet members, Mozambican Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in SA.

He said Judge Richard Goldstone should investigate the actions of mercenaries "and not witch-hunt against those not responsible for the violence".

Goldstone has said he wants to probe all the armed forces, including those of government, the black opposition groups and right-wingers.

A PAC spokesman said the organisation had not yet decided whether to allow the Goldstone commission to investigate Apla.

"We don't know what Goldstone wants from Apla. Goldstone is studying a specific form of violence and Apla is engaged in a different form of struggle. The matter is still pending," he said. — Reuter.

Mlangeni inquest told of bungling

THE police investigation into the murder of attorney Bheki Mlangeni was fatally flawed from the start, a Rand Supreme Court inquest was told yesterday.

Presiding Judge B O'Donovan reserved his findings.

Mlangeni was killed on February 15 last year when a Walkman cassette player with explosives in the headphones, intended for former police captain Dirk Coetzee, exploded when he attempted to listen to a tape recording.

All the parties represented at the inquest — the family of the deceased, the police, the SADF and the State — said in closing argument that on the totality of the evidence, no finding could be made as to who was responsible for killing Mlangeni.

"It is submitted that had a proper investigation been conducted, the findings could have been dramatically different and public confidence and satisfaction could have been promoted," counsel for the Mlangeni family Gys Rautenbach argued.

He called for an admonition of the SAP and the manner in which they conducted the whole investigation.

Rautenbach said deficiencies in the investigation included the fact that it took police 15 months to apply their minds to the investigation of suspects.

Herman Broodryk, for the State, submitting that no factual finding as to the com-

STEPHANE BOTHMA

plicity of members of the SAP could be made on the evidence at the inquest.

He told the court that a great deal of time and money had been involved in the police investigation and that no expense had been deemed too costly.

"If the SAP themselves were involved, they would hardly have gone to all this effort and expense," Broodryk said.

Etienne du Toit, representing the SAP and individual policemen, agreed with Broodryk that "nothing whatsoever in facts or in allegations" before the court implicated any of his clients.

Evidence about the SADF Military Intelligence project Echoes — the visit of Capt Pamela du Randt and Leon Flores to the UK to determine the extent of the activities between ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the IRA — was irrelevant to the inquest, the court heard.

"To determine whether Flores had any hidden agenda or whether the police were involved in monitoring Dirk Coetzee after the death of Mlangeni would not bring the court any closer to fixing legal responsibility for the death," Du Toit argued.

Anton Mostert SC, representing the SADF, argued that no room existed for linking Mlangeni's death with the SADF.

"In the circumstances, the court is asked to exonerate the SADF," he said.

Mozambican denies affidavit on killings

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna yesterday effectively denied he had participated in the killing of ANC members in a Durban township last year before abruptly cutting short his evidence before the Goldstone commission.

Giving evidence before a one-man commission, Cuna substantially contradicted the contents of an affidavit which formed the basis for a recent report in Vrye Weekblad. In the affidavit, he claimed to have participated in the shooting of between seven and nine people with AK-47 rifles together with a black man and a white man.

He told the inquiry that during the trip to Durban, he, and men he said were policemen, had collected AK-47s from the home of a Portuguese speaker. Nothing else of significance had happened during the trip, he said.

Cuna substantiated other elements of the affidavit, confirming the logistical details of the trip, including the places where the group had stayed and met.

He confirmed that he had provided a Johannesburg lawyer with a statement, but claimed that it was not read back to him.

After giving evidence for about two hours, Cuna hung his head and did not respond to questions being asked by the lawyer for the commission.

After granting an adjournment, commission chairman Rob Wise said he had been informed that Cuna was extremely afraid and had declined to provide further evidence as part of an open hearing.

The chairman adjourned the hearing in order to ascertain by means of a personal interview whether Cuna's fears were justified.

Wise said however undesirable it might be in principle, it could become necessary for Cuna to give evidence in the absence of the public and legal representatives if this was the only alternative.

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ANC policy guidelines need clarification ^(11A) foundation

ANC policy guidelines released in May reflect an outdated view of the nature of SA society, say Urban Foundation analysts.

In the December edition of the Urban Foundation publication *Development and Democracy*, development strategy and policy unit executive director Ann Bernstein and political economist Charles Simkins say there is a need for greater clarity and consistency in the underlying principles and values that would guide ANC policy discussion, formulation and decision.

LLOYD COUTTS

"It would seem as though it is only on issues where the ANC has been challenged by loud outside voices that the policy is carefully scrutinised and its practical impact is thought through."

The unevenness of the document emphasises the need for the organisation to identify its constituency and determine the trade-offs that will need to be made on its road to power.

They say many of the ANC's plans for improving

the quality of social services will have to be deferred, even if there are substantial cuts in spending on benefits for the affluent.

The trouble is that the most urgent requirements need counterpart institutional change and policy development which have been, and will continue to be, relatively slow to emerge.

It is clear the ANC wants an interventionist state, but a critical question is the ANC's ability to guarantee as much protection as possible against their kind of state for the individual.

Azapo rules out power sharing

Sowetan
27/11/92.

■ **Interim solutions are no solution:**

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

(114)

AZANIAN People's Organisation's president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe yesterday said his organisation would continue to stay out of multi-party negotiations if these talks meant sharing power with the present Government.

Opening Azapo's national congress in Port Elizabeth, Nefolovhodwe hit by inference at the ANC and the PAC for promoting "interim solutions".

"Azapo does not conceive of an interim government under an oppressive system. There can never be any unity between the oppressors and oppressed ... and therefore nothing short of a government of a national majority is acceptable to Azapo.

"Those who are interested in interim solutions, can proceed without Azapo," Nefolovhodwe said.

He also dismissed the National Peace Accord signed by the ANC, Government, Inkatha and other parties last year as having designed "killing structures such as the dispute resolution committees".

He criticised the Organisation of African Unity for giving structures like the NPA credibility.

Sowetan 27/11/92

guns says PAC boss Makwetu

■ Call for greater UN involvement in curbing violence: (114) (1376) (11A)

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday welcomed the planned summit meeting on violence between African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but expressed regret it had not taken place sooner.

Makwetu referred to his statement to the United Nations' General Assembly on November 18, in which he said the PAC had reiterated its call for the exclusion or confinement, under international supervision, of mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia who were still in South Africa.

"Until and unless these mercenaries are expelled or confined, violence will continue unabated," he said.

Asked to amplify this statement, Makwetu said members of 32 and 31 battalions, Koevoet members, Renamo elements and former Rhodesian Selous Scouts were still in South Africa.

"These people must be expelled from the country or at least put under UN supervision," Makwetu said.

About the presence of UN observers in South Africa, Makwetu said he had told UN Secretary General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the UN observers should not merely observe violence and collect statistics, but be "proactive in ending the violence".

"The most effective way the UN can contribute is to demand the immediate and verifiable expulsion of the mercenaries from our country or their confinement under international supervision."

On the PAC's proposed representative multilateral forum, to the exclusion of bilateral deals, he said this suggested body should have an independent, neutral, foreign chairperson.

The PAC negotiating team would meet a Government delegation on December 9 in Pretoria to discuss this more representative forum, Makwetu disclosed. - Sapa.



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PAC

News to them

PAC economics chief Siphoshe Shabalala seems once again to have reached a conclusion on a matter of policy that the PAC rank and file will have to catch up with — or repudiate. We suspect the former.

Last year Shabalala was denounced as a CIA agent by PAC youths and other hard-liners for stating that the armed struggle had failed and that negotiations were inevitable. They also had problems with the tone and tenor of his economic policies, which survive on the basis that they are still in the form of a discussion paper.

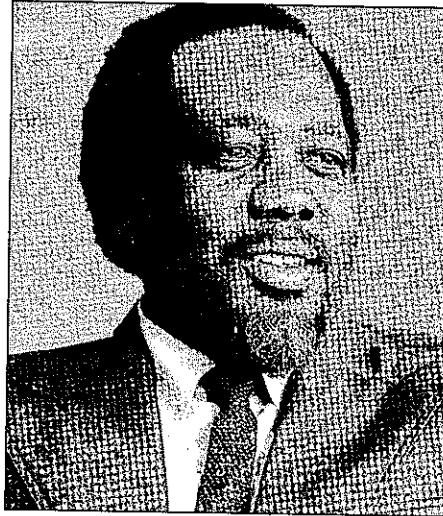
According to a statement issued by Shabalala in the name of the PAC after a three-day economics seminar, the nationalisation of corporations is ruled out. Instead, anti-trust legislation is recommended as part of a programme of redistribution, which would include "excess" white farm land — though the buying up of such land is politically unacceptable.

"Due to a number of weaknesses of traditional nationalisation measures, and as instruments of redistribution," says the statement, "nationalisation of existing corporations in private hands is not recommended."

This was news to PAC head office. Asked

for more information, PAC information and publicity director Walters Toboti said: "We read about it in the papers. We are surprised. No conference of that kind has the right to change policy or make such a recommendation through the press." A policy change can come only from the PAC national executive council and has to be adopted at a congress, which is the "supreme body," explains Toboti, a member of the executive.

Head office eventually received a copy of



PAC's Shabalala ... nationalisation
not recommended

Shabalala's statement on Tuesday, but said it could not be released until after the leadership had studied it — to see if the press had correctly reported it . . .

A softer line on nationalisation had been hinted at by Shabalala during his address to the FM's Investment Conference recently. He said in reply to a question that nationalisation would not be necessary, provided business and the economy were "democratised."

Shabalala's Gaborone statement reportedly recommends the redistribution of equity ownership, the introduction of anti-trust legislation and a redistribution of power and control to potential black managers. This seems to be what he has in mind when he talks of economic democratisation.

Regarding the redistribution to the landless of "excess land" owned by white farmers, the statement says: "For purposes of bringing about peace and stability, affected farmers . . . would be compensated on their determinable investment in the excess land." A "land restoration and redistribution fund" is proposed to compensate farmers in cash or government bonds. Land should be allocated free of charge and as a constitutional right to all South Africans.

Among the measures recommended for redistributing wealth are taxes on land, property, capital transfers and capital gains. Also significant is a call for education to be depoliticised "as much as possible." ■

NEGOTIATIONS

Kissing and making up

FM 27(11)92

~~301A~~ 11A

Though soured by the continuing rancour between the ANC and Inkatha, plans for the resumption of full-scale negotiations in February, according to government, are on track.

In recent weeks there has been a series of preparatory discussions between government and various parties, including Inkatha, the PAC and the white Right; as well as between the ANC and certain homelands, notably Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

More important is that the crucial *bosberaad* between government and the ANC is set to take place early next month, according to the ANC's Carl Niehaus, which should facilitate the convening of the vital multiparty conference.

Any decisions taken at the *bosberaad* would have to be ratified by an all-party indaba, Niehaus indicated. This is critical to the process, considering the opposition — chiefly from Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi — to bilateral agreements between government and the ANC being presented as a *fait accompli* to other parties.

Buthelezi reiterated his rejection of such deals, in response to the ANC's announcement that, before the year's end, it wants a date set for elections to a constituent assembly-cum-interim government. The ANC appeared to threaten another suspension of talks with government if a date were not forthcoming. But the demand seems to be more of a pressure tactic to get the ball rolling. It may be unwise to set a rigid deadline for interim government elections, which the ANC would like "as soon as is practicable" — meaning by the end of 1993.

Yet how — if Buthelezi is not to be further alienated — can an election date be agreed upon prior to December 31 this year, unless the multilateral conference is held before then?

An ANC spokesman explains that the organisation is "expressing serious concern that if a date is not set we may face further delays, which are counterproductive. There needs to be a target. There can be further discussions (on setting a date) in a multilateral forum."

Much will depend on the attitude and atmosphere at the ANC-government summit due within weeks. If the two teams agree on a date, it would be wise to try to keep this a secret until all parties have been consulted — but leaks on such an important matter appear inevitable.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this week that the date should be determined by discussions between all the parties, lest some feel excluded, as was the case with the Record of Understanding signed by government and the ANC in September. "We want a



multiparty conference off the ground as soon as possible," Botha added.

As the ANC sees it, the first phase of interim government would begin soon after the setting of a target date for the start of the second phase, an elected interim government.

Phase one — likely to be introduced "quite early next year" — would be a limited, transitional arrangement under which there would be joint control over areas such as the security forces, the SABC and the Budget. Parties other than the Nats would have significant influence on decision-making in these areas for a short term (about six months). The aim would be to level the playing field for free and fair elections.

It is during this phase that the ANC envisages the beginnings of an integrated security/defence force, based in part on the recommendations made in one of the Codesa working groups, which were never ratified. This, perhaps more than any other factor, will be crucial for the process to succeed.

Record of Understanding

Meanwhile, the ANC's national executive committee was meeting in Durban this week, partly to finalise its interim government policy. There was heavyweight opposition — from information head Pallo Jordan and Natal Midlands chief Harry Gwala — to aspects of proposals put forward by Joe Slovo. These include "sunset" clauses, aimed essentially at making the transition smoother by not alienating the existing public service corps.

Also to be ratified is a proposal aimed at forming an ANC transitional government of national unity, in terms of which any party

with at least 5% of the vote would be represented in such a government.

While the ANC has had constructive meetings with the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, accord with Buthelezi seemed as elusive as ever. Even if the ANC succeeds in neutralising the first two — who sit in alliance with Buthelezi (and the white Right) in the "concerned citizens" grouping formed after the Record of Understanding — isolating Buthelezi could be shortsighted.

After meeting French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Keijman this week, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was willing to grant Buthelezi his wish of a face-to-face meeting — provided Buthelezi accepted certain conditions (which he probably knew would not be acceptable). These were that he should: allow the ANC free political activity in KwaZulu; disarm Inkatha members; abide by the ban on traditional weapons in public; and agree to the fencing of hostels.

Mandela said the ANC had done everything in its power to plan for ending the violence but that Buthelezi had failed to attend important multiparty meetings of leaders on the issue.

In response, Buthelezi told the FM: "I can no longer take seriously anything that the president of the ANC says because he chops and changes at every turn." He said Mandela had reneged on undertakings to meet him that Mandela had given to Kenneth Kaunda and Peace Committee chairman John Hall. "He must have been bluffing the French Deputy Foreign Minister just to gain the false high moral ground on the issue," said Buthelezi.

Neither he nor the KwaZulu Cabinet had ever disallowed any political activity in KwaZulu by the ANC or any other party and Mandela knew that "our members have been killed in their thousands" in KwaZulu. "The problem we face is that of political intolerance and we need to deal jointly with the cult of violence among members of our organisations," said Buthelezi.

The KwaZulu chief again said that he "cannot accept any decisions made behind our backs without being given a chance to debate and understand them." Inkatha would not accept the banning of "Zulu cultural accoutrements in all circumstances" as this could not be implemented. "The residents of hostels have rejected the fencing of their hostels. I respect their democratic right to refuse to be forced to live in the ANC-sponsored concentration camps."

According to Buthelezi, the (proposed) meeting of the Peace Accord signatories (which Mandela favours as the forum for meeting Buthelezi) "cannot be compared with joint rallies addressed by leaders of both

~~301A~~ 11A
parties" (that is, he and Mandela). It was not the problem of the other leaders, he said, pointedly asking why Mandela had refused mediation offered by the PAC. ■

Fresh ANC probe into camps

with Mand 27/11 - 3/12/92
By PHILIPPA GARSON

THE African National Congress made the timely announcement this week that an independent commission has been set up to inquire into atrocities committed in its detention camps.

Next week a damning report by Amnesty International on the abuse, torture and execution of ANC prisoners is due to be released.

Amnesty had an observer at the ANC's preliminary inquiry into the camps which concluded there had been gross abuses but which

stopped short of naming those responsible for the torture and unjust detention of many cadres suspected of being state agents.

However, the human rights body initiated its own probe to explore issues beyond the ambit of the ANC inquiry.

Among other shortcomings, the ANC inquiry did not delve into the more damning evidence concerning disappearances and executions of detainees.

After releasing the findings of its internal commission last month, the

ANC undertook to establish an independent body to take the matter further.

The three-member commission will comprise prominent businessman Sam Motsuenyane, David Zamchiya, a former Zimbabwean government official and Margaret Burnham from the United States.

The Douglas commission of inquiry into the camps has yet to release its findings.

Appointed by the right-wing International Freedom Foundation, the hearing began in July.

Slovo Says ANC Must Agree To Share Power

GUARDIAN (W) 27/11-3/12/92
JOHANNESBURG — With his cherubic face, white hair, redsocks, slow gait, and whimsical smile, Joe Slovo looks like anything but a bomb thrower.

But the elfin figure who heads South Africa's Communist Party and used to lead the African National Congress's guerrilla army threw enough bombs in his day to be branded a terrorist by the apartheid government and forced into 27 years of exile. Now he is lobbing political bombs among his own comrades.

Slovo set off a torrid dispute within the intelligentsia of the ANC and the Communist Party by proposing that the anti-apartheid movement agree to interim power-sharing with the white-minority government to speed constitutional change and guard against a right-wing military coup following the election of a black-led government.

He suggested an offer of amnesty, job guarantees, and assured pension benefits to generals and civil servants to buy their loyalty to, and expertise for, the country's first democratically elected government.

The incentives would last for an unspecified number of years.

The Slovo proposal has been circulating for more than a month, and the fallout has been predictable: wary expressions of interest from the ruling National Party, and angry cries of doctrinal backsliding from within the anti-apartheid alliance.

A half-dozen Communist and socialist theoreticians have written responses, one of which accused Slovo of being "utterly confused" and "charmingly ignorant of the history of the 20th century."

But when the ANC's cabinet met last week to plan its upcoming negotiations with the government, it adopted most of Slovo's ideas — notably the strategic premise. It noted that even if the ANC wins the first democratic election — as most analysts here assume it will — "the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole, may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity" so that "parties that have lost the election will not be able to paralyze the functioning of government."

Tom Lodge, a political scientist at the University of Witwatersrand, said he gives Slovo "a lot of credit for moving the negotiating process along. He knows that whenever the deal is struck between the government and the ANC, there are going to be cries of sellout. He has decided to start softening the ground now — and to spend some of his enormous popularity in the



Slovo — political bombshells

movement to do it."

Slovo is too politic to claim victory over his critics, but he clearly relishes his role as goad. At 67, he has recently undergone chemotherapy for bone-marrow cancer and finds himself at a stage of life when he is more willing than younger firebrands to accept short-term compromise for long-term gain.

Slovo said he wrote his proposal because, as a member of the ANC's negotiating team, he came to feel that too few of his colleagues had faced up to the implications of the adage that a warring party cannot win at the bargaining table what it never won on the ground.

"We are not engaged in armistice talks — I wish we were," he said. "But the truth is, neither side won the war. The National Party couldn't rule any longer, and we couldn't seize power by force. So that means both sides have to compromise. That's the reality."

Slovo's critics say his tactics are misguided — bargainers should never telegraph their compromises — and his substantive proposals court political and economic ruin.

Pallo Jordan, the ANC's director of information, wrote a response to Slovo warning that if a democratic government tries to retain a military and civil service that may turn out to be disloyal, it will be "building its own funeral pyre."

Such criticism long ago lost its sting to Slovo. The Lithuanian immigrant joined the party here when he was 17 and has since fought, sometimes through terrorism, against apartheid. He has seen his wife, a leading Communist, killed by a letter bomb.

Whatever bitterness, grief or disillusionment he may harbor, Slovo doesn't let it show. He writes a weekly column in *Business Day*, puckishly titled "Red Alert," in which he patiently instructs his capitalist readers in the error of their ways.

By Paul Taylor

Slovo option wins the day

THE African National Congress' chief negotiators pulled out all the stops this week to get the militants within their ranks to accept a more moderate version of power transfer—a government of national unity extending into the era beyond interim government and the adoption of a new constitution.

The ANC has now committed itself to the principle of sunset clauses, where smaller parties with proven popular support would be guaranteed representation in government for a limited period.

Disagreement among ANC leaders on the acceptance of this perspective, first outlined in South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo's Strategic Perspectives document, was well-publicised, with conflicting positions put forward by some of the

Wimani 27/11-3/12/92.
**African National Congress
hardliners have lost the battle
against the 'sunset option'**
PHILIPPA GARSON reports

movement's key intellectuals.

Some of the more militant regional representatives on the national executive committee were known to be opposed to the ANC's new bottom-line stance.

ANC chief negotiator Mac Maharaj said in an interview yesterday that debate over the issue had been heated, continuing for a full day at the three-day NEC meeting in Durban this week. However, the outcome had been an "overwhelming acceptance of the position."

Maharaj said perspectives put out by various leaders, including Pallo Jordan, Jeremy Cronin and Harry Gwala, criticising the document, offered no viable alternatives.

Maharaj said the ANC recognised that South Africa, ravaged by apartheid policies, was a highly divided society, adding that the organisation's commitment to national unity had been continuous throughout the movement's history.

"The key to getting people into constructive mode (at the NEC meeting) was the recognition that national unity has been a continuous strand in the ANC's thinking since its formation ... people came to the important realisation that specific arrangements for temporary periods are part of the (process towards) national unity."

However, "this does not mean that

people with vested interests in the past must be able to hold the process to ransom," said Maharaj.

Slight amendments were made to the document to ensure that the ANC's new negotiation stance allowed no loopholes for the stalling of the process towards democracy. The ANC will go into extended bilateral meetings with the government demanding that elections be held within a year.

The government and ANC will now have to reach a compromise between the former's desire for power-sharing, with inbuilt veto rights for minorities, and the latter's concession towards a government of national unity. There are hopes that binding agreements on a new position will be formulated at the "bosberaad" between the two major players, set to take place next month.

Maharaj said the ANC was doing everything to push the process forward, but government was still "hiding its bottom-line in its briefcase". This, he said, was their "second bite at the cherry" after throwing away the first opportunity at Codesa 2.

The grinding wheels of negotiations were given more grease with the announcement that a bilateral summit between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take place soon. A meeting of the three National Peace Accord signatories is also in the pipeline.

ANC's 12 year torture expo

(IA) 
JO-ANNE COLLINGE

THE African National Congress executed, tortured and ill-treated prisoners in its camps in various African countries over a period of at least 12 years — and government agencies of the host countries actively collaborated in some of these abuses. *STAN*

This is the conclusion of an investigation of abuses in ANC camps, based on first-hand accounts by surviving victims, by Amnesty International, the influential London-based human rights group. *28/11/92*

It reinforces the recently published findings of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry which found "extraordinary abuse of power" by ANC security officials and "gratuitous and random violence" by guards at the camps.

Security apparatus

The Amnesty investigation emphasises the need for the ANC and relevant authorities to take action against the perpetrators.

"Individual torturers should be identified in order to ensure that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus. Details of their cases should also be forwarded to the appropriate authorities in the countries where the abuses took place in order that they might be the subject of criminal investigation, and, if appropriate, prosecution," Amnesty argues.

"However, these steps should be taken only after a thorough investigation which will allow the alleged human rights violators the opportunity to respond to the allegations against them."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus pointed out yesterday that the ANC had been gearing up to act on the findings of the inquiry it had initiated. As a first step it had set up a second, more clearly independent, commission comprising two foreign members and one South African.

"Our National Working Committee is still determining the terms of reference of this commission. In doing so, the issues raised by Amnesty International will also be taken into account," he said.

Amnesty insists that in August 1991 the ANC still held prisoners in Tanzania although it publicly denied this. Amnesty says it has tried in vain to trace five of these prisoners who were held at Dakawa camp: Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schaft Lwane Khoza and George Kit-seng.

Niehaus reiterated yesterday that none of these was in ANC custody. They were either in Tanzanian jails or else unable to obtain amnesty to return to South Africa. Noting that ANC president Nelson Mandela said that the leadership of the ANC accepted full responsibility for the

Talks wagon creaks on to the road again

STAR 28/11/92



PETER FAIRICIOUS and ESTHER WAUGH

THE cumbersome and long-dormant negotiation machine began to creak into action this week as plans were announced for the long-awaited Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and an intensive "bosheraad" between the Government and the ANC.

The negotiation barometer moved to "cautious optimism" as it emerged that a team of Cabinet ministers under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and top ANC officials under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would retreat into a secret bush venue from Wednesday to Friday to thrash out the remaining obstacles to resuming Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

The two sides moved closer together earlier this week when the ANC's national executive committee endorsed a strategy option of sharing power with the National Party even after interim government.

Programme for transition

Giving an overview of the week's positive development, one key player remarked that all parties had finally realised they could not destroy each other, and were at last resorting to real negotiations.

President de Klerk sounded an optimistic note — and tried to seize the initiative from the ANC — when he announced that Codesa could start in March, setting in train a negotiation process leading to the country's first democratic elections in March or April 1994 for a government of national unity.

The ANC officially spurned De Klerk's timetable as too long, but ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said that at last the Government had committed itself to a definite programme for transition.

The most troubling problem still outstanding is the position of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP, who still remain officially outside the negotiation process.

Although the planned Buthelezi/Mandela meeting is seen as an encouraging sign that the IFP leader is thawing, the Government is fearful that its bosheraad with the ANC may once again infuriate Buthelezi and drive him further away — as did the ANC/Government summit of September 26.

In an interview yesterday, Meyer was at pains to point out that the bosheraad would not be a summit, as De Klerk and Mandela would not attend.

He said that the Government was currently meeting all major players, including the IFP. It would meet the PAC on December 9, and Buthelezi and other estranged homeland leaders also next month.

He and Ramaphosa yesterday announced a second phase of this week's bosheraad in January.

The meetings would deal with multilateral negotiations, the transition process, the problem of violence, transitional/interim government, a constitution-making body, a transitional executive council, a climate for free political activity and participation, and unilateral restructuring. Another topic is likely to be the ANC's power-sharing strategic perspective.

No date has been set for the Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and the agenda is still to be discussed.



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Realignment of 'oppressed' likely

PORT ELIZABETH. — Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe predicts that a realignment of the "oppressed" will take place and will include groupings and individuals within the ANC and its allies.

Addressing reporters after the second day of Azapo's 11th annual congress, Mr Nefolovhodwe said the ANC Youth League had condemned what the ANC had done and there were individuals such as its director of publicity Dr Pallo

Jordan who were also unhappy.

It was not participation in negotiations per se which "will make us part company" with other liberation movements, but whether they responded to the aspirations of the people.

The Azapo president said the organisation would participate in elections if they were free and fair with a neutral authority — the international community — to oversee them.

"How can you have free and fair elections with the current

violence, and the security forces under the control of (President) De Klerk?", he asked.

He denied there were splits in Azapo over the question of negotiations, and said the issues would be debated fully.

Mr Nefolovhodwe said the proposed government of national unity amounted to another level of co-option which was why there was an impending parting of the ways. — Sapa.

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Amnesty slates brutal torture, executions

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Amnesty International has released a damning report of chilling human rights abuses in ANC camps — and has called for torturers to be identified and banned from positions of power.

JO-ANNE COLLINGE
 Weekend Argus Reporter

PRISONERS in African National Congress camps were executed, tortured and ill-treated in various African countries over a period of at least 12 years.

And government agencies of the host countries actively collaborated in some of these abuses.

This is the conclusion of an investigation by Amnesty International, the influential London-based human rights group, into abuses inside ANC camps. The investigation was based on first-hand accounts by surviving victims.

It reinforces the recently published findings of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry which found "extraordinary abuse of power" by ANC security officials and "gratuitous and random violence" by guards at the camps.

The Amnesty investigation emphasises the need for the ANC and relevant authorities to take action against the perpetrators.

"Individual torturers should be identified to ensure that they hold no future position in the ANC or government security apparatus," says Amnesty. "Details of their cases should be forwarded to the appropriate authorities in the countries in which the abuses took place so they can be the subject of

Our National Working Committee is still determining the terms of reference of this commission. In doing so, the issues raised by Amnesty International will also be taken into account," he said.

Amnesty insists that in August 1991 the ANC still held prisoners in Tanzania — although the ANC publicly denied this. Amnesty says it has tried in vain to trace five of these prisoners who were held at Dakawa camp. They are Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schati Lwane Kwoza and George Klseng.

Mr Niehaus reiterated yesterday that none of these was in ANC custody. They were either in Tanzanian jails or else unable to obtain amnesty to return to South Africa, he said.

Amnesty notes that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has said the ANC leadership accepts full responsibility for the abuses documented by the commission. It has appointed. But Amnesty insists that the process must be taken further.

"A weakness of the commission of inquiry is that it did not sufficiently examine where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps. An important question is why the leadership failed to table the report of the (internal) James Stuart commission of inquiry into the mutiny at the ANC's consultative conference in Kabwe."

While Amnesty concedes that infiltration has been a real threat to the liberation movement, the human rights group argues that many of those imprisoned and tortured were not agents of the apartheid state.

The failure of the ANC to bring its security department to book, combined with blanket denunciations of former prisoners as spies, laid open prisoners who returned home to further danger.

A large number of abuses documented in both the Amnesty report and the recent ANC-initiated inquiry occurred after the mutinies by members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Viana and Pango camps in Angola in 1984. Amnesty states that:

When the mutiny began in Viana, mutineers found the body of a man called Solly in a "metal container" used by the security department for detaining people. Solly had been mentally ill and had criticised ANC leadership.

"He was known to have been detained in the container and had apparently been shot by members of the security department," the report reads.

After the Viana mutiny 32 participants were taken to the Luanda state security prison. There they were severely beaten by ANC personnel and detained in appalling conditions, virtually without medical care. Selby Msimang and Ben Thibane died there within five months of detention.

After the second uprising, at Pango, seven

Turn to page 3

Oil-1

appears to have been intervention of a senior ANC official, Ms Gertrude Shope, which ended the ill-treatment of the prisoners at Pango as well as preventing any further executions, the report states.

At Quatro, where most mutineers remained until 1988, conditions were grim, and hard labour and physical abuse routine.

"Many former prisoners describe being beaten on arrival at the camp, particularly on the buttocks and the soles of the feet. Prisoners also suffered random ill-treatment throughout their time there.

"In one incident described by two former inmates, guards poured boiling water on the head of a prisoner. The wound blistered and became painful. A sympathetic guard shaved the prisoner's head to help the wound heal, but the guards repeatedly banged his head against a tree to reopen the wound."

Prisoners had code names for various forms of torture. "Pompa" was the brutal slapping of puffed out cheeks; "nappalm" was a stinging leaf which they were forced to crawl through; "slaughter" was being forced to dig holes and climb into them, often while being pelted with stones.

Oil-1

Azapo claims spy at congress

(11)

Political Staff

2/28/1992
PORT ELIZABETH.

Azapo yesterday claimed to have discovered a member of a counter-insurgency unit at its congress here.

Suspicious Azapo officials said they followed the man after his request to see Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe was refused and they saw him get into a combi with four white men.

He had declined to say who the whites were in the combi and had denied being a spy. — Sapa

Security department's quelling of Viana mutiny the most violent

JOHANNESBURG. — Many of the worst abuses of prisoners by the African National Congress's security department occurred in the aftermath of a rebellion by disenfranchised Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in Angola in early 1984, an Amnesty International report said yesterday.

These reports called a legacy of abuse by ANC security officials in camps in several African countries.

Tracing the history of the mutiny, which led to wholesale arrests, Amnesty said it was prompted in part by the repressive role of the ANC's security department.

In February 1984, MK troops in the Viana transit camp, just outside Luanda, rebelled and

soon were joined by guerrillas from the Malanje Front in eastern Angola, where they were fighting UNITA.

Security personnel in the Viana camp were disarmed during the rebellion and the mutineers formed a committee to present their grievances.

Angolan troops then surrounded the camp, a brief gun-battle ensued, after which the mutineers agreed to surrender their arms on condition no victimisation occurred.

But, the ANC's security department was allowed back into the camp, where they immediately arrested mutineers, including committee members, and transported them to the Luanda State Security Prison commonly known as Nova In-

stalacao (New Installation). Thirty-two mutineers were kept at that prison.

Amnesty said: "Many of them appeared to have been severely beaten while in custody at Nova Instalacao, including Kate Mhlongo, a member of the committee. In 1984, the mutineers were held in dark, damp cells, with no blankets or mattresses and concrete slabs for beds.

"Lavatories were blocked, with urine and excrement overflowing on to the floors of the cells. Food and drinking water were ... inadequate and disease was rife.

"Two of the 32 prisoners, Selby Msimang and Ben Thibane, died there between February and July 1984," the report said.

Many of the imprisoned mutineers then were transferred to the notorious Quatro camp, near Quibaxe in northern Angola, where they remained until the camp was closed in late 1988.

"Quatro had seven communal cells and five isolation cells," said the report.

"These were dark with very little ventilation and suffocatingly hot.

"While prisoners in some cells were required to perform hard labour outside, others had to remain in their cells all day for months on end.

"Lavatories consisted of unhygienic plastic containers which created a stench.

"Prisoners were allowed to wash themselves and their clothes only every few weeks.

Washing consisted of a single drum passed from cell to cell, so that by the time half the prisoners had used the water, it was thick with dirt.

"There was no opportunity to wash blankets, which became lice infested."

Amnesty International said food was nutritionally inadequate. While fruit grew in abundance around the camp, prisoners were not allowed to eat it.

Disease also appeared to be rife. There was no qualified physician at the camp and medical orderlies were generally unsympathetic.

"One well-attested case was that of Zaba Maledza, a member of the Committee of Ten and brother of a prominent member of the anti-apartheid

United Democratic Front, Curtis Nkondo.

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Three months after the rebellion in Viana transit camp, a further mutiny erupted in the Pango camp to the north of Luanda. This was violently suppressed by loyal MK troops.

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to trees, beaten, whipped and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies.

Seven were shot dead after a summary tribunal condemned them to execution. The tribunal was chaired by an ANC security official and the prisoners had no opportunities for legal representation or appeal.

The remaining prisoners were kept naked and bound with ropes for three weeks before they were transferred to Quatro.

"The systematic nature of the abuses makes it clear that these were not isolated excesses by undisciplined guards, but represented a deliberate regime of ill-treatment," said the report. — Sapa

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JOHANNESBURG. — Amnesty International yesterday named two ANC-controlled refugee camps in Tanzania where prisoners were severely beaten or tortured in the early stages of their detention.

Mazimbu and Dakawa — the two camps — were named in a report by the international human rights organisation, which conducted an independent assessment of allegations that dissidents were beaten, tortured and executed by the ANC's security department during the 1980s.

"Later accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet," Amnesty International's report said.

It cited the case of a Tanzanian Field Force unit in Dakawa which arrested 10 ANC members on June 10, 1991, and handed them over to the ANC security department.

They were allegedly beaten with steel rods by ANC and Tanzanian officials.

Heart of darkness

Human rights group documents widespread brutality

JOHANNESBURG. — Amnesty International said yesterday it had documented extensive physical abuse of prisoners by the while the organisation's headquarters were in Zambia.

In particular, the London-based human rights organisation said it had received several accounts of brutal torture of prisoners at the Revolutionary Council (RC) building in Villa Park, near Lusaka, Zambia.

"These former prisoners allege that they were beaten with a variety of implements, including batons, wires, hoses, pipes, barbed wire, iron bars and bicycle chains," said the Amnesty International report, a copy of which was made available to the Press.

"One prisoner described having molten plastic dripped on his chest. Some alleged they were placed in water-logged cells. In each instance, the purpose of this torture was to force the prisoner to sign a confession which had already been prepared by security officials."

Of particular concern, Amnesty International says, was the collaboration of Zambian officials with the ANC's security department.

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May 1987, Zambian officials of the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee handed ANC 'dissidents' into the custody of the security department. At least one of the two, Oupa Khoza, had resigned from the ANC two months earlier.

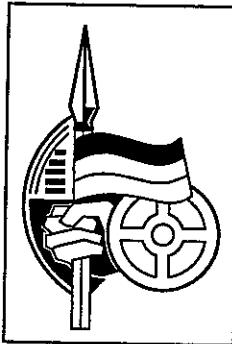
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Another case in point was that of Sipho Hubert Mbeje.

An ANC member in Zambia, Mbeje was severely beaten by security department officials between 1987 and 1989 and then imprisoned for more than two years by the Zambian authorities.

Mbeje was first assaulted on



September 17, 1987, and taken to the RC building. After two weeks he escaped. After two weeks he was recaptured and beaten again. He managed to escape again and contacted the UNHCR in Lusaka. The UNHCR concluded that Mbeje was still suffering from the after-effects of severe assaults and that his life was in danger if he remained in Zambia.

However, the UNHCR could not find him asylum anywhere else and he remained in Zambia.

In August 1989, armed ANC security officials abducted Mbeje and beat him up. Three other former ANC members were also abducted, with the ANC officials saying the detainees were suspected of involvement in bomb attacks against the organisation in Zambia.

But no evidence was presented to back the claims, with relatives of the men saying they had been detained after raising glaring differences between the poor lifestyle of camp inmates compared with the lavish living of the ANC's hierarchy.

After the UNHCR launched legal action, the then ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo was summoned to appear before a Lusaka magistrate.

"The result was that Sipho Mbeje was handed over to the Zambian authorities and charged with assaulting his girlfriend. Throughout his unlawful detention by the ANC there had been no mention of this alleged offence, nor had

the Zambian authorities made any attempt to arrest him from the time of the alleged assault in November 1988 until August 1989 when he was abducted ...," says the report.

Moreover, the report notes, Mbeje's girlfriend was never called to give evidence.

"His trial was held with unusual rapidity and in October 1989 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The three men abducted with him had all been released ...

"Despite his unlawful abduction by the ANC on several occasions, clear evidence from Zambian physicians supporting his allegation of assault, his own identification of 13 named ANC officials who took part in these assaults and the presence of other witnesses, the Zambian authorities took no action against those responsible for these abuses," notes the report.

Instead Mbeje served more than two years' imprisonment for a conviction that appeared woolly.

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Frontline states were accessories — Amnesty

Weekend Argus Reporter

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In effect, the human rights organisation is demanding the reversal of what it believes constitutes collaboration in human rights abuse by some officials of these states.

Amnesty says its investigations show that "gross abuse was allowed to go unchecked, not only by the ANC's leadership in exile, but also by the governments of the African frontline states

"Such governments were at best accessories to the abuses by the ANC, at other times they actively assisted those within the ANC responsible for the grave human rights abuses which occurred".

In support of this, Amnesty points out that Umkhonto we-Sizwe mutineers at Viana camp were held in Luanda State Security Prison, where conditions were unhealthy in the extreme.

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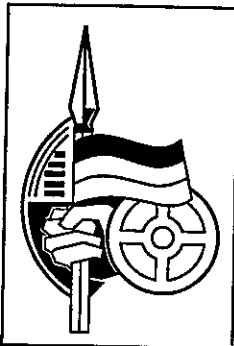
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to trees, beaten, whipped and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies.

Seven were shot dead after a summary tribunal condemned them to execution. The tribunal was chaired by an ANC security official and the prisoners had no opportunities for legal representation or appeal.

The remaining prisoners were kept naked and bound with ropes for three weeks before they were transferred to Quatro.

"The systematic nature of the abuses makes it clear that these were not isolated excesses by undisciplined guards, but represented a deliberate regime of ill-treatment," said the report. — Sapa

Amnesty names ANC torture camps

JOHANNESBURG. — Amnesty International yesterday named two ANC-controlled refugee camps in Tanzania where prisoners were severely beaten or tortured in the early stages of their detention.

Mazimbu and Dakawa — the two camps — were named in a report by the international human rights organisation, which conducted an independent assessment of allegations that dissidents were beaten, tortured and executed by the ANC's security department during the 1980s.

"Later accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet," Amnesty International's report said.

It cited the case of a Tanzanian Field Force unit in Dakawa which arrested 10 ANC members on June 10, 1991, and handed them over to the ANC security department.

They were allegedly beaten with steel rods by ANC and Tanzanian officials.

Heart of darkness

Human rights group documents widespread brutality

JOHANNESBURG. — Amnesty International said yesterday it had documented extensive physical abuse of prisoners by the while the organisation's headquarters were in Zambia.

In particular, the London-based human rights organisation said it had received several accounts of brutal torture of prisoners at the Revolutionary Council (RC) building in Villa Park, near Lusaka, Zambia.

"These former prisoners allege that they were beaten with a variety of implements, including batons, wires, hosepipes, barbed wire, iron bars and bicycle chains," said the Amnesty International report, a copy of which was made available to the Press.

"One prisoner described having molten plastic dripped on his chest. Some alleged they were placed in water-logged cells. In each instance, the purpose of this torture was to force the prisoner to sign a confession which had already been prepared by security officials."

Of particular concern, Amnesty International says, was the collaboration of Zambian officials with the ANC's security department.

"In two separate instances in



□ Alfred Nzo: Summoned to appear before Lusaka magistrate

May 1987, Zambian officials of the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee handed ANC 'dissidents' into the custody of the security department. At least one of the two, Oupa Khoza, had resigned from the ANC two months earlier.

"Both he and the other man, Peter Lerumo, had sought the protection of the UN High

Commissioner for Refugees; however, effective protection was not provided."

Another case in point was that of Sipho Hubert Mbeje.

An ANC member in Zambia, Mbeje was severely beaten by security department officials between 1987 and 1989 and then imprisoned for more than two years by the Zambian authorities.

Mbeje was first assaulted on



September 17, 1987, and taken to the RC building. After two weeks he escaped, but was recaptured and beaten again. He managed to escape again and contacted the UNHCR in Lusaka. The UNHCR concluded that Mbeje was still suffering from the after-effects of severe assaults and that his life was in danger if he remained in Zambia.

However, the UNHCR could not find him asylum anywhere else and he remained in Zambia.

In August 1989, armed ANC security officials abducted Mbeje and beat him up. Three other former ANC members were also abducted, with the ANC officials saying the detainees were suspected of involvement in bomb attacks against the organisation in Zambia.

But no evidence was presented to back the claims, with relatives of the men saying they had been detained after raising glaring differences between the poor lifestyle of camp inmates compared with the lavish living of the ANC's hierarchy.

After the UNHCR launched legal action, the then ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo was summoned to appear before a Lusaka magistrate.

"The result was that Sipho Mbeje was handed over to the Zambian authorities and charged with assaulting his girlfriend. Throughout his unlawful detention by the ANC there had been no mention of this alleged offence, nor had

the Zambian authorities made any attempt to arrest him from the time of the alleged assault in November 1988 until August 1989 when he was abducted ...," says the report.

Moreover, the report notes, Mbeje's girlfriend was never called to give evidence.

"His trial was held with unusual rapidity and in October 1989 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The three men abducted with him had all been released ...

"Despite his unlawful abduction by the ANC on several occasions, clear evidence from Zambian physicians supporting his allegation of assault, his own identification of 13 named ANC officials who took part in these assaults and the presence of other witnesses, the Zambian authorities took no action against those responsible for these abuses," notes the report.

Instead Mbeje served more than two years' imprisonment for a conviction that appeared woolly.

The report documents similar cases of Zambian collaboration with the ANC's security department. — Sapa.

Frontline states were accessories — Amnesty

Weekend Argus Reporter

AUTHORITIES in Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia have been challenged by Amnesty International to investigate the past conduct of ANC security officials and to bring to justice those who tortured prisoners in ANC camps.

In effect, the human rights organisation is demanding the reversal of what it believes constitutes collaboration in human rights abuse by some officials of these states.

Amnesty says its investigations show that "gross abuse was allowed to go unchecked, not only by the ANC's leadership in exile, but also by the governments of the African frontline states

"Such governments were at best accessories to the abuses by the ANC, at other times they actively assisted those within the ANC responsible for the grave human rights abuses which occurred".

In support of this, Amnesty points out that Umkhonto we-Sizwe mutineers at Viana camp were held in Luanda State Security Prison, where conditions were unhealthy in the extreme.

More than 1 000 new recruits fly out for

ANC'S SECRET ARMY UGANDA

Secret

S/Times 29/11/92

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

Army

THE ANC has sent more than 1 000 raw recruits to Uganda in the past two months for training as MK soldiers.

The operation has cost the organisation more than R1-million in charter flights and hotel accommodation.

The ANC justifies it on the ground that it needs to increase the numbers of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres before it is integrated with the SADF — otherwise it will be swamped.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Sunday Times that the issue of continued recruitment would have to be resolved before there was a political settlement.

"This can't continue once you have a transitional government. One party can't go on with its own separate so-called army. That is totally unacceptable."

Disclosure of the operation comes at a time when the UN has spent more than R100-million getting 14 000 exiles back to the country. Many of the exiles are MK soldiers unable to find jobs or accommodation and have resorted to crime.

Sinister

The raw recruits left for Uganda from Jan Smuts airport, having gone through customs and immigration using legal travel documents.

The ANC, which has 10 000 MK soldiers, has been using Tanzania and Uganda for training since it was forced out of Angola in 1989.

The recruits will receive basic training for six months — similar to that given to SADF conscripts. They will then be sent out of Africa for specialised training.

The logistics for the latest batch of recruits was handled by Broederstroum trialist and MK special projects administrative secretary Ian Robertson and Ugandan chief representative Andrew Masondo. Mr Robertson yesterday declined to comment on the operation.

ANC's secret army

S/Times 29/11/92

From Page 1

in Johannesburg in the first week of September.

After spending a night at the Johannesburg Hotel in Hillbrow, at a cost of R30 000, they were flown to Uganda on two Air Zimbabwe charters

for training at ANC camps. The cost of the flights was more than R200 000.

In the last week of October more than 640 recruits arrived from across the country. After undergoing a briefing at a Kwande-

bele holiday resort, they left on four chartered flights for Entebbe, Uganda.

President FW de Klerk said in Pretoria on Thursday that all the peace signatories had agreed that no political party should have a private army.

Only recognised political parties should participate in the political process to ensure a climate conducive to free and fair political participation, he said.

In order for there to be a government of national unity, the armed forces had to be placed under neutral, non-partisan control to ensure that they could not be used for party political ends, he added.

Yesterday ANC national executive committee member and former MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils said it was not secret and there was "nothing sinister" in the operation.

AST

MK commander Joe Modise and other MK officials had often stated that the ANC was training people outside the country for a future integrated army.

The government and the ANC were talking about an integrated defence force under an elected interim government and the ANC had to prepare for this eventuality.

Former chief of staff Chris Hani, Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa and former special projects head Tokyo Sexwale travelled to India last year to make arrangements for officer corps training in the Indian defence force.

Paranoid

Mr Kasrils said there was a need to prepare young people with an interest in a career in the armed forces for a future integrated army. There was a huge imbalance in numbers between the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe and this had to be addressed, he said.

"Those who are paranoid about this should see it in terms of addressing gross imbalances," he said.

According to information given to the Sunday Times, 320 young ANC members recruited from across the country arrived

To Page 2



They'll have to get it right first time

STimes 29/11/92

2000
11A

ASHIVER of excitement ran through the country's business elite this week on the rumour that talks about talks were going well, and that a transitional executive council — in effect, an unelected multi-national government — might be only months away.

But still people asked each other, as South Africans tend to do wherever they meet these days: "Are you optimistic? Pessimistic? Do you have hope?"

President de Klerk tried to restore some perspective by offering a timetable, if all goes well, for a transitional executive council to start work in June, and for national elections nine months later.

The ANC, which had been nagging him for a timetable, and which had promised to call off sanctions as soon as it had a date for transitional government, flew into a tantrum. The country, it said sanctimoniously, could not endure an extra year of corruption and mismanagement; elections had to be held in 1993, not 1994.

As usual, the ANC's middle-class and foreign-funded apparatchiks were being both cheap and shallow: the country has been sliding into poverty since 1981 or so, and living standards have only got as far down as 1965. There's a long, long way to fall yet.

Not all the news is bad — inflation is falling at last, and even government spending is coming down a bit, and one of these days, mark my words, we shall see somebody in government prosecuted for corruption, or perjury, or fraud.

Anyway, there's no guarantee that we should be better off under the ANC, which on its good days can barely manage Shell House and which has been ferocious in preserving for its own future use the National Party's machinery of patronage, the centralised spending, the huge bureaucracies, the parastatals, the interfering and overweening government that breeds both corruption and mismanagement.

Nevertheless, businessmen and foreign ambassadors have been trying to force the pace of negotiations, and

the ANC itself has decided to "turn on the tap". Its motives are a matter for speculation, but it's fair to suggest that Finance Minister Derek Keys may have secured the attention of the ANC's limousine revolutionaries with his charts showing how we are hurtling towards the end of the world.

The attempt to hustle President de Klerk quickly offstage, even if it means offering him "sunset clauses" and other bribes, may not be unconnected with the ideological dispute between Joe Slovo and Pallo Jordan, the left-of-SACP intellectual who seems to think negotiation is a form of consorting with the enemy.

Suddenly the ANC is impatient for power, and the reason hardly matters. What does matter is that nobody seems to be asking the critical question: will the main parties agree — can they agree? — on the substance of a democratic constitution in time to meet the ANC's timetable, or even President de Klerk's?

Put the question a bit differently: what powers will the Nationalists allow the ANC to wield over Nationalists? Or what powers will the ANC permit Chief Buthelezi to wield over ANC members? Which of them will control the armed forces of the state, and if none of them, then who?

OUR very recent history has shown us that the Nationalists cannot be trusted with money, the armed forces cannot be trusted with power, and neither the ANC nor the Inkatha Freedom Party can be trusted to keep the peace. So what rules will they make for each other? What restraints on power? What checks and balances?

What power to the people?

John Maynard Keynes, I think, once said that no meeting of business competitors did not end in a conspiracy against consumers; similarly, no meeting of politicians does not end in a conspiracy against the people. So what are the chances that the tax-funded Nationalist WaBenzi from Bryntirion and the ANC's *nouveau riche* WaBenzi from Houghton will not, if

they agree at all, conspire against the rest of us?

And what's the rush? They have all the time in the world. The pressure is off. One cannot find a local businessman, nor a German banker, nor a diplomat, nor a government official, who thinks a government of national unity will bring us investment, or restore overseas faith in our blood-soaked economy.

A cabinet minister remarked this week in private conversation that South Africa was drenched in goodwill; the whole world seemed to be holding its breath, praying for us to make a successful transition before the entire sub-continent slips irretrievably into the abyss. To which a prominent Afrikaans capitalist retorted that, yes, they wish us well, but they turn away at the very mention of risking their precious cash here.

THE stark reality is that we are, for the time being, on our own. If our survival depends on foreign investment, we won't survive. If we hope to restore economic growth, we shall have to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps. A few years of disciplined behaviour, of tight monetary policy, of frugal government, of low inflation and rising productivity, of lawful behaviour in the streets and civilised discourse among politicians — and then we shall be able to talk again of foreign investment.

To achieve any of this we shall need agreements, and conventions, and forums, and the Nats and the ANC and the IFP will have to talk to each other. If, in doing so, they reach agreement on a constitution under which each of them is willing to trust the other with the possession of power, well and good. If not, they must carry on talking, because constitution-making is arduous, painstaking work, and if we do not get it right we shall simply have to do it all again, after another round of violence and destruction.

KEN OWEN

PAC membership 'is growing faster than the ANC's'

S/Times [Cape metro] 29/11/92 (11A)

THE PAC claims it is the fastest-growing liberation movement in South Africa and that it has audited figures to prove its membership now outstrips the 800 000 claimed by the ANC.

Divulging its membership for the first time, secretary for relief and aid Patricia de Lille said the PAC had more than a million members recorded on computer.

It was because other political groups had tried to pass off the PAC as insignificant that it was now disclosing its strength, she said.

Another factor was its talks with the government about the PAC's possible participation in multi-party negotiations.

It was for "strategic reasons" that the PAC had refused to give its membership figures before, Miss de Lille said.

Speaking for the ANC, Mr Max

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

Ozinsky, head of political education for its Western Cape region, said the last national estimate of paid-up ANC members was 800 000, but a new count was under way.

In the Western Cape, the ANC had 106 official and 45 unofficial branches and 60 000 members, he said.

It is understood that ANC president Nelson Mandela has insisted that the PAC disclose the strength of its membership and details of its military wing, Apla, before he will consider an alliance with the PAC in the Patriotic Front.

The ANC and PAC were the main founding members when the Patriotic Front was launched in Durban in October 1991 with 90 other organisations.

Sources say the PAC disagreed with the ANC that participation in Codesa, in its present form, was in line with the Patriotic Front's mandate.

At the last meeting, between the government and PAC, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Roelf Meyer, suggested that the PAC consider participating in the National Peace Accord which, he said, could be developed into a broad negotiating forum.

Meanwhile, Miss de Lille said arrangements were going ahead for President FW de Klerk and Mr Makwetu to hold talks by the third week in January. The PAC would meet a government delegation on December 9 to prepare for this meeting.

● The PAC's national president, Mr Makwetu, is to launch two new PAC branches, Kensington and Facticeon, at a meeting at the Maitland Senior Secondary School today.

We'll act on torture camps say Zambians

STimes 29/11/92.

(11/)

By PETER MALHERBÉ: London

THE ZAMBIAN High Commission in London said yesterday that "appropriate action" would be taken following Amnesty International's report on ANC torture camps in Zambia.

The high commissioner, Mr Love Mtesa, was reacting to the organisation's call to African countries to investigate reports of ANC abuse in their countries "with the aim of bringing those responsible to justice".

Mr Mtesa said a copy of the report would be submitted to the Zambian government tomorrow "and the appropriate action taken".

He said his government respected Amnesty International and would take note of its recommendations.

The 26-page report, released in London last week, documented cases of abuse which took place over a decade in Zambia, Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

It claims some abuses took place with the collaboration of agents of those governments.

Beaten up

Among the findings about ANC activities in Zambia were:

● Prisoners at houses run by security officials in Zambia were beaten with bicycle chains and hosepipes, while those taken to a farm outside Lusaka were made to dig their own graves.

● Two ANC dissidents, who sought the protection of the UN High Commission for Refugees, were handed to the ANC by Zambian officials.

● No independent investigation was held into the death of MK commander, Thami Zulu, who died in 1989 shortly after being released from the custody of the ANC security department.

● A key figure in the Winnie Mandela trial, Katiza Cebekhulu, is still being held in a Zambian prison.

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THE SUNDAY
MORNING ASSESSMENT
By EDYTH BULBRING

For realism, read compromise

SUNDAY TIMES, November 29 1992

SOUTH Africans must be experiencing a sense of déjà vu.

About this time last year the country's negotiators had finally stopped talking about talking and, with the launch of Codesa 1 on December 20, started the rather excruciating process of "real" negotiations.

Past the stand-offs, the breakthroughs, the breakdowns, the rhetoric and jargon, we seem to be back where we started, and few understand what has happened anyway.

Except, a year down the line, battered by violence and economic decline, the politicians now seem to have discovered what is realistic rather than what is ideal.

From now onwards negotiations will be governed by one word — compromise. Clumsy, Codesa-style, multi-party forums are a thing of the past.

Instead, the new focus will be on a series of bilateral meetings between the ANC and the government such as that scheduled to take place this week and again in January, and meetings with those parties with the capacity to wreck.

After the January meeting it is hoped sufficient progress will have been made for the Codesa manage-

ment committee to be reactivated to start deciding on a slimmer, more effective Codesa.

The government wants the new Codesa to meet before the end of March, while the ANC feels it should happen before the end of February. Whatever the date, newcomers to Codesa will probably include the Afrikaner Volkunie and the PAC, while the CP could join its ranks as part of the "concerned-SA" grouping.

At Codesa the parties will theoretically decide two main issues. First, how and when elections will be held; second, what the elected body will do and look like.

However, by then it is likely that the government, the ANC, Inkatha and those parties deemed to have the ability to disrupt will have already reached agreement on these issues. Codesa will be no more than a rubber stamp.

Clearly, the most important bilateral meetings will be those between the government and the ANC.

Broadly speaking, their discussions will focus on two phases — the lead-up to elections and what happens afterwards.

On the first phase there is, in fact, already agreement: what will happen is that a multi-party body called the transitional executive council (TEC) will be appointed to monitor the activities of the government to ensure that no party is favoured in the run-up to elections.

An independent election commission will be appointed to oversee the holding of elections and arbitrate if there is unfair practice.

What is at issue is when these bodies should be appointed.

President de Klerk said this week that the structures could be in place by June next year. The ANC wants them in place by March.

Before the TEC is appointed there will have to be agreement on what happens after the holding of elections.

It is this stage that will give the ANC and the government the most headaches at their "bosberaad". Both are agreed that after the holding of elections there should be a government of national unity and that the elected body will serve both as a parliament and as a constitution-making body.

The three key areas of dispute are regionalism, a bill of rights and power-sharing.

In essence the ANC does not want to be stuck with a transitional constitution that it cannot change, while the National Party wants its chief concerns — power-sharing, protection of minorities through a bill of rights, regionalism, economic policy — guaranteed before the constituent assembly sits.

Obviously there will have to be compromises.

On regionalism the ANC has now endorsed a proposal that it agree, in discussions with the government, what the powers, functions and boundaries of regions will be. However, this agreement will be enforced only when the constituent assembly sits down to writing a new constitution.

The government has said this is not good enough, but both sides are showing flexibility, and resolution of this matter is possible. An important feature of any solution will be agreement that any matters affecting regions will be subject to special majorities.

Similarly, a likely deal is in the offing over a bill of rights, which both the ANC and the government agree should exist in various forms during the transition.

The sticky clause on property rights

could be got round by suggesting the inclusion of clauses making it obligatory for the state to pay compensation for any property it expropriates. And that the necessary compensation be fixed by a neutral body.

On the vexed question of power-sharing, we have already seen movement on both sides and can expect more. The ANC now accepts that there will be power-sharing during the period in which the constituent assembly is drawing up a new constitution.

But it has also said that it is likely that such power-sharing will have to continue even after the new constitution is adopted.

This is an acceptance on its part that, while it might emerge the party with the most support, it will not have the backing of important sectors of society such as the military, the civil service and the business community. It will have to seek alliances with parties which have the backing of these interest groups.

On the government side, key negotiators have stated that the idea of enforced coalitions is the weakest feature in its constitutional proposals. On this issue, as with others, it is possible to detect a convergence in thinking.

Finally, there is dispute about time-frames.

The government wants the new Codesa convened between February and March, with its work completed by May. It wants to legislate on the TEC by May or June and implemented by June end. It wants to enact the transitional constitution by September and the promulgation of election rules by October's end. It envisages elections before the end of March or April 1994.

The ANC wants Codesa convened before February, with the TEC in place by March or April — implying that there will already be agreement on the second phase of transition by then. It has September 21 or 22 1993, in mind for an election.

But this is what the organisation says in public. One senior ANC official said in private this week that the time-frames proposed by Mr de Klerk were reasonable. Again, a compromise solution would appear easily attainable.

What is not is the quelling of violence. No matter what deals are struck by the negotiators, they could be undermined if violence continues unabated.

In this regard the meeting of the peace signatories early next year before the new Codesa sits, and strengthening the National Peace Accord, is going to be crucial.

PAC's socialisation programme drafted

CIPRES 29/11/92

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

(11A)

IF voted into office a PAC government would embark on a low-cost housing scheme as its immediate priority to address the acute housing backlog among millions of blacks, national executive member Ntsundeni Madzunya said this week.

He said the scheme would be part of the PAC's "socialisation programme" which would be aimed at the redistribution of ownership and control of all resources.

"There would two types of housing in urban areas - mainly rented houses and those owned by their tenants who would be given freehold title deeds," Madzunya said.

"This should not be mistaken for affirmative action but it should be seen as national reconstruction for the country's ravaged economy," he said.

Accessible

Madzunya, a fulfilment systems manager at a Johannesburg-based multi-national corporation, said the PAC had never favoured nationalisation as a sound and alternative economic policy to wholesale capitalism.

"But that doesn't mean we have abandoned our socialist approach to bringing about an African socialist democratic order," he said.

Madzunya added that the PAC would always strive for the empowerment of blacks and the promotion of blacks to senior management positions.

Companies would have to decentralise power in order to enable blacks to play important roles in the decision-making process.

He said industries would also be decentralised to make them easily accessible to all the workers.

These were some of the PAC's economic policies decided on at the PAC's economic seminar which was held in Botswana last weekend.

The seminar adopted almost all the policies proposed in a draft economic paper compiled by Sipho Shabalala, one of the organisation's economic advisors.

In his paper Shabalala urged the PAC to "emphasise the effective localisation of the ownership of economic resources" in order to minimise the role and influence of international financial capital in the economy of the country.

He said the State would redistribute economic wealth "in favour of the indigenous African people and would act as a countervailing force against entrenched capitalist and market forces that act contrary to the PAC's political and economic mission".

"Bureaucratic limitations advise us not to allow the State to be a monster with responsibilities it can't efficiently execute. The energies and talents of the individual citizen should be allowed to contribute to the economic development and to the development of productive skills among the members of society," Shabalala said.

Will the political logjam be over before Kressie?

By QUINTON RHODES

THE Christmas spirit came to SA a month early after a series of negotiations breakthroughs which could mean significant movement in the process of constitutional talks before the end of the year.

Among the sentiments of "goodwill to all men" seeming to come from SA's politicians this week:

■ The ANC's National Executive Committee, in

a three-day meeting this week, rubber-stamped a strategy document entitled Strategic Perspectives.

Though the document was substantially modified, it continues to hold out the option of a power-sharing government of national unity to the NP.

It also offers an acceptance of the possibility of a general amnesty for apartheid criminals and promises of job security and retrenchment packages for the security

forces and civil service.

■ After months of disarray, the National Peace Committee finally met on Tuesday, with all signatories present and key players the ANC and Inkatha represented by top-level negotiators.

■ The ANC's NEC meeting and the NPC meeting have both contributed to making possible the long delayed Inkatha/ANC summit. At the end of the NPC meeting the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and Inkatha

national chairman Frank Mdlalose indicated such a summit would take place "as soon as possible".

The announcement initiated a softening on both sides.

■ Meanwhile, in the wake of the ANC's power-sharing concessions, the mooted *bosberaad* between the government and the ANC is now expected to take place before the middle of next month.

■ In a separate series of interventions this week

CP News 29/11/92

11A

State President FW De Klerk announced time frames for the institution of an interim government and for constitutional assembly elections. While the ANC has rejected the 1994 date, De Klerk made it clear that the 1994 time frame was not non-negotiable. Negotiators indicated to City Press it was presented as an opening bid in the poker game of politics.

However, if all these developments are good cause for optimism, this

does not mean all the difficulties bedevilling negotiations have magically disappeared.

Speaking in Gaborone on Thursday Mandela reiterated that certain conditions would have to be met before a meeting with Buthelezi could be expected to produce results. Mandela listed

guarantees on free political activity in KwaZulu, the dismantling of Inkatha camps and the isolation of the hostels. All of these reflect recommendations

of the Goldstone Commission and the recent ANC/government Record of Understanding.

Senior ANC negotiators approached by City Press confirmed that the ANC had not dropped its pre-conditions, but had merely adopted a new approach.

If the ANC's negotiators are able, as they expect, to reach agreements on conditions set by both sides, and Buthelezi refuses to be bound by them, this will merely ex-

acerbate existing tensions within Inkatha and result in a loss of credibility for its beleaguered leader.

But even if the summit takes place according to plan, another stumbling block remains.

While the ANC's vision of the constitutional process is increasingly one of bilateral agreements between itself and the government, the government wants to see a three-sided negotiating table dominating the

THE BIG DREAM

THE Goldstone Commission's dramatic November 16 report, which provided irrefutable evidence of a 'third force' sanctioned at the top levels of Military Intelligence (MI), will strengthen the ANC's hand internationally and locally.

But behind the ANC's calls on the government to resign, is the belief of its negotiating team that substantial progress towards a power-sharing deal can be made over the next three months. Multi-party talks are likely to be resumed, probably early in the new year, and an interim administration established soon afterwards.

A key to breaking the deadlock is the new thrust by pragmatists in the ANC and SACP to prepare the political climate for a power-sharing deal based on the compromise outlined by ANC President Nelson Mandela in his famous memorandum from prison nearly three years ago. The deal, which could even take the form of a secret protocol, would spell out the ground rules for ANC-National Party (NP) co-operation during the three phases of the transition envisaged by the Codesa II agreements: An administrative transitional executive committee, an elected constitutional-making body/interim government and a transitional government of national unity to emerge after the adoption of a new constitution.

The deal would guarantee enforced - not just voluntary - power-sharing, as against majority rule, at least until the end of the century or longer. This is what State President FW de Klerk wants - an open-ended arrangement that would not set a deadline for the power-sharing period. But even ANC moderates insist that eventually there must be a time limit - five or 10 years - and that there can be no question of an NP veto. A five-year time limit, assuming the new constitution comes into effect in 1994, would take SA effectively to the end of the year

2000. Thereafter, majority rule would begin.

Such a deal in practice would relegate other Codesa parties - including Mangosuthu R. Molefe's Inkatha, other homeland leader, and tricameral parliament parties - to minor roles. As suggested in the discussion paper circulated by the tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, the negotiating focus has shifted to two-party talks. That development, confirmed in the September 26 De Klerk-Mandela Record of Understanding, has already enraged Buthelezi and other homeland leaders (Ciskei and Bophuthatswana), provoked threats of secession, and produced cleavages in the NP.

The current internal ANC debate on power-sharing has for the first time fully revealed the fault-line between pragmatists and hardliners (Doves and Hawks). It will be as pivotal in determining whether there is a negotiated settlement as De Klerk's eventual decision on whether to sideline Buthelezi or not.

Obstacles

The two major obstacles to an ANC-NP deal are the fiery resistance to power-sharing among ANC hardliners and the NP's long-standing, expedient and even sentimental attachment to Buthelezi. Both are fundamental issues for the two parties to thrash out at the delayed ANC-NP bush summit which could begin on December 5. Alongside this meeting, there is likely to be a series of meetings between smaller players from which a multi-party forum would emerge.

The timetable then would look like this: ■ Enabling legislation for the transitional executive council phase could be passed by the present tricameral parliament by June and a council established soon after. ■ Next, elections for a constitution-making body (CMB) - held under an interim consti-

Clare 29/11/92.

While revelations about security force meddling in SA political life - very much a part of the old pattern of violent SA conflict - may hold the public's attention, ANC and NP negotiators are heaving away at shaping an unheard of, but potentially momentous, long-term power-sharing deal. Africa Confidential, an influential British-based newsletter, renders some sharp observations about their dramatic behind-the-scenes manoeuvring, and the heady stakes involved.

tion - could follow a year later, perhaps by July 1994.

■ The CMB is unlikely to sit for less than two years and possibly much longer. It would be meaningless to predict the date of the first elections under a democratic constitution.

The balance of forces at the NP's decision-making levels is swinging towards a coalition with the ANC, rather than plunging all efforts towards weakening and discrediting the ANC before an election. The departure of NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, one of those who believed the ANC could be politically defeated, has strengthened the pro-coalition camp.

Africa Confidential learns that De Klerk has already begun to search for allies outside the NP who could come into the transitional executive authority to act as honest brokers between NP liberals (Leon Wessels, Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villier, Sam de Beer) and the ANC. Some of the main factors pressuring De Klerk to strike a power-sharing deal are:

- Internal problems in the NP parliamentary caucus and Cabinet have increased. These began with the decision to release ANC bomber Robert McBride and other prisoners. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is seen now as the most credible leader of the hardline faction.
- Mounting defiance of De Klerk's author-

ity from within the security establishment, more particularly the increasingly provocative speeches by Chief of Army Staff Gen George Meiring. His polemics are already the subject of an inquiry by the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission and of a libel action to be brought by Siphiwe Nyanda, head of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). De Klerk is putting on a brave face as elements of the security establishment arrogantly go their own way.

■ Apart from Goldstone's November 16 report, two other plans to discredit the ANC have been exposed, approved by the SADF. They include "Project Echoes", initiated in April this year with Meiring's personal approval and which has damaged British-SA relations.

■ Further disclosures of massive corruption and maladministration in Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

■ Further loss of economic confidence, deteriorating growth, mounting unemployment and capital flight.

■ Abortive efforts by Foreign Minister Piko Botha, first to hijack the peace talks in Mozambique (to block a power-sharing deal) and postpone the October 1993 elections, and his unsuccessful intervention in, and subsequent banning from, Angola.

■ The likelihood of the US President-elect Bill Clinton's Democratic government putting more pressure on Pretoria to speed up negotiations.

■ The possibility of escalating civil war in Natal and spreading violence nationwide.

De Klerk is publicly admitting difficulties with Inkatha and Buthelezi, while the ANC is dividing into camps over SACP chairman Joe Slovo's seminal October article in the *African Communist* in which he suggested an extended period of enforced power-sharing ("sunset clauses") as a realistic alternative to the ANC's making a dash for absolute power now.

Slovo's sunset package is not new. Mandela first publicly raised the idea of a transitional government of national unity at a background briefing for journalists as early as March 1991.

Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj and Mohammed Valli Moosa later proposed that the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) should accept Slovo's proposals. The NWC (which is dominated by hawks) rejected them but the sunset lobby is not unduly upset by this early setback. It believes it has time, logic and the heavyweights on its side. Because Slovo proposed the sunset idea (effectively on behalf of the ANC moderates/pragmatists), it has gained a credibility it would have lacked if it had come from an obvious moderate.

■ ANC moderates find it increasingly difficult to control radicals in Natal.

■ It would be better for the ANC to let De Klerk and the security forces, and ultimately an interim government, handle Buthelezi and his warlords rather than yield to a bloody fight to the finish in Natal.

There are clear signs that ANC pragmatists are trying to help NP liberals who favour a power-sharing coalition, for example a conciliatory approach to the government's failure to implement parts of the September 26 Record of Understanding, particularly the fencing of hostels and outlawing weapons.

Common ground

Jordan says the Slovo paper is a fundamental departure because it elevates negotiations to a primary strategy and has the "unfortunate effect" of re-orienting the ANC away from confrontation with the enemy to a search for common ground. Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the Jordan camp, asks how the ANC is going to fight an election when its supporters know the outcome is a power-sharing deal with the NP; its supporters might as well vote for the NP.

The wildcard western Cape region, under Allan Boesak, has rejected the Slovo proposals, while most other regions are debating them and have not yet taken a position. But the moderates/pragmatists argue that to go for the "immediate and total defeat of the apartheid regime is increasingly to choose the 'Beirut option'".

Out in the cold . . .



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI



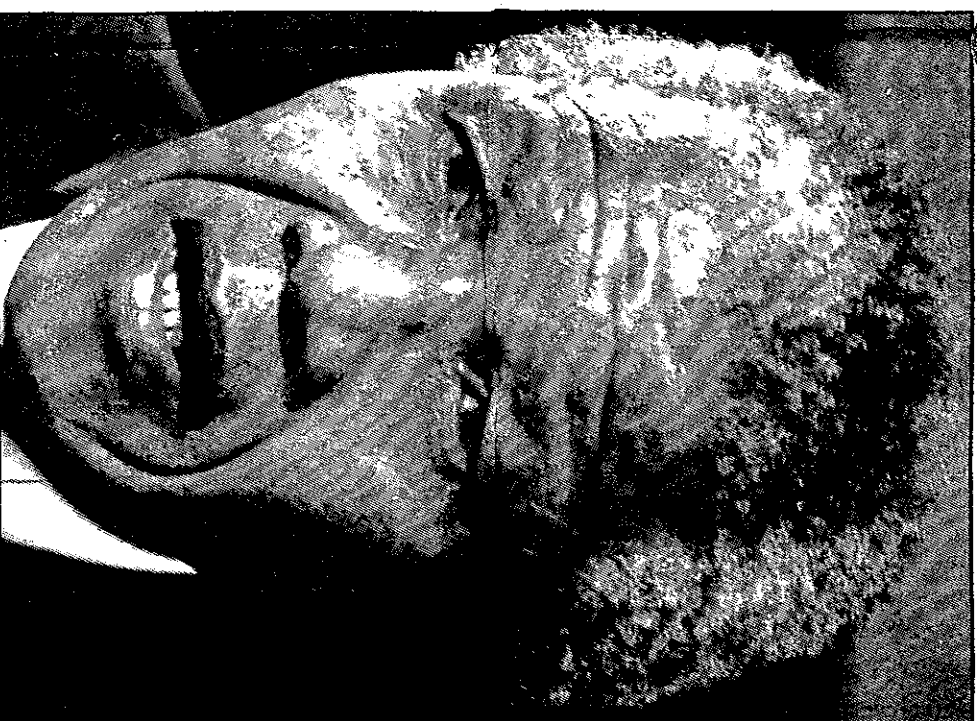
LUCAS MANGOPE



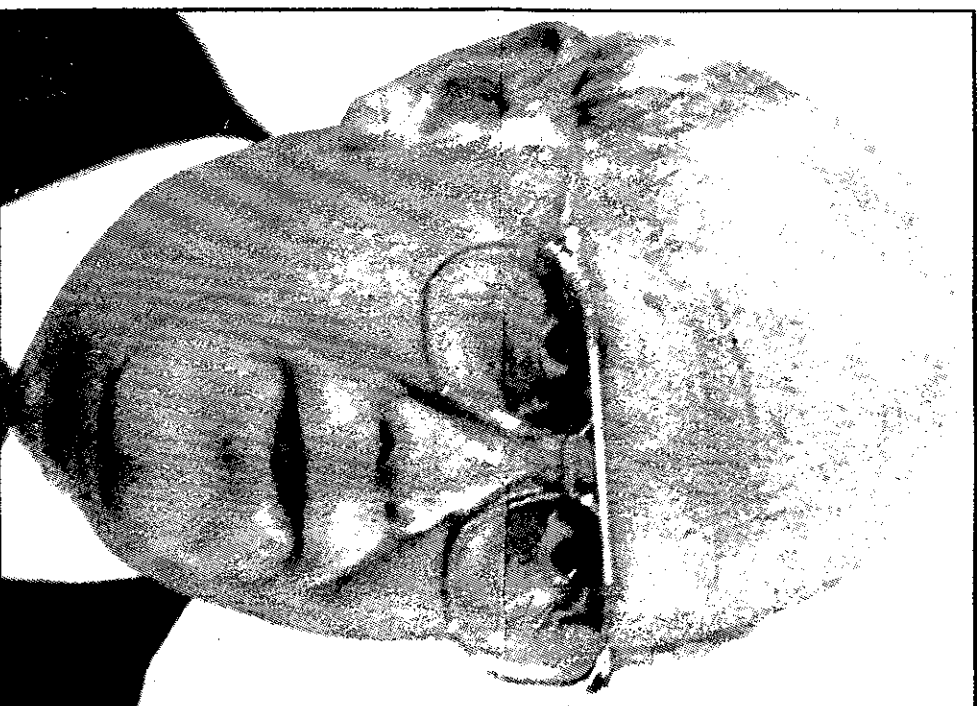
OUPA GQOZO

Moves towards a power-sharing deal between the Government and the ANC have enraged homeland leaders

— KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo.



INITIATOR . . . Nelson Mandela got the ball rolling.



DISSENT . . . F.W. de Klerk in trouble on the homefront.

Friends become enemies and enemies become friends in . . .

Amnesty report slams ANC

CIP/nes 29/11/92
THE ghost of past misdeeds by ANC security officials in camps outside SA returned to haunt them on Friday when Amnesty International released a report corroborating widespread physical abuse of ANC prisoners.

Amnesty's report documents widespread abuses which took place over a decade in ANC camps in several countries, most notably Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Uganda.

"Although the victims were often labelled as South African government spies, most appear to have been genuine ANC members. They were imprisoned because they raised grievances in the ANC camps or because of differences over policy.

Amnesty believed the torture or executions were

unjustifiable under any circumstances.

Based on first-hand research among survivors of ANC prison camps, the report documents a long-standing pattern of violence against inmates. Amnesty officials also conducted fact-finding visits to SA to gather testimony.

"It shows too that this pattern of gross abuse was allowed to go unchecked for many years, not only by the ANC's leadership in exile, but also by the governments of the African Frontline states, who allowed the ANC to set up bases and prisons on their territory," said AI.

At houses run by ANC security officials in Zambia, the report says, prisoners were beaten with bicycle chains and rubber hoses. Prisoners taken to an ANC farm on the Lusaka-Livingstone road de-

scribed how they were made to dig their own graves and climb into them. One alleged that the hole was filled up to his neck and a plastic bag placed over his head until he lost consciousness.

Prisoners in the Quatro camp in northern Angola were routinely beaten, humiliated and forced to perform hard labour, according to the report. In May 1984, at Pango camp in Angola, Umkhonto weSizwe members, who had taken part in a mutiny, were tied to trees, beaten, whipped and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies.

Seven prisoners were summarily executed.

The report also documented abuses in Tanzanian and Ugandan prison camps run by the ANC.

AI is also critical of the ANC's commission of in-

quiry, which corroborated allegations of severe torture and physical abuse by the ANC's security department.

ANC president Nelson Mandela made his organisation's findings public in October this year, adding that the leadership accepted full responsibility.

Amnesty said a weakness of the ANC commission was that two of its three members were ANC members and the body was not neutral.

There were also serious gaps in the ANC commission's terms of reference in that it could not enquire into executions and "disappearances" of prisoners, nor was it asked to establish which ANC officials were responsible.

It urged African authorities to bring to book ANC security officials accused of the abuses. - Sapa

Refreshing breeze blows through SA politics

STAR 30/11/92

~~2/11/92~~ 11A

SUDDENLY a sea change. In a matter of days, it seems, we have moved from a welter of accusation and recrimination to an acceptance that some time next year there will be a government of national unity and this time the ANC and IFP simply have to put the screws on their followers and get them to behave.

The two are connected, of course. Much of the communal violence is prompted by the consideration that it is a matter of survival. Either you survive and they are ploughed under or vice versa. In this frame of thought it is inconceivable that both sides could gain.

It makes the political struggle most desperate, hence the coining of such quaint political slogans as

"Bugger them up!" — followed by earnest TV debate as to what Chief Buthelezi actually meant.

Buthelezi it was who first gave us a glimpse of what might be in store. On his recent trip to Canada he made statements so optimistic about a settlement next year that many people here wondered what on earth he was on about.

Then this week's meeting of the ANC's national executive committee, which produced statements indicating a quantum leap in thinking. The ANC's decision that it could serve in government with any party that passes the test of winning electoral support is truly momentous. It not only offers a respite from the politics of buggeration, it could be the nucleus of a solution to Africa's dilemma.

Westminster democracy has not grafted well on to Africa — and this country is no exception.

The African countries to the north — most of them ethnically fragmented by a cavalier drawing of colonial boundaries — grappled with enormous problems in trying to make sense out of their diversity. The concept of loyal opposition was difficult enough to grasp; in countries with the potential for ethnic mobilisation it was positively threatening.

Most African countries therefore opted for the one-party state. Many saw this as the moral equivalent of communist dictatorships, but that was unfair. What those countries were trying was to re-create — on a grand, multi-eth-

nic scale — the circle of tribal elders making decisions based on their pooled wisdom.

But it didn't work. The scale was too grand and the one-party state breeds corruption, nepotism and brutality.

Here we have an alternative. All groupings contribute to government without having to submerge their identities. They stay sharp and lean, they keep an eye on their competitors/fellow members of government. They have every incentive to increase support — but it is not a disaster if they remain a minority.

What a turnaround if our political leaders should get together as good buggers — in the best Australian sense of bonhomie. □

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External training

STAR 30/11/92

of MK 'no secret'

Political Staff

11A

~~STAR~~

Nelson Mandela said yesterday he had told the Government last year that the ANC would continue to train members of Umkhonto we Sizwe outside the country.

"We want to have an army of our own to protect the gains we have made," the ANC leader said during his address to a rally in Mamelodi.

His comments were in reaction to a report in a Sunday newspaper which said the ANC had secretly sent more than 1,000 recruits to Uganda for military training.

Last night, on SATV's Agenda news programme, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the training of soldiers by the ANC outside South African borders was no secret and

was "strictly" in accordance with the ANC's decision that the armed struggle has been suspended.

Ramaphosa reiterated — more than once during the programme — that the ANC was committed to negotiations and decisions which could lead from it.

● The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Conservative Party have, as a result of the training drive publicity, again called for MK's banning or disbandment.

A spokesman for the Youth Brigade said: "Clearly MK must disband. We shall not rest until its disbandment."

CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said: "We demand the immediate banning of MK and the detention of its members in South Africa."

Codesa, still best forum for settlement - Mandela

STAR 30/11/92

~~SECRET~~ (11A)

By Montshiwa Moroke

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is still the best forum for achieving a negotiated settlement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Mamelodi yesterday.

Mandela appealed to all political organisations — including those on the far Left and far Right — to come forward and present their views at Codesa.

The ANC leader was addressing more than 10 000 ANC supporters at a rally in the HM Pitje Stadium.

He said he would not call for the reconstruction of Codesa because he believed it was "adequate" as a forum where the country's problems could be addressed.

Mandela said the ANC believed no one, including homeland leaders, should be sidelined.

"President de Klerk tried to persuade me to agree on the formation of a troika between his party, the ANC and the IFP, but I rejected that," Mandela said. "I could not abandon my colleagues."

Mandela told the

crowd: "We have chosen negotiations because we believe it is the only way to end the violence and put the country's ailing economy back on track."

He cautioned De Klerk against attacking the ANC, as he had done on a number of occasions. The ANC president said he had not responded to the persistent attacks because he had the interests of the country's people at heart.

Mandela said he was prepared to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — but only after thorough preparations had been made.

Militant action plan for Azapo

STAR 30/11/92.

PORT ELIZABETH — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will not take part in negotiations but will start a militant programme of action to ensure "the liberation of our people".

This was the pledge of newly elected Azapo president, Professor Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, in his address yesterday during the final session of Azapo's four-day conference.

Mosala spoke of the need for the "reconquest of Azania" and the need to rescue the "Azanian struggle".

"The liberation of our people will be the guiding principles," he said.

Azapo would rather "go it alone" than be co-opted into negotiations which came about as a result of talks between the Government and the ANC.

Conditions essential for the initiation of negotiations are that the Government resigns, that it accepts the principle of a constituent assembly and that the security forces be placed in

"quarantine" under an international peacekeeping force.

Azapo will start a campaign against the visiting Indian cricket team that will include "storming pitches and grounds and picketing visiting players".

It will consult the SA Council on Sport and international anti-apartheid organisations about a course of action.

Other visiting teams will be targeted, while overseas anti-apartheid movements will be asked to take action.

The congress also adopted a resolution to place the homeless on unoccupied urban, rural and industrial land.

Other executive members elected at the conference are deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary Don Nkadimeng, deputy general secretary Lybon Mabasa, publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae, national organiser Fundile Mafongozi, treasurer Lucky Monnakgotla and national political commissar Mzukise Madlavu. — Sapa, Pen.

Training of MK abroad 'not secret'

11A
ARG 30/11/92

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — ANC president Nelson Mandela said he had told the government last year the liberation movement would continue to train members of Umkhonto weSizwe outside the country.

"We want to have an army of our own which protects the gains we have made," he said during his address to a mass rally in Mamelodi outside Pretoria.

Mr Mandela's comments were in reaction to a report in a Sunday newspaper, which stated that the ANC had "secretly" sent more than 1 000 recruits to Uganda for military training.

The training of MK soldiers in several countries outside South Africa was anything but secret, the ANC president said. If the media had approached the ANC,

they would have been told the real position.

He argued that the ANC wanted all South Africans to be equipped to serve in all sections of the state service — the army, police force and civil service.

The press report which provoked Mr Mandela's explanation stated that the recruits had left South Africa in possession of lawful travel documents on six chartered flights in September and October.

The report made the point that earlier some 14 000 exiles — many of them MK members — had been brought back into South Africa from abroad at a cost of some R100 million to the United Nations.

Addressing the question of why the ANC had not simply kept MK members in readiness abroad, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus

said the ANC wanted "to see as many people as possible upgraded to a standard where they could function in a new South African defence force".

● The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Conservative Party have once more called for the banning or disbandment of MK as a result of the training drive.

"We demand the immediate banning of MK and the detention of its members in South Africa," CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said.

In reaction to the MK training report, the Transvaal council of Inkatha Youth Brigade announced it was to meet on Wednesday to decide whether to recommend to its membership the establishing of "community protection units and train protection units".

**DP demands
action over**

ANC torture

STAR 30/11/92
Heavy criticism has been levelled at the ANC in the wake of Amnesty International's report on torture and abuse of prisoners in ANC camps outside South Africa.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon described the Amnesty document as a grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties. He demanded immediate action.

Justice Department spokesman Pieter du Randt said if the abuses had taken place in South Africa, prosecution or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted.

Last week the ANC announced the appointment of an independent commission to carry forward the action recommended by an earlier commission into allegations of abuse in the camps. — Political Staff.

Talks set for major advance

BIDAM 30/11/92
THIS week's crucial three-day bilateral meeting between government and the ANC could be an important step towards speeding up the negotiation process and hastening the arrival of full nonracial elections for an interim government.

Developments last week in the national peace committee and President FW de Klerk's announcement that government had accepted a set of timeframes for a fully representative government have set a positive climate for the meeting.

A timetable for the path forward in the near future is sure to be high on the agenda at the bosberaad. However, government will be anxious to avoid binding itself too firmly to agreements with the ANC, for fear of further alienating Inkatha leader

30/11 *11A*
BILLY PADDOCK

Mangosuthu Buthezi.

At the weekend, the Inkatha central committee urged De Klerk to call a multi-party conference as a matter of extreme urgency in order to establish a constitutional negotiating forum before Parliament convenes in January.

It also warned against any unilateral or bilateral decisions taken by government and the ANC about steps needed for the holding of elections.

The ANC has rejected De Klerk's proposal for elections within 18 months, calling for voting to take place sooner. But government has declared it is fully pre-

To Page 2

Talks

BIDAM 30/11/92
pared to negotiate its proposed agenda with other parties. In announcing eight steps to transition last week, De Klerk said he was flexible on the dates and hoped the deadlines could be brought forward.

There were strong indications in political circles at the weekend that there was room for compromise on the part of both government and the ANC. The gap between the two parties on a date for a general election is only about five months, and speculation yesterday was that it was likely a poll date around the end of next year would be settled on.

Yesterday ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said De Klerk's timeframe for an election by May 1994 was "too relaxed". The ANC wanted a poll by October next year.

Slovo pinpointed two key targets for pre-election negotiators: the levelling of playing fields to allow all political organisations to canvas and win support, and the election itself.

He agreed that the main topic at this week's meeting would be timeframes.

However, he did not believe finality on a date would be reached at this meeting. A further meeting, probably early in January, would give delegations the opportunity to discuss the issue with the national executive committee and Cabinet.

He acknowledged that De Klerk's an-

11A *30/11*

From Page 1

nouncement was a vital boost to the process and a major development for government, which had always steered clear of putting its lifespan on the line.

Government, on the other hand, also has other issues it wants to sort out.

It will try to tie up loose ends from the Mandela-De Klerk record of understanding, such as issues connected with violence and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend it was "totally unacceptable" for the ANC to be sending MK recruits out of the country for training. Responding to reports that the ANC's armed wing was training thousands of men in Uganda, Meyer said this issue would have to be resolved before there could be a political settlement.

Government will also be trying to remove some of the sticking points Inkatha has raised in relation to the ANC.

At its weekend central committee meeting, Inkatha said there had been no national agreement yet on an interim government. The committee instructed its executive committee to formulate a strategy for a KwaZulu/Natal negotiation forum to adopt a federal proposal for the region and a national government.

● Picture: Page 3

ANC ponders reply to Amnesty report

Business Day Reporter

11A
The Amnesty International report on abuses in ANC camps in Africa called for an immediate and proper response from the organisation, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said at the weekend.

Reacting to the human rights organisation's report detailing widespread abuse and torture of ANC dissidents in camps run by the organisation in Africa prior to its unbanning in 1990, Leon said it was "a massive indictment of the ANC".

The report chronicled a "grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties without any regard for minimum norms of due process and fair procedure", he said. B10AM

The ANC has yet to issue a full response but has said it will set up a second, more independent, internal commission of inquiry consisting of two foreign members and one South African. Its national working committee is still setting up the commission's terms of reference. 30/11/92

RAY HARTLEY reports that the Amnesty report calls for the Frontline states to institute criminal investigations into camp atrocities.

The Zambian High Commission in London has said "appropriate action" would be taken in relation to camps in Zambia.

The Amnesty report criticises the recent ANC internal inquiry for not investigating "where political responsibility lay for abuses in the camps".

"An important question is why the lead-

To Page 2

Amnesty report

B10AM
30/11/92
The report of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 mutiny at the ANC's 1985 consultative conference in Kabwe.

"By suppressing this report, the leadership, or elements within it, ensured that the security department would be able to continue unchecked," the Amnesty report said.

It went on to criticise the ANC's internal probe for not addressing the issue of killings in camps and the disappearances of prisoners. "It does not assign individual responsibility for abuses, nor does it analyse the chains of command within the

11A From Page 1
security department and MK, and between these bodies and the ANC leadership, in order to establish political responsibility for what went on in the camps."

The human rights organisation claimed a 1991 public statement by the ANC that it no longer held prisoners had been false.

It endorsed the ANC internal probe's recommendation that individuals found to be responsible for human rights abuses should not be allowed to hold any position of responsibility for law enforcement or custody of prisoners.

PAC 'forced' to oppose bilateral deals

VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

11A
ANC 30/11/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress has the capacity to disrupt the sell-out process of negotiations started by ANC president Nelson Mandela in prison, said Mrs Patricia De Lille, the movement's secretary for relief aid.

At a rally in Langa yesterday, attended by about 300 people, Mrs De Lille said the PAC — as

"custodians of the Africans' democratic ideals" — was forced to oppose any bilateral deals between the ANC and government on the future of the country.

The PAC had entered into preliminary constitutional discussions with the government to demand the formation of a constituent assembly.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said black people would not

be able to regain their land by power sharing or giving concessions to President De Klerk.

Mr Makwetu said African people could not "share something they do not have".

He said Africans should set up their own programme and not "merely react to the enemies' programmes". Because Africans had the experience of oppression, they were the only people who could lead the battle to freedom.

ANC lashed over camps

PRETORIA. — The widespread physical abuse of prisoners in some of the ANC's African camps cannot be censured in strong enough terms, the Justice Department said at the weekend.

Reacting to Amnesty International's report that the ANC tortured and killed prisoners in its African camps, department spokesman Mr Pieter du Randt said had such activities occurred in South Africa, "prosecutions or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted".

The DP said the report is "a massive

indictment of the ANC" and calls for a proper and immediate response from the ANC.

DP justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon said the report and recent revelations concerning the SADF's Military Intelligence arm confirmed "that human rights are not safe in the hands of either the government or the ANC".

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation could not respond immediately as it had to study the report. — Sapa

IIA ET 30/11/92

NEWS Tough stance on talks

PAC 'will stop sell-out deals'

Sowetan 30/11/92

(11A)

■ Makwetu speaks against any form of power-sharing:

THE Pan Africanist Congress had the capacity to disrupt any "sell-out deal" on the future of South Africa, an executive member of the organisation said yesterday.

Addressing about 300 supporters at a rally in Langa, Cape Town, the organisation's secretary for relief and aid, Ms Patricia de Lille, said the "process of selling out our country" was started by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela while in prison.

She said the PAC opposed any bilateral agreements between major parties on the future of South Africa.

"The PAC, as the custodian of the African people's democratic ideals, must stop this (selling out) process now," she said.

De Lille said the organisation had only entered preliminary discussions on consti-

tutional negotiations with the Government in order to "give content to the negotiations" and to demand the establishment of an elected constituent assembly.

"There can be no talk about suspending or ending the armed struggle," she said.

The main speaker at the rally, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, reiterated his organisation's opposition to any form of power sharing.

He said the PAC wanted a more representative and democratic forum in place of Codesa and a transitional authority rather than an interim government.

Instead of a transitional constitution envisaged by the Government, the PAC insisted that a democratically-elected constituent assembly was the only legitimate body to draft a new constitution. - Sapa.

112 CT 30 11/19
Israel to boost ties with ANC

JERUSALEM. — In an effort to boost its ties with the ANC, Israel is to invite ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for a visit, the foreign ministry said yesterday.

Israel's new ambassador to South Africa, Mr Elon Liel, will extend the invitation after he arrives in December.

His predecessor, Mr Zvi Gov-Ari, is accused of having sharply reduced contact with the ANC because of its ties with the PLO and endorsed talks with the IFF. Sapa-APP

ANC confirms MK camps

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC acknowledged yesterday that it was training soldiers in Uganda for a future South African army.

But the ANC denied it had any intention of resuming its guerilla campaign, which was suspended in 1990 when it was legalized.

"Armed action is suspended completely," ANC secretary-

general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said.

(11A)
"The ANC is completely committed to the negotiation process and has no hidden agenda."

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC was training "several hundred" recruits in Uganda, saying they would be needed for a future South African army under a

democratically elected government.

CT30/11/92
Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the ANC's training camps would have to close before there was a political settlement.

"One party can't go on with its own separate so-called army," he said. — Sapa-AP

Azapo turns its ^(iia) back on negotiations _{ct 30/11/92}

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — Azapo yesterday reaffirmed its decision not to enter negotiations.

Newly-elected president Professor Jerry Masala said the organisation would not be part of any elections resulting from bilateral talks between organisations with no mandate from the people.

He said Azapo's congress here had endorsed the decision of the central committee to establish a mechanism for contact with the government if it desires to communicate with Azapo. The contact was the Bishop of Botswana. — Sapa

New Azapo chief named

By Themba Molefe *Sowetan*
Political Reporter 30/11/92

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation emerged from its 11th national congress in Port Elizabeth yesterday with a new president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

Immediate past president, Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe, was elected deputy president.

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Don Nkadameng, was returned unopposed.

Former projects co-ordinator, Mr Lybon Mabasa, was elected his deputy.

Garankuwa-based medical practitioner, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, was elected publicity secretary. He replaces journalist Mr Strini Moodley, who has been assigned unspecified responsibilities.

About 1 000 delegates attended the congress.

Mosala, who was president of Azapo in 1990, said Azapo would not enter the present phase of talks.

He said negotiations would have to take place under a neutral chairman in a neutral venue.

He said Azapo had appointed Archbishop Walter Makhudu as mediator between itself and the Government.

■ Organisation takes tough stance:

"We are still waiting for the regime to respond through the mediator", he said.

Mosala warned of a "Muzorewa option" - where white settlers in the then Rhodesia appointed lackeys to semblances of power while still running the country - and said the danger in South Africa was that "credible leaders" would be involved.

The congress took a militant stance regarding education, women's rights, sanctions and violence.

It said it would embark on a multi-faceted strategy which would include boycotts against multi-national companies inside South Africa and the storming of sports pitches involving foreign sportspeople.

At a media briefing, Azapo identified education as a major issue to be tackled in 1993.

Saying boycotts were depriving black children an opportunity to learn, Azapo said it would resist all efforts aimed at disrupting effective learning.

Moodley said the campaign in the economic sector in 1993 would be to examine, identify and expose all multi-national companies which were "problematic and promoted exploitation of black workers".

Mandela plea to all groups

■ 'Let us all join together to pull South Africa out of its current mess':

By Alinah Dube

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called on all political organisations to take it upon themselves to repair the ailing economy of the country.

He was speaking at a rally attended by several thousands of people at the HM Pitje Stadium in Mamelodi. This was Mandela's first visit to the area since his release from prison.

Mandela said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was the only forum which the ANC would use to attain freedom. They could not afford to destroy it after it took "two full years to build".

"I appeal with all humility to all political organisations - whether extreme left or right - to join us in trying to pull South Africa out of the current mess," he said.

Amnesty names ANC torture camps

Sowetan 30/11/92



AMNESTY International on Friday named two African National Congress-controlled refugee camps in Tanzania where prisoners were allegedly severely beaten or tortured in the early stages of their detention.

SECURITY MEN Dissidents allegedly

beaten, tortured and executed in camps:

Mazimbu and Dakawa - the two camps - were named in a report by the international human rights organisation which conducted an independent assessment of allegations that dissidents were beaten, tortured and executed by the ANC's security department during the 1980s.

resigned from the ANC. He placed himself under the protection of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Tanzania, the report said.

1980s.

The organisation made the call in the conclusion to its report dealing with reported crimes perpetrated against ANC dissidents in the Frontline states.

"Later accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet," Amnesty International's report said.

And more recently, a Tanzanian Field Force unit in Dakawa arrested 10 ANC members on June 10 1991 and handed them over to the ANC security department, according to the report.

Saying it opposed the South African Government's Further Inmunity Act which guarantees members of the security forces immunity from future prosecution for human rights violations, Amnesty said it believed an essential part of preventing further violations was for all abuses to be thoroughly investigated and for those responsible to be brought to justice.

It cited the case of Umkhonto we Sizwe member Sam Mngqibisa who was first detained by the ANC's security department in 1979.

They were allegedly beaten with steel rods by ANC and Tanzanian officials. Five were then released on August 1 1991 through the office of the Tanzanian Prime Minister but the other five are still missing.

"Amnesty International considers that the same principles apply to abuses committed by the ANC."

Forced to vacate

They are Justice Gumbi, Albert Bhengu, Terror Wonder, Schaft Lwane Khoza and George Kitseng.

However, the organisation added that unlike the SA Government, the ANC was not in a position to initiate criminal prosecutions against its members responsible for the torture and killing of dissidents.

"In 1984 he left MK but remained an ANC member. In January 1991 while living in Tanzania and working as a plumber, he was again detained by the security department."

"Despite the direct involvement of the Tanzanian authorities, they have not responded to Amnesty International's request for information about the case," the report said.

Conduct of ANC

"However, Amnesty International urges the authorities in the countries where these abuses took place - notably Angola, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia - to investigate the conduct of ANC security officials with a view to bringing them to justice."

Handed over

He was handed over to the security department by the Tanzanian settlement commander at Dakawa whom he had approached for protection.

The report also states that when the ANC was forced to vacate Angola, some prisoners at Quatro Camp were transferred to Bukoloto camp, Mukono district, north-east of the Ugandan capital of Kampala.

On the ANC's part, the organisation said it would ensure that those responsible for physical abuse of prisoners are never allowed to hold positions of authority within the ANC or under any future South African administration.

"The security officials detained him at the Ruth First Centre, Plot 18, Dakawa Camp, and questioned him about his friendship with some of those who had taken part in the 1984 mutiny. Previously, he had been threatened because of his involvement in publicising allegations that ANC officials had sexually abused young women refugees," said the report.

Former prisoners told Amnesty International that about 60 inmates were kept at the Ugandan camp and they were sometimes beaten by the guards.

"In particular, they should never be in a position where they have responsibility for law enforcement or custody of prisoners," said the human rights group. - *Sapa*.

Mngqibisa was held incommunicado in a two-and-a-half by two metre cell with a plastic bucket for a lavatory and filthy blankets. But he managed to escape two weeks later and

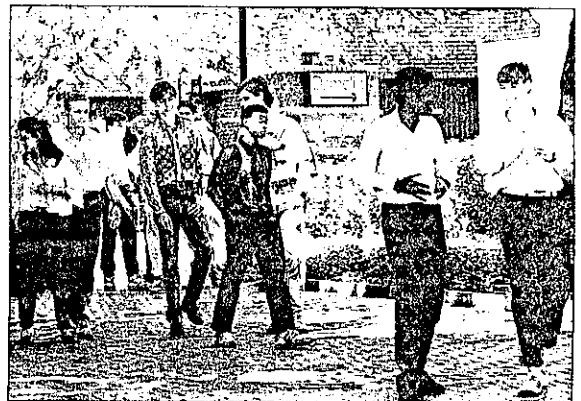
the organisation's camps in Africa in the

● See reactions on page 14.



African National Congress President Mr Nelson Mandela.

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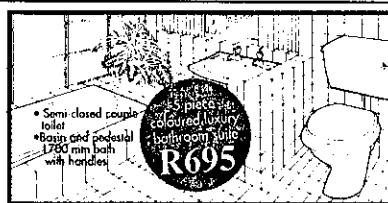
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Points from the report

Accounts from Mazimbu, referring to 1986 and 1987, allege that security officials beat prisoners with bicycle chains and electric cables, sometimes on the soles of their feet

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Former prisoners told Amnesty International that about 60 inmates were kept at the Ugandan camp and they were sometimes beaten by the guards



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NEWS Report highlights large scale attacks at camps

ANC under fire for human rights abuse

Sowetan 30/11/92

(S.A.) (11A)

THE ANC has come under fire from the Government and the Democratic Party following a report by Amnesty International detailing large scale abuses in its camps.

The Government said the criminal activities exposed by Amnesty International cannot be censured in strong enough terms.

Had any such activities taken place in South Africa, prosecution or inquests would undoubtedly have been instituted, a Justice Department spokesman said.

The report was still being studied.

The DP's spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, called for an immediate and proper response from the organisation.

■ Government says criminal activities detailed by Amnesty can't be censured in strong enough terms:

Reacting to Amnesty's report which alleged widespread abuse and torture of ANC dissidents in camps run by the organisation prior to its unbanning in 1990, Leon said it was "a massive indictment of the ANC".

The report chronicled a "grotesque catalogue of torture, murder and deprivation of fundamental liberties without any regard for minimum norms of due process and fair procedure", Leon said in a statement. - *Sapa*.

BLACK POLITICS - 1992

DECEMBER

Rather correct and alone than...

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation would rather stand correct and alone than be wrong and in the company of many.

This attitude motivates their belief in not getting on the negotiations bandwagon which they see headed for a future laden with turmoil.

Azapo's message is clear: we might be small but we are right and history is on our side.

This, in a nutshell, sums up the mood of this Black Consciousness political group as it emerges from its 11th national congress in Port Elizabeth held from November 26 to 29.

Despite criticism that it is an insignificant group and often dismissed as a spent force, Azapo says it will not conform.

Past president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe who is now deputy president set the tone of the congress when he told the 1 000 delegates: "In Azania, a combination of reforms and media packages of norms, values and processes about the so-called 'New South Africa' have turned erstwhile revolutionaries to acquire false images of themselves.

"They have been turned into citizens of the imaginary 'New South Africa', and with few exceptions they are behaving as intended."

Are these just academic words which the Azapo leadership likes to throw around?

Indeed, the organisation believes it is the think-tank of black liberation poli-

■ LONE WOLVES *Azapo may be small*

but believes history will vindicate them:

tics.

In fact newly elected president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, a hardliner who is known for his uncompromising attitude, readily responded when asked whether Azapo would participate in elections were they to be held in 1994.

"No, we will not participate in elections which are a result of bilateral talks. We will campaign against such elections," says Mosala.

Mosala, a Methodist minister, is attached to Cambridge University in England. He was formerly a professor of religious studies at the University of Cape Town.

Significantly, Azapo has financial constraints and very few resources. Leaders and supporters acknowledge this.

What is noteworthy is that all congress delegates paid for their transport, accommodation and food and came from all over the country.

So how does the organisation hope to mount any substantial campaign in the face of sophisticated tactical and fiscal competition in the political arena?

Perhaps it was Nefolovhodwe who clarified Azapo's position here: "Given the fact that the West is not willing to

assist us and the fact that our friends are few we should replace money with people.

"Our tradition has been to mobilise through events in the black calendar and around issues. We should now start a process of identifying specific demands and issues around which we can wage short and long-term campaigns geared at weakening the regime's base.

"We should direct all our effort and energy on recruiting members to join us in this final onslaught ... concentrate on keeping the masses informed."

Azapo says it is also looking at forming alliances with organisations still "willing to engage the regime".

These it identified as the Pan Africanist Congress, the New Unity Movement, Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action and indeed certain groups allied to the African National Congress. These are the

South African Communist Party and the militant ANC Youth League.

The feasibility of such a solidarity front, however, depends on whether Azapo can muster support from individuals inside these organisations.

Says Mosala: "The question here is

‘We will not participate in elections which are a result of bilateral negotiations. We will campaign against such elections’



Itumeleng Mosala



Pandelani Nefolovhodwe

Top Guns

THE new 13-person central committee of the Azanian People's Organisation, elected at its national congress in Port Elizabeth, is:

- President - Professor Itumeleng Mosala
- Deputy president - Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.
- General secretary - Don Nkadameng.
- Deputy general secretary - Lybon Mabasa.
- Publicity secretary - Dr Gomolemo Mokae.
- National organiser - Fundile Mafongozi.
- Deputy National organiser - Monwabisi Duna
- Treasurer - Lucky Monnakgotla.
- National political commissar - Mzukisi Madlavu.
- Deputy political commissar - Molathlegi Thlale.
- Provincial vice-presidents: Transvaal - Nkosi Molala
Cape - Zingisa Twalo
Natal - Patrick Mkhize

11A

Soweto 11/2/92.

GERALD REILLY

Public servants soothed

PRETORIA — The Public Servants' Association (PSA) has welcomed assurances given by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the weekend that no one in government service will be "thrown into the streets" by a new government.

PSA GM Hans Olivier said Mandela's view would go some way towards al-

laying the fears and uncertainties currently rife in the service — "but not the whole way".

Government workers' morale had been undermined by government's threat to cut expenditure and staff by 5% — and by the ANC's affirmative action programme.

Mandela's assurances

that white soldiers, policemen and public servants would not be cast aside by a nonracial government would be more acceptable if written into a watertight undertaking by the ANC.

On affirmative action Olivier said: "We have no problem with blacks being integrated into the service.

This is realistic and inevitable. What we want to avoid, however, is people being rammed into the service who do not have the qualifications for the job."

Meanwhile talks between the Public Service Caucus and senior officials of the departments of Finance and State Expenditure and the Commission for Administration continued yesterday.

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ANC abuse probe delayed

ADRIAN HADLAND

DESPITE mounting local and international pressure, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate abuses in its detention camps would begin its deliberations only next year, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

The ANC's national working committee had been too busy preparing for this week's bosberaad with government to consider the commission's terms of reference.

The commission was set up after an internal ANC investigation into alleged brutality at ANC camps in Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda during the 1980s.

The publication last week by Amnesty International of a report detailing widespread abuses increased pressure on the ANC to uncover full details of activities in its camps.

In a letter to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon called for improved witness protection facilities for former ANC detainees willing to testify.

He also called on Kriel to negotiate the

release of Katiza Cebekhulu, a key witness in the recent Winnie Mandela trial, from protective custody in Zambia.

The Amnesty report said the findings of the James Stuart commission of inquiry into the 1984 ANC mutiny had been suppressed, ensuring that the security department "would be able to continue unchecked".

Angolan embassy representative Jorge Morais said Angola's government, unlike Zambia's, would not be conducting a separate investigation. "This is a matter that people from the ANC should answer as the camps were controlled by them. We didn't know anything."

Sapa reports the Returned Exiles' Committee yesterday welcomed the disclosure of ANC atrocities committed in exile — and demanded an end to atrocities in SA.

Committee chairman Pat Hlongwane said people's courts, self-defence units and civic organisations were guilty of atrocities at home.

Deserter: ANC member told me to lie

PRETORIA — Mozambican army deserter Joao Cuna said yesterday an Indian member of the ANC had promised to pay him for telling the Vrye Weekblad newspaper lies implicating the SA Police in political violence, after Cuna was taken to the Indian man by two Military Intelligence (MI) agents.

Cuna, who said he now feared for his life, testified

before a Goldstone commission committee that he was taken by MI agents "Frank" and "Riley" to a house in Muller Street, Yeoville, whose owner — name sounds like Rule" — was a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. Cuna said he met the Indian, who he described as stall and having a beard and whitish hair, "many times"

and he suggested Cuna tell the story which appeared in Vrye Weekblad.

The October 30 issue of the publication carried a report quoting Cuna as saying he was given AK-47 rifles and paid R4 000 by security forces to kill ANC activists outside Durban.

Yesterday Cuna insisted the story published in the newspaper was false. — Sapa.

Plea for public to foster AIDS orphans

THE National Council for Child and Family Welfare today put out an urgent appeal to the public to "open your homes" and adopt or foster one of the hundreds of orphans who have been left behind by AIDS-infected parents.

The council has chosen World AIDS Day today to highlight the plight of those who are mostly forgotten about in the AIDS epidemic — the orphans.

In a statement the council said the construction of extra children's homes would not be possible in the present economic climate as institutional care was extremely expensive. "Foster parents, adoptive parents and day care centres will be the only answer," the council said.

The council has also appealed to communities to take care of the growing number of babies who are born HIV positive — and it plans to lobby government for higher grants for those who care for HIV positive children.

Council spokesman Keith Heimann said

KATHRYN STRACHAN

SA could not even deal with the 80 000 street children, and called on the community urgently to find ways to care for the AIDS orphans.

Society for AIDS Families and Orphans organiser Claire Fleming said her organisation cared for more than 500 AIDS orphans in Soweto alone, but the organisation had been refused government assistance.

Department of Health figures indicate that as many as half a million children in SA could be orphaned through AIDS within seven years.

The Department of Health has referred the problem of AIDS orphans to the council on the grounds that to distinguish them from other orphans would lead to them being stigmatised.

But Fleming disputed this argument, and claimed that as the already overburdened welfare sector does not have the resources to cope

Govt, ANC meet in hideaway

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

STAR 11/2/92

11A

Top negotiators of the Government and the ANC will retire to a secret northern Transvaal hideaway today for an intense three-day "bosberaad" aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, on a visit to Lebowa, yesterday reiterated the ANC's belief that the two parties would be able to announce a date for the country's first democratic elections after the "bosberaad".

The two teams — Cabinet ministers on the one side and top ANC officials on the other — will spend virtually all their waking hours between tomorrow and Friday trying to regain the rapport that has been lost this year.

The discussions will centre

on the managing of the transition process, and differing timetables for an interim government. Other specifics will include ways of restarting multiparty negotiations, and the structuring of a constitution-making body and an interim government.

Debate on the structuring and functioning of a Transitional Executive Council — which will supervise the run-up to elections for a government of national unity — is expected to form an important part of the meeting. Joint control of the security forces could be discussed under this agenda.

ANC allegations about security force covert operations are likely to be discussed under the official agenda topic of creating a climate for free political activity.

Surprisingly, the two parties have agreed not to discuss political violence and

the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Government has been at pains to stress that the "bosberaad" will not make agreements binding on other parties — fearing it could further alienate parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Both the Government and ANC point out that it is necessary for them to thrash out differences between themselves before these are discussed in a multiparty forum — to avoid the danger of another collapse of negotiations like Codesa 2.

However, the ANC sees the purpose of the "bosberaad" as getting the Government to accept co-responsibility for driving the transition process.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will head the delegations.

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'Hullabaloo' only because whites died, says PAC

Outrage over killings

STAR 1/12/92,
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(111) ~~1/12/92~~

The cold-blooded murder of four people at a function at King William's Town Golf Club was yesterday condemned by political parties and organisations, with the ANC slamming the killings as an outrageous act of naked terrorism.

The attack, in which at least 17 people were also injured, occurred on Saturday evening as 57 guests attended a Christmas dinner.

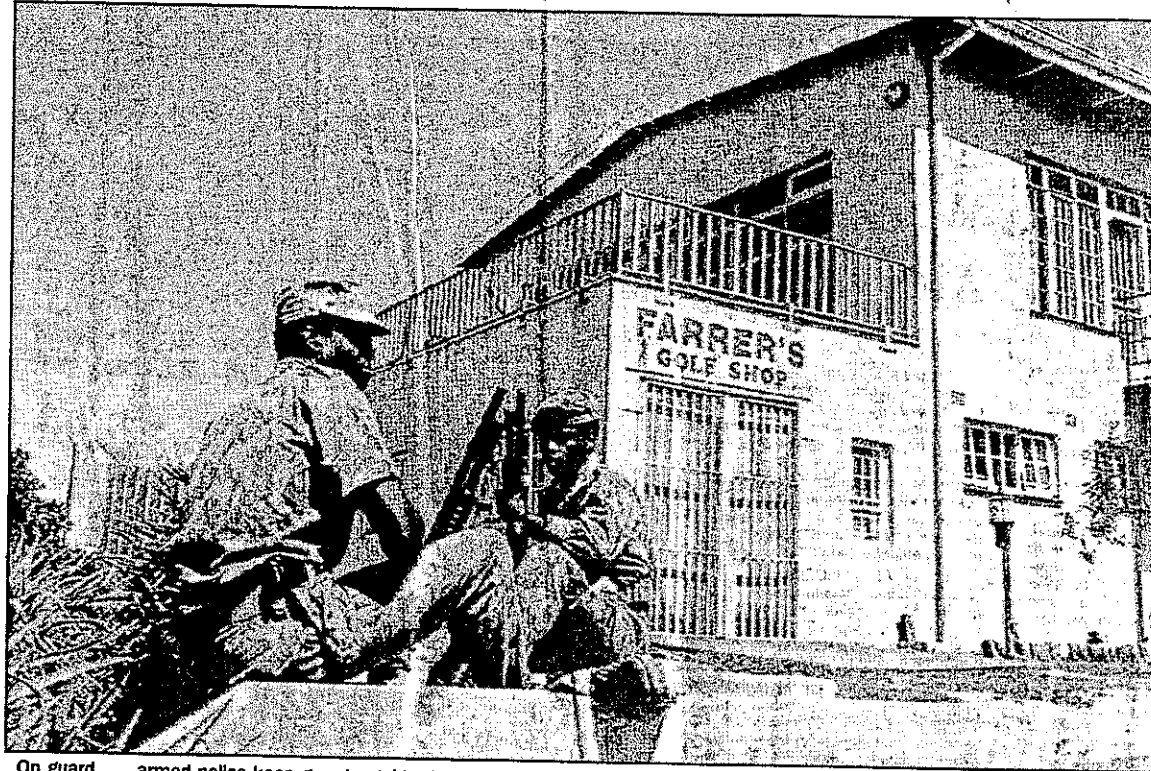
Border police spokesman Colonel Christo Louw later said a man claiming to be a member of the Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had phoned the East London police control room to say Apla had carried out the "mission".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday the PAC could neither confirm nor deny Apla's involvement in the attack. He said he doubted Louw's claim because only Apla commanders and not ordinary cadres spoke on behalf of the guerilla army, they normally phoned newspapers and not the police, and they usually gave their names.

Neither PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama nor Apla commissar Romero Daniels could be reached for comment in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, yesterday.

It was possible the attackers thought they were bombing an NP function, according to National Party MP Ray Radue, who survived the attack.

"I arranged the golf day in my personal capacity as a fundraiser and was assisted by friends and regional NP



On guard . . . armed police keep guard outside the King William's Town golf club yesterday after a gunfire and grenade attack killed four people at a Christmas party on Saturday night.

organiser Andre Smit.

"There were no political speeches and no NP colours were exhibited. The golf club does not normally entertain any party-political functions and I was not trying to embarrass anyone in any way," Radue said.

Condemning the attack yesterday, Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh said police were doing everything possible to arrest the attackers.

The ANC said yesterday

the attack was committed against unarmed and defenceless people and therefore had to be unequivocally condemned.

Such attacks only served the interests of those trying to derail negotiations through violence.

"We urge that, as with all other instances of violence, there be immediate and thorough investigation, and every effort be made to ensure that the perpetrators are brought to book," the

ANC said.

IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos said the attack was barbaric, and expressed the hope that the perpetrators would be tracked down and brought to justice.

DP Law and Order spokesman Peter Gastrow said he hoped "the despicable act" is not an indication that our constantly changing patterns of violence are now going to return to plain bloody terrorism which was experienced in the '80s".

"We now live in a different era and acts of terrorism of this nature ought to be condemned and tackled jointly by all those who are trying to negotiate our future," Gastrow said.

He also criticised the continued training of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres inside the country, and said private armies had to be disbanded and incorporated into a restructured defence force.

Alexander said the "hullabaloo" about the attack was

purely because white people had died.

Black victims of various kinds of violence, he said, did not receive similar attention and news coverage, and police offered no rewards for information leading to the arrest of the perpetrators — as they had done in the case of this attack.

Police spokesman tenant Colonel Herma gelenberg said it was thought the attackers could have fled to Ciskei.

Picture: AP

Kierin O'Malley focuses on the PAC

Ethnic realism

has positive

spinoffs for SA

11/12/92
Sfm
11/12/92

PROFESSOR Themba Sono who must rank as one of "the most refreshingly straight-talking intellectuals in this country — made two central and related claims about the PAC. (Opinion, November 24).

The first is that the PAC conceives of itself and portrays itself as "an organisation of 'Africans' and that this emphasis on Africanity is neither racist nor racial, but a concept inclusive of all South Africans.

The second of Sono's points is that this self-conception of Africanity, as he puts, it will resonate widely and loudly across South Africa when the time for elections arrives and could well translate into significant electoral support for the PAC.

Assuming that the PAC is able to articulate this Africanity far more effectively than it has been able to do to date — and this is the big if — Sono's second point is certainly valid. More contentious — and more fundamental — is his description of what Africanity means.

Following Sobukwe, Sono defines an African variously as "one who owes ... loyalty to Africa; who accepts the primacy of African interests, who is willing to identify with Africa and Africans, emotionally and perceptually".

Definitions which include the word one is trying to define are not particularly clarifying.

Apart from the anti-pluralism implicit in notions of a hegemonic loyalty to Africa and African interests (ie the implication that divergent conceptions of what loyalty to Africa and African interests are, cannot exist), these attempted definitions in fact cloud rather than clarify understanding.

Implicitly recognising the circuitous nature of the aforementioned definitions Sono then tells us that "African" is not a racial or ethnic concept, but a "land" concept. In other words, anyone — black, coloured, Indian or white — can be an African as long as he associates with the African continent.

This non-racial description of the notion of Africanity however is a patently superficial one. Portraying it as the reverse of the French colonial policy of assimilation, Sono in fact concedes this. The French *evolue* policy was certainly non-racial in the sense that black Africans were accepted as Frenchmen after adopting all the trappings of French culture. But the term non-racial has surely got to mean more.

The assumption of assimilation was that French culture was inherently superior and not simply different to that of the indigenous peoples of Africa. The assumption is surely racial, ethnic or ethnocentric.

To draw an analogy between the French policy of assimilation and an allegedly non-racial

Africanity illustrates a very narrow and illiberal meaning to the notion of non-racialism.

If it is to mean anything, non-racialism must surely mean the tolerance of different cultures, and not simply a cultural or racial imperialism parading under a superficial non-racial banner.

This is not to say that this is the essence or totality of the PAC or Africanity. It is rather one of the unfortunate results of the dominance of a mythical "non-racial" paradigm in South Africa which forces all political entities — including ethnic or national realists — to "explain" their positions in superficially inclusive non-racial terms.

This resulting tension is evident in Sono's description of the symbolic and substantive attraction of the "non-racial" concept Africanity "first to the 'indigenous' African and second to the "African evolve". Plainly speaking an indigenous African is a black African and one gets back to race.

In an unguarded moment Sono — in describing the likely appeal of Africanity — writes "for the black man there is a definite psychological pride in knowing that at long last ... he is considered the top dog, his concerns come first". The white (and I assume coloured and Indian) is the "evolved" African.

Over and above the negative and illiberal cultural and racial imperialism implicit in the notion of Africanity, there is however something positive — namely the implicit recognition of the fact that the conflict in South Africa has a central national, ethnic or communal dimension to it.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC does not attempt to hide this fundamentally important dimension of our social reality. The PAC's refusal to talk in explicit African nationalist terms is not a reflection of its essence, but rather a grudging terminological concession to "non-racialism".

South African liberals and other ethnic realists should thus not make the mistake of rejecting out of hand the PAC and its Africanity. The latter incorporates an ethnic realism — albeit partial — and thus a liberal dimension to the PAC.

The strange love/hate relationship that liberals and other ethnic realists — following Patrick Duncan's example of the 1960s — continue to experience with honest black nationalists is not simply attributable to a virulent anti-communism. □

● O'Malley teaches African Politics in Unisa's Department of Political Sciences and is co-chairman of the Liberal Forum.

● Barney Mthomboti is away this week. His "Out of Africa" column will resume when he returns.

MK expansion 'unacceptable'

PRETORIA. — The continued expansion of the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe was unacceptable and placed a question mark over the ANC's intentions in negotiations, Defence Minister Mr. Gene Louw said yesterday.

He was reacting to weekend reports that MK was sending recruits abroad for military training. (11A) CT 11/12/91

"This is not in accordance with the D F Malan Accord, to which the ANC committed itself. The government rejects the actions of the ANC unequivocally," he said. — Sapa

Chris Hani (11A) for congress

SOUTH African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani will address the SACP end-of-year Cape congress which begins in Port Elizabeth on Thursday.

African National Congress Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba will be among the main speakers.

Sowetan 1/12/1972

Campaign to picket tour ^{11/2/92}

THE Azanian People's Organisation plans to disrupt the Indian cricket tour in a militant campaign which will see the invasion of pitches and stadiums and the picketing of visiting players. ^{11/2/92}

Azapo said it would consult with other Black Consciousness Movement organisations and the SA Council on Sport on the campaign and would harness overseas support against any touring Springbok teams. This was adopted at Azapo's congress in Port Elizabeth over the weekend.

Sowetan 11/2/92

We will hit again, PAC armed unit tells whites

^{BIDA-1 2/12/92}
AN APLA commander confirmed yesterday that a unit of the PAC's armed wing was responsible for the weekend attack on a King William's Town golf club — and warned whites to expect more attacks of this kind.

Four people died and 17 were injured on Saturday night when five men stormed the Border club and opened fire with automatic rifles and lobbed hand grenades at unsuspecting Christmas dinner patrons.

Speaking from Harare, Apla chief spokesman Johnny Majosi said he found it surprising that "so much noise and police activity" could come as a result of the death of only four white people.

"Thousands of our African people are killed almost daily with no rewards being made or police reinforcements (being sent to the areas) in seconds," Majosi said.

"We would like to remind white South Africans that there is a war going on inside the country.

"There will be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas."

The NP yesterday called on the PAC to abandon its armed campaign.

NP chief spokesman Piet Coetzer said: "The National Party calls on the leaders of the PAC urgently to give up the armed struggle and bring Apla under control."

The NP said PAC general secretary Benny Alexander's remark, that the "hullabaloo" over the incident was because the

victims were white, was racist and his attitude had raised questions over the PAC's commitment to a negotiated settlement.

"He displays naked racism when he claims the hullabaloo is only because the victims were white. The attitude of Mr Alexander puts a question mark over how genuine the PAC is about participating (in negotiations)," Coetzer said.

He called on the PAC to take an "unequivocal stand" on the attack at King William's Town.

Seventeen people were wounded in the shooting.

"The shifty attitude of Alexander when questioned about the King William's Town killings is a disgrace to that organisation (the PAC)," Coetzer added.

The SA Council of Churches yesterday condemned the King William's Town attack, saying it was "a sad reflection on the present state of our nation".

"We express our revulsion at the continuing slaughter of innocents in our society, especially at a time when we need to build a new nation of peace, trust and democracy," the SACC said.

Violent acts, such as the King William's Town attack which claimed four lives, could only delay the transition to democracy and aggravate the present political climate.

The SACC said it was dismayed by the PAC's reaction to the killings. — Sapa.

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ANC, IFP talks crash

Sowetan 2/12/92

11A ~~11B~~ ~~11C~~

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Breakdown in communication led to misunderstanding:

THE preparatory meeting for the summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela collapsed on Monday because of an apparent misunderstanding.

The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr Walter Felgate, Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Simon Gumede arrived at the Royal Hotel early on Monday for the

meeting with the ANC that was to be led by Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Jacob Zuma.

The IFP thought the meeting had been arranged last week at a National Peace Committee meeting, while the ANC delegation did not arrive.

Mdlalose issued a diplomatic statement saying: "For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment." He said that he had spoken

with Zuma over the telephone and that they had agreed that the meeting would take place on December 9.

The ANC said there was a breakdown in communication. "We were not aware of the meeting at all," spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said. "Nobody knew about it."

She insisted there was no sinister motive behind the ANC's action, and said "the last thing we would do" was fail to arrive at a meeting.

STAR 2/12/92 (1/1A)

Speedy settlement could dispel morbid sympt

WITH President de Klerk's credibility in tatters, the Government rotten with corruption, the ANC's reputation tarnished with disclosures of torture in its camps and clandestine training in Uganda, violence continuing in new and uglier forms, the economy nosediving, unemployment soaring, and the nation generally in a state of malaise, South Africa is now closer to reaching agreement on the future than at any other time.



Allister Sparks

and that whoever wins will inherit a wasteland. At that point they decide to get together and act to save the situation. We then move forward another notch in the negotiation process.

It's a helluva way to draft a constitution for a country, but then it's a pretty unusual process we're going through — a stalemated revolution encountering a failed system of oppression and trying to find a democratic solution to their mutual dilemma — so let's not get too picky about it. Just be thankful it's happening at all, and pray that it will deliver something workable in the end.

The important thing is that at this time of national degeneracy, this week's bilateral meeting between the Government and the ANC could provide the breakthrough. By week's end we could

have an agreement between the two major negotiating parties on the steps to be taken to full democracy and a timetable for them. More important, there could be tacit agreement as well on the kind of compromises that can be reached to bridge the gap between the different visions the two sides have of our constitutional future.

There will, of course, still be the difficult task of bringing the smaller parties along, notably the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, whose main negotiating weapon is their ability to upset the negotiating process itself.

Beyond that there is the threat posed by the military-security establishment. While the evidence of the past few weeks makes it clear that President de Klerk must have known about some of the covert operations against the ANC, it seems equally clear that a large part of that establishment has taken on a life of its own and is operating beyond any kind of civilian control.

At the heart of this security

underworld is the Military Intelligence Unit, which more and more looks like the Third Force we have been hearing about for so long.

These are the primary dangers we face. To solve them, two things are necessary.

The first is a joint exercise by the National Party and the ANC to bring the military on-side. Reliable generals have to be identified, agreements reached between them and De Klerk and Mandela, and then the Defence Force and the police force must be restructured under the command of these committed leaders, with Umkhonto we Sizwe and the various "homeland" forces integrated at the same time.

The second necessity is speed. The only way to stop the disintegration of our society and our economy, to dispel the gloom and the doubt and instil a new spirit of optimism, is to get a momentum going and to keep it going.

The transition itself is a bad time. As the Italian thinker, Antonio Gramsci, put it, it's a time when "the old is dying and the

new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear".

We are experiencing those morbid symptoms aplenty now, and we shall experience more the longer the interregnum drags out. We must hasten the birth of the new South Africa so that our national energies can shift from political jousting to nation-building.

Looking at the timetable President de Klerk proposed last week, getting a Transitional Executive Council set up by next May looks reasonable.

That will in effect be an all-party interim regime to take over the running of the country from the present Government and hold the ring while our first one-person-one-vote election is held.

But to wait a year, until April 1994, for the election itself is far too long. Admittedly there is much to be done in the way of voter education and ensuring that everyone eligible to vote has an identity document, but that work can start now.

A year-long election campaign is unconscionable. The three

months we have had in the past has been bad enough for the bitterness generated, and that is just within the narrow band of the white community. Twelve months of open combat between the Nats and the ANC hardly bears thinking about. I doubt the country could survive it.

That in any event would not be the end of the matter. After the voting the elected Constituent Assembly would have to sit and negotiate the new constitution — another three or four months. That means two more years, on top of the two we have already had, of the interregnum with its morbid symptoms.

Too long. I say speed it up, get it over and done with. Four months for the election campaign is time enough — more time than either Zimbabwe or Namibia had. So let's get cracking now on the education and the arrangements, and even if things are not perfect when the time comes the disadvantages of that will be less by far than the consequences of a year-long battle that will tear this country to smithereens. □

White life is still more precious

■ Africans killed the same way as they were shifted about:

Sowetan 2/12/92
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

INDIGENOUS Africans have since the advent of colonialism at the tip of the continent always been mere props in the largely European drama in this part of the world.

The indigenous people were of no account during those early days, to the extent that Dutch settlers imported labour in the form of slaves from their other colonies in South East Asia.

Through it all, African people were shifted about, conveniently, to fill in the spaces on the stage, never to play a part or even mime...

By the early '80s of this century all the slaves, traders, migrant workers and even some of the "fairer skinned" people from the indigenous to the North Western Cape region were brought into the ruling elite in the tri-cameral parliament and its white, coloured and Indian chambers.

But that is all in the past, they say, and indigenous Africans are being given (slowly and carefully, at a pace determined by the descendants of the European colonialists and settlers) a role in the big picture.

The irony is, when indigenous Africans were props, they could be moved around, now that they are brought to life, they are killed in the same callous way that they were shifted about the land.

In other words, in life or limbo, indigenous Africans are of no account.

At least 6 000 African people have been killed in South Africa since February 2 1990.

That the African people are coming into their own, does not, however, mean that the white descendants of the Europeans are now less important or insignificant. No.

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White life and liberty is still precious while Africans ... well, they don't have to be moved - so dying silences them just as well.

Four white people were killed in an attack on a golf club in King William's Town last Saturday night.

The attack could have been staged by anybody from South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC's armed wing, dissident members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or even the Ciskeian Defence Force for that matter.

What makes this attack so different from the daily carnage in this country is, it seems, purely because the victims were white.

The ANC and PAC both pointed out on Monday that the Government, police and media reaction to the golf club attack was racist.

But the media, shapers of opinion and society ran "outrage" stories (damn it) for four white deaths when at least 20 other black people died on the same weekend.

Sure, the white people were dining (harmlessly) in the golf club...

What on earth were the five black people doing in stokvels in the Vaal on Sunday night? Plotting the overthrow of white domination?

No. They were harmlessly enjoying themselves.

One cannot but conclude from the response of the Government, the police and the media (*Sowetan* included) that indigenous Africans have metamorphosed from being inanimate dispensable objects to innocuous dispensable people.

How else is it possible to explain the responses to the death of four white people in the King William's Town attack?

NEWS 14 security force members are killed ● MK protest at ANC headquarters

FW angry over Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk:

It was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night.

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP.

"It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.

Shell House sit-in

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

By Abbey Makoe

LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite "the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers' problems".

Another soldier said they were concerned about "continued claims in the Vaal's ANC structures that the MK was answerable to the Youth League".

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met.

MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Sipiwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC's media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention "at the highest level".



PAC repudiates Goldstone

THE PAC reacted angrily yesterday to Judge Richard Goldstone's call on the UN and the international community to help him persuade the organisation to allow him to investigate its military wing Apla.

Publicity and information director Waters Thaboti said the PAC would refuse to co-operate with the Goldstone commission. He rejected an inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla because "Goldstone is not neutral".

Goldstone made the call yesterday following a phone call allegedly from Apla commander Johnny Majozi in which he accepted responsibility for the King William's Town attack.

Thaboti refused to comment on whether Apla was responsible for the attack, but said of Goldstone: "We have always said he

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BILLY PADDOCK

is not neutral because he is an appointee of (President F W) de Klerk's regime. He just wants to ensure that whites remain in their privileged positions and is not interested in the black person's liberation."

He said Goldstone had made a mistake by issuing the call, because "at last he has shown his true colours".

Thaboti refused to discuss the UN Security Council recommendation that Goldstone investigate security forces and private armies.

The Goldstone commission said it had asked the international community to take steps to enable it to hold an inquiry into the structures of Apla outside SA and to report

To Page 2

PAC *BIDAM 3/12/92*

fully in relation to political violence and intimidation.

The commission welcomed government's agreement for it to investigate the intelligence operations of the security forces, and the ANC's positive response to the request to inquire into the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A similar request had been made to investigate the KwaZulu Police, but no response had yet been forthcoming.

Thaboti also insisted that the PAC's bilateral meeting with government would

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ From Page 1
go ahead next week, in spite of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's statement that government had suspended talks until there was clarity on the PAC's stand on acts of terror by Apla.

Sapa reports Apla vowed yesterday to attack white suburbs in retaliation for every vigilante attack in black townships.

A man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command said the only way to solve "African violence" in the townships was to take that violence to white areas.

Policy of the ANC under scrutiny

■ FUTURE OPTIONS

Described as successor to the Freedom Charter: (11A)

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

Sowetan 3/12/92

THE POLICY DOCUMENT of the ANC which sets out guidelines on future democratic options has been put under the microscope in a current publication of the Urban Foundation (UF).

The third issue of the UF's *Development and Democracy* devotes itself to the ANC's 78-page document which came out of its May policy conference and was published under the title *Ready to Govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa*.

The document is seen as the successor to the 1955 *Freedom Charter*, which, the UF says, is a critically important publication in itself and for what it represents about the ANC.

The ANC policy conference held at Nasrec in Johannesburg was opened by its president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said at the time: "This conference is essentially about preparing to govern... The ANC must emerge from this conference with clear policy proposals for a future democratic government."

The first two articles in *Development and Democracy* give a background to the document on different levels.

Author and academic Tom Lodge opens with his essay, *Context of the Policy Guidelines*, and concludes that these should be taken seriously ... they are the programme of an organisation which depends on high levels of popular mobilisation and which has become increasingly transparent and accountable in its internal procedures.

Journalist and political writer Kaizer Nyatumba's article, *Making of the Policy Guidelines*, traces the document's origins to the ANC's formation which was preceded by the launching of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Like Lodge, Nyatumba makes the point that it is the ANC's Women's League which seems to have had most influence in the formulation of policy guidelines.

The centrepiece of *Development and Democracy* is the reproduction of two panel discussions in which participants were first asked to read the document.

The nine panelists - black and white - ranged from legal, business and political commentators to labour, economics and Government spokesmen.

ANC national executive committee member and head of its economic planning department Mr Trevor Manuel gives the ANC's response and says that the ANC, by publishing the document, "has blown the whistle for the policy debate to start in a more serious manner".

Is the ANC ready to govern? This is one of the questions asked in the concluding essay by Ann Bernstein and Charles Simkins.

Bernstein is executive director of the UF's development strategy and policy unit which publishes *Development and Democracy*.

Enquiries about the publication can be directed to Adrienne Hall at PO Box 1198, Johannesburg, 2000.

BCMA five set free

Sowetan 3/12/92 **A movement spokesman says members face deportation:** (11A)

FIVE members of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) who were serving five-year sentences in Botswana were acquitted by an appeal court on Tuesday.

But the joy of release was short-lived as police immediately arrested them. They will be deported, according to a senior official of the BCMA in Botswana.

Vusimuzi Thabatha, Welcome Rapodile, Robert Ndebele, Vuyo Matsinya and Plaatjie Mashego were sentenced in June this year for possession of arms of war.

They were part of a group of 11 BCMA and Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) cadres, who included the BCMA's

secretary for defence, Mr Nkutseou Motsau, who were arrested by Botswana police outside Lobatse at an alleged training camp.

Motsau and two others were acquitted in June while the remaining eight were sentenced. During Tuesday's appeal, Botswana Judge President Amissah, with judges Agudar and Shriner concurring, acquitted the five but confirmed the sentences of the other three.

Botswana's chief immigration officer, Mr Maithloko Mooka, said yesterday his department did not intend deporting the five as they were no longer prohibited immigrants.

NEWS 14 security force members are killed ● MK protest at ANC headquarters

Shell House sit-in

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

By Abbey Makoe

Sowetan 3/12/92
530 11A

LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite "the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers' problems".

Another soldier said they were concerned about "continued claims in the Vaal's ANC structures that the MK was 'answerable to the Youth League'".

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met.

MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Sipiwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC's media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention "at the highest level".



By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday called on the United Nations and the international community to help him launch an urgent inquiry into the Azanian People's Liberation Army, saying it had a "policy of terrorism based on racist criteria, and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence".

In a statement Mr Justice Goldstone said: "The policy of Apla demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.

"To that end the commission calls upon the international community, and in particular the UN, to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla outside SA and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in SA."

The PAC yesterday repeated its view that it would not allow Apla, its military wing, to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Mr Justice Goldstone's statement came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William's Town, for which some Apla spokesmen have claimed responsibility.

In a separate move, the Government yesterday warned that its talks with the PAC, scheduled for next

week, were in jeopardy because of the alleged involvement of Apla in the killings.

There is still confusion about Apla's involvement, with contradictory statements being made by "spokesmen" in telephone interviews.

The PAC has announced an emergency meeting of its executive for tomorrow.

The Government and PAC have met twice recently to finalise a meeting between President FW de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Government sources yesterday confirmed that the planned meeting with the PAC on December 9 would not go ahead unless the organisation gave a satisfactory clarification of its relationship with Apla.

But PAC director of information and publicity Waters Toboti said yesterday it was the "regime's own indaba if they withdraw from talks".

He noted that in two previous meetings with the Government, "nothing was discussed about Apla and no undertakings were made regarding the issue".

The Government sources said they were shocked by PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander's statement that the Government was upset only by the death of whites.

They denied this and said that in an earlier statement condemning the King William's Town killings, the Government had also expressed its shock at several weekend deaths in townships.

● To Page 3 ■

Goldstone takes aim at Apla

■ From Page 1

Mr Justice Goldstone said the ANC had agreed to an investigation into its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The commission had not yet received a response from the KwaZulu government on an investigation into the KwaZulu Police.

ANC executive member and former intelligence chief Patrick Lekota said the suggestion that the King William's Town attack was staged by the PAC was ridiculous. STAR 3/12/92

Lekota said that for anyone to carry out the attack, they would have needed "abundance of intelligence on the planning and programme of the occasion, both before and during the occasion", and that the R-1 and R-4 weapons used were "standard SADF and police issue".

● Eastern Cape police said yesterday they suspected that those responsible for the attack had once worked as caddies at the golf club.

Judge takes aim at

Govt may refuse to meet PAC following massacre

Apla

Four whites die and the word terrorist surfaces, observes Mathata Tshedu

Our prejudices come shining through

STAN 3/12/92.



THE racism of the South African police, Government and the media is sickening. In a country where the deaths of 10 people does not warrant a page one story in any newspaper any more, it is surprising how the death of four whites in King Williams Town has stirred the emotions of the media.

As if by a turn of a switch, we have now seen the return of the word terrorist. Terrorist because the victims of this particular attack were white.

Whatever happened to the usual "unknown gunmen" who have been blamed for spraying equally innocent black people at night vigils, birthday parties and other

innocuous gatherings with bullets?

Let us look at what happens when four whites at a golf club are shot as they eat dessert after a wine tasting ceremony.

The police launch a huge man-hunt, which never happens when the killings are at Folweni.

We are told of how the unexploded petrol bombs resemble those found at previous Apla attacks. We are told of strong leads. Of imminent arrests. Of rewards of R50 000.

Does anyone remember how the killings in Sebokeng, Boipatong or Folweni resemble any other attack and thus maybe Inkatha or the ANC or whoever else is the prime suspect?

It is this sort of racism of the media, police and regime, the PAC's Benny Alexandra said, that led many people to believe that the violence would stop soon enough if it spread to white areas and left some whites dead.

The manner in which the deaths of black people are treated by the police and the media is really appalling. No details, no names, just the bare allegations that are recorded for historical purposes.

The racism embedded in the psyche of South Africans over centuries will be hard to eradicate. One would understand perhaps the reaction of individuals touched by the incident.

But for organised institutions

such as television, newspaper and the police force to allow the prejudices to shine through like at a time when they are telling of a new South Africa is total unacceptable. In fact, the who selective uproar over the killing is enough to drive one into sympathising with the killers, and not the victims of the King carnage.

And unless we stand up and decry the selective and racist reactions of both the Government and the media, it will continue. We need to cultivate a philosophy that looks at life as life, and not white life and therefore deserving more attention than black life. **Mathata Tshedu is Investigations Editor of The Sowetan.**

Mixed messages

Johnny Majozi does exist — but he didn't quite say what he was reported as saying about more Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) attacks on whites being imminent.

SIPA 31/2/92
This is the confusing outcome of The Star's attempts to verify Majozi's much-publicised warning that more white South Africans were to be targeted in the wake of the King William's Town Golf Club killings.

On Tuesday, Majozi was quoted as saying in Harare that Apla, the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, was responsible for the weekend bloodbath at the golf club — and that “there would be more attacks of this nature with more frequency, especially in white areas”.

Yesterday, however, tracked down by telephone in Dar es Salaam, Majozi said Apla could not take responsibility for the King William's Town killings “at this stage”.

Describing himself as Apla's information officer, Majozi said he was still awaiting a report from a “field officer” in South Africa.

Asked specifically whether he had said more whites would be killed by Apla, Majozi said: “I expect more attacks on whites, but I cannot say that Apla would specifically go into white areas.” He also denied having been in Zimbabwe, although he admitted he had spoken to a journalist about the issue.

Asked about his personal background, Majozi would only say he was “a journalist who had grown up in the ranks of the PAC”.

● In a further twist to the unresolved saga of Apla's involvement in the golf club carnage, a man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri of the Apla High Command told Sapa yesterday that the attack was a “true operation of Apla”.

Judge wants Apla probed

Sowetan 3/12/92
■ PAC refuses to allow its military wing
to be investigated by commission:

Sowetan Correspondent (11A) ~~(11B)~~

MR Justice Richard Goldstone yesterday called on the United Nations and the international community to help him launch an urgent inquiry into the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

He said Apla had a "policy of terrorism based on racist criteria and an intention to extend the unacceptable violence".

"The policy of Apla demonstrates the necessity of a full investigation into that organisation by the commission.

"To that end, the commission calls upon the international community and, in particular, the UN to take the necessary steps to enable the commission to hold a full inquiry into the policies, manpower and arms structures of Apla outside South Africa and to report fully thereon in relation to political violence and intimidation in South Africa," Goldstone said

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reiterated its view that it would not allow Apla - its military wing - to be probed by the Goldstone Commission.

Goldstone's appeal came in the aftermath of the weekend golf club killings in King William's Town, for which some Apla spokesmen have claimed responsibility.

Govt calls off indaba with the PAC

Sowetan

3/12/92

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By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Law Ministry urges organisation to give up its armed struggle:

NEXT week's meeting between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress has been called off and the organisation has been urged to give up its armed struggle before talks resume.

A spokesman from the State President's office yesterday confirmed a remark made earlier in the day by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Hernus Kriel, who said that until the PAC distanced itself from "acts of terror", there would be no further bilateral discussions.

The PAC and the Government were to meet next Wednesday. Bilateral talks between the two parties have so far been "exploratory" while Wednesday's meeting was to have focused on details of a multiparty forum.

The PAC yesterday said that "irresponsible

reaction from the Government such as the statement made by Kriel impacted adversely on the economy and closed the door for a democratic solution and investor confidence".

Yesterday Mr Benny Alexander, the PAC's secretary general, said his organisation had not received official notification that next week's talks had been cancelled.

Rent boycotts to continue

THE time was not yet ripe for the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) to advise its members to suspend rent and services boycotts, Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said yesterday.

He said in an interview that Sanco did not want to "encourage the culture of non-payment of services".

However, a number of things had to happen before Sanco advised its constituencies to suspend the boycotts. These included "sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government — at both local and national levels", the scrapping of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act and the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Act and the forging of a single tax base for towns and their neighbouring townships.

Mayekiso said while negotiations were continuing in the Local Government Negotiating Committee — which comprised government and civics — authorities should not "penalise our people by cutting services".

Former Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said recently government was prepared to suspend the

~~WILSON ZWANE~~
WILSON ZWANE

Interim Measures for Local Government Act and the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Act if boycotts of rent and services were lifted.

In another development, a working group of the Local Government Negotiating Committee met this week to finalise a draft document on the establishment of a local government forum.

The document would be submitted to the committee in the new year for discussion.

The document, which Sanco has circulated to its regions, contains three options for local government:

□ The inclusion of extra-parliamentary groups in the Council for the Coordination of Local Government Affairs;

□ The scaling down of this council to make it more cost-effective and less unwieldy; and

□ The establishment of a completely new forum for local government.

It is understood Sanco will push for acceptance of the third option.

PAC to seek black businessmen's help

THE PAC is asking black business and the black professional community to work with it in finding solutions to the country's political and economic problems. *BIDM 4/12/92*

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday his organisation believed business and professional people's contribution to current political debates was vital to SA's future stability and prosperity.

A two-day conference attracting

~~WILSON ZWANE~~
WILSON ZWANE

around 250 people would be held at Midrand at the weekend "to explore and develop possible synergies" between the PAC and black businessmen, Makwetu said.

Key speakers will include PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, Nafcoc president Archie Nkonyeni and National Sorghum Brewery executive chairman Mohale Mahanyele.

Witness fails to recall events

SUSAN RUSSELL

BIDM 4/12/92
POLICEMAN Eugene Riley, identified by two witnesses at the Webster inquest from an identikit of a suspect in the murder of Wits academic David Webster, testified yesterday he could not remember what he had done on May 1 1989, the day of the murder.

Riley said the date had no special significance for him.

The police counter-insurgency unit member told the court he and former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had been friends since 1981.

Riley said after his suspension from the police force — he had been charged with attempted murder and robbery in Bophuthatswana — Barnard had hired him as an informant for MI last year. Barnard worked for MI from May to December last year.

Riley said Barnard had paid him for his services until August last year.

Earlier yesterday Judge M Stegmann refused an application by counsel for the Webster family, E Bertelsmann SC, for an order compelling the investigating officer to identify a source who approached him during the first week after the murder and suggested he direct his investigation towards CCB MD Joe Verster.

The judge said there was nothing to suggest that the source could offer information that was not already before the court.

The court adjourned until January 19 when counsel will present their closing arguments.

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Self-defence

committees for Azapo

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By Kaizer Nyatumba 4/12/92
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation will form defence committees throughout the country to defend black communities and enable the organisation to operate and project its views within the black communities, Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

He said members of his organisation's self-defence units would be drawn exclusively from Azapo, to avoid having in their ranks people who were "not disciplined".

At its four-day congress in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Azapo resolved to mediate in taxi disputes, and educate both taxi drivers and owners "on the sanctity of black life".

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said his organisation remained committed to the maintenance of sanctions and the cultural boycott, and would stage pickets against the current Indian cricket tour.

Mokae said Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, at present lecturing at Cambridge University in England, was winding down his business in that country to return home.

Mosala would visit Zambia, where he would hold talks with the Zambian government in an effort to get South African Kati-za Cebekhulu released from prison. Mokae said Azapo was continuing with its investigations into the death of Dr Abubaker Asvat, and that Cebekhulu's evidence would be crucial.

Cebekhulu was allegedly abducted and taken to Zambia.

'Bosberaad' tackles crisis

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

STAN 4/12/92
suspended since June.

Government and African National Congress negotiators at a three-day "bosberaad" are believed to have changed their agenda urgently to seek ways of rescuing multiparty negotiations.

The breakdown in relations between the Government and both the KwaZulu government and the Pan Africanist Congress have put multiparty negotiations in jeopardy.

Government and ANC negotiators return today from an intense round of discussions in the northern Transvaal bushveld aimed at an early resumption of multiparty talks which have been

They started with an agenda devoted to addressing bilateral problems, but two dramatic events have shifted attention elsewhere.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a unilateral initiative to establish an autonomous KwaZulu-Natal federal state. Then the Government broke off talks with the Pan Africanist Congress following claims that its armed wing Apla was responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack.

It was not clear yesterday whether a planned meeting next week between President de Klerk, Buthelezi and other homeland leaders

would go ahead.

The Government said it was going ahead with planning for it.

The KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party were prepared to put their autonomy plan for a KwaZulu/Natal state to multiparty discussions if requested, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said on SABC's "Agenda" programme last night.

Yesterday, in its first formal comment on the KwaZulu plan, the ANC joined the Government in condemning it as a unilateral initiative threatening negotiations.

In another development, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa yesterday said approval

of the "KwaZulu-Natal constitution" would mean either an enforcement of the federal option countrywide or secession by that region. Either outcome, Idasa programme director Paul Graham said, would not be acceptable to the other parties involved in national negotiations.

Natal Administrator Con Botha said yesterday if KwaZulu asked the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) to conduct the referendum, the Natal Provincial Administration component of the JEA would have to consult the central Government "and I doubt that they would give the go-ahead".

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NEGOTIATIONS (11A) ~~307A~~

Setting the targets FM 4/12/92

Despite Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's autonomous regional initiative — apparently designed to pre-empt constitutional talks — the negotiations process looked set for a major boost at this week's summit between government and the ANC. Their three-day *bosberaad* was due to kick off at a secret venue as the *FM* went to press. Buthelezi's announcement seemed timed to steal its thunder.

A day earlier, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had attacked Buthelezi for, in effect, preventing the very multiparty conference Buthelezi was so urgently demanding should be set up in January. (Government's target is February, the ANC would prefer later this month.) Inkatha had for weeks "avoided and refused" government's attempts to restart talks with it, said Meyer. An example was its unilateral cancellation of a meeting with government on September 28 and one set down for No-

vember 18 with the Concerned Citizens Group, headed by Inkatha.

Inkatha replied that it was government and its "friend" the ANC that were holding up talks and that it was the ANC that had walked out of Codesa. Buthelezi clearly remains riled at what he (wrongly) perceives to be his exclusion from decision-making. He is rapidly becoming the main obstacle to the formation of a new government.

The ANC, meanwhile, said rather implausibly on Tuesday that it was unaware of a preparatory meeting its task group was meant to have had with Inkatha on Monday, to prepare for the summit between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi. However, the meeting has now been scheduled for Wednesday in Durban. Whether Buthelezi's announcement pertaining to a Natal/Kwa-Zulu referendum will affect this was not clear when the *FM* went to press.

In announcing a timetable for the setting up of a government of national unity, President F W de Klerk last week warned that failure to reach agreement about this would lead to "other ways and means" being found to bring one about. This would seem pertinent, not least in the light of Buthelezi's latest stance — though he could precipitate a crisis if he chooses to remain aloof from the process.

Buthelezi will, no doubt, have inserted himself on to the agenda of the ANC-gov-

FM 4/12/92 (11A) ~~307A~~

CURRENT AFFAIRS

ernment summit this week, which is a follow-up to agreements reached in their Record of Understanding in September. Among the issues to be tackled are the "modalities" leading to an elected interim government and the question of violence. Both sides are keen for new momentum to be injected into the process, which prior resolution of matters is bound to do.

For government, however, the question of disbanding private armies such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is a critical issue — compounded by the fact that the ANC recently sent 1 000 cadres for military training in Uganda. (The charitable interpretation of this move is that the ANC wants somewhat more numbers than the present ragbag in MK to integrate into a common defence force when the time comes). Ability to resolve this issue would mean progress indeed.

They are closer on preparatory and constitutional matters, such as the negotiating multiparty forum and regional government powers. And the ANC believes its interim government proposals to be most accommodating; it expects similar generosity of spirit from government.

While the ANC has slammed De Klerk's (realistic) election target date of April 1994 as too far away, this is only about six months longer than the ANC's and should be bridgeable, especially since government has said it was flexible on a date. In presenting his

transition timetable last week, De Klerk said the main question in debating further constitutional reform centres on "the timing of the process which will lead to the installation of a government of national unity."

This "fully representative" government should be in place "no later" than the first half of 1994. It will function in terms of a transitional constitution, which would also provide for an elected parliament and executive.

Stepping stones

De Klerk outlined the steps that should precede the setting up of a national unity government:

- Before the end of February: Complete bilateral discussions across a broad spectrum of parties aimed at the resumption of negotiations, whether in a new forum or a restructured Codesa;
- Before end-March: Convene multilateral negotiating forum;
- By end-May: Conclude multilateral agreements on a transitional constitution (including constitution-making procedures and principles and regional governments), Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;
- May/June: Adopt legislation for the Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;
- June: Institute Transitional Executive

Council and Election Commission;

- Before end-September: enact transitional constitution, which also provides for a constitution-making body;
- Before end-October 1993: Formulate and promulgate election rules and regulations; and
- By March/April 1994: Playing field to be levelled, free participation ensured, violence to be contained, party political campaigns to be organised and concluded, logistical preparations to be made and voter information campaigns conducted for the election.

Meeting these target dates, said De Klerk, would depend on the co-operation and commitment of the other major parties. Rapid progress could lead to a government of national unity being set up earlier. Failure and delay would exacerbate political, economic and social problems. "Should this happen, other ways and means will have to be found to bring about a government of national unity so that constitutional reform continues without delay," warned De Klerk. ■

Transkei arming MK — claim

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CT4/12/92

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Transkeian territory was being used as a training centre, haven and springboard for "common criminals" who launched attacks on the ANC's opponents in Natal, the Goldstone Commission heard yesterday.

Commanders of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) submitted requisitions to the Transkei Defence Force for arms and ammunition, which were then supplied by the TDF's chief of logistics and smuggled into South Africa, said the SAP representative, Mr Chris Marnewick, SC.

He said the primary cause of the violence in Natal was the "intolerant, violent, murderous and even military" political battle between the ANC and Inkatha, in which innocent people were "slaughtered with monotonous regularity".

The recruitment and training of private armies such as MK combined with the theft, manufacture and importation of firearms and explosives to add fuel to the conflict.

"Both ANC and Inkatha supporters have been guilty of assassinations or participation in the massacre of po-

litical opponents (and) of intimidation and intolerance of the political rights of others," he said, giving examples.

The SAP said a G3 assault rifle — such as those issued by the KwaZulu government to chieftains and civil servants for their protection — was used in the October ambush near Richmond in which ANC Midlands leader Mr Reggie Hadebe was killed and a colleague wounded.

KwaZulu Police (KZP) representative Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Reed admitted that G3s were used, albeit "unlawfully", in the fighting.

He said the rifles were being replaced by shotguns and revolvers, but ANC South Coast chairman Mr Jeff Radebe claimed that G3s were still being issued to headmen.

Colonel Reed disputed the ANC allegation that the KZP was Inkatha's "private army", saying no KZP member was allowed to be a member of any political party.

KwaZulu Health Minister Dr Ben Ngubane blamed the violence on the policy adopted in the mid-1980s by the ANC-allied United Democratic Front to render "apartheid structures" such as the homelands, local authorities and tribal systems ungovernable.

ANC denies MK held sit-in (11A)

THE ANC yesterday denied cadres of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had staged a sit-in at its headquarters in Johannesburg. *Sample 4/12/92*

Reacting to a newspaper report in which this was alleged, ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said about 30 former exiles from the Vaal Triangle had gone to the national office to present a memorandum on Wednesday. The document was receiving attention "at the highest level" along with other issues in the Vaal, including employment, housing, money, welfare, self-defence units and the development of the region.

Much expected from 'Lekgotla'

■ Hopes for resumption of talks:

Sowetan 4/12/92.
THE ANC and Government emerge from a crucial three-day meeting today to great expectations from South Africans for the speedy resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The three-day *lekgotla* focussed on "outstanding issues" between the two parties and sources in both parties were confident earlier this week that at least a date for the resumption of talks can be secured in the meeting.

Whatever agreements the two parties reached, they will still have to wait for two meetings between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress and President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

No meeting on talks - PAC

■ Movement's armed struggle continues, says Alexander:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday refuted reports that it was holding an emergency meeting to discuss the Government's suspension of talks with the organisation.

Secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the movement had not received any letter from the Government informing it of the suspension.

"As far as we are concerned, our meeting with the regime on December 9 has not been officially cancelled. It is only when we receive an official notification from the regime that the meeting is cancelled, that we will discuss the matter in our normal monthly meetings," he said.

He said the PAC was committed to a democratic solution of the country's problems through a democratically elected constituent assembly.

He also reminded the Government that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had publicly admitted that the PAC had not agreed to ending its armed campaign, and had added that further talks would be held in this regard.

The organisation also said Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel's statement was ill-timed as he had not considered its consequences on the business community.

"Since the media played up the issue of King William's Town killings and forced the PAC into making public statements, the financial rand fell sharply against the US dollar.

"This was so mainly because as a result of financial rand selling by Swiss and German investors in response to the incident.

"If Apla leads investor trends through a single alleged incident, Mr Kriel should know that further Apla activities will easily spark a flight of capital."

Mandela and de Klerk see time running out

Guardian/W in W/mail 4/12 - 10/12/92

(11A) (507)

By Stanley Uys

MULTI-PARTY negotiations have been at a standstill in South Africa now for more than six months, and the country is immersed in deep gloom. But hope may be around the corner.

The private, bilateral talks between the government and the African National Congress were interrupted only briefly by the ANC's decision to withdraw from multi-party negotiations after the Boipatong and Bisho massacres. Now, after further bilaterals, the two sides are ready for multi-party talks again — not as Codesa 3, but under some other name. The rest of the 19 Codesa participants will probably rejoin, accompanied by one or two newcomers, such as the Pan Africanist Congress or the rightwing Afrikaner Volks Unie.

Both President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki have been saying that the new Multi-Party Forum (MPF) may assemble before Christmas or early in the new year. One of its first tasks will be to form a transitional executive council to function as a watchdog over select government departments, including the security forces. The council, likely to be established by mid-1993, will be composed of major MPF participants, with President de Klerk co-opting outsiders as well. The other major function of the MPF will be to prepare for one-man-one-vote elections for a Constitution-Making body (CMB). The government, however, is saying that the elections cannot be held before late 1993 or early 1994, and some cynics think they might be postponed or the foreseeable future.

The CMB's deliberations could extend over several years, and meanwhile everyone will go through a learning experience in power sharing. By the time a new constitution is put in place, the ANC's "sunset clauses" for South Africa's five million whites might

well be little more than an extension of the status quo. So de Klerk could share the driver's seat with the ANC president Nelson Mandela, or his successor, at least for the rest of this century.

It will not matter much by then how power is distributed among the other players, like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, because the deal will have been worked out in a series of parallel bilaterals between the government and the main parties on the one hand, and between the ANC and the main parties on the other. The ANC has already held bilaterals with the PAC, the

CMB, in which it and other unitary state proponents will be the dominant grouping, whereas de Klerk wants the MPF, in which he and the federalists will be in the majority, to write the basic principles of a federal constitution. If de Klerk gets his way, the election of a CMB will not be the watershed event the ANC expects it to be: the new constitution will have been largely written by then.

Nor has agreement been reached yet between the ANC and NP on

tricks in military intelligence, the ANC's 25-member national working committee (cabinet) adopted a document, "Strategic Perspective". The document contains these frank words: "We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole, may still require us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government."

This is a major philosophic shift.

The ANC and the government last Friday began a series of bilateral meetings to prepare the ground for a resumption of constitutional negotiations, our correspondent writes from Johannesburg.

The minister of constitutional development, Roelf Meyer, and the ANC general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, said afterwards that the two sides would be holding another three-day meeting this week and further talks in January.

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana homeland leaders, and the Afrikaner Volks Unie, although not yet with Buthelezi. The purpose of the MPF will be to rubber-stamp the more detailed decisions to be taken at the *bosberaad* (bush scrum) between the ANC and the government on December 1-5.

The ANC has five to 10 years of power sharing in mind, but it may well find that maintaining an economy viable enough to meet even some of the expectations of the black community will be beyond the capacity of an inexperienced liberation movement and that a swim-or-sink coalition with the National Party is required.

All this is very different from the demand for majority rule that has been official ANC policy. The deal struck with de Klerk is not cut and dried. The ANC, for example, wants the new post-apartheid constitution to be written by the elected

what power sharing means. The ANC wants to limit power sharing to specific governmental areas, such as the budget, whereas de Klerk wants it to be uncontained. There is still a lot of tough bargaining ahead, therefore, but the hard fact is that the ANC is making an historic concession to suspend its demand for majority rule. Mandela spelt out the essentials in his famous memorandum from prison in 1989, when he acknowledged that the demand by blacks for majority rule would have to be modified by structural guarantees for the white minority. It was left to Joe Slovo, chairman of the SA Communist Party, to spell it out unambiguously: "Compulsory power sharing for a fixed number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of the constitution."

Two days after Judge Goldstone issued his bombshell report on dirty

The move follows conciliatory gestures from both sides. President de Klerk had reacted to the ANC's offer to enter a limited power-sharing agreement with the government and to offer employment guarantees to the security forces and civil service by calling for negotiations to be restarted by the end of March next year and South Africa's first non-racial general election by April 1994 at the latest.

Instead of demanding majority rule as the climax of the negotiations process, the ANC is concerned now to protect the new democratic state that will arise under its leadership. It accepts that revolutionary overthrow of the government is not an option, that "mass action" is not an option either if it harbours this aim, and that the white bureaucracy and the security forces have the capacity to undermine the new democracy. So it has come to terms with these realities.

This is the new perspective in which the ANC is viewing not only the remorseless violence in the country, but also the involvement of the security forces. It knows that the Goldstone report touched the nerve centre of dirty tricks with its report on military intelligence, but it also knows that there is no way in which de Klerk can confront the military head-on and win. At best, he can try to winkle out the sub-

versive generals one by one.

The ANC has looked beyond de Klerk and seen the abyss. It knows that if it forces de Klerk into a corner on the violence issue, either de Klerk will withdraw into the white laager, because he cannot deliver the white constituency to ANC demands, or else he will take on the generals collectively and most likely be broken by them. The ANC is not sure what to do. Its official statement on de Klerk's handling of the Goldstone report described the counter-measures as a sham, but Mandela himself said it was an encouraging step forward. If de Klerk is broken in the struggle, the ANC will face the generals head on, and some of them are just as ready as the black radicals to slug it out on the streets.

The ANC will be accused now by its radicals of selling out. Slovo's article in the African Communist and the Strategic Perspective document have gone down like a lump of lead with the activists. But Mandela and the moderates/pragmatists believe they have enough heavyweight opinion behind them, internally and internationally, to force the choice on the national executive committee.

They see time running out on them: the longer a settlement is delayed, the more the ANC will splinter into factions (already some of its returned military cadres are out of control, and some branch and regional structures are becoming rebellious), the more the economy will slide downhill, the more foreign investors will keep their distance, and the more ungovernable South Africa will become.

If Mandela can deliver the black constituency to the deal that has been cut, and if de Klerk can deliver the white constituency, the new constitutional arrangement with its concept of power sharing will be unique in Africa.

South Africa knew of plans to train MK in Uganda

W/MaJ 4/12-10/12/92

The South African authorities have known for months of the ANC's military training in Uganda — and have implicitly agreed, reports

ARTHUR GAVSHON in London

SOMETHING of a fake furore has blown up in South Africa over African National Congress arrangements for the training of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres in foreign lands in friendly Commonwealth lands.

These arrangements were under way more than a year ago, with the full knowledge of the South African government, in order to integrate MK personnel into a new, unified and non-racial South African Defence Force — but only after the emergence of a democratically-elected parliament under a renegotiated constitution.

In early September 1991 this correspondent was told by Foreign Officials here that their diplomats in Pretoria at the time were informally discussing the moves with ANC leaders as part of a general aid programme for post-apartheid South Africa. The informants, at the time, were at pains to emphasise South African state authorities had been made fully aware of the British initiative. The initiative, they said then, included other forms of help for political groupings other than those linked with the ANC. Inkatha was one of those groupings but because Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi was claiming Inkatha had no military wing it was assumed they would not qualify for military training facilities.

British authorities have reported that discussions still are proceeding on a programme for the retraining in this country of South Africa police, both black and white, and representative of all South African groupings.

British officials made clear that their embassy in Pretoria had kept South Africa state authorities informed of their informal exchanges with the ANC leadership. The possibility was mentioned by one official that the South African government may well have raised some objections to the idea of Britain providing military facilities and training for MK personnel and, he added, this could have led to a change in the British proposal — providing police rather than military training.

Around the time this development was reported more than 13 months ago, Chris Hani, the MK chief of staff, said in a published interview the ANC also was seeking professional military training facilities from India, Pakistan, Canada, Australia and Uganda among other countries. The idea was to develop MK personnel to officer level. If any objections were raised by South African state authorities they certainly were not publicised at that time. In fact defence minister Roelf Meyer told an interviewer on Britain's Independent Television network in early September 1991, that the process of intergrating blacks into the SADF already was taking place.

The British have, for years, focused on helping their ertswile colonies to build up their security forces along the lines of Britain's own national system. In recent times they have extended this policy to non-Commonwealth countries like Mozambique which sends its promising military personnel here for education in modern military technology, organisation, weaponry, discipline. Namibia and Zimbabwe also make use of these facilities. Indeed up until the Gulf war Iraqi soldiers, sailors and airmen were benefitting from Britain's experience.

One byproduct of this British system has been, through example, to spread the most acceptable elements of Britain's values.

In the aftermath of the King William's Town affair, a phoney furore built up when some political groups, not excluding state spokesmen, called attention to ANC military training arrangements for its MK cadres in foreign lands.

These were potrayed as sinister developments with implicit suggestions that, that somehow, they could be linked with the eastern Cape killings.

ANC leaders 'covered up' torture in detention camps

Guardian W in W/Mail 4/12-10/12/92 (11A)

THE reputation of the African National Congress as an idealistic liberation movement has taken another battering with the release of a damning report by Amnesty International on torture and killings in its detention camps during the years of exile.

The conclusions of this inquiry are even more damaging than the report produced recently by an internal ANC inquiry — not only confirming and enlarging on torture allegations, but detailing summary executions and other killings.

The Amnesty report also discloses that detainees may still be held in ANC camps. It notes that, despite undertakings by the ANC in September last year to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross access "more than a year after the initial agreement, no visits have yet taken place."

The ANC anticipated publication of the Amnesty report by appointing a new tribunal to investigate allegations produced by its original inquiry against named officials. It had been recommended that officials involved in the atrocities be barred from holding senior posts in the ANC.

But the Amnesty report produces evidence, among other things, of an apparent cover-up of the atrocities by the ANC leadership itself in the mid-1980s, when a report from yet another internal inquiry was suppressed. Amnesty notes that, by covering it up at the time, the leadership

ensured that atrocities continued.

Amnesty also strongly criticises African governments which hosted the ANC camps and failed to take action, in some instances collaborating in the atrocities. Countries named include Zambia, Angola, Tanzania, and Uganda. It details cases where victims turned to the UN High Commission for Refugees but failed to get protection.

The story of maltreatment is similar to that reported by the so-called Skweyiya Commission, with acts of "ritualised" brutality, including systematic beatings, food and water deprivation, and bizarre tortures.

To that chronicle Amnesty adds other brutalities, such as a detainee buried up to his neck before being

By David Beresford

suffocated with a plastic bag — one of a number of tortures used to induce victims to sign "confessions" already prepared by interrogators. There was particularly abusive treatment of women prisoners.

The Amnesty report also investigates killings in the camps which the Skweyiya Commission was prevented from looking into by the terms of reference set by the ANC.

It discloses at least one instance of summary executions after a mutiny by members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in the Pango camp in the north of Luanda which was suppressed by loyalist guerrillas. The captured

mutineers "were tied to trees, beaten, whipped, and had molten plastic dripped on their naked bodies".

The report says seven prisoners, whom it names, were sentenced to death by a summary tribunal. "The tribunal was chaired by an ANC security officer and the accused had no opportunities for legal representation or appeal."

Killings also resulted from torture, such as that of (MK) members caught smoking cannabis.

In addition to the camps, torture took place at other ANC department headquarters in Lusaka, known as the Green House. Amnesty says it has evidence that prisoners were beaten with implements including barbed wire, bicycle chains and iron bars and kept in water-logged cells. One prisoner described having his lips burned by cigarettes and his testicles squeezed with pliers.

Amnesty notes that ANC attempts to mitigate the scandal — by alleging that the victims were South African agents — had resulted in some cases in which former detainees had been murdered after returning from exile.

Calling for further steps to be taken to deal with those responsible, Amnesty says a particularly important question is why the report of an inquiry into the 1984 mutinies by MK members, conducted by a senior ANC official, James Stuart, had not been tabled at the ANC's 1985 consultative conference in Zambia.

South Africa will inherit a system burdened by decades of injustice. The ANC should not burden those problems by appearing to countenance greed

WILL the leadership of a post-apartheid South Africa rise above the greed, cruelty and ostentatious living that have dogged the leaders of many African countries? Recent revelations about financial improprieties in the African National Congress, well-founded criticisms of the lifestyles of some ANC leaders, credible reports detailing the torture of ANC dissidents and the extravaganza of Nelson Mandela's daughter's wedding are not encouraging signs.

Corruption is often seen as an impediment to economic progress. It is also seen as perpetuating injustice; when resources are siphoned off, the most vulnerable groups in society — the poor, refugees, the disabled and prisoners — are denied their basic needs. There is less awareness of the extent to which corruption is also a principal reason why governments abuse human rights.

Corrupt governments are necessarily secretive and repressive. Foreign aid has enabled authoritarian regimes in Africa — of both the right and the left — to maintain a wide network of patronage and to create formidable machinery for violence.

Corruption and human rights abuses thrive on each other everywhere in Africa. In Kenya, corruption in high government circles first became an international issue after the murder of the foreign minister, Dr Robert Ouko, in January 1990. But Ouko was not the only victim of powerful politicians anxious to conceal the extent of their greed.

In 1990, Reverend Alexander Muge, bishop of Eldoret, launched a public campaign against official corruption. He focused on illegal land acquisitions by senior ministers. He compiled detailed records of relevant cases and collected photographs of killings by the police during illegal evictions of squatters. He accused a "clique of ministers" of "unashamedly grabbing public resources". At the top of his list was Nicholas Biwott, minister of energy and President Arap Moi's closest advisor. Muge gave specifics on land grabs, such as the Growel Farm in Uasin Bishu, where, he claimed, Biwott's agents had confiscated a maize farm belonging to a squatter family settled there since 1962. He also called for a declaration of personal wealth by leaders.

Biwott was described as a "prime suspect" in Ouko's murder by the British detective called in to investigate the case. Throughout 1991, Biwott was repeatedly accused of serious corruption scandals. He was fired from his cabinet position, perhaps in anticipation of a major donors' meeting in Paris in November 1991. He is now accused of using his money to stoke ethnic violence which threatens to disrupt the country's chances of having genuine multi-party elections.

In August 1990, Muge was threatened with death by then minister for labour, Peter Okondo. Muge took the threat seriously and issued a press statement on the danger he confronted. The next day Muge was killed when his car was hit by a truck. Few Kenyans believe that Muge's death was an accident.

Life-President Hastings Banda of Malawi's capitalist policies have made him a favourite of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and of Western governments. Prominent among Malawi's political detainees, however, have been critics of the corrupt tactics Banda has used to build up vast personal wealth. In October 1987, an apolitical veterinary surgeon, Goodluck Mhango, was arrested and severely beaten by police. This followed the publication, by his exiled brother, Mkwapatira, of an article accusing the upper echelons of the national

women's organisation, the Chituko Cha Amai Mu Malawi (CCAM) of corruption. Particularly sensitive was Mhango's analogy between the unpaid work of rural women for the CCAM and *thangata* — the hated colonial system of forced labour. On October 13 1989, Mkwapatira Mhango's house in Lusaka was fire-bombed. He died,

along with nine other members of his family. The government is widely suspected of being behind the murders.

There are countless other examples in Africa. The Zimbabwean army stationed inside Mozambique and along important supply routes has long been accused of poaching and involvement in moving ivory, rhino horn and other goods between Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Now, the family of Edwin Bhundani Nleya, a 35-year-old captain, has accused the army of murdering him, saying he had threatened to expose the army's involvement in these activities. Several other people, some of them investigating these illegal practices, have died under suspicious circumstances.

As elsewhere in the world, many of Africa's wars are driven, to a large extent, by predatory commerce. In Sudan, merchant-officer partnerships making fortunes out of artificial scarcities and looted goods have been an important reason for prolonging the long-standing bloody war in the south in which hundreds of thousands of people have died from war and famine. In Somalia, traders make a killing from selling guns and diverting and hoarding food meant for hungry people. Protection rackets for international aid agencies are now a major money-spinner for the warlords — a jeep-mounted heavy machine gun with operators rents at \$100 a day and is rising.

It is not help to the starving in Somalia to express horror at the misuse of humanitarian assistance. Such practices do not come from nowhere. For 21 years, Somalia suffered a dictatorship sustained by rampant corruption. The world turned a blind eye to the evidence that the money and the armaments were being used to kill and silence the people of

Somalia. Somali children are now paying the price of that neglect.

Neither corruption nor violence are, of course, new to South Africa. Throughout 1992, the government has been embarrassed and weakened, domestically and internationally, by reports of corruption, as well as atrocities carried out by the security forces. This included allegations in mid-year that millions of rand had been squandered through theft, incompetence and fraud by the Department of Development Aid, implicating senior politicians close to President FW de Klerk. But the ANC, whose actions and words will be subject to merciless scrutiny — often for the wrong reasons — cannot hope to compare itself to its predecessor and get away with it — at home or abroad.

South Africans will inherit a system warped by decades of injustice, cruelty, mistrust, official corruption and wildly unrealistic expectations. The ANC should not burden those problems by appearing to countenance greed, financial improprieties or nepotism. This will facilitate abuse of power and betray the trust and legitimacy it has so far enjoyed.

Insisting on accountability now is the only check against a drift towards the arrogant and arbitrary exercise of power, as well as the culture of corruption, secrecy and militarism.

●Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal are, respectively, the director and the associate director of the human rights organisation, Africa Watch.

Don't
fall in
the
greed
trap

A warning to the African National Congress from two African human rights activists: corruption leads inevitably to human rights abuses.
By RAKIYA OMAAR and ALEX DE WAAL

PEOPLE'S LIVES Mandela updates me on violence

Wanted: The Collective wisdom of all leaders

Anc president Nelson Mandela is a troubled man. Last week, after reading *Perspective*, he invited me to lunch to talk about the violence in the land and about a meeting between himself and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He argues that they have been over this ground before and that is why he prefers a meeting of "the collective wisdom" of all political leaders in this country to tackle the issue of violence.

He draws my attention to an agreement, which I publish in full below, between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in January 1991.

That agreement, according to Mandela, should have gone a long way to stopping the violence. Truth is that innocent men, women and children are dying out there. On Wednesday it was in Empangeni.

The agreement should have helped stop the carnage. It was an excellent document that should have laid the foundations for the peace we need desperately.

That it failed was not a failure of ideas or of vision. It was rather a failure of will, a failure to implement.

This is not the time to point accusatory fingers at the ANC or the IFP and blame the one or the other or both for the failure.

It is time to ensure that whatever emerges from the meeting - a preparatory one is on December 9 - is turned into visible action.

That is the challenge facing the two organisations. We all know the constraints that limit the range of solutions but we expect them to be creative within those limitations.

Agreement between the ANC and Inkatha, January 29 1991.

1. Both parties call for an end to the present violence in Natal and the Transvaal. They will take steps to prevent acts of violence and destruction among their members or carried out by their members and they will act to deter other parties from instigating and carrying out acts of violence and destruction.

2. Both parties are committed to political tolerance and freedom of political activity. The ANC and IFP have the right to exist as political organisations with their policies and programmes. The parties will act to create a climate between them free of forced recruitment



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Sowetan 4/12/92
Joe Thlooe's

Perspective

and vilification.

3. Both parties will act to ensure that all persons with authority over public facilities will allow their use by all people irrespective of their political affiliation. This applies to facilities such as venues and facilities specifically established for recreational and a variety of community activities.

In particular, both parties urge a return to school and normal learning and teaching and will take steps to ensure no pupil is excluded from a school by virtue of political affiliation.

4. Both parties wish to state their firm belief that no matter what agreements may be reached between them, the attainment of peace also requires the existence of an effective peace-keeping role by the security forces and that the South African Government must accept its responsibilities in this regard.

Both parties agree to take steps to ensure that all security force members would:

Act without political bias;
Receive professional and appropriate training as a peace-keeping force;

Act and function with due respect for the sensitive community situation that exists.

Both parties believe that it is essential that a reconstruction and development programme is expedited to reduce the potential for violence. This is particularly the case in Natal and in the Transvaal hostels. This programme must be above partisan considerations and be designed to meet the needs of all people irrespective of any affiliation they may hold.

The programme must give priority to refugees and displaced persons arising from the violence and take all steps to peacefully and effectively reintegrate divided communities.

Implementation:

In order to implement the principles agreed upon today the high level contact between the IFP and the ANC will continue through existing joint mechanisms. The committees charged with this task will, after due and proper involvement of local leadership and the grassroots structures, report to the ANC national executive and the IFP central committee on obstacles encountered and progress made in terms of the following brief:

Principle 1:

To develop practical steps to bring about an end to violence between the organisations in these regions, to facilitate local level peace initiatives and to act as crisis contact points. The committees must consolidate and implement existing local agreements such as the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord.

Principle 2:

To ensure that all persons affected by Principle 1 are aware of this agreement and that they take active steps to implement it.

Principle 3:

The ANC and the IFP will cooperate in initiating and implementing non-partisan reconstruction programmes in areas devastated by violence.

All resources available to any one organisation for reconstruction work should, wherever feasible and desirable, be made available to a trust fund to be jointly administered.

Principle 4:

To develop a code or codes of conduct based on accepted principles and practices which do not impinge negatively on the rights of individuals and political groups and which are equally applicable to both organisations and all security forces.

The two organisations also resolved to organise a joint tour by Mandela and Buthelezi of all affected areas.

MK sit-in proves hard to report on

CHARLES WEBSTER *STAR*
5/12/92

SIT-INS we've grown used to, but this one was certainly unexpected: 27 people, said to be returned Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers, holding a sit-in in the foyer of the ANC's headquarters at Shell House in protest at lack of rations and accommodation. That, at least, was what one Johannesburg newspaper reported this week. The Saturday Star decided to investigate, and ended up going in ever-increasing circles.

MK chief-of-staff Sipiwe Nyanda had said in an interview on Wednesday afternoon that he did not know of the sit-in. But ANC liaison officer Sakkie Macozoma confirmed it had happened.

Saturday Star attempted to contact Nyanda on Thursday morning, but we was told by one person that he had left the country, by another that he was outside Johannesburg, and by a third person that the sit-in issue "has been resolved".

We tried once more and were again told that Nyanda had left the country. We insisted that this was impossible as Nyanda had spoken to reporters only the previous afternoon.

Memorandum from exiles

We were promptly asked to hold the line, and were put through to a man who said Nyanda would be contactable early yesterday morning. He said he would ask Nyanda to return Saturday Star's call.

In another attempt at obtaining the real story, Ronnie Mamoepa, the ANC's PWV regional spokesman, was contacted. Mamoepa had told reporters earlier that a memorandum had been received from a group of returned exiles, and he told us he felt that the exiles' needs should be provided for by the people of South Africa.

Apparently Mamoepa had been misquoted earlier as saying he had received a memorandum from the MK soldiers who had taken part in the sit-in. Mamoepa said he had not been assigned to deal with the demands of the sitters.

Nyanda finally called the Saturday Star yesterday and explained he had been in the western Transvaal on Thursday. He denied there had been any "sit-in as such", but said several returned Vaal Triangle MK cadres had arrived at Shell House on Tuesday, saying they had run out of money and asking for the ANC's support. He had asked them to leave, saying the matter would be dealt with.

He told Saturday Star that returnees — both exiles and returned MK cadres — were, for a certain period of time, provided with food and accommodation by the National Co-ordinating Committee for Refugees (NCCR). He added that while the ANC was negotiating with the Government about integrating MK and the SADF, many of the organisation's soldiers were unemployed. The NCCR, according to Nyanda, could provide refugees' needs only for a limited time because their funds were limited.

ANC, Govt closer after

Shared commitment to
addressing problems

DALE LAUTENBACH, ESTHER WAUGH
and PETER FABRICIUS

STAFF ST12/92

A STRONG and shared commitment to addressing the problems facing South Africa was the message that emerged from the three-day "bosberaad" between the African National Congress and the Government.

Government sources stressed there had been no bilateral deals and no agreements. But they indicated that, despite differences, both sides had found common cause and a partner with whom they could once again work seriously.

The need to get back to a multilateral forum was stressed, however, and much of the time was apparently spent addressing this.

Interestingly, there seemed a rapprochement on the form of the new multilateral forum. ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week that Codesa was an adequate instrument and should not be changed.

But in a joint statement after the "bosberaad", the ANC and the Government said "every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form".

It was understood that this restructuring would involve making the alterations necessary to incorporate parties, such as the Pan Africanist Congress, which did not attend Codesa 2.

The Government had previously been inclined to support greater changes to the Codesa formula.

A second "bosberaad" will take place in the second half of January and the issue of violence will top the agenda. In the interim, contact will continue and subcommittees will work on specific areas.

Damaging events

Government sources were confident that despite the two potentially damaging events of the week — the unilateral KwaZulu-Natal constitutional proposals and the attacks for which the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was suspected — South Africa was now closer to a multilateral forum than before.

The Government remains adamant that the PAC has to make its position on violence and its armed wing absolutely clear before meetings between the two can resume. As a result, the planned meeting between the Government and the PAC scheduled for Wednesday is still in the balance pending a PAC clarification.

As for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Government sources were confident that its KwaZulu-Natal proposals would embolden it to come to the negotiating table.

A meeting between President FW de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set for Thursday. This follows De Klerk's reaction to the IFP proposals, in which he expressed concern that such unilateralism could spur violence.

Although the "bosberaad" — not attended by Mandela or De Klerk — did not complete the agenda, the outstanding issues are to be discussed by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The two sides did agree on an extensive agenda for ending the violence which would be comprehensively discussed at the joint meeting next month, the sources said.

A senior source close to the negotiations denied there was any political significance in the absence of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. This was due to pressure of work, they said.

Coetsee's absence raised eyebrows at the meeting, as he is known to be a conservative.

indaba

Growth seen as saviour of the destitute

STAR 5/12/92

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ANGLO-AMERICAN, stout advocate of a market-based economy with minimum government interference, has called for State intervention to help address poverty.

But it emphasises that State intervention should be short-term and serve as an auxiliary action, rather than the main thrust of an anti-poverty programme.

Anglo's contribution to the debate on how best to tackle the problem — and danger — of widespread poverty in South Africa is contained in an article in the latest issue of Optima.

It summarises the chief ideas proposed by Anglo in a much longer document, drawn up, in part at least, in response to the challenge thrown down to business leaders by Nelson Mandela shortly after his release from prison in 1990.

Highlighted

In an address to businessmen after his release, Mandela highlighted the inequalities of wealth, affirmed the ANC's commitment to nationalisation as one means of addressing the problem, and challenged business notables to put forward their own ideas.

Draft copies of the original document were sent to key political actors, including the ANC. But — as Anglo puts it — "political groupings approached did not take up the invitation to debate the ideas and proposals contained in the draft".

Anglo is unequivocal on the primary importance of economic growth as the best way of combating poverty. It is in the context of that axiom that its advocacy

ANGLO-AMERICAN dusts off a plan to abolish poverty, inspired by Nelson Mandela, in which the State adopts a 'market-friendly' line, reports PATRICK LAURENCE.

of short-term State action should be seen.

"Economic growth is the only meaningful way to reduce poverty over time," Anglo declares. "It empowers the poor by creating formal and informal jobs; at the same time it promotes the maximum sustainable level of public and private programmes for poverty alleviation."

Economic growth, it adds, generates additional money for expenditure on social services and poverty-reducing mechanisms to address the needs of "the very poor" (as distinct from the poor).

Anglo warns that "direct transfers" — subsidies and handouts of food and services — do not succeed in alleviating poverty.

"They are, typically, not sustainable. They often benefit the middle classes and not the poor. Because of pressures to extend their coverage, they lead to fiscal and balance of payments crises, and a subsequent collapse of growth."

Anglo cites Zimbabwe, noting that that country's financial and economic crisis has led to the collapse of many socio-economic programmes — including free education — which it introduced with high hopes in the 1980s.

One of the best prescriptions for economic growth and poverty reduction is a "market-friendly approach" by government, facilitating a situation where the two forces work in harness.

A positive and powerful spin-off from economic growth is a decline in the population growth rate. Once the process starts, it can be reinforcing: as the population growth rate declines, so the economic growth rate can rise and, with it, the average income per capita.

Anglo adds: "There is a special obligation on all policy-makers, despite political and cultural difficulties, to energetically confront the issue of population control."

Illustrating the importance of stimulating economic growth, Anglo makes a series of calculations: a 1 percent growth rate between now and the end of the century would create 400 000 new jobs; a 3 percent growth rate would add 1.4 million new jobs; and a 5 percent growth rate would generate 2.5 million extra jobs.

The benefits of growth and job creation in the formal sector of the economy would add to the size of, and raise income levels in, the informal sector of the economy.

Anglo notes that the 1990s have thus far been years of negative growth, but says important steps have been taken to stimulate growth, including abandonment of the financially ruinous policy of apartheid, and acceptance of the need to negotiate a fully democratic constitution.

Further hopeful signs include steady growth since 1984 in the volume

of non-gold exports, and the increase in manufactured exports from 18 percent to more than 30 percent of total exports.

Much, however, will depend on the economic policies adopted by a post-settlement government and, in particular, whether or not it has learnt the imperative need for a "market-friendly approach".

But, while Anglo subscribes to a market-driven economy in general, it accepts and argues for a State-directed programme to alleviate the plight of the "very poor".

It defines the very poor as those mainly rural people who lack access to fundamental resources. People who have jobs in the formal sector, however badly paid they may consider themselves, are excluded from the definition.

Directed

The Anglo document cites two examples of State-controlled anti-poverty strategies: those directed at providing rural people with fresh water and employment.

It envisages the formation of "job brigades" in which the poorest of the poor will be drafted to extend the infrastructure through the building of dams, roads and the like.

Anglo stresses the importance of working closely with people, of listening to them, and of the State or its functionaries not assuming they know what is best.

The contracting economy — the third quarter of this year registered an annualised shrinkage of 3 percent — and the looming budgetary squeeze underline the need for economic growth as the motor force behind poverty alleviation.

ANC, Nujoma for talks

WINDHOEK. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is due here on Monday for talks with President Sam Nujoma, the Foreign Affairs Ministry said here yesterday.

① CT 5/12/92

By Quentin Wilson

ANC eyes the elections

South 5/12-19/12/92.

THE ANC and NP meet this week in an attempt to get negotiations back on track — but whatever the outcome of the bosberaad the ANC in the Western Cape is pushing ahead with its biggest campaign yet.

The ANC Western Cape's preparations for a democratic, non-racial election were formulated last weekend — regardless of whether the "bosberaad" moves closer to such an election or not.

The organisation has pledged to train 25 000 people over the next 10 months in the art of capturing votes from the region's 2,25 million potential voters.

According to workshop participant and national executive member Mr Trevor Manuel, September 1993 is the date forecast by the ANC for South Africa's first democratic election.

"We have never been in a campaign of this nature. During tri-cameral elections, it has been fairly easy to appeal to people to stay at home and not to vote," he said.

"But this is not a passive campaign: people must get out their homes and exercise their democratic right.

"In Mitchells Plain only 2,5 percent of registered

voters cast votes in the 1989 election. That was a big victory for us, but now in a non-racial election we are asking for a 100 percent poll from Mitchells Plain."

According to the ANC schedule, structures will be in place by the end of February to co-ordinate its election machinery.

"If democracy loses in this election, that is, if there

is a low poll, then the struggles of the past decades would have been in vain. We owe it to ourselves to make this election a success. Everybody must vote."

Manuel said the ANC was expecting an upsurge in violence in the run-up to the election, even in the Western Cape, and that part of its campaign would be to prepare for this.

Apla killers make it difficult for PAC

S/Times 6/12/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress, on the eve of negotiations with the government, finds itself on the horns of a dilemma after an admission by its military wing, Apla, to being a bunch of murderers.

The PAC leadership has been itching to get back into the formal negotiations so as not to be left out in the cold when a new constitution is fashioned. However, it now finds itself back at square one.

This follows a decision by the government to suspend talks with the PAC until the organisation unequivocally condemns and distances itself from the Dar es Salaam-based Apla, which has claimed responsibility for the killing this week of innocent people at a King William's Town golf club and for the bomb blast in Queens-town.

At talks between the government and the PAC in Pretoria on November 11, agreement was reached for final preparatory talks between them this coming Wednesday, to be followed by a "summit" by January 20 between President de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

Overtaken

According to minutes kept by the PAC of the November meeting, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "expressed grave concern about Apla attacks and other activities".

He said he was "under tremendous pressure" to act against Apla, and asked the PAC to prevail on Apla to suspend its attacks.

The PAC undertook "to present the question of armed struggle" to its next annual conference — in April.

But events of the past week have overtaken this vague undertaking.

The PAC claims to have membership of more than 800 000. Members say funding for the organisation comes from the Front-line states as well as Islamic governments, particularly Iran.

Apla guerrillas attended the PAC conference in Umtata in April, where they were seen brandishing Scorpion machine-

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

pistols, the PAC's answer to the ANC's AK-47s.

Apla literature boasting about the killing of policemen was also disseminated.

There appear to be three distinct "cultures" within the PAC.

The first is represented by the dignified president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, his deputy, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, and the secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desai.

It is this Makwetu-Moseneke-Desai faction that was preparing to sit down with Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and his government delegation on Wednesday to discuss the PAC's return to a multi-party negotiation forum.

The second faction is represented by the more militant "township young lions", who are often seen at congresses shouting chilling slogans like "one settler, one bullet", and "death to the enemy, peace among Africans".

They believe it is "treacherous" to sit down with the "illegitimate, racist minority regime", and are known to have support within the top structure of the PAC.

Then there is the third militant faction, Apla, representing a culture of violent confrontation. The King William's Town killers succeeded in dramatically disrupting the countdown to Wednesday's talks.

Apla's propaganda sheet, Azania Commando, which is a supplement to Azania Combat, the official organ of Apla, is full of boastful headlines crowing about Apla's success with the killings of "cops".

Apla boasts that 150 policemen killed last year were "mostly the result of guerrilla attacks mounted by Apla".

These utterances and other actions of Apla clearly put the PAC leadership in an invidious position. It can no longer respond — as secretary-general Benny Alexander did this week — by saying that the PAC neither condemns nor condones Apla's actions.

Push for earlier election

S/Times 6/12/92

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators emerged from three days of talks at the D'Nyala game reserve in the Northern Transvaal committed to bringing forward the date for a democratic election.

While the government had pencilled in March or April 1994 as a potential date, the ANC's starting point had been September 21 next year.

Both parties agreed to impress upon their principals the need for accelerating the transition process,

By **EDYTH BULBRING**, Political Correspondent

with a view to an election in December 1993 or early 1994.

Negotiators from both sides yesterday expressed satisfaction at the progress made during the talks, which they said had been characterised by a new sense of co-operation and pragmatism.

They said they had realised that they had a shared responsibility to ensure that a democracy was in place as soon as possible.

However, they were keen to stress that no "deals" had been done.

Any agreements reached between the two parties would be put forward as recommendations at multiparty talks and would not be binding on the other parties, negotiators said.

Crucial

However, it is unlikely that any position jointly endorsed by the two major players could be successfully challenged by the minor players at Codesa.

ANC and government negotiators will now meet

continuously in smaller groups to thrash out the finer details for a transition.

The final package, which includes legislation, will be presented to a joint committee 10 days before a five-day *bosberaad* on January 20 next year.

This five-day meeting will be crucial in finalising the ANC/government agreement that will be taken to Codesa.

Progress was also made this week on the government's two major concerns — power sharing and regionalism. The government had wanted to

include guarantees on these two issues in constitutional principles — which would guide the constitution-making body — but it was agreed that these concerns could be addressed in other ways and would not be included in the guiding principles.

Adamant

The two parties also agreed that a more representative and efficient Codesa should be established before the end of February. In order to speed up multiparty talks, the Codesa management committee would be able

to endorse agreements without going the long route to a Codesa plenary.

While both sides recognised the importance of all political parties and relevant organisations being present at Codesa, they stressed that they would not allow the process to be derailed or slowed down.

President FW de Klerk will meet IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope on Thursday. The government hopes that, following this, bilateral talks could be held with Inkatha to

resolve problems the party has with returning to multiparty negotiations.

However, the government is adamant that Inkatha's proposals for an autonomous Kwazulu/Natal region would have to be presented for consideration at Codesa and could not be implemented unilaterally.

While the government is also keen to bring the Pan Africanist Congress on board, it will refuse to meet the PAC on Wednesday this week unless the organisation clarifies its position on violence.

'We will ^{C/PRES} speed ^{6/12/92} up the talks'

By THEMBA KHUMALO
and SBU' MNGADI

A POSITIVE note was struck this week when the ANC emerged from "bush talks" with the government confident elections for democratic rule would be held in 1993.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday on the outcome of their secret meeting with senior government officials, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the two parties had found common ground on various issues over which they differed before ~~(1/A)~~ ~~(2/A)~~

"We agreed to work for the speedy resumption of multilateral negotiations. We have established sub-committees that will report to a joint committee on a number of issues 10 days before our second encounter in January next year," he said.

Tasks of these committees include setting up media and electoral commissions, and determining the structure and functions of the transitional executive committee and the constitution-making body.

Ramaphosa said it was also agreed to go back to Codesa and restructure it to accommodate the parties that stayed outside the convention. These include the PAC and Azapo.

Ramaphosa emphasised that bilateral decisions taken between them would not be imposed on other parties.

The question of time frames was discussed extensively and there was convergence of views on both parties that because the process had to be hastened it would be desirable that elections be held next year ... instead of running into 1994, he said.

MK smoothes over rift

By STAN MHLONGO (11A)

A GROUP of Vaal Umkhonto weSizwe cadres this week staged a sit-in protest outside the ANC's Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg, claiming the ANC had embezzled R18-million intended for former exiles. *CP/ren*

MK officials, however, said the R18-million claim was "nonsense", and said money was not part of the misunderstanding. *6/12/92*

In a strongly-worded attack on the organisation, the former exiles claimed that the money had come from Italy with the aim of alleviating the

plight of returnees. *(S)*

The 27-man delegation of protestors told the press of their hardships since the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and others on February 11.

Top of their list of grievances was a lack of accommodation, lack of finances and the way MK structures were operating in the Vaal.

The cadres strongly objected to being made answerable to the ANC Youth League.

They also claimed a memorandum indicating their grievances had been submitted to the MK leadership.

The protestors said in

order to attract the attention of MK leaders they had slept outside the ANC building this week.

PWV MK chief Viva Mkhonto said the matter was resolved amicably and denied that money was involved in the list of demands.

Mkhonto declined to say more, saying the issue had been resolved.

Italian embassy secretary Alessandra Cortese said his government was planning to fund non-government organisations though had never intended to fund MK. However, plans were underway to build a settlement centre for returnees costing R10-million.

New work brings Serote home

By ZB MOLEFE

WALLY Serote, the angry poet whose apocalyptic vision and voice shook SA's literary landscape in the 70s, is bursting with hope for his motherland.

He has mellowed with the years spent in exile in Botswana and the UK, punctuated by visits and studies in the US and most parts of his beloved Africa.

To say this literary wayfarer is back home sounds like a contradiction. After all, the man has been back from exile since 1990. He has also been active on the ANC's cultural desk and got into many other cultural activities.

But to those who have held him near and dear as a poet who told his people's story, he only arrived back home this week. That arrival is marked by the publication of a major work *Third World Express*, a 35-page epic poem which touches on the ups and downs of his life and that of his people.

It is the first major poetry work on home soil by this 1983 Ad Donker Prize winner for his outstanding contribution to SA literature during the 70s.

It was in part inspired by veteran American jazzman Jackie McLean and son Rene, playing at the world-famous Village Vanguard. One of their songs was *The Third World Express*. Of course it is also dedicated to Serote's five boys - Lentsoe, Zweli, Sechaba, Vuyo and Thabo.

Express is vintage Serote. But it is



HOPE ... This time Wally Serote's really home. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

also a mellow Serote, one humbled by age, travels and engaging some of the major and current voices of his craft.

Hence his optimism about the new SA - though he is quick to point out he is not alone in this.

"If you listen to our writers, dancers, theatre people and the musicians, there is a golden thread running through their work: they are calling for peace and tolerance. There is this voice calling on our people to recognise the dynamism of our culture," he says.

Two recent events or creations con-

firm his belief. One is singer Letta Mbulu's hit *Not Yet Uhuru*; the other is Sibongile Mngoma-Khumalo and Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse's *What About Tomorrow?* concert, which opens in Johannesburg next Thursday.

"We will call on our leaders to cherish peace. The past 40 years have been extremely hard on us. I really believe we deserve better than what we are going through at the moment," Serote says.

In fact he insists that "those of us who are in the arts" should be battling to find consensus within the mosaic that is SA culture.

He explains: "We must ensure that to express our culture we create a culture of tolerance, using the richness of our culture to unite us. We are in a cultural melting pot. There are African, European and Asian cultures here. What is it that we must do to see that these cultures bloom and flourish?"

How does Serote balance his roles of serious poet and political activist. How does he react to the old saying that writers make lousy politicians because essentially a writer's strength is his individuality?

"The roles, in fact, complement each other. As far as my politics and craft are concerned I have never discovered conflict. How to find enough time to write has been my only dilemma."

"I am hoping history will judge me as a rounded person who was able to do both."

And Serote does not forget that his

artistic vision was broadened in exile. He was pleased to meet writers from east and west Africa and from Asia and Latin America.

"Also I have read European writers extensively. But there are those writers like Willie Kgositsile, who as South Africans, we must claim as our own. There is also Chinua Achebe and the late James Baldwin, especially in engaging issues like racism," he says.

Serote is emphatic that this experience did something to him "to realise one of the most bewildering things for a South African, when you realise you are on the African continent". That explains why he listened with a "special ear" to these writers.

Earlier Serote had tried to delve into what inspired him. The good old days of black consciousness was the key thing that occupied him and the minds of his generation, he recalls.

"What do we do as blacks to claim our humanity. That has been the basic question for me. Because I'm a strong believer in culture. This culture must shed what life can't use and assume new perspectives."

Serote reckons the concept of "Ubuntu" drives him. This is the weapon that has protected black South Africans against "extreme odds" he believes.

■ **THIRD WORLD EXPRESS** is published by DAVID PHILIP and costs R24,95c.

Whites drop out of

C/Pren 6/12/92

ANC mass march

THE ANC-led march on the Klipplaats Town Council failed to draw the expected support of the white community, following reports of widespread intimidation by the rightwing AWB earlier this week.

A death warning, bearing the AWB insignia and the inscription "Death awaits you next", was posted on the door of the Klipplaats Advice Office.

Advice Office spokesman Eugene Langeveldt said members of the AWB from Cradock came to the town on Monday and threatened civic leaders.

He said they also made threats on the life of AWB local commander Johannes Human, who was out of town.

Human made national headlines recently when he came out in support of an ANC-led initiative to unite the town.

Only two white residents joined the ANC alliance march, part of a mass action campaign to oust the Klipplaats Town Council. About 30 more white residents registered their dissatisfaction with the council in a 1 000-signature petition calling for the council's resignation.

Klipplaats mayor Johan Weppener declined to comment on the petition. Frederick van der Esterhuisen, one

of the town's many unemployed white residents, says he believes the ANC can offer him help and set him on his feet again.

"I supported the Conservative Party, but they cannot give me a better deal than the ANC can," he said, adding he was going to join the ANC immediately after the march.

The only other white resident to join in was Byron Frankopolis, also unemployed, but in the process of setting up a small business venture in the town.

He came to Klipplaats to get married, but instead found a home within the black community. He supported the march because, he said, we are "all together as one now".

He said he was a staunch supporter of the National Party but found "friendliness and brotherliness" with the ANC instead.

Some 200 of the town's residents marched to the council to hand over a list of grievances.

The residents gave the council until Friday to reply to the demand for their resignation.

The march was organised to coincide with the court appearance of 15 coloured families, who were in arrears with their rent. - Pen

Miss Soweto Thembi Mhlayivana; and second princess Thuliile Makondo of Venda.

Azayo congress

■ Programme to be discussed:

Sowetan 7/12/92
THE Azanian Youth Organisation is to hold its 3rd annual congress at the Tshia College of Education in QwaQwa on December 18 to 20.

(JA)
The publicity secretary of Azayo, Mr George Ngwenya, said the congress was expected to produce revolutionary programmes aimed at unseating the regime.

The theme of the Azayo congress has been chosen as: "Organise and defend the Azanian Chimurenga."

The congress will focus on the joint Azayo campaign, anti-drug and alcohol abuse programmes, the culture of learning, high discipline campaign and the De Klerk reform packages.

Azayo will also discuss Azapo/BCMA programmes of action for 1993.

FW

Squares

up to

the Left

Sowetan 7/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

South Africa enters a crucial week in its political transition today as the Government buckles up for meetings with the Left and Right on Wednesday and Thursday.

After a highly successful three-day meeting with the ANC last week, the Government is expected to meet the PAC on Wednesday and leaders of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana as well as the Conservative Party on Thursday.

A date for the recall of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is expected to be decided upon by the end of the week, and perhaps even

^(11A) announced. Informed sources believe the Government and the ANC have toyed with a date in February next year. The Government's meeting with the PAC and the contact with the CSAG - if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is there - are decisive in that the activities of Apla and the constitution for the envisaged "State of KwaZulu" adopted by the territory's legislature last week could be the focus of talks.

The meeting between Government and the PAC by late yesterday remained in doubt after a senior Cabinet Minister said last week that unless the PAC distanced themselves from "acts of terror" all talks between the two parties were off.

Mandela sees 'real progress'

Apla raids won't halt key talks

STAR

7/12/92 (11A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Star Africa Service

ANC president Nelson Mandela says Apla attacks on whites in South Africa will not derail negotiations for a new dispensation.

He told a news conference in Maputo that he believed "real progress" had been made in the latest round of talks between the Government and ANC.

Asked about the recent attacks on whites in the eastern Cape, Mr Mandela said they "definitely cannot" derail the negotiations.

"The forces of peace are too strong to be thrown off balance," he added.

One of the 19 victims of the Queenstown steakhouse blast died yesterday, bringing to five the number of whites killed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) last week.

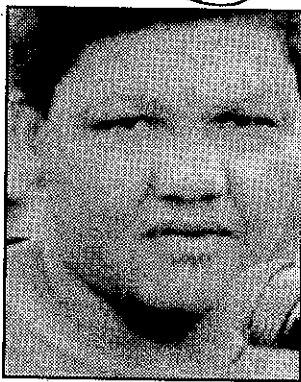
An East London private hospital spokesman said bank employee Jerome Guse (43) died at 7.15 am after developing complications from 43 percent burn injuries.

Six days earlier, four people died and 17 were injured in an attack on the King William's Town golf club.

The announcement of Guse's death came amid a war of words about police measures to warn the public of imminent Apla attacks.

Yesterday, the Sunday Times reported that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and senior policemen knew "more than two months ago" that Apla, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, planned to launch a terror campaign against white civilians.

According to the report, instructions from police headquarters that target communities in the Border area should be warned of the



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threat never reached the people on the ground.

However, both the Ministry of Law and Order and the SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, vehemently denied yesterday that the authorities had had advance warning about specific attacks.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the Sunday Times report, which quoted minutes of a meeting Kriel allegedly had with the PAC last month, was "completely false".

The report said Kriel, who allegedly told the PAC that he knew Apla had a training base in Transkei, had appealed to the PAC, as a gesture of goodwill, to send the Apla operatives "on a holiday for some months".

"Extensive practical measures were taken from the outset and are still being taken by the SAP against Apla," Kotze said.

"These include a dramatic expansion of our intelligence capability in this regard, and talks have been held about Apla activities between the SAP Commissioner and General Bantu Holomisa and the Transkei Police Commissioner. A special combined task force comprising the SAP and the Transkei Police has already been set up in this regard."

In a separate statement, General van der Merwe categorically denied that the police had any prior knowledge of the two Border attacks, but said Apla had "a history" of claiming responsibility for acts of terrorism for which it was not responsible. He said the police had always carefully evaluated and acted on information they received.

The Conservative Party called on the Government yesterday to resign immediately and warned that it would protect whites if the Government failed to do so.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander last night continued to claim that the "constitutional" separation of Apla and the PAC political leadership militated against his commenting on Apla activities.

Interviewed on TV1's "Agenda" programme, Alexander said that while Apla was an official organ funded by the PAC through the Organisation of African Unity, it had operational independence.

Pressed on how he could absolve himself and the PAC leadership of responsibility for Apla's actions, Alexander said he did not know about Apla attacks in the same way that President de Klerk did not know of security force involvement in the killing of Cape activist Matthew Goniwe and others like him.

In Cape Town, PAC national executive member Jackie Seroke told a rally at Mfuleni that the PAC and Apla were more united than ever, reports Sapa.

Rally organiser Theo Mabusela said he could not say whether or not Apla might have plans to attack "soft targets" in the western Cape.

The eastern Cape region of the extreme Wit Wolwe organisation warned yesterday it would hit back with "greater force" if there were another Apla attack.

Apla raids won't halt key talks

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SAP

Slovo warns of winner without power

By Brian Sokutu

11A

Even if the ANC won the elections by an outright majority, it would not necessarily have achieved power, says SACP chairman Joe Slovo.

Addressing the Workers' Library annual general meeting on Saturday, Slovo spoke of the challenges that would face an ANC government.

STAN 7/12/92
"One of the things we would have achieved would be political instruments ... occupying the Union Buildings and driving Mercedes-Benzes. But would we have won real power ... not just political power?"

The reality, he said, was that "most of the levels of real power — the judiciary, civil service, media, the army

and the economy, would remain the same".

Slovo warned of "counter-revolutionaries" in the form of "an immense superstructure of black bureaucrats, thousands of them in the bantustans, police and people in the lower levels of the civil service, and advocates of tribalism", who might want to turn back the clock.

'SA change by stayaways'

DURBAN. — Change would not come about through "symbolic marches and mass action" but through stayaways that would last for weeks, Mr Harry Gwala, chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region, said here yesterday. (11) OCT 7 1972

Addressing the opening of the first national congress of the South African Students' Congress at the University of Durban-Westville, he said the struggle was not about reforms but power, which would not be handed over. It would have to be "fought for and wrested away from the ruling class".

He said he saw little chance of the ANC's sharing power with the government. — Sapa

Terror: ~~TOP SECRET~~ Minister ^{CT 7/12/92} denies he knew

JOHANNESBURG. — The Ministry of Law and Order has rejected as a possible PAC "disinformation campaign" weekend reports that Minister Mr Hernus Kriel knew two months ago that the PAC's armed wing planned a terror campaign against civilians.

The denial came hours after one of the 19 people injured in the bomb blast at a Spur restaurant in Queenstown died early yesterday. He was Mr Jerome Guse, 43, a Standard Bank employee from East London who had 43% burns and shrapnel wounds.

Reports yesterday said people in the Border area had not been warned of planned attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Latest confirmation of Apla's role came yesterday when a man, giving his name as Sabelo Phama and describing himself as Apla's military commander, said his troops were responsible for the King William's Town killings. He did not claim responsibility for the Queenstown attack, saying he could not do so until he had studied reports from his men.

He confirmed that Apla's attacks were to be intensified. PAC officials have refused to comment on his statements.

'PAC minutes'

Sunday newspapers reported that the police knew early in October that Apla was preparing to attack soft targets.

Mr Kriel is reported to have appealed to the PAC at a November 11 meeting to send the Apla soldiers "on a holiday for some months". However, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Captain Craig Kotze, condemned the report as false.

He said the report was based on PAC minutes of what happened and expressed fear that this could be a disinformation campaign.

In a statement, police commissioner General Johan van der Merwe rejected "with contempt" the allegations made in the Sunday reports.

● The Conservative Party has warned it would protect South Africans if the government did not.

● The Eastern Cape region of the Wit Wolwe warned yesterday it would hit back with "greater force" if there was another Apla attack.

● The Azanian Youth Organisation said in a statement it supported Apla's "liberation" activities. — UPI, Sapa

Rights group calls for ANC deaths probe

JOHANNESBURG. —
The German-based International Society for Human Rights has called for an investigation into the deaths of opponents and critics of the African National Congress. (117)

In a letter to President F W de Klerk, a copy of which was also sent to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, ISHR secretary-general Mr Robert Chamber said it was essential that "unsolved assassinations and murders be thoroughly investigated" CT 7/12/92

The ISRH referred to the murders of Mr Bartholomew Hlapane and his wife who were killed after giving evidence on ANC funding to a United States Senate hearing, as well as the deaths of Mr Chris Hani's former bodyguard Mr Sipho Phungulwa, and Mr Giraffe Mthembu. — Sapa

brief

Sowetan 7/12/92
Rights, saying human rights would be treated and respected as supreme in a new constitution. (11A)

Addressing a gathering in Lucasia, south of Johannesburg, where he was awarded the *Indicator* newspaper's Human Rights Award 1992, the ANC official said freedom in any country was indivisible.

"No country can be part free and part oppressed.

"South Africa's new constitution will for the first time ever in South Africa's history provide for all its people to have full rights," Ramaphosa said.

ANC commitment (11A)

Sowetan 7/12/92
ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday night re-committed his organisation to a Bill of

news in brief

Chris Hani may lead march 11A

SOUTH African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani is expected to lead an ANC Women's League protest march on the Transvaal Provincial Administration in Pietersburg on Wednesday.

Sowetan 7/12/92
ANCWL's regional spokesman Maite Marutho said the march would begin at the Indian Plaza at 10am and proceed to the TPA offices, where a memorandum would be delivered.

Hani is expected to be joined on the march by the ANCWL's national chairman, Gertrude Shope, and ANC national executive member Ronnie Kasrils. - *Sapa*.

PAC-Apla 'unity'

CT 7/12/92 (11A)

Staff Reporter

THE PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are more united than ever, PAC national executive committee member Mr Jackie Seroke said yesterday.

Mr Seroke was speaking at a rally attended by about 250 people at Mfuleni. The meeting was preceded by a street march by about 30 supporters. The PAC is on a drive to establish more branches in the Western Cape.

The PAC and Apla have come under heavy domestic and international fire for bomb attacks last week on a golf club and restaurant in the Eastern Cape.

The PAC has denied responsibility for the attacks by Apla which claimed seven lives in the two attacks.



WAR TALK . . . PAC executive member Mr Theo Mabusela speaks at a Cape flats rally yesterday.

Picture: HAROLD KING

When asked at the rally yesterday whether there was any chance of "soft targets" being attacked in the Western Cape, rally chairman Mr

Theo Mabusela stressed that the PAC and Apla were completely separate structures and that he, as a PAC spokesman, could not answer any

questions on Apla's behalf.

A Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) speaker ended off his speech with the cry: "Butcher them, Apla forces! Butcher them!"

● Organisations like the PAC and Azapo were racist — and attacks on innocent whites in King William's Town and Queenstown must be condemned, ANC-aligned MP Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting in Hawston he said whites were lucky to have a non-racial group like the ANC with which to negotiate.

"This terrifying trend towards anti-white conflict may jolt whites and the government into accepting that concrete change has to happen now."

ANC, govt to speed up process

Bush meeting raises hopes for early vote

B/DAM 7/12/92

B/DAM 7/12/92

11A

THE new-found trust and co-operation between government and the ANC could see the negotiation process speeded up and nonracial elections taking place late next year rather than mid-1994.

Last week's meeting in the bush between the parties injected a sense of urgency and shared responsibility into the process, with both sides accepting that they had to make more effort to resolve problems preventing the process going ahead.

They also saw a shared responsibility to end the violence and achieve a political settlement as soon as possible to form the foundation for economic growth.

However, both parties saw Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a major stumbling block to the process moving ahead quickly following his "federal" constitutional proposal last week and his objection to bilateral meetings between the ANC and government.

Government and ANC negotiators will spend the next month meeting in joint committees to try to iron out difficulties so that the initial stages of the transition process can be speeded up. The hope is that multiparty talks can resume by February.

The aim is to have nonracial elections as soon as possible, with a tentative target set at late 1993 or early 1994.

To achieve this, the parties will have to speed up the first two stages of transition: convening a multiparty forum and reaching agreement at this forum for the rest of the process. This would include negotiating the guiding principles to form the basis of the elected constitution-making body.

BILLY PADDOCK

According to a senior government negotiator, these were the only two areas where the process could be speeded up. The rest of it was mostly mechanical, registering voters and piloting through agreed legislation for the establishment of transitional executive councils.

He said yesterday that the main gain of last week's bilateral meeting was that the parties were trying to re-establish trust and a constructive working relationship. "It is vital that the parties can trust one another during this process, otherwise we just get tied up in haggling over majorities as a guarantee and substitution for trust."

Last week's extended discussion and the second stage of that meeting, a five-day bilateral meeting scheduled for January 20, is designed to try to smooth out the disagreements between the two main negotiating partners. Once they have reached agreement, the belief is that there would be fewer hitches with the other parties and the process would be quicker.

Reaching agreement on the guiding principles and how the process should proceed has been described by President F W de Klerk and ANC negotiators as possibly the most difficult part of the process, especially in the light of Inkatha and Buthelezi objecting to the concept of an elected constitution-making body.

Added to this problem was the disagreement over regionalism/federalism being included in the guiding principles. The ANC claims that the structural form of

To Page 2

Early vote

B/DAM 7/12/92

11A

From Page 1

government should be the preserve of the elected constitution-making body.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said yesterday the guiding principles were strictly to ensure democracy in the new constitution — centralism or devolution of power did not fall into this category.

A senior government negotiator, however, believes that the opposing parties will be able "to find each other — there is a substantial amount of convergence among the published policies of the groups that indicates that the whole issue of regionalism will be resolved between us".

The ANC/government joint committees will be trying to thrash out the finer details of the transition process including legislation and how the new Codesa forum should look. They hope to draft a proposal to be forwarded to a joint committee a few days before the second bilateral meeting. This meeting is expected to finalise the government/ANC agreement on the process, which will then be sent on to the multiparty forum for decision.

Maharaj said the thinking between the ANC and government at the meeting was that Codesa should be retained as a negotiating forum but that it needed to be streamlined in order to operate more efficiently.

It is seen that technical committees would replace the burdensome Codesa working groups, with agreements passed on to the management committee for a final decision.

Buthelezi is insisting that a multiparty forum convenes before the end of January to review agreements between government and the ANC; he is refusing to meet government on any constitutional issues before then. Government finds this position untenable as it cannot resolve Buthelezi's problems unless he is prepared to meet De Klerk and discuss his constitutional problems.

Buthelezi is due to meet De Klerk on Thursday with Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

ANC will not smash Apla - Macozoma

■ ANC will be guided by human rights provisions and the law: *Sowetan 8/12/92*

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN ANC government will not hunt down Apla and crush it, the movement said yesterday, responding to comments reportedly made by one of its senior officials in Namibia yesterday.

The ANC's Mr Sakkie Macozoma said yesterday that it was not his movement's official policy "at this stage" and that it was premature to speculate now.

"We have said that we condemn what Apla is doing, because we don't think it is necessary to attack people on the basis of their colour.

"As to what measures we will take, we cannot say now.

"An ANC government will obviously be guided by provisions for

human rights and due process," Macozoma said.

He was reacting to a comment reportedly made by an ANC official who accompanied Mr Nelson Mandela in Namibia yesterday.

The official was reported by the French news agency, *Agence France Presse*, to have said that an ANC government would not tolerate terrorism.

"We will lock them up. We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," the source reportedly said.

Widespread condemnation of Apla's alleged attacks in the Eastern Cape last week continued yesterday.

The Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth and political parties in South Africa all condemned Apla's actions and the PAC's "failure to rebuke its armed wing".



5 years for Women will pray

PAC must bear full responsibility for Apla's deeds, says

THE OAU yesterday rejected the PAC's contention that it was not responsible for its military wing Apla's activities.

The OAU reaction came after Apla allegedly claimed responsibility for the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, and the claim that it had "declared war" on white South Africans.

After the attacks, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander claimed his national executive council had no control of — and therefore no responsibility for — Apla's operations. Yesterday the PAC flatly refused to discuss Apla further.

The OAU also rejected any impression that by funding liberation movements, the OAU financed acts of terrorism. Liberation movements alone bore the ultimate responsibility for their day-to-day activities and those of their structures.

"The OAU unconditionally and categorically condemns all violence against civilians, be they black or white, and will never condone or endorse such attacks," OAU special representative Legwailla J Legwailla said in a statement in Johannesburg.

Legwailla said the OAU supported unreservedly the quest for a peaceful negotiat-

ed settlement, which was why it sought international intervention in the form of observers to end the violence.

President F W de Klerk welcomed the OAU statement, and called on all members of the international community to condemn the "blatantly racist actions and violent threats of Apla and to deny the organisation refuge or any form of assistance".

De Klerk labelled the threat to target whites or any other race as "absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible".

BILLY PADDOCK

Government would do everything in its power to bring the perpetrators of recent crimes to justice and to prevent Apla from carrying out its threats, and was "urgently considering what further measures should be applied to deal with this situation effectively", he said.

He gave his assurance that, when apprehended, those responsible for the recent violent deaths "not only of whites in King William's Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country, will be punished according to the full rigour of law".

the OAU

PAC 8/12/92

The UN mission said in a statement that the UN, OAU, the Commonwealth and the EC wanted to emphasise that statements by the Apla spokesman were provocative. They urged the PAC's leadership to cooperate with Goldstone.

The UN mission also condemned retaliatory threats by right-wing organisations.

The ANC — the PAC's erstwhile patriotic front partner — also condemned the acts of terror and the threat to target white civilians.

Sapa reports that a senior ANC member travelling with president Nelson Mandela in Namibia said that once the ANC was in power, it would "smash" Apla. "We will find them and lock them up. We will smash them," he was reported as saying.

However, in its official response the ANC immediately "repudiated the statement and the unnamed source". Spokesman Carl Niehaus said there was no proof that Apla had committed the acts, but that those who had should be brought to book. "We are not in favour of the destruction of Apla. We want them, the PAC and other parties included in the peaceful negotiations process," he said.

Niehaus said the kind of violence at King William's Town was not a sudden development, as it had been happening in the black community for some time. "It is very sad that it has taken these attacks to make whites realise the gravity of the violence in SA. It is exactly this outraged response from the white community following an at-

From Page 1

tack on whites that fuels huge resentment in the black community."

SACP general secretary Chris Hani also expressed his "unambiguous condemnation of the attacks". He said the struggle for liberation was never a struggle directed at whites but at dismantling apartheid.

"Acts of anti-white terrorism can only serve to provide pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule."

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said the simple test for the PAC's stand on the acts of terrorism by "its own creation, Apla, is whether the PAC is prepared to distance itself from Apla's acts".

The CP called for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to be sacked for failing to protect whites, and demanded that the PAC and Apla be banned immediately.

CP law and order spokesman D S Pienaar said Kriel had failed in his political responsibility by not informing people in the region of potential attacks by Apla. He called on whites to mobilise and form home guards to protect themselves.

The SA Agricultural Union urged government action to defuse the threat of terrorism spreading to farming areas.

Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday suggested that recent attacks in the Border area could be the work of disgruntled members of Military Intelligence. He said he had no knowledge of Apla's activities in his territory.

Comment: Page 8

To Page 2

Apla steps out of big brother MK's

STAFF

8/12/92

SAA

11A

Shadow

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress said to be responsible for a resurgence of terror attacks in the eastern Cape, has stepped out of shadows cast by its big brother, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Both were born when the government of the day ignored demands for peaceful change.

MK, with Nelson Mandela as its first commander-in-chief, was the ANC's armed wing and has since its inception been an army shrouded in mystery, romanticism, myth and stories of torture and deception.

Apla was not the original name of the PAC's armed insurgents. The first batch of PAC guerrillas were known as Poqo, a unit that, in the heady waves of liberation or uhuru sweeping through Africa in the '60s, struck fear in the hearts of many with its ruthlessness.

MK was the more visible and spectacular of the two guerilla armies fighting for liberation.

When President de Klerk made his watershed speech on February 1 1990, he changed the

The Christmas party attack means the "two men with a fax number" jibe is untrue. And if Apla has turned to civilian targets, the season of terror is far from over, writes DENNIS CRUYWAGEN.

ground rules and threw down the gauntlet to the ANC and PAC when he legalised them and several other previously banned organisations.

The ANC responded by entering into the negotiations and suspending its armed struggle.

Not the PAC, which has been trying to play the game with two shots: one aimed at negotiations for a constituent assembly; the other armed struggle.

Often written off as comprising "two men with a fax number in Dar es Salaam", Apla has grown in status and is now being officially blamed for the professional military-type assault on the King William's Town Golf Club and the Spur steakhouse in Queenstown.

Apla was not inactive before the attacks.

In February, Apla information secretary Johnny Majozi

said from Dar es Salaam: "For a long time the press has been ignoring the activities of the PAC and Apla. So people have the impression that we only started in earnest this year, whereas the PAC army has been consistent in its operations since 1986."

He said Apla's targets had always been the security forces.

"Our activities are definitely going to intensify. We remain firm that civilians are not among our targets."

Apla would cease its attacks only when the goals set by the PAC — the establishment of a constituent assembly — had been met, he said.

But the two eastern Cape attacks, if Apla is responsible, mark a significant change in the organisation's strategy of avoiding soft targets and concentrating on black policemen.

In January last year, Apla defence secretary Victor Sabelo Phama claimed that the guerilla army had killed at least 25 soldiers the previous year in "well-conceived, well-planned and well-executed attacks".

But police slated his claims as part of an inflated propaganda campaign and largely devoid of truth.

In January this year, Phama said the PAC's external leadership had not suspended or abandoned armed struggle.

But he said Apla had never attacked civilians.

His remarks were made soon after an alleged Apla member, Carlson Zimbiri, telephoned Sapa to claim responsibility for killing two policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto. The Dobsonville attack came only hours after police had announced a R25 000 reward for information leading to the conviction of anyone who murdered a policeman.

The same month it appeared that Apla had switched its attention to the eastern Cape, attacking police in Lady Grey with a rifle and handgrenades.

An 18-year-old student was injured in the incident.

In February, Majozi said from Dar es Salaam that Apla operatives had ambushed a police bakkie in Kathlehong, killing three municipal policemen.

He said field operative Zimbiri had been authorised to accept responsibility for the attack on behalf of Apla.

In March, Tarara Rafara, allegedly an Apla field commissar, informed news agencies that two Apla members had died in separate shootouts with security forces in the Free State and Natal.

Attacks on police continued as the year progressed, and in July police said Apla's slogan was "Kill a cop a day".

In August, police said Apla had been implicated in attacks on two eastern Cape farms, which had been shot at, petrol-bombed and a barn burnt down.

Majozi responded from Dar es Salaam: "We shall continue to launch the armed struggle against the minority white regime as long as a negotiated settlement has not been

reached. I would not be surprised if the attacks were carried out by Apla."

Then came the November carriage. Four people died and 20 others were injured in a handgrenade attack on a Christmas party in King William's Town.

Last Monday, police said unexploded petrol bombs found on the premises were similarly constructed to those used by Apla.

Later police said a man purporting to be Apla's Border commander had telephoned the police emergency number in East London, claiming responsibility for the King William's Town "mission".

But the PAC leadership cast doubts on the claim, suggesting that the call to the police and the attack were not consistent with Apla's style.

A day later, a man who said he was Johnny Majozi claimed in a telephone interview with Sapa from Harare that Apla had carried out the attack, and was gearing up for more of the same, "especially in white

areas".

But a top PAC official in Harare questioned the report, implying the claim may have been a hoax.

Bombers struck again last Thursday night, injuring 19 steakhouse customers, one of whom has since died.

The same night gunmen attacked a farmhouse in the Dordrecht district.

The Christmas party attack was a sophisticated operation which, if it was conducted by Apla, means the "two men with a fax number" jibe is far from the truth.

And if Apla has turned to civilian targets, the season of terror is far from over.

The authorities seem to believe this and have offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the capture of the Apla "terrorists".

Meanwhile, Apla's activities have caught up with the PAC. The Government had suspended talks with the movement until it has clarified its stand on acts of terror. □

Chorus of censure from OAU, ANC and SACP

Apla stands condemned

STARZ 8/12/92

(11A) ~~SEA~~ ~~SEA~~

by Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday stood alone as the Organisation of African Unity and left-wing groups in South Africa joined in the chorus of condemnation of its terror campaign.

Strong statements were issued yesterday by the OAU, the United Nations, the ANC, the SA Communist Party, and the breakaway Marxist Workers' Tendency of the

ANC. They followed angry condemnation of Apla, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, by the Government and right-wing groups.

Foreign diplomats yesterday added their weight, promising "diplomatic activity" aimed at ensuring the PAC was fully committed to a negotiated settlement.

And, in a new statement on the Apla campaign, President de Klerk warned that "further measures" were being considered to meet the Apla threat.

The OAU reacted strongly to allegations that it was financing Apla acts of terror.

The OAU special representative in South Africa, Legwaila J Legwaila, said his organisation's support of liberation movements "had never implied supporting attacks on innocent people and soft civilian targets, as occurred last week".

In a joint statement, the UN, OAU, European Community and Commonwealth described statements reportedly made by Apla cadres inside the country as effectively declaring war on whites — as "provocative".

The ANC said the targeting of civilians was "reprehensible and must be opposed".

New security measures in Cape — Page 3

Apla steps out of MK's shadow — Page 15

The organisation challenged the PAC leadership to clarify the status of anonymous claims made on behalf of Apla, and the PAC's attitude towards its armed wing's actions.

PAC spokesmen have steadfastly refused to distance themselves from Apla's alleged activities, insisting that Apla had "operational independence".

SACP general-secretary

Chris Hani yesterday expressed "unambiguous condemnation" of the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks. The struggle for national liberation had never been directed against whites, but against oppression.

"Acts of anti-white terror can only serve to provide pretexts to those on the other side who want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule," he said.

De Klerk said yesterday the Government was urgently considering what further measures to take to prevent Apla carrying out its threats.

"I want to give the assurance that when apprehended,

those responsible for the recent violent deaths of South Africans — not only of whites in King William's Town, but of black South Africans in Natal, the PWV and throughout the country as well — will be punished according to the full rigour of law," De Klerk said.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the PAC must either repudiate Apla in clear terms or take responsibility for all that Apla did or said.

Afrikaner Volksunie chairman Moolman Mentz demanded that the Internal Security Act be implemented fully.

● The fate of tomorrow's

Government-PAC talks is uncertain, since Pretoria said it would boycott them unless the PAC leadership provided a satisfactory response to the Apla issue.

● A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the Government was contacting the Transkei and Zimbabwean governments about reports that their territories were being used for Apla operations.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said the PAC would under no circumstances be allowed to use his country as a springboard for hostilities in South Africa.

Police and soldiers step up patrols to thw

Troops on

PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau, and Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — Troops are to be deployed in the Eastern Cape over the holiday season following the warning of a war on whites by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Holiday resorts will be patrolled and there will be more roadblocks in a bid to thwart the terror campaign by the pan-Africanist congress's armed wing, police said today.

Security has been stepped up at restaurants, shops and hotels in East London. Several restaurants are using metal detectors to search customers and waitresses have been told to look for suspicious parcels.

Police have repeated warnings to people to be on the alert and to take Apla's warning seriously.

The heightened security and the troop deployment follows Apla attacks on King William's Town golf club 10 days ago and the Queenstown Spur last week, in which a total of five whites died.

Major General Daan Huggett, Eastern Cape regional commissioner of police, warned today that bombs could be concealed anywhere, including suitcases, boxes, shopping bags and purses.

He said if a suspicious article was seen it should not be touched and the police should be informed immediately.

People holding parties in public places should tell the police, who would send squads to places of entertainment "more or less every night". Entry to public places would be strictly controlled.

Troops from Pretoria would be deployed in the Eastern Cape during the festive season, he said, and people were also advised to avoid travelling in Transkei.

The Pan-Africanist Congress is in a corner today as condemnation of the Apla terror campaign mounted and its talks with the government seemed destined to collapse.

President De Klerk hinted at a crackdown on Apla, saying the government was urgently considering what steps to take against the movement.

PAC secretary-general Mr Bennie Alexander said a statement would be made today about talks with the government scheduled for tomorrow, but the government has said they will be scrapped unless it is satisfied with the PAC statement on its relationship with Apla.

Strong statements condemning the PAC and Apla were issued yesterday by the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations, the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

Foreign envoys also promised "diplomatic activity" yesterday to ensure that the PAC was fully committed to a negotiated settlement.

The ANC said the targeting of civilians was "reprehensible and must be opposed", adding that the peace process would not be derailed by "the present threats".

NEWS IN BRIEF

BIDAY 8/12/92

ANC flexible on polls

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Windhoek yesterday the ANC was flexible on the date for elections for an interim government, despite the firm agreement for them to be held towards the end of next year. (11A)

Mandela, in Namibia for a one-day visit to meet President Sam Nujoma, also said SA's denials of alleged violation of three Frontline states' airspace had to be examined in the light of previous experiences. Government previously twice denied involvement, and "it was only when corpses of soldiers started returning to SA that everybody knew that SA was involved in a war in Angola".

NEWS Multiparty talks in balance ● All charges dropped against tribe's First Lady

Meeting with PAC postponed

Sowetan 9/12/92.
■ Government wants clarity concerning Apla's activities: *(11/9)* *(drawing)*

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

TODAY's meeting between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress has been postponed indefinitely until the organisation "makes its position clear on Apla's violent activities".

Senior officials from the Department of Constitutional Development called the PAC's Mr Jacki Seroke on Monday to cancel the scheduled meeting.

"They said that they supported the statement made by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel," Seroke said.

The PAC negotiations team would consider the statement.

The meeting that has been cancelled was a culmination of weeks of exploratory talks and meetings.

Chieftainess freed

Sowetan 9/12/92
■ Bop drops charges against Bafokeng's Mrs Semane Molotlegi: *(drawing)*

By Abbey Makoe

THE Bafokeng tribe's "First Lady," Mrs Semane Molotlegi, yesterday had all charges against her dropped in the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court.

The homeland's Attorney-General, Mr Johann Smit, said there was no prima facie evidence against Molotlegi who was arrested for trespassing in the homeland in July this year.

He called on all charges under the Aliens and Travellers Control Acts against Molotlegi to be dropped.

Mr Justice JAM Khumalo declared Molotlegi free.

Members of Molotlegi's tribe, who packed the Supreme Court near Rustenburg, ululated and danced after the charges were withdrawn.

On March 21 last year, the Bophuthatswana

government declared Molotlegi a persona non grata in the homeland.

Defiantly, Molotlegi went back to the royal kraal (her residence) and was arrested in July.

She was later released on R100 bail.

In September, while appearing in the Tlhabane Regional Court, Molotlegi said she could not be tried by a magistrate.

She challenged the law under which she was charged, saying the homeland courts did not have a right to prosecute her.

She added if the Bophuthatswana government tried her under its Aliens Act it would have to arrest all the Bophuthatswana citizens entering the homeland and not apply the law selectively.

Speaking to *Sowetan* shortly after charges were dropped, Molotlegi said she was considering legal action against the government.



Mandela-Buthelezi meeting in doubt as preparatory talks begin

THE prospects for a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi dimmed yesterday as both parties expressed doubts about the outcome of today's preparatory meeting in Durban.

They expected today's meeting to be "confrontational and extremely difficult" after developments of the past two weeks.

These include KwaZulu's acceptance of the "federal constitution"; Inkatha's rejection of Codesa and the record of understanding between government and the ANC; and Mandela's four preconditions, the main one being that the record of un-

BIDAY 9/12/92
derstanding be accepted by Inkatha before a meeting between the leaders can take place.

An Inkatha source said it was "highly unlikely" the summit meeting would take place this year. "After Mandela's statements in Botswana about his preconditions being met and this week in Mozambique about Inkatha involvement with Renamo, I do not believe the ANC seriously wants the summit to go ahead," he said.

He said the ANC was not taking Inkatha seriously as a significant player.

An ANC source said he was not very optimistic about the preparatory meeting be-

IIA
BILLY PADDOCK

cause Buthelezi's adoption of a federal constitution had "put a spanner in the works". There was also an indication from the ANC Midlands branch that a summit between the leaders at this stage was not appropriate.

Although the ANC delegation left for Durban yesterday afternoon for the preparatory meeting, spokesman Carl Niehaus said he was not entirely sure it would go ahead.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk will meet the three homeland leaders spear-

heading opposition to a restructured Codesa. The meeting tomorrow promises to be a clash of wills as De Klerk and Buthelezi confront each other over the latter's attempts to go it alone with his federal option.

Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo would tell De Klerk that "on no condition whatsoever will we return to Codesa or even be prepared to discuss a restructured Codesa", Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said yesterday.

He said the group would be objecting also to the ANC/government bilateral

talks and the tendency to prescribe the process to other parties. "The whole timetable they have decided on must be scrapped — we are not prepared to accept it," he said.

The three leaders would be firm about their rejection of an elected constituent assembly becoming the constitution-making body and would insist that a multiparty conference of review, open to all parties, be convened to assess the bilateral agreements, including the record of understanding. "Another multiparty forum has to be set up. Codesa is dead and buried," Felgate said.

Govt confident about early poll - Meyer

STAR 9/12/92
Political Staff ~~3001~~

In spite of negative political developments in recent weeks, the Government is still confident about quick progress toward democratic elections, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night.

Meyer said in a statement after a Government strategy conference in Natal that there had been broad consensus at the meeting that President de Klerk's transitional timetable should be followed.

But, he added: "If other parties co-operate and the steps can be completed more quickly, an election can be held earlier - even before the end of next year."

Addressing the opposition of the "Concerned South Africans Group" to agreements reached between Government and the ANC, Meyer said Cosag - which includes KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and the Afrikaner Volksonie - "made no provision for the macro-situation in South Africa.

"The country's leaders must

agree on a national level, as quickly as possible, on how a regional dispensation, by means of a transitional constitution, can be brought into existence."

It was therefore essential that the Inkatha Freedom Party and other groups should return to the negotiation process.

●Sapa reports that the future of the much-awaited summit between Mandela and Buthelezi remained uncertain yesterday, with even a preparatory meeting scheduled for today running into problems.

Although ANC head office spokesman Carl Niehaus said preparations were going ahead for today's meeting with the IFP, ANC sources in Natal said they were still deciding whether this would be appropriate.

Their hesitation is reportedly due to the KwaZulu government's controversial constitutional proposals, which Buthelezi unveiled last week.

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said yesterday IFP delegates were ready for the scheduled meeting in Durban today to pave the way for a full meeting of the IFP central committee and ANC national executive committee.



Helping hand
cheque for R9
Johanna Swan-
enburg. The p

Car c

An estate agent's
car left the road,
top of a garden
smashed into the
of a house was fine
six months' jail) y

acist terrorism is a repudiation of true Africanism, argues Patrick Laurence

PAC sinks Sobukwe's ubuntu

STAR 9/12/92

11A

THE Pan Africanist Congress, in its efforts to evade responsibility for its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), in the process of reneging on its Africanist philosophy. Africanism, as defined by the PAC founding president, Robert Sobukwe, is not a racist philosophy; it seeks to reconcile black and white in a common love of Africa and all its people. Africanism, as Sobukwe conceived it, is a philosophy which invites whites to join their black compatriots, abandon their identity as colonists or settlers, and to accept Africa and its indigenous peoples without qualification. To cite Sobukwe's powerful message: "Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

Africanism, in its highest and purest sense, is not a racial or biological concept; it is concerned with people's state of mind, not their skin colour.

Apla, in reportedly launching attacks on unarmed white civilians, has on the face of its jettisoned Africanism for racism. To attack and kill people simply because they are white is about as racist as it is possible to be.

The difference between Apla's reported actions against white civilians and those of the Wit Wolf, Barend Strydom, who shot black civilians in Strijdom Square, are so minute as to be non-existent.

Amid the outrage and condemnation provoked by the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks is a complicating factor: the suggestion that Apla may not have been responsible and that the ugly deeds may have been perpetrated by a shadowy third force, presumably to sabotage the negotiating process.

The rationale for the third force theory is that the attacks came just before and during the three-day bosberaad between the ANC and the De Klerk administration and in the midst of "talks about talks" between De Klerk's men and PAC leaders which foreshadowed the PAC's return to the negotiating process.

Terror attacks against unarmed whites are, of course, calculated to unleash a counter-terror campaign against innocent blacks and thus to sabotage the revived negotiating process.

The problem, however, is that Apla has not repudiated the attacks. Instead, various Apla spokesmen, including Johnny Majazi, an Apla information officer; Sebalo Phama, Apla's chief of staff; and Congo Jibril, described as a senior intelligence officer, have all reportedly boasted of Apla's involvement.

What has been absent through-

out the barrage of words provoked by the attacks has been the failure of Apla officers to deny responsibility for them. That, *prima facie*, dispenses with the third force theory.

The PAC leadership has been similarly silent. It has conspicuously refused to condemn the attacks, choosing instead to take refuge in sophistry.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander has refused to confirm or deny that Apla is responsible for the attacks, arguing that Apla is "operationally independent" and that the PAC cannot make statements on its behalf.

His failure to condemn the killing infers that they may have been the work of Apla, that Alexander is loath to condemn them because Apla may either acknowledge its responsibility unequivocally or be conclusively proved to have been involved.

There has, of course, been a great deal of obfuscation: Alex-

ander, apparently forgetting the cry of protest which greeted the Boipatong massacre in June, has claimed that the latest attacks have generated protest only because the victims were white.

The PAC's refusal to accept responsibility for Apla is inexplicable, except as a political ploy to cover up its inability to control Apla or to resolve a fatal contradiction between its proclaimed commitment to Africanism and "ubuntu" and its acceptance of racially inspired terrorism.

The PAC's supposed ignorance about Apla's actions is made all the more incongruous by the position of Johnson Mlambo: he is the PAC's senior deputy president and the commander-in-chief of Apla. Does the commander-in-chief not keep his co-leaders in the PAC informed of Apla policy and operations?

For the PAC leadership — from its president, Clarence Makwetu,

downwards — not to acknowledge responsibility for Apla is like President de Klerk refusing to admit accountability for the SADF and SAP.

The PAC leadership should ask itself how it would react if, say, units of the SADF attacked and killed black civilians at a social gathering, if some SADF leaders admitted responsibility, and if De Klerk responded by declaring that he could neither confirm nor deny the attack, by failing to condemn the attack in principle and by asserting that the "inhablator" — to use the word chosen by Alexander to describe the reaction to the King William's Town attack — was caused because the victims were black.

The PAC owes it to itself and the best traditions of its founding fathers to consider carefully the implications of its equivocation over the attacks on unarmed civilians whose sole offence is the colour of their skin. □

ANC to hold two ^(11A) congresses

STAR 9/12/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC's eastern Transvaal and Natal Midlands regions will hold their congresses at the weekend, it was announced yesterday.

The ANC Natal Midlands region will hold its third annual congress in Ashdown, Maritzburg, from December 11-13. It will be addressed by Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa.

The congress — which will discuss "the Natal war" and regional and local government — will also be addressed by ANC and South African Communist Party leader Ronnie Kasrils, Natal Midlands chairman, Harry Gwala and deputy chairman Walter Sisulu.

The ANC's eastern Transvaal regional congress, to be held at KaNgwane's Matsulu Youth Centre from Friday to Monday, will be addressed by ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.

David Lapin argues that South Africans need greater cultural empathy

Here's to gaining a new perspective

STAR 9/12/72
ADAPTATION to the New South African environment means more than learning to share our resources and our power. It means learning to understand each other too.

The latter is the harder process, for we will fail if we persist in interpreting the actions of others only from the perspective of our own cultures. We need to enter into new worlds of perspective before we can formulate our response to actions initiated by people of other cultures. Our new understanding might not alter the way we respond, but will alter how we communicate our responses.

Take the National Taverners' Association/SA Breweries dispute. I have a hunch which I would like to share, but first here is a brief glance at some cultural differences among our peoples:

Imagine two extreme opposite cultural environments — Northern European and African. The former is highly mechanistic in the style of its human relations.

Perfection and excellence are valued in the object. Perfect machines, perfect business systems, perfect laws and social regulations. In Africa, on the other hand, excellence is measured in the sensations created by the quality of relationships, not in the quality of objects and structures.

Of course I am oversimplifying, and of course most people contain something of each culture within themselves. But let us apply those two perspectives to a simple business deal:

I go into a shop to make a purchase. I ask for a discount. The shopkeeper tells me his prices are fixed and standard for everyone.

If I belong to the North European culture, I admire the equity of the shopkeeper's system. It appeals to a certain sense of fairness and justice within me. It is almost aesthetically pleasing to me. Even if he tells me that he has a sale on and everything is reduced by 10 percent for the month, I feel comfortable. I, in fact, do not feel comfortable when I find that all of

11/19
his prices are always negotiable. I do not appreciate the haggling, it offends my sense of order.

If however, I come from an African culture, I find the shopkeeper's refusal to accommodate my request for a discount as cold, uncaring and impersonal. If he says there is a 20 percent sale on, I don't feel any better. But if he takes out a calculator and scratches his head for a few minutes, and then offers me "a special price just for you", I feel special even if the discount is less than the 20 percent! It is not the amount, it is the relationship. I feel singled out as a valuable customer.

This is my hunch: Is it possible that the NTA aren't only arguing about money? Is it possible that they want to feel recognised as human customers, important and valuable to the SAB giant? Aren't they asking for a "special" deal — just for them, different (although not necessarily substantially more favourable) than any other SAB customer? Might they not be look-

11/19
ing for a uniqueness in their relationship with the beer giant?

Might the SAB not be responding: "We have standard pricing policies for everyone, anything else will offend the North European sense of balance and justice of many of our shareholders and other customers."

Perhaps if the deep cultural issues were better appreciated on both sides, better communication would result. The small cost of time and money invested in this learning process would in this case alone save SAB shareholders substantial amounts of money. It would also give the taverners their beer without leaving them feeling like the insignificant anonymous customers that we all feel like when we deal with large mechanised inhuman conglomerates.

Let's not compromise our North European efficiency. But at the same time, let's learn from Africa how to make the people we deal with feel like the important people they really are. □

● The writer is director of the SA Institute of Business Ethics.

PAC firm in spite of criticism

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday pulled out of all further talks with the PAC following the Azanian People's Liberation Army's "declaration of war" on white civilians.

A defiant PAC responded by vowing not to abandon its military wing, or the armed struggle.

The PAC also effectively opted out of multi-lateral talks by announcing it would not join Codesa and warned that the decision by the government and the ANC to revive the negotiating forum would be "the greatest threat to peace and stability".

As the Conservative Party last night asked its supporters to report for the party's "Home Guard" to help counter Apla's planned terror campaign against soft targets, police in Pretoria asked the public to be particularly safety-conscious during the holidays.

As criticism of the PAC continued yesterday, one of the organisation's staunchest allies, the Zimbabwean government, warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said: "We have warned the liberation movements, especially the PAC, to stop using Zimbabwean soil to make such statements. . . We do not want Zimbabwe soil to be used for hostile activities against South Africa or any other country."

As the Commonwealth, the European Community and the United Nations joined growing criticism of the PAC, the South African representative of the Organisation of African Unity, Mr Legwaila Joseph

To page 2

From page 1

PAC firm

Legwaila, said a decision on whether to continue funding the PAC will have to be taken by OAU secretary-general Mr Salim Ahmed Salim.

The PAC's tough stance on its Apla ties was criticised by the OAU, which said it supported efforts to achieve peace and not the propagation of violence.

Chief Emeka Anyaoku, the Nigerian secretary-general of the Commonwealth, yesterday strongly condemned PAC military wing violence as a threat to people of all races in South Africa.

The PAC's secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said today's scheduled talks had been cancelled on Pretoria's instructions.

The government also told the organisation no further talks would take place until the PAC's attitude towards Apla had been satisfactorily clarified.

He added: "If talks should be based on good behaviour, in the prevailing violent atmosphere in the country nobody should be talking to anyone.

"Until there is mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime, the PAC is not bound to condemn the armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settler enemy structures," he said.

Referring to meetings with the government in Nigeria in April and in Botswana in October, Mr Seroke said the PAC's position had been frankly put.

PAC publicity and information director Mr Waters Toboti said Apla was an integral part of the organisation and the PAC would not abandon it despite possibly endangering talks.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the agreement between the government and the ANC to revive Codesa was insensitive, provocative and short-sighted.

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday the white victims of the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown were victims of a war and their deaths deserved no more attention than those of black victims of violence.

The Pan-Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) announced its support for Apla and warned President FW de Klerk any attempt to take action would start "the mother of all battles".

● Mr Nick Mitchell, executive director of the United Kingdom/South Africa Business Association, yesterday appealed to the ANC to "go beyond condemning" Apla, and help the security forces reduce or eliminate the new threat.

Apla trained in Transkei, court told

EAST LONDON. — Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) members are being trained at Sterkspruit in the Transkei, according to a confession by a self-proclaimed Apla member read out in court here.

Mr Steven Vusumzi Dolo, 25, pleaded not guilty to seven counts of attempted murder and a charge of arson.

The charges arise from a rifle and handgrenade attack on police at Lady Grey in January and a petrol bomb attack on Mr Johannes Myburg's Wilgespruit farmhouse, 3 km from the Transkei border, in March.

Mr Dolo appeared in court wearing a Pan Africanist Con-

gress T-shirt with the slogan "War with the Enemy. Peace among Africans".

After two days of argument on the admissibility of Mr Dolo's confession the magistrate, Mr P M Pretorius, ruled it was admissible as evidence.

In the confession, Mr Dolo said he left South Africa through Lesotho in 1987 and received military training for 18 months in Uganda. In 1991 he returned to Umtata and was assigned to train recruits in Sterkspruit.

He said a member of his command, known as Vuma, had instructed him to go to Sterkspruit. In January he was instructed to

"make an attack in Lady Grey".

He was the driver of the car from which a man known as Hefi fired an R4 rifle and threw a grenade at the police station.

He then returned to Umtata for the funeral of "a comrade who had fallen in Natal".

In March he threw petrol bombs at the Wilgespruit farmhouse. *ARC 9/12/92*

Mr Dolo said he knew of an incident in which comrades of his took a car by force and waited by the road for police to come along. However a car with a white man from Zastron came along and he was killed.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Honour peace undertaking, Meyer tells PAC

Political Staff

AR 9/12/92

LINES of communication between the government and the Pan-Africanist Congress could remain open but the PAC would have to honour an undertaking binding it to peace before talks could resume, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said today.

He was speaking after the government cancelled talks due to have taken place with the PAC today.

The PAC has claimed that the government knew what its attitude was to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the "armed struggle".

Mr Meyer said the PAC had committed itself to the effective suspension of violence in a joint statement after a meeting with the government in Botswana in October. On the strength of this the government had been willing to continue talking to the PAC.

The organisation had now been told today's meeting had been shelved because its leadership refused to distance itself from acts of terror by Apla.

The PAC should not expect to be drawn into constitutional talks while it had a dual approach to negotiations and violence.

The PAC is insisting that its "armed struggle" will not be abandoned in spite of the breakdown of talks with the government.

The organisation has re-emphasised its links with Apla and says that if the government wants to cancel today's talks, it is "their own indaba".

The Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation has meanwhile announced its "unwavering support for military operations" conducted by Apla and warned President De Klerk that any attempt to take action against it will start "the mother of all battles".

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said the PAC could not abandon "armed struggle" until the objectives of the struggle had been realised.

Until there was a "mutual cessation of hostilities" between the PAC and the government, the PAC did not have to condemn Apla, he said.

"If, as they say, talks should be based on good behaviour, in the prevailing violent atmosphere nobody should be talking to anyone."

Govt halts talks with PAC

GOVERNMENT has cancelled today's scheduled meeting with the PAC and all further talks until the PAC denounces the activities of its military wing Apla.

But the PAC remained defiant yesterday, declaring it would refuse to "abandon the armed struggle and isolate Apla". It would not elaborate on whether it was prepared to suspend the armed struggle.

PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke said government had cancelled talks until "the PAC's attitude to Apla is clarified". Constitutional Development spokesman Isak Retief said this probably meant talks had been postponed pending clarification.

Government wanted the PAC to denounce terror activities carried out by Apla, to commit itself to peaceful negotiation for a political settlement in SA and to take responsibility for keeping Apla "under control".

Seroke, who said the PAC was informed by Constitutional Development adviser Fanie van der Merwe of government's decision, added: "The PAC cannot abandon the armed struggle until the objectives of the struggle have been realised."

Until there was mutual cessation of hos-

~~SECRET~~ BILLY PADDOCK (11A)

ilities between the PAC and government, the organisation was "not duty-bound to condemn the element of armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settler enemy structures", Seroke said.

The PAC's position had been put frankly to government at two earlier meetings in Nigeria and Botswana, he said.

It was clear the PAC would not isolate the armed struggle for national liberation from the process for a negotiated settlement. "The regime's delegation in these exploratory talks expressed their appreciation of our position on this matter."

He rejected the implication that government wanted it to "clarify its attitude to Apla" through the media before a meeting could take place. However, Retief said government was waiting for the PAC to clarify its position to government directly.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports from Harare that Zimbabwe has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory. "We do not want Zimbabwe soil to be used for hostile activities against SA or any other country," Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said.

610A-1 9/12/72

Mandela wants MK role soon

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela believes that to start halting the violence, the ANC should get a share of control over the security forces in the first half of next year. CT 9/12/92

He said this question had been a key subject in the ANC's talks with the government.

He was convinced of security

force "connivance" — at least in the form of allowing violence that could be stopped.

A top priority for the ANC was setting up a joint security commission under the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), a multi-party executive working in tandem with the cabinet, which President F W de Klerk had said he wanted in place by June.

At that stage, senior commanders of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should be given posts in the security forces, Mr Mandela said.

Although the ANC and government negotiators were making progress on the question, some generals — notably SA Defence Force chief General Kat Liebenberg — were putting up resistance. — Sapa-AFP

Sowetan 9/12/92

PAC won't condemn Apla's attacks

about the killing of the policemen. Why does the PAC not accept the government's invitation to negotiate".

Wellington, Germiston

"What do you say about a government that is supposed to be negotiating when people are dying. Why does the government feel that they are justified to hold Apla responsible when they are not responsible for Inkathagate."
Lebu, Munsieville, Krugersdorp

"I am totally against the killings but I think it is about time the white man is shaken up. I'm not convinced the PAC or Apla did it".
John

"Who are the settlers and where is Azania. I think it (the attacks) is cowardice".
Gowan, Cape Town.

"Ask the Sambos in the Eastern Transvaal, whose husband was killed because he accidentally drove over the farmer's dog, if he was killed by civilians."
Vusi, Katlehong

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Pat Bogatsu

By Sonti Maseko

FIRE-spitting PAC national organiser, Maxwell Nemadzivhanani yesterday said his organisation would never condemn its military wing, Apla, over the alleged attacks against whites in the Eastern Cape.

"We'll never condemn Apla," he said last night on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

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tional community of showing more concern when white people died.

"For us to abandon the armed struggle would be a disservice to the people" - James.

"I want to know from Maxwell how he feels

next *Talkback* topic

THE assault on black family life by apartheid, violence and other factors has led to community disintegration. How can the situation be reversed? Eminent psychologist Dr Saths Cooper is our special studio guest to discuss the issue. You can join us by phoning Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight. Tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 and 92.4 in the Pretoria region.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

PAC won't condemn Apla's attacks ^{VIA}

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Pat Bogatsu

By Sonti Maseko

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tional community of showing more concern when white people died. *Sowetan 10/12/92*

"For us to abandon the armed struggle would be a disservice to the people" - James.

"I want to know from Maxwell how he feels

about the killing of the policemen. Why does the PAC not accept the government's invitation to negotiate".

Wellington, Germiston

"I am totally against the killings but I think it is about time the white man is shaken up. I'm not convinced the PAC or Apla did it".

John

"Who are the settlers and where is Azania. I think it (the attacks) is cowardice".

Gowan, Cape Town.

"What do you say about a government that is supposed to be negotiating when people are dying. Why does the government feel that they are justified to hold Apla responsible when they are not responsible for Inkathagate."

Lebu, Munsieville, Krugersdorp

"Ask the Sambos in the Eastern Transvaal, whose husband was killed because he accidentally drove over the farmer's dog, if he was killed by civilians."

Vusi, Katlehong

next Talkback topic

WHERE to, Azapo? Newly-elected president of Azapo Itumeleng Mosala is a special Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show studio guest tonight and will clear up questions and provide answers on the organisation's future. You can tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 (and 92.4 in the Pretoria region).

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Hope at ANC-Inkatha talks

DURBAN — The first official face-to-face meeting between the ANC and Inkatha in more than a year ended in smiles yesterday with what appeared to be considerable progress being made and the stage set for a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting started on an ominous note, with the ANC delegates arriving an hour before Inkatha's. But after the two-hour meeting, journalists were told the talks had taken place in a "positive and constructive atmosphere".

The meeting had been "a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between leaders of the two organisations and their head committees", said a joint statement read by Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It had begun the process of identifying items that should be on the agenda, the statement said. These would now be reported to the organisations' respective principals and the same delegations would meet again on December 29.

The ANC delegation was led by deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and included international affairs director Thabo

Political Staff

Mbeki and southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe. Among those with Mdlalose in the Inkatha group were central committee members Dennis Madide and Ben Ngubane. (11A) (11B)

Mdlalose later added that the delegations had been aware that "the whole world is watching us and we are doing our best to ensure that we reach the important point where our two leaders can meet".

The meeting appeared to have been held in good spirit, with outbreaks of laughter regularly being heard from behind the closed doors.

The two delegations then joined the four-hour-long special meeting of the Kwa-Zulu/Natal regional dispute resolution committee. Co-chairman MC Pretorius said last night the organisations had "announced the results of their meeting and indicated closer co-operation between the two parties".

The committee meeting, too, was "very positive in its approach" and while there were differences, these were aired without acrimony.

61077 10/12/92

Ghost of Hlapane haunts the ANC

STAR 10/12/92



DECEMBER 16 marks the 10th anniversary of the unsolved and mysterious slaying of former senior ANC and SACP member Bartholomew Hlapane. Who is he, and what does a 10-year-old murder have to do with the present political crisis in South Africa?

Revisiting and redressing the case of Hlapane and other less-renowned dissidents may reflect the difference between the ANC prepared to play its part in a democratic South Africa, or an ANC that lacks the integrity to punish transgressors.

Hlapane, a man of high ideals, predicted that he would be assassinated for his testimony in March of 1982 against the ANC/SACP before a US Senate investigatory committee. Just prior to his public statement, he quietly told Senator Jeremiah Denton, who organized the hearing, that he would be killed for talking.

He went forward bravely, believing that his disclosure was essential for the long-term good of South Africa.

Hlapane was brutally gunned down in a hail of AK-47 gunfire in his home in Soweto, along with his wife, only nine months after his return from Washington, DC. One daughter, left for dead, survived to become a paraplegic. Another daughter escaped the attack.

Senator Denton's staff, filled with remorse and compassion, organized a trust fund to educate Hlapane's children at an American university.

Sixteen years before his US debut, Hlapane had turned State's evidence to expose Abraham Fischer's fundraising efforts for the SA Communist Party and his activity with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Hlapane was murdered for spreading his message to the international community — for testifying publicly before the US Congress — a dangerous precedent and one which if successful in exposing the ANC/SACP alliance and its secret financing, would have done immeasurable damage

to the cultivated democratic, image of South Africa's foremost anti-apartheid institution.

Born in the Free State, Hlapane joined the ANC in 1948. In 1955, Joe Slovo recruited Hlapane into the elite ranks of the SACP and by 1962 he had been co-opted into the Central Committee of the party, a position of power and privilege.

Hlapane quit the ANC after his arrests in 1963 and 1964. His alienation arose from what he regarded as ANC/SACP readiness to betray its members, not warning them of imminent arrests and not caring, as they had promised, for the bereft families.

Hlapane's testimony was compelling, especially to Americans who imagined the ANC was solely a democratic, grass-roots organization opposed to apartheid.

As Hlapane testified, "no major decisions could be taken by the ANC without the concurrence and approval of the Central Committee of the SACP".

MK, he explained, "was the brainchild of the SACP and after the decision to create it had been taken, Joe Slovo and JB Marks were sent by the Central Committee of the SACP to Moscow to organize arms and ammunition and to raise funds for Umkhonto".

Hlapane and his wife's brutal murder, and the attempted killing of his daughter, may be regarded by some of the ANC as fitting punishment for a collaborator.

To others, he may be seen, in the tradition of more recent ANC dissidents, like Mwezi Twala, a heroic figure drawn to the party by its professed noble ideals, but repulsed by its tactics.

Hlapane's murder must be resolved, as must the murder, disappearances, and torture of other ANC members at the hands of its leadership. If the ANC seeks to govern in the future, it must confess, overcome, and compensate for the wrongs of the past. □

— Margaret Calhoun is Senior Africa Analyst of the International Freedom Foundation in Washington, DC.

Mandela-Buthelezi meetings on cards

STAT 10/12/92.

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A series of meetings between African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could take place from next month to try to secure peace between their followers and keep constitutional negotiations afloat.

This stems from yesterday's meeting of seven-a-side delegations of the ANC and IFP at a Durban beachfront hotel. The two sides will meet again on December 29.

After a two-hour meeting Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, read out a prepared statement.

He said yesterday's meeting was basically a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between the leaders of the two organisations and their head committees.

"The meeting was held in a positive and constructive atmosphere. It began the process of identifying the issues that could form the agenda of a proposed summit meeting."

The two sides will now report to their principals.

Mdlalose will arrange the venue for the Decem-

ber 29 meeting with Jacob Zuma, the ANC's deputy secretary-general, who led the ANC delegation in the talks.

Watching

Both sides insist that as yet no date has been set for the proposed summit between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Political sources at the meeting said both delegations were aware that the whole world was watching them. They wanted to do their best to ensure the two leaders met, probably in January, and afterwards met on a more regular basis.

Sources said all the preconditions set by both

sides for a summit had been overtaken by the need for the leaders to meet in the interests of peaceful co-existence and South Africa's political future.

The ANC delegation comprised Zuma, Thabo Mbeki, Sydney Mafumadi, Aziz Pahad, southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe, southern Natal regional executive committee member Eric Mtshali and Steward Ngwenya of the ANC's PWV regional executive committee.

The IFP delegation comprised IFP central committee members Mdlalose, Chief Simon Gumede, Dr Ben Ngubane, Walter Felgate, Dr Dennis Madide, Lionel Mtshali and Dr V T Zulu.

New fears raised over ANC policy

B/DAM 10/12/92

(11A)

NANCY KEATES

BUSINESS leaders are expressing new fears this week that the ANC wants to break up the all-powerful conglomerates without creating the proper climate for investors to buy the unbundled companies.

The ANC last weekend reasserted its commitment to implementing antitrust policies that will force the dilution of ownership and increase competition.

Meanwhile, mining houses Anglo American and Gencor, are preparing to go ahead with the R3,5bn Columbus steel venture, an investment which some argue would not be made without the existence of strong domestic conglomerates.

Businessmen say SA's foreign exchange controls, which the ANC has indicated will not be abolished under a new government, would limit both the interest of foreign investors in buying the unbundled businesses and any outlet for local companies to spend their profits.

"The unbundling necessitated by an antitrust policy would merely redistribute voting power among existing shareholders and have no effect on the distribution of actual wealth," JSE president Roy Anderson said.

According to McGregors Online Information, about 78% of the market capitalisation on the JSE is owned by four conglomerates: Anglo has 34%, insurance group Sanlam 16%, RembrandtControlling Investments 15% and SA Mutual 14%.

The ANC sees the implementation of an antitrust policy as a way to redistribute wealth, help improve competitiveness in the economy, create new ownership opportunities and thus encourage foreign investment.

But SA's conglomerates say

foreign investors are unlikely to enter the country even if unbundling occurs. They say the possible attraction of an end to the country's political turmoil and violence would be countered by excessive regulation, including foreign exchange controls and high import tariffs.

Analysts say government is blocked from reducing tariffs by strong opposition from business and the ANC, who say SA companies cannot suddenly compete internationally when at home they face double-digit inflation, a 48% corporate tax rate, low productivity and a prime lending rate of 17,25%.

Even if local buyers for the unbundled businesses are found, which is unlikely given the deepening four-year recession, the conglomerates say they will be hard pressed to find ways to spend their earnings because foreign exchange controls limit foreign acquisitions.

If the unbundled conglomerates were to reinvest their earnings in SA, "then the issue of size becomes a problem again," says Anglo spokesman Michael Spicer.

SA conglomerates say their size allows them to invest money in the local economy that smaller businesses cannot, pointing to four recent investments by major corporations, including the Columbus steel venture, Anglo's R1bn Namakwa Sands titanium mine, Gencor's R7,2bn aluminium smelter at Alusaf and energy group Engen's R670m refinery expansion project.

"If ever there was evidence of the positive role of large corporations, then this is surely it," says Gencor chairman Brian Gilbertson. — AP-DJ.

NP/ANC COALITION

FM 11/12/92

A time to merge

 11A
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The political climate has been drastically altered in recent weeks by the behaviour of Apla — the so-called armed wing of the PAC. The “declaration of war” against whites at this stage removes the PAC and Apla from any serious entitlement to a place at the negotiating table and the cadres in the field will sooner or later be stopped.

It will be recalled that after the breakdown at Codesa the mood of the country slumped into exhaustion and depression — with all that this meant by way of economic stagnation. And that the breakdown sprang from government’s intransigence over the percentage of votes in a national assembly required to overturn quasi-entrenched regional powers.

In essence, the Nationalists wanted power at the periphery to balance the central power it foresaw wielded by the ANC under virtually any acceptable electoral system. One calculation is that under the system of proportional representation chosen by the NP, the ANC would gain 49,5% of the vote; under an ANC system, that figure would be higher: 53%.

In this (notional) election, the Nats could gain 21,5% or 22,6% — also scoring higher under ANC rules than under their own.

There is certainly room for debate about the validity of such projections in a country which has never had a free parliamentary election before (see *Current Affairs*).

But the point is that the NP cannot rule by itself — nor yet muster a majority of partners which would have to include too radical a spectrum, from the AWB to the PAC, assorted homeland and ethnic parties. And that assumes that the NP’s low vote threshold for election is allowed to pass through Codesa, or its successors, untouched.

For its part, the ANC could certainly attempt to rule with a 49,5% plurality, or scoop in the likes of the PAC with their 3,5% of the popular vote to attain a majority. But even if current differences between the ANC and the PAC can somehow be resolved — and that cannot happen as long as Apla continues its ugly little war — one is looking at an unstable coalition.

In such circumstances — as experience in Israel shows — two strong parties vie for the centre and woo the fringes which, in turn, put in outrageous demands in exchange for their support. The strongest coalition would be between the NP and the ANC. Is this feasible?

It might help if the independence of the Reserve Bank was constitutionally sanctioned before a government of national unity has to decide on spending priorities in forthcoming Budgets. It might also help if Derek Keys was retained as Minister of Finance. But underlying philosophical gulfs loom: on the issues of reparations for

apartheid, land apportionment, affirmative action, the free enterprise system, health, welfare and schooling.

These gulfs are, perhaps, not so wide as even a year ago. There has been Codesa — a labyrinthine and wearisome exercise which did at least show that the ANC and NP could work together once out of the never-never land of ideological competition. Ideas which outlive their usefulness simply die out like unfavourable mutations in the animal kingdom — which is why the SACP repudiates Stalinism, a sort of eight-legged armadillo to which it has been chained for some decades.

The big parties, at any rate, agree that the economy must grow. Such a convergence — tentative as it may be — is far more rational and conciliatory than one may have feared listening to Nelson Mandela’s Cape Town speech on his release from jail some 31 months ago. The ANC leader has evidently seen the economic writing on the wall.

Much dirty work has already been put in place to facilitate just such an ANC/NP coalition. The exchange of psychopaths; the cut-off date for indemnity for political crimes; the oddly muted sounds of disapproval which mutually emerge whenever the Nats or the ANC are yet again caught out in some deviant or brutal scheme.

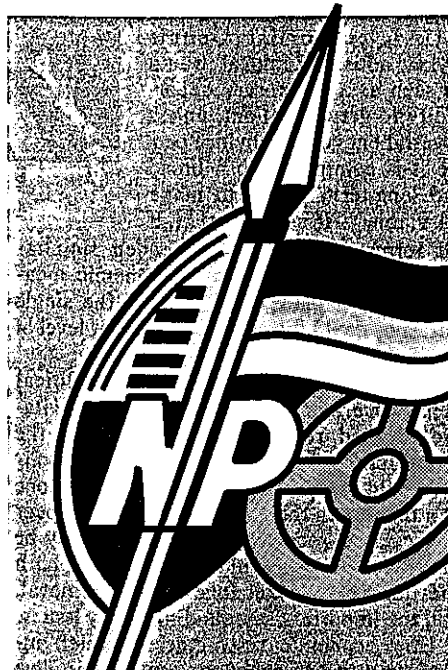
It would be remarkable if we were morally strong enough as a nation to prosecute all wrongdoers who carried out government or liberation force actions in the belief that they were just obeying orders. But we are a morally weak country — and no occupying power is around to make us pay for our sins — so we have no choice but each to forgive the other’s thugs’ transgressions.

And now Apla comes along to show us the real alternative — that ghastly one which John Vorster refused to contemplate despite doing so much to bring it about: race war.

Apla, and the PAC, are positively mandating a coalition between the NP and the ANC on the simple basis that they wish to avoid this nightmare.

All of which might seem to amount to a low argument for a coalition. There is a higher one: it has to do with foreign confidence in SA’s ability to keep the peace, create jobs and maintain a growing economy which will be attractive to foreign investors. And from which South Africans themselves will not flee, financially or in person.

If, one year from now, SA has a strong government of national unity which flows from free elections — and which is presided over by, say, Mandela — think of all the good things that will, deservedly, come our way.



11/12/92
Electoral threshold

voices to keep out the very tiny parties holding to ransom parties winning millions of votes.

PR was generously suggested by the ANC, as the biggest likely party, partly to avoid the national electoral scandals of the Forties and Fifties, when the Nats won a majority of MPs with 40% of the votes and the United Party, with over 50%, had fewer MPs. The proposal should also take the electoral system out of the negotiations argy-bargy.

The table shows a projection by myself, over the nine Development Bank regions, of a reasonable scenario for votes cast for major parties in SA. It is projected using a highly sophisticated programme by Prof J F de Beer of the Computer Science department of Potchefstroom University that has been proved over many elections. The programme allocates likely votes in the nine regions and then pools them for a national vote total with the requisite number of seats under the ANC's scheme and the President's Council/NP scheme.

The table is a projection of one of many possible votes for the various parties in the new electorate of 20m of which 5,5m are existing electors in the tricameral set-up. The ANC and NP have, through Codesa, formed alliances with the 15 tricameral and homeland parties. This means that these parties will either stand alone (as encouraged under the NP "no threshold" scheme), or will stand on the various regional lists of the parties as with the ANC-encouraged scheme with its high 3% threshold.

With the ANC scheme, these minority parties will have to negotiate their way onto the major parties' lists and calculate the likely number of votes for such an electoral coalition in advance. If they get it wrong and the major party fails to reach a certain level of votes, they will not win any seats in that region. If they are not high enough on the national list "topping up" any regional distortions, they will also lose out.

Under the NP scheme, minor parties will win a seat with 50 000 votes — or even two seats with 90 000. The minor party can stand alone, since with only 0,25% of the votes it can win a seat. A projection of the votes cast shows that, under the NP's scheme, if the ANC wins less than 50% of the votes it translates into less than a majority of the elected MPs — something the NP wants to ensure at all costs.

These costs involve letting Eugene Terreblanche and other extreme rightwing parties into parliament. They will also allow tricameral parties like Rajbansi's NPP to win one or two seats in their own right.

This desire to keep the ANC under the moral threshold of 50% is a chimera. If the ANC wins less than 50% of the votes, this cannot be denied. If it is close to 50%, it will be the major partner in government anyway, in all likely circumstances. But the present parliament can negotiate a deal with the new one.

The scheme may backfire; they often do.

Looking ahead					
Projected election result					
Based on NP/President's Council and ANC proposals for a proportional representation election					
Party	% votes	SCHEME 1 0,25% threshold		SCHEME 2 3% threshold	
		NP/PC no of seats	% seats	ANC no of seats	% seats
ANC	49,5	198	49,5	212	53
NP	21,3	86	21,5	90	22,6
IFP	11,2	44	11	48	12
DP	2	8	2	—	—
PAC	3,3	14	3,5	14	3,5
AZAPO	1,5	6	1,5	—	—
NPP	0,6	2	0,5	—	—
AWB	0,7	2	0,5	—	—
CP	5,3	22	5,5	22	5,5
Ximoko (Gazankulu)	1,2	4	1	—	—
Bop Democratic Party	3,1	12	3	14	3,5
Afrikaner Volksunie	0,3	2	0,5	—	—
	100%	400	100%	400	100%

What if parties to the far Left of the ANC, like Azapo, win 2,5% of the votes and under this scheme (but not the ANC's) get 10 seats? Will this not counterbalance a host of supposedly pro-NP parties' likely votes? There are several such organised and revolutionary parties now. Will the ANC then have the option of offering a few Cabinet posts to the most rabid anti-white parties, greatly circumscribing its freedom of movement now and in the future to the detriment of us all in

our virgin electoral territory?

This would produce a counterbalance to the NP's strategic hope of many small rightwing and centre parties and completely eliminate any NP advantage. If Azapo got six seats (based on 1,5% of the vote) this would be necessary for a liberation movement majority in the parliament. (ANC's 198 plus Azapo's 6 make 204 — a majority of the 400 seats.) And this would destabilise an already unstable situation.

If even Joe Slovo thinks that an NP/ANC coalition will rule SA for five years, why does the NP want to jeopardise this?

In the projection given, the ANC, with 49,5% of the national total vote, will win, under the NP's proposals, a crucial less-than-half the 400 seats (198), compared to its own proposals where this share would give it 212 MPs and a majority (53%) of the votes in the parliament with a moral authority that the NP fears. As an ANC/NP coalition is now a certainty after the ANC's latest National Executive Committee meeting, the NP must weigh up whether it really wants all these minor parties out of its control, or whether slight barriers will enormously enhance stability and make the ANC and itself more likely to be reasonable to each other.

The 3% cut-off point reduces the number of parties likely to win one seat — from up to 20 to a probable six.

Strong tiny regional parties will have to link up with existing lists of the big parties and the ultra-Right and ultra-Left will just fail to enter parliament as their voters are encouraged to abandon them and go for the nearest "big" party closest to their ideological position.

Under the ANC scheme, the 100% of elected seats is drawn from those parties above the 3% level giving them shares proportionally from the remaining 94% of valid votes for parties above the threshold. These are the ANC with a bonus of 3,5%, the NP with a bonus of 1,1% and the IFP with a 1% bonus. The smallest parties above 3% also qualify slightly in this way too.

The ANC's scheme is probably too harsh for a first election. The 1989 Namibia election had an effective 1% threshold. If the NP can get nine regional constituencies, with simultaneously elected regional parliaments, it should consider accepting a threshold of 1%. This would benefit both the country and itself.

DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence,

and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned.

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced

from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.

STAR 11/12/92

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ANC prepared to press on to interim govt - Mandela

By Carina le Grange

Even if other parties refuse to enter into new negotiations, the ANC is prepared — if the Government is willing — to press ahead towards interim government, ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night.

It would be preferable for all parties to be involved in the transition, he said, but the continuing violence, the struggling economy and high unemployment in the country demanded swift progress to an interim government.

Interviewed on TV1's "Agenda" programme by The Star's editor-in-chief Richard Steyn and Indicator editor Ameen Akhalwala, Mandela

stressed that Codesa remained the proper forum for multiparty negotiations, even if it had to be restructured.

He said it was "unthinkable" that Codesa should be dismantled, after two years of struggle to get it under way.

Warning against unilateral decisions by any one party, Mandela said "no force" could stop the establishment of a new government.

"The forces of peace are too strong to be derailed by any party," he said.

Mandela said he also believed that only an interim government could adequately address the problem of violence.

He said: "The Government, the ANC — all are

involved in violence in one way or another. It is a question of where we put our shoulders to the wheel to stop it."

Mandela said the ANC was not opposed to the devolution of power to regions, but believed the issue should be settled by a representative constituent assembly.

He said the ANC would not abandon the option of mass action until South Africa had crossed the threshold into democracy.

Any decision to implement mass action would depend on the progress of negotiations. However, he added, it was unreasonable to expect negotiations to "proceed without hiccups".

STAR 11/12/92

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stirred the pot and shown that he's far from impotent.

PAC/APLA FM 11/12/92

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 11/12/92

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In the firing line

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Unless it splits or reins in its universally condemned armed wing Apla, the PAC risks working itself out of the negotiations process and being sidelined altogether.

This week's scheduled meeting between it and government was, predictably, called off. Following the Apla-claimed atrocities at King William's Town and Queenstown last weekend in which five people were killed and 34 injured, government demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation of the PAC's relationship with Apla as a condition for the meeting. This had not been received by Tuesday.

On the contrary, PAC information director Walters Toboti underlined the link with Apla. He said it was an "integral" part of the organisation, which would not be abandoned even if this meant scuttling Wednesday's

continue

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meeting with government.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander (see *People*) implausibly stuck to the line that the question of Apla could only be dealt with as part of an agreement to amalgamate all the armies of SA into a common force. This, he maintains, was agreed with government in Botswana last month, implying no need for even a suspension of armed action, as the ANC has done. He, therefore, saw no need to clarify anything and believed the meeting would go ahead unless government called it off.

It may be significant that none of the PAC's big guns — president Clarence Makwetu, deputies Dikgang Moseneke and Johnson Mlambo and foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim — have made any statements on the Apla attacks. Are they too embarrassed, were they taken by surprise, or are they opportunistically waiting to see where the pieces fall before entering the fray?

The hapless Alexander is not necessarily regarded as a main player. It should be remembered that the leadership had a torrid time getting its youth and militant supporters to acquiesce to negotiations, which explains the PAC's belated and circuitous moves to get on board.

Few can fathom the politics of the PAC and in particular its relationship with Apla, which is said to be operationally independent — like the IRA is to Sinn Fein. In trying to explain recent developments, some point to Alexander's refusal to condemn the soft-target attacks on whites in order to draw attention to black casualties of the violence. In terms of this "explanation", Apla (and the PAC) want the violence to spill into white areas in order to force government to take action to end it. It's a simplistic and dangerous notion.

Another view is that Apla does not see eye-to-eye with the political leadership of the PAC and wants to wreck the negotiations. Nobody is very sure of the relationship. Yet given the history of internal strife and disarray in the PAC this might be the case — unless there has simply been a communications breakdown, which would not be surprising. Apla, which is commanded by the PAC secretary for defence, Sabelo Palma, is based in Tanzania.

It is not known (or never revealed) how many "soldiers" it has. Some observers have even questioned whether, despite the claims (notably by one Congo Jibril who claimed to be an Apla deputy commander), Apla carried out the attacks at all and attribute them to renegade elements in the Ciskei/eastern Cape area.

In the wake of the killings, the OAU, which funds the PAC, has roundly condemned Apla. The OAU's man in SA, Legwaila Legwaila, has indicated that the funding is now under review.

Zimbabwe, perhaps the PAC's closest backer in black Africa, has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory. Condemnation ranged from the United Nations, EC and Commonwealth to

the ANC and SA Communist Party, whose chief, Chris Hani, said that the "struggle" had been directed at oppression, never against whites as such. Hani warned that anti-white terror would provide the pretext for those on the far Right who "want to provoke a race war to delay majority rule."

On cue, the self-styled leader of the extreme rightwing Wit Wolwe, Barend Strydom, called Sapa to warn that its actions should in future "only be seen as a reaction to deeds by Apla."

President FW de Klerk has meanwhile warned of a crackdown on Apla. He said on Monday that government was urgently considering steps against it: "Threats against any South Africans, irrespective of their race, are absolutely unacceptable and reprehensible."

"The government will continue to do everything in its power to bring the perpetrators of recent crimes to justice and prevent Apla from carrying out its threats." He called on the international community to deny Apla refuge or any form of assistance.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who called the attacks "cowardly," emphasised that the peace and negotiation process would not be impeded by threats of violence against whites.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer slammed Apla for its "bloodthirsty threats." He called on the PAC either to repudiate Apla or take responsibility for its actions.

In the Border area, meanwhile, police and businesses are reportedly stepping up security. A special police unit has been formed to visit restaurants, businesses and Christmas functions and a considerable number of additional policemen are being sent to the region to assist with patrols.

IMPORTANT lessons for the future structure of SA industry were offered at the ANC's recent conference on anti-trust policies. It seemed obvious to those present that the ANC is developing a sound grasp of anti-trust realities as it shapes its business policies.

Nationalisation was scarcely mentioned; modern policies appear to be on the way.

The meeting was extraordinarily broad and open to public view. It included more than 40 professional specialists ranging from leading SA economists, ANC officials, representatives of Anglo American and other corporate interests, stock market officials and specialists, to five anti-trust experts from abroad and official foreign observers.

Tito Mboweni, the ANC official who is developing ANC policies towards business, made this an open forum, drawing on the best thinking in SA, and on leading experts from Holland, Germany, the UK and the US. I have never attended a more ambitious, earnest and professionally solid meeting to discuss how anti-trust can be applied responsibly.

We participants from abroad gave detailed papers and discussions about our countries' experience, as it may help in planning SA's anti-trust future. There was consensus on two points: that the leading conglomerates pose major problems for democracy and economic progress, and that monopolies in many industries seem to call for stricter anti-trust treatment.

Mboweni is well informed about anti-trust experience around the world from his studies in the UK, Europe and the US. From this conference, and from discussions with other ANC officials and a variety of economists on several SA campuses, I am convinced SA is on the way to developing a firm and responsible set of anti-trust policies.

The new policies will bring SA into line with modern practice in other leading countries. They will be developed carefully and with technical skill. SA is fortunate that the CC, with all the pressures on it for radical actions, is focusing instead on anti-trust and related possibilities.

Anti-trust is a pro-business policy, which seeks to level the competitive

Anti-trust policy must target SA conglomerates

BIDAM 11/12/92
11A

WILLIAM SHEPHERD

playing field with an absolute minimum of intervention. It gives fairer chances to the huge constituency of small and medium businesses (and some large ones too) that may suffer disadvantages when there is monopoly power or collusion.

Delegates agreed generally that two problems — excessive concentration in the SA economy of a few conglomerates, and monopoly in specific markets — call for serious action.

The leading conglomerates hold an extremely high share of industrial and financial assets. In other countries such concentrations have undermined democracy, because these power blocs often bend and harm the democratic process. The social progress that may be conferred by these conglomerates would be largely paternalistic, and that is just the opposite of a shared democratic solution.

Excess conglomerate control frequently also causes an economic drag, by overcontrolling and stifling the entrepreneurial spirit in the subsidiaries. That is why conglomerates are increasingly passé in the US where, for example, the huge IBM is now busy dividing itself up to avoid such stifling. The larger conglomerates in SA may need to liberate many of their enterprises in order to promote lasting growth and progress — and more profits.

There is substantial monopoly power in many individual markets. This is well known, of course, and it is much higher than is found in comparable well-performing economies.



□ MBOWENI

Representatives of the conglomerates naturally opposed this consensus, but they have an admitted private interest in doing so.

There was strong interest in a dual approach to solving the problems of overall concentration and specific monopolies. The conference resolved that the conglomerate problem should be addressed by creating a

conglomerates commission with a lifespan of two or three years.

The commission would seek to reduce the total scope of the conglomerates and to remove the pyramiding and entangled mutual holdings within them. This would entail adopting the modern business practice widely recognised elsewhere of enforcing adequate clarity and disclosure. The commission would also focus on those conglomerate subsidiaries which hold specific monopoly positions in markets and would separate them from the advantages which large financial parents can give.

The commission would do its on-off job briskly and with technical skill, using financial experts as commissioners and staff. Similar programmes against the Japanese and German combines after the Second World War had spectacularly positive results, ushering in decades of remarkable economic progress. The US, for its part, enforced equally fundamental restructurings of its financial combines and related monopolies between 1907 and 1940. Straightening out the conglomerate problem is probably a prerequisite for modern industrial and financial growth in the SA economy.

Turning to the specific monopolies, they present a more focused challenge for anti-trust policy. Actually, monopolies and dominant firms are only one part of anti-trust; the other two are collusion and anti-competitive mergers. The existing Competition Board has made valiant efforts in these three directions but

the board's powers and resources — and political support — appear to have been modest.

The ANC would have a strong professional and research case for a major expansion of anti-trust, creating a new anti-trust authority with greater powers and resources. It would, of course, apply stricter enforcement against price fixing and other collusion, as is common elsewhere. It would also screen mergers, sifting out those few which raise market power for possible revision or prevention.

The authority could also begin a series of cases which explore the more acute examples of monopolies and dominant firms. Some of these can be justified by economies of scale or overwhelmingly superior efficiency or innovation. But others are simply monopolies and they are likely to be overcharging their customers while simultaneously being inefficient and slow to innovate. The authority would garner evidence, hold hearings and decide what remedies, if any, are appropriate.

Such methods may emerge from the ANC's current policy discussions. But the past few weeks have planted the anti-trust agenda firmly in the limelight, to SA's future benefit. Nationalisation is nowhere to be seen or heard, though of course it may be dragged out as a bogeyman on occasion by others.

Unfortunately the representatives of leading conglomerates — having insisted on numerous seats at the meeting and complete with their own paid US economist — took a largely negative stance. They insisted that any changes in their conditions would be useless and harmful. But their own economist eventually joined in the consensus that substantial changes are appropriate.

The invited foreign experts were impressed with the quality of local talent. We are hopeful that a free and fair debate — which is what the ANC is conspicuously trying to encourage — will make substantial progress towards modern, responsible anti-trust policies. These policies should be tailored to SA's own conditions and could markedly improve the chances for long-term confidence and growth.

□ Prof Shepherd is chairman of the University of Massachusetts economics department.

Goldstone told of disciplinary action

CAPE TOWN — The ANC had undertaken to investigate fully and discipline officers or structures if they were proven to be involved in the illegal importation, distribution and use of weapons, the Goldstone commission heard yesterday.

Peter Harris, for the ANC, said the organisation and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe remained committed to their undertakings in the 1991 D F Malan Accord which prohibited armed attacks, infiltration of cadres and material, creation of underground structures, statements inciting violence, threats of armed action and military training outside SA.

The ANC recommended that a special unit comprising investigators from the ANC, Inkatha and security forces be established by the national peace secretariat to investigate illegal arms imports and that

the unit's progress be monitored regularly by the Police Board.

Louis Visser SC, for Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, asked that the commission's terms of reference be extended to investigate all illegally possessed firearms and all forms of politically-related violence, not only political violence which was also public.

He said neighbouring countries should be obliged to curb the inflow of illegal weapons from their territories through international treaties and, failing their co-operation, appeals should be made to the UN and the OAU.

Earlier, Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, also called for broader terms of reference to include an investigation into "pseudo-operations", in which attackers pretended to be security force members. — Sapa.

ANC officials stand accused

DURBAN — Seven men, including ANC officials from the upper south coast, appeared briefly in the Durban Regional Court yesterday in connection with the deaths of 24 people at Mpushini in the Umbumbulu area during October.

South coast ANC organiser Sibusiso Darlington Magweyana, Folweni ANC chairman Elias Mkhize and three members of his committee were among the accused.

The case against the seven men was postponed until February 11. — Sapa.

Warder admits helping prisoners escape

THE prison warder who helped "Blue Light" gang member Gavin Schultz and Godwin Webb, who had been convicted of fraud, escape from prison earlier this year, pleaded guilty yesterday to charges of defeating the ends of justice, forging official documents and assisting in their escape.

In a confession made before a magistrate earlier this year, read out in court

GAVIN DU VENAGE

yesterday, 24-year-old Anton Nel admitted he and a policeman accomplice, former Sgt Lucas Cornelius, helped the men escape.

Schultz and Webb had promised him R100 000 for his help and, after initially refusing to take part in the scheme, Nel had agreed.

Nel said his parents had been about to divorce, leaving his mother destitute,

and he would have used the money to support her.

Schultz's girlfriend had telephoned him to say that a policeman whose name was "Shane" would collect the two men from prison. But Shane failed to get in touch with him and Nel decided to find his own policeman. He asked Cornelius, who was stationed at the Norwood police station, to join the scheme.

Nel obtained documents

authorising the temporary transfer of a prisoner to police custody for questioning, and got Cornelius to sign them.

Schultz and Webb were "transferred" on January 30. Two days later they admitted they could not pay the promised R100 000.

Webb handed himself in and Schultz was arrested in Cape Town.

The State withdrew charges against Schultz, who was to have stood trial with Nel, and the case was postponed until February next year, pending a psychiatric evaluation of Nel.

Lindum Reefs Gold Mining Company Limited

'Codesa, multiparty talks must fail'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

Sowetan 11/12/92.

By Sonli Maseko

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation will continue to call on black people to intensify their efforts to ensure that Codesa and multiparty talks fail in order to safeguard their interests.

This was said by the newly-elected president of Azapo, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Govt must resign

Mosala said Azapo would pursue the demand that the government must resign and be replaced by a Constituent Assembly.

"In our view, multiparty talks will only deliver a neo-colonial settlement

which will do what it has done to countries on this continent," he said.

Mosala was speaking on the role and the programmes embarked on by Azapo.

Constituent assembly

Mosala said only a constituent assembly could reverse a political trend which excluded black people from participating in the process of their liberation.

"You cannot liberate from the top. You have to begin from the bottom and allow people to own their liberation," he said.

Asked by political reporter Kaiser Nyatumba to comment officially on the killing of whites by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army in the Eastern Cape recently, Mosala said although Apla was the PAC's military wing and therefore the PAC's business, State President FW De Klerk must take the blame for what happened because of his failure to show genuine intentions to transform the country.

He also said the issue was depressing as it reflected a deeper problem of intellectual and ideological bankruptcy

within black political organisations.

"I find a lot of good in the ANC, PAC, Azapo, and the Unity Movement.

"What about a person like myself who believes in the unity of black people.

"Why can't the leaders unite and talk about the problems.

"We can defeat the Boers in 24 hours or less if you can get together and unite."

Anonymous, Cape Town

next Talkback topic

THE Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show opens the lines on Monday for you to raise any issue of topical interest or that is bothering you. You can phone Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm. You can tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 (and 92.4 in Pretoria).

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

of assaulting a preferred method of investigation at Brixton. In fact, they don't seem to have many others."

ANC-IFP pow-wow

By CARMEL RICKARD (11A) (11A)
PRECONDITIONS set by both the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party may prove a daunting obstacle to talks between their leaders, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

From Inkatha's side, these include the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. The ANC wants all hostels fenced and a ban on traditional weapons. W/Mail 11/12 - 17/12/92

This week, senior officials of the ANC and Inkatha met in Durban, after months of official silence, to prepare for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

Political observers and many members of the two sides say a summit of leaders is essential if peace is to be restored in Natal, though they stress that such a meeting on its own will not be enough to end the conflict.

At a brief news conference after this week's two-hour pow-wow, the negotiators said they had identified issues which could form the agenda of the proposed summit. They added that they would be meeting again in three weeks' time, on December 29.

AFRICA

Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

Guardian/Wm W/May
PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 19 whites were injured, five seriously, *writes our Correspondent in Johannesburg.*

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government's failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as "the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election

which they realise is imminent".

Police blamed the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William's Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on "the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation".

● Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.

17/2/92

11A

ANC scorns plan for independent Natal

11/12 - 17/12/92
THE African National Congress launched a vociferous attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's plans to create a new state in Natal, but the Zulu leader insisted he was going ahead with a referendum on the issue, writes David Beresford in Johannesburg.

In a lengthy and heated statement on the KwaZulu-Natal draft constitution released by Chief Buthelezi, the ANC described it as a scheme devised by those "spawned by apartheid" to "perpetuate this crime against humanity under a new guise". It also bitterly attacked white "sugar barons" in the province for their part in the scheme.

Chief Buthelezi reacted to strong criticism from President F. W. de Klerk by issuing a statement that said people in his region would have the opportunity to "exercise their

sovereignty" through a "democratic referendum" on what he described as "the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal".

The ANC's statement described Chief Buthelezi's scheme as hare-brained and said that the pervasiveness of repression in KwaZulu made it impossible to hold a free and fair referendum. It added that the Inkatha Freedom Party administration's established practice of requiring declarations of loyalty to the party and its president as a condition of employment in KwaZulu belied Chief Buthelezi's commitment to freedom of expression.

The short-sightedness of the Natal sugar barons and some elements in the province's business community in lending support for such a scheme was further cause for alarm, it said.

ANC-Govt deal angers

IFP

STAN 12/12/92
Tryst could lead to

elections next year

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Government and the African National Congress have moved closer to a negotiations deal which could lead to elections in less than a year. But the deal has enraged the Inkatha Freedom Party — and is driving a deep wedge into the National Party.

It is becoming clearer now that in the torrid political love triangle between the Government, the ANC and IFP, the Government and ANC appear to be getting into bed together — and the IFP is feeling jilted.

This has important implications for the likely course of negotiations next year. It now seems that the Government and ANC will push through a negotiations package leading to elections for an interim government before the end of 1993.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after an attempted reconciliation between the Government and the IFP this week that it was like having an argument with his wife. "Once she has had her say and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system."

But although he — and other disaffected homeland leaders — agreed to get together again in January with the Government, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the political marriage between the NP and the IFP is heading for the rocks. And the divorce papers will probably cite the NP's "dirty weekend" with the ANC at an Ellisras game reserve last week.

Romantic atmosphere

It was there — in the romantic atmosphere of the campfire and the bushveld moonlight — that the two sides seem to have secretly agreed to drive the negotiation process in tandem and to run the interim government and beyond in a power-sharing deal.

Both sides have been extremely coy about exactly what was decided on. But ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the Government had agreed to elections before the end of next year — after President de Klerk forecast elections only in March/April 1994.

Although the Government denied that any firm agreements had been reached, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at a news conference yesterday that elections could be held before the end of 1993 if all parties co-operated.

Both sides agreed after the bosberaad that they had to accept "joint responsibility" for negotiations — which sounded very like the ANC view that negotiations should essentially amount to an agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP flounced off in a huff and announced its go-it-alone option of launching an anti-Codesa negotiation at which regional powers — not national leaders — would get together to decide how the new South Africa should look.

De Klerk warned Buthelezi that his "unilateral" initiative was jeopardising negotiations and leading to direct confrontation with the Government. His tough response alarmed the National Party's conservative wing, especially the Natal Nats, whose leader George Bartlett is a fervent IFP fan.

It was Bartlett and other Natal Nats who brought Buthelezi and De Klerk together in Pretoria this week to discuss their differences.

Although the meeting ended on an ostensibly optimistic note, with an agreement to meet again in a bosberaad on January 8 and 9, sources inside the meeting said no rapprochement was achieved.

Buthelezi delivered a hostile speech to De Klerk, berating him for acting in an unpatriotic way by doing secret deals with the ANC.

Constitutional differences

De Klerk calmly dismissed the personal attack on himself and focused on constitutional differences, prompting some concern in the NP's anti-IFP faction that the president might be wavering.

But the general consensus was that De Klerk and the Cabinet had decided that the only way to pull off a negotiations deal to save the economy and rescue the country from violence was to join forces with the ANC — dumping the IFP if necessary.

It is understood that at the ANC-Government bosberaad last week, Bartlett was severely chastised by De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha for his over-enthusiastic response to Buthelezi's go-it-alone plan.

One of the important "fault lines" in the party was between those who wanted to do a deal with the ANC and those who saw the NP's salvation in a conservative alliance with the likes of the IFP.

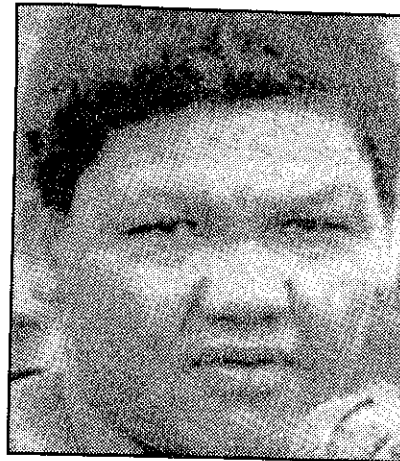
The pro-ANC faction seems to have seized the initiative. And the issue that might have tipped the balance was the Joe Slovo-inspired strategy of offering the NP a power-sharing deal with a life beyond that of an interim government.

Bullets outweigh words in propaganda battle

STAR 12/12/92

Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN analyses the puzzling attitude of the PAC to attacks claimed to have been carried out by its armed wing, Apla, and proposes a reason for the ambiguity.

[Handwritten initials]



BENNY ALEXANDER: Claims leap in PAC membership.



JAKI SEROKE: Not duty-bound to condemn attacks.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivhanani says Apla is "a very large army", but will not be drawn on specifics for "strategic reasons". Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL this week put Apla's strength at "about 120 in the coun-

try, and a few outside". Political risk analyst Professor Wim BOOYSE says Apla has "around 800 fighters in total, although only 20 to 30 would be deployed in the country at any given time".

In February, Booyse said Apla had between 350 and 410 well-trained cadres abroad, some of whom had just finished training in Libya. He predicted that these were "likely to start infiltrating back pretty soon".

These figures may not sound all that threatening, but as Professor Mike Hough, of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, puts it: "You can teach someone to use an AK-47 and a hand grenade in a day. And if they can lay their hands on a supply of hand grenades and AKs, they can cause a reasonable amount of havoc."

On the second issue, the PAC has insisted that "Apla makes its own decisions". This despite the fact that the organisation's constitution specifies that Apla must at all times consult the PAC leadership.

This ambiguous stance points to a dilemma within the organisation — the commitment to negotiations ranges from keen to cautious to extremely hostile. And that in turn points to the key question arising from the eastern Cape attacks: Does the PAC believe that the militant popular support that may flow from attacks on whites is worth more

than the inevitable by-products of internal division and loss of international support?

The PAC and the Government were to have met this week for a fifth round of talks. After a delicate two-step through a minefield of explosive issues, PAC participation in negotiations was a distinct, if distant, possibility.

After the last meeting in Gaborone in October, agreement was reached that a new negotiating forum would be established, and that the constitution would be drawn up by a democratically elected body — recognition of the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly. More significant was agreement that the negotiating forum should be chaired "impartially" — a key PAC demand — opening the way for the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity to mediate.

Consulted

No agreement was reached on Apla, which has claimed responsibility for attacks on policemen, but the armed wing had publicly backed the PAC's decision to hold talks. Commissar Ro-

mero Daniels was in Gaborone and was consulted extensively. Late last month a date was announced for round five of the talks. Two days later, the King William's Town attack took place.

Attacking civilians was a significant departure for Apla. In February, Apla's information secretary Jonny Majozi said the security forces were the target. "We remain firm that civilians are not our targets," he said.

That seems to have changed. One view is that elements within the PAC opposed to talks believed it necessary to attack targets that would shake a political process seemingly unaffected by the killing of policemen. It has worked. Talks are off, pressure is mounting on the security forces to act against Apla, and the international community may well take steps to cut off the PAC's lifelines of support and sanctuary.

The PAC this week came out with its strongest statement yet in support of Apla, issued by political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke: "Until there is mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime, the PAC is not duty-bound to condemn

the element of armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settled enemy structures."

That kind of talk, and Apla's actions in the eastern Cape, are having a pay-off in increased support, says PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander. "In the past nine days we have experienced an unusual surge in membership," he says. He claims 7 000 new members in three Natal towns, an increase in Vosloorus, on the East Rand, from 98 to 1 670, and especially rapid growth in the Vaal Triangle, with branches of 2 400 and 2 300 in Sharpeville and Boipatong respectively. "In the western Cape, the ANC branch at Uitsig has crossed the floor to the PAC," he says.

"My own view, which has not been properly verified, is that people believe that the violence (in the townships) will now be attended to with stronger measures, and the economic situation also has something to do with the response."

"The PAC sees no problem with the armed struggle and negotiations living side by side. We negotiate to end the war; we do not end the war in order to negotiate."

NOBODY seriously imagines the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is capable of overthrowing the Government by force of arms.

Apla, like Umkhonto we Sizwe before it, is engaged in "armed propaganda" — acts of violence designed to enhance the standing of both the PAC and Apla and to hammer home certain messages to their enemies.

In one sense, the success of this strategy can be measured in the metres of newsprint and

hours of debate that have surrounded Apla since the attack on the King William's Town golf club, and the Queenstown restaurant blast soon after — and there is still no certainty that Apla was indeed responsible.

Two issues have dominated this debate: How big is this force, and what is its relationship to the PAC, which acknowledges parent-hood but refuses to take any responsibility for discipline?

Estimates of Apla's size vary considerably.

Could Apla be shoving South Africa towards a settlement?

IF YOU insist on remaining an optimist in this hard, dry land, as I do, you have to grow intellectual calluses. You have also to harden your heart, and you must devise a form of logic which devalues the immediate in favour of the eventual. What on earth am I talking about? Apla, that's what. And I am attempting to motivate a somewhat contrary political view on the awful re-emergence in South Africa of soft-target bombings.

Perversely enough the Apla attacks — if indeed they were Apla attacks — have had a salutary effect on the diseased negotiations process.

This is not to underplay the unspeakable tragedy which befell the victims in King William's Town and Queenstown; several lives were cruelly taken and many more ruined. Neither is it to dignify PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander's hollow sophistry about such attacks "mobilising white opinion against violence".

It is to argue that the more outrageous the behaviour from the peripheries, the more the centre will cohere. And the more the centre coheres, the more pressure there will be on the peripheries to play the game to the new rules, or relegate themselves to the sidelines.

In this crucial moment of transition I think we are seeing the concentric circles contracting, and the new South Africa appearing ever clearer in the middle.

In their equal anger against the sudden addition of old-style terror tactics to the already-untenable morass of violence, the Government and the ANC have made powerful common cause. Both immediately condemned and rejected the targeting of civilians in pursuit of political ends, and both displayed a remarkable degree of agreement about the parameters of acceptable transition politics.

Apla has strayed beyond those parameters, just as the AWB did before it.

STAR 12/12/92

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

SHAUN
Johnson
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IT IS extraordinary that one can now talk realistically of the Government and the ANC — in the very same breath — as occupying the political centre.

It is extraordinary that one can now talk realistically of the Government and the ANC — in the very same breath — as occupying the political centre. It is a sign of great maturity in the negotiations process that these erstwhile sworn enemies, whose political programmes are and will remain so different, are agreed on the fundamentals that are necessary conditions for a settlement.

And the effects of the "Apla campaign" go even further: instead of dashing recently revived optimism about a resumption of multiparty talks and the early installation of interim government, the eastern Cape atrocities have hardened the resolve of the two principal actors. In the past two years it has taken very small things to "derail" negotiations; now, a very big thing has happened and the peace train has simply speeded up.

Both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have insisted in recent days that nothing — including soft-target attacks and secessionist hints — will stop them from marching onwards to settlement. Both have recognised that the atro-

phy of the economy and the incremental breakdown of social order are of such seriousness that the transition can no longer be held hostage by some of its participants.

This recognition is at least a year overdue, but it is welcome nevertheless. This is the kind of visionary statesmanship that South Africa has been crying out for since February 1990, when the current path was first trod.

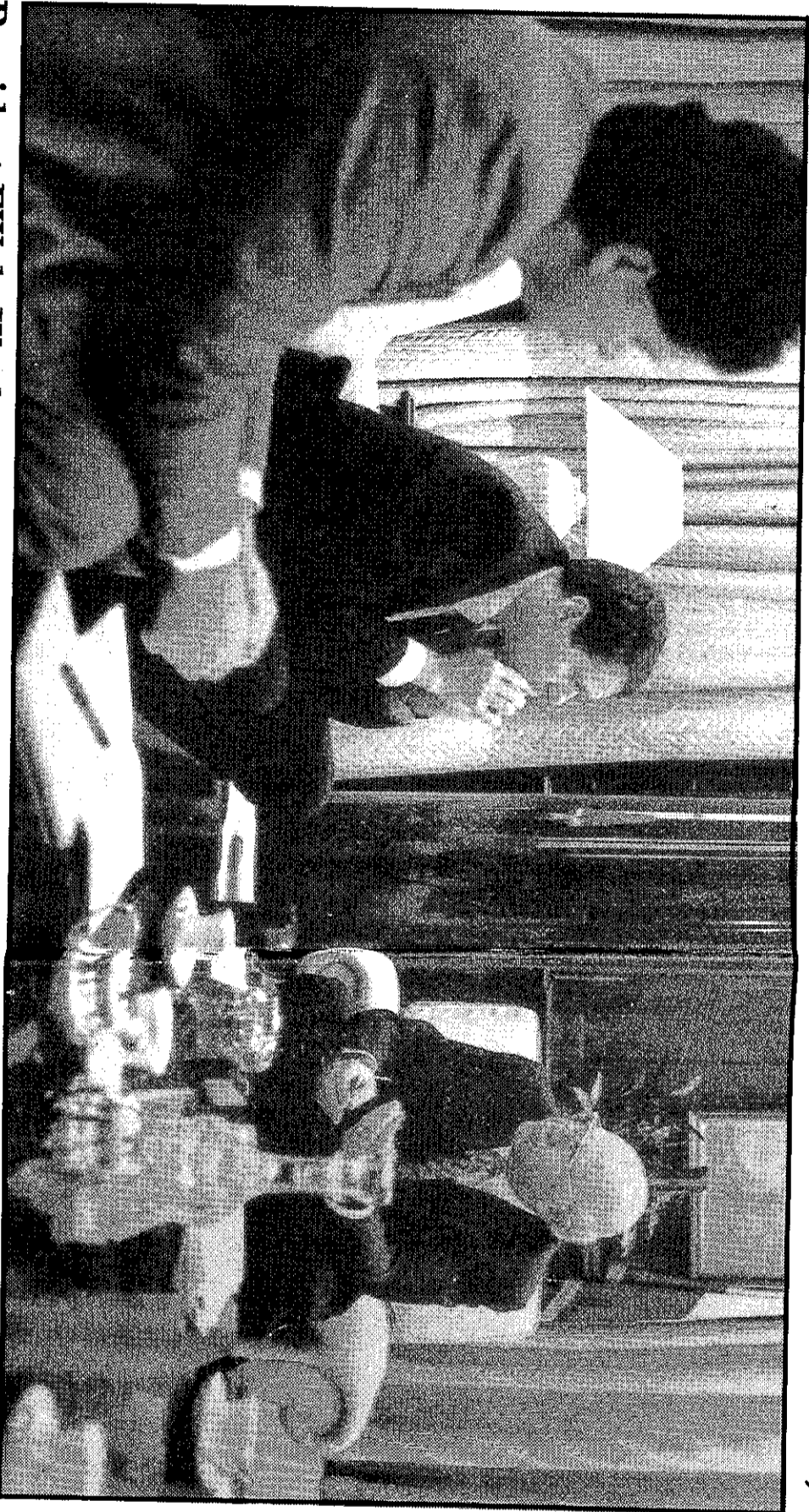
There is now a widespread realisation that the two central negotiating powers must, believing as they do that they represent a majority of South Africans, ride roughshod if necessary to a preliminary settlement. The spectre of Codesa in its initial form (where participants having little or no support-bases could hold up proceedings on a whim) looms large — and the experiment is unlikely to be repeated. All is being staked on making progress with or without the peripheries in the earnest hope that they will in the process be drawn to the centre. Codesa 3 — or whatever it is eventually called — will be different from its predecessors, a more empowered political animal.

It is not just the Apla threat, of course, that has injected this potent dose of realism into our country's political bloodstream. The sense of controlled panic at the prospect of an unending negotiating hiatus has been a long time coming, helped along by massacres, bankruptcies, the drought, crime, growing international indifference, and much more. But Apla has provided a special spur, and I do not think the major politicians will easily lapse back into the arrogant and myopic inertia which has characterised the past six months.

So are we, in spite of each week's fresh disaster, going to achieve the little miracle that is multiracial, multiparty government for the first time in our country's history? I like to answer that question in the local idiom: "Is Mangosuthu Buthelezi a Zulu?"

NINE MONTHS LATER ... A President with hope (BUT WITHOUT STARS IN HIS EYES)

S/Times 13/12/92



President F.W. de Klerk, a tumultuous year behind him, contemplates the future with a subdued confidence. BRIAN POTTINGER and MIKE ROBERTSON report

there might be corruption, we have not shrunk back from the responsibility of having it properly investigated, with the results publicised," he says.

Yes, but how does he account for the fact that despite evidence of widespread corruption and maladministration, not a single minister has been dismissed or even reprimanded?

He says: "I think that in some countries, political accountability is taken too far — in the sense that just because something is wrong in a department, the minister must resign. It is almost chopping somebody's head off even if he is totally innocent. I think there must be fairness.

"But if a minister did not take necessary precautions when it became apparent that steps were necessary, then yes, he must be held accountable. And in each of these cases, the ministers involved definitely took steps immediately when they were advised. It is for that reason that they were not requested to resign or did not offer their resignations."

Mr de Klerk also defends his highly controversial indemnity bill, which he railroaded through the discredited President's Council after stiff opposition from many quarters. The bill allows for people guilty of politically-motivated crimes to confess their sins in private to a board of judges and be given absolution.

Mr de Klerk justifies the legislation on the basis that the release of such prisoners is a political action and he, as a politician, does not want to have to exercise that power without impartial advice.

The president rejects suggestions that the main purpose of the new legislation is to "cover for government people who have perpetrated crimes."

"I was not under pressure from the security forces and giving a blank, faceless indemnity is not true."

Why, then, the secrecy provisions in the new law?

"That would only apply in the case of a man applying voluntarily without having been brought to court. I think the number of those cases will be minimal, but the names will be published. It will pose a challenge to investigative journalists to follow

up and find out why the name was published.

"If you don't insert (the secrecy provisions), nobody will come to the fore. It has the advantage that it might help us to solve unsolved crimes."

activity in the public service or security services, there had been prosecution — and some people had even lost their jobs.

"It shows the will to root out corruption. Where there is prima facie evidence that

in a threatening sense. The initiatives will still be oriented towards negotiations as much as possible.

Could the initiative be, as some in his cabinet are suggesting, in the form of a new constitution unilaterally adopted by Parliament and opening the way for a constituent assembly election? Perhaps even a De Gaulle Option — extraordinary powers for the president.

President de Klerk is not saying, "I am not prepared to comment on what it would be, but it would be constructive and aimed at taking along as many people as possible."

"We showed that will when we brought VAT in against tremendous opposition, and we will show that will presenting the next Budget, which will be aimed at fundamentally addressing the economic problems which we continue to face.

"We showed the will by going through with the indemnity legislation. We showed the will by doubling the number of troops in Natal. And in each and every sphere, I can give you examples of firm government decisions which have been taken in the best interests of the country."

to about eight percent of gross domestic product.

Mr de Klerk says the reason for this worrying state of affairs is not the result of a lack of effort on the part of his government, but of the extraordinary circumstances in which the country found itself this year — a crippling drought and a fall in tax receipts because of the recession.

In next year's Budget, he promises, further steps will be taken to reduce government spending.

Such as?

"Well, the possibility has been raised that we must look at the main item (the salary

unemployment, he says, is "the biggest single problem that South Africa has at the moment. The government is not approaching this in an unyielding and haphazard manner."

FINANCE Minister Derek Keys has identified the lack of investment, which in turn reflects a lack of confidence, as South Africa's chief economic problem.

Is Mr de Klerk disappointed at the private sector's reluctance to invest in South Africa?

He admits his relations with his main negotiating partners, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, have taken a dip at times this year, "but I think wisdom is prevailing and a personal rapport exists which is constructive."

He admits concern about delays in negotiations which could have been avoided, but says that there is a convergence of views and a growth in thinking among participants that gives him hope that the country is nearer an accord than at the break-up of Codesa. Time, he says, has not been fully wasted.

The president also expects the economy to improve during 1993, "but not spectacularly."

And the violence, the malignancy lying at the root of much of the country's problems?

"I think we can look forward to an improved situation with the violence. I perceive among political leaders a new realisation that all of us must accept responsibility and stop pointing fingers.

"If that permeates to the ground, then one can reasonably predict the violence will calm down and we will have a breakthrough to the sort of stability we require for fair elections."

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THE president is clearly sensitive to suggestions that he and the ANC are considering a carve-up which would exclude the rumbustious Chief Buthelezi.

"We think inclusively, and I would like that to be put on the record," he insists.

Chief Buthelezi's refusal to participate personally in Codesa is described as "a pity". The president says he has never tried to marginalise Chief Buthelezi and expresses regret that a better understanding between the ANC and Inkatha has not materialised, although there are now promising signs that it might.

He dismisses suggestions that Chief Buthelezi was considering a secessionist move in Natal: "I am convinced that is not his intention."

But what if even his cautious optimism is dashed? What if negotiations irretrievably falter and internal anarchy and violence rise even further?

"There is no turning back (on reform) and there is a primary responsibility on the government to ensure that delays do not favour those radical groups that do not want reform to succeed.

"If necessary, we will take steps to keep the wheels of reform rolling. I do not say that

amid reports of cabinet and caucus unhappiness with "himp-wristed" negotiations, the president remains sensitive to suggestions that there are divisions in his cabinet.

"That is just hopeful thinking among our opposition. I have always had the support of my cabinet and caucus."

Yet, admits the president, there may well be a feeling of "loneliness" among caucus members who are not closely involved in negotiations. It was a problem caused by the fact that caucus members were apart from each other for long periods of the year.

But the unhappiness is wider than that — there is a general sense of unease in the country that Mr de Klerk has lost control, that his government has lost the will to govern.

His response is immediate and sharp: "Do we have will? Yes, we do have the will. We are not a lame-duck government. I don't think there is a factual basis for that perception."

HE is unrepentant about the government's record in his tenure, particularly when the ANC claims that since his significant victory in the white referendum nine months ago, he has become arrogant in negotiations.

"I don't think the setbacks since the breakdown at Codesa 2 were caused by us. And without being conceited, we have succeeded in managing the difficulties created by the breakdown at Codesa relatively well — to such an extent that we can truthfully say there is now every reason to be hopeful for resumption of multi-party negotiations early next year."

Of course, the success of constitutional negotiations in many ways dependent on the economy recovering.

Despite a promise earlier this year by Mr de Klerk to cut government spending to the bone, the deficit before borrowing has risen sharply

So what DO blacks think of Apla?

By MOSES MAMAILA

CITY blacks were this week sharply divided over the armed attacks launched by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) on white civilians.

Snap interviews conducted by City Press in Jo'burg's streets revealed opposing views with half of those interviewed calling on the PAC's military wing to kill more whites.

The other half slammed the shootings as "barbaric" and out of step with the process of a peaceful, democratic resolution to the race conflict.

However, one in two people did not know Apla at all. A considerable number of shoppers said they had heard about them for the first time when news of the King William's Town shootings and a bomb attack on a restaurant in Queenstown broke a week ago.

Teacher Bongani Makhanya, 31, pledged his unqualified support for Apla, saying the move to attack whites was "absolutely correct".

"If there is such a lot of noise about the deaths of only four whites, it means (State President FW) De Klerk will now tackle the issue of violence tearing our communities apart effectively."

Lizi Peterson, 31, of Alexandra, said she was opposed to killing irrespective of the political motive.

"Killing is wrong. Whether you kill whites



JOE MAHESU ... It solves nothing to kill because of colour.

City Press 13/12/92



LEVU RANKOKO ... Killing whites only speeds up the circle.

or blacks, the fact remains that taking another person's life is wrong. Who are they to decide to terminate other people's lives?"

Tshepo Mkhize, 23, of Naledi, was glad that whites were experiencing the agony of losing loved ones in racist violence.

"The military struggle by Apla will advance the cause of liberation. Attacks on whites will soften the hard hearts of whites who have oppressed us for



PRETTY FISHER ... Whites have done a lot for the economy.



LIZI PETERSON ... Killing is just wrong, end of story.

years. (11A) ~~11A~~
"When we bury our people, they must bury their own too. Apla is the only structure we have to take the war declared on us by whites back to the white areas."

Obed Mazibuko condemned the slaughter of whites, saying any killing was inappropriate.

He said that while Apla might have political reasons for attacking whites, the movement should devise non-violent ways of advancing its cause.



JOSEPH MOFOKENG ... Whites and government are the same.



SIPHO HLONGWANE ... Wake whites up to reality of black rule.

Susu Muifha of Diepkloof said she was proud of Apla for continuing "the revolution".

She was disappointed with PAC leaders for hesitating to support the attacks.

"What we have here is a war situation. Whites cannot be classified as civilians because they undergo military training and, should the need arise, they will crush us as they are equipped to do," she explained.

Zodwa Ndlela of Vo-

lorus said: "Things have changed. Blacks and whites are now the same. Apla's attacks on whites - just because they are white - cannot be condoned."

Joseph Mofokeng was adamant that Apla was correct to "wipe out whites".

He said there was no difference between whites and the government because the authorities cared much about whites and accorded them more privileges.

Levy Rankoko said: "Killing whites will not solve anything. On the contrary, the violence will only escalate as some whites retaliate."

Joe Mahesu said the campaign to annihilate whites should be condemned because it achieved nothing except to spiral the violence.

Pretty Fisher said: "Whites provide us with jobs, and if Apla kills whites where will we work? They have done a lot for us."

Pat Baloyi of Pimville condemned the "terror campaign" and said that a return to international economic sanctions could help bust the negotiations logjam.

Baloyi blamed the government for double dealing.

Sipho Hlongwane said attacking whites would force them to heed the demand for black majority rule.

Some people interviewed were blank about Apla. "What is it? Can you eat it?" asked one.

By DR GOMOLEMO MOKAE,
publicity secretary, Azapo

Interim govt not a cure for all ills

AN oppressive regime is like a many-headed hydra. Cut off one head and another grows in its place.

That, in a nutshell, is Azapo's attitude to the much spoken about "interim government".

The interim government has come to be viewed by one quarter too many as the cure for all the ills and woes of this country.

However, we realise that an interim government is the elixir of life for the spent regime of this country which is teetering on the verge of demise. It sees such a measure as a way of ensuring that it stays in power.

Indeed, those who wish to enter into a relationship with the regime will soon understand the truth in Woody Allen's witticism when he says: "The lion shall lie side by side with the calf, but the calf won't get much sleep."

Once the regime is conveniently co-governing

CIPREN
with a section of the liberation movement, its dirty tricks to turn the tables will make those of the CCB seem saintly.

Already within the very movement which seeks to ride into the frightening darkness with the regime there are murmurings of dissent.

These rumblings are from activists who, like Azapo, are long-sighted enough to realise that it is foolish to consider co-government without transforming the predominantly "Afrikaner" civil service.

Can such a partisan civil service, for instance, be trusted to oversee the acquisition of identity documents by a previously voteless black majority for voting? Would they not be tempted to use underhand tactics to engineer a National Party

13/12/92.
triumph in such an election?

The mind boggles at the prospect of this civil service administering the election process – or being part of the machinery of a black majority government intent on redressing the imbalances of yesteryear.

This does not gel with Azapo. Nothing short of a complete overhaul of the civil service would reassure us that the elections would be free and fair and that a new, popularly elected government would not be undermined by a disloyal civil service.

As if that was not enough, there is talk of "joint control" of the SADF and SAP by partners within an interim government.

That, in our view, is absolute wishful thinking.

To allow the regime into an interim government

~~11A~~
11A
without insisting that the SAP and SADF be quarantined by a neutral, international force, is to welcome the regime into our domain riding on a Trojan horse, packed with enough explosives to blast its way back to power.

If Gen Walls in Zimbabwe could publicly proclaim a commitment to reconciliation, while covertly plotting the downfall of the democratically elected Zimbabwean government from the vantage position of leadership of its armed forces, what guarantee do we have that those controlling the SADF and SAP would not do the same?

For these and other reasons, Azapo does not find the much-vaunted interim government alluring.

Rather, we are attracted to a neutral transitional authority,

composed of international forces with enough clout to neutralise the "security forces".

What is good for the goose, is good for the gander. In as much as the regime insists on liberation movements neutralising their "private armies", Azapo insists that the regime submit the SADF and SAP to quarantine by neutral forces.

"No group, however benevolent, ever hands over power to the oppressed on a silver platter," wrote Bantu Steve Biko. Azapo is not convinced that the regime is such an exception to the rule that it would willingly enter into an interim government to hand over power.

Therefore, Azapo shall not contest any elections for an interim government, for in our view, it is a glorified bantustan; with the regime retaining all the power that matters.

Finally, we can only hope that those organisations which find an interim government enticing do so for some strategic motives – which are unknown to us.

PAC sticks to its guns on strategy

By SEKOLA SELLO 13/12/92

IN SPITE of international condemnation and strong criticism by political rivals inside the country following the attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown, the PAC is sticking to its guns.

It will not criticise or distance itself from its military wing, Apla, which has been blamed for the two attacks against white civilians in the eastern Cape.

These are excerpts from an interview with the organisation's secretary general, Benny Alexander.

CP: Could you explain the PAC's position on attacks on civilians, especially on whites?

BA: I must say that Hintsa, Shaka, Sekhukhuni, Dingane and Stuurman and all these people never made a distinction between soft and hard targets. Whenever the regime has fought us here, they have never made a distinction between soft and hard targets.

In the context of SA, what are hard and soft targets? The question of hard and soft targets is the European concept which the PAC has never used.

What was a soft and hard target when our people die in the townships? The regime has never made a distinction between hard and soft targets in its fight against the African people. Never, ever!

CP: Can you be more specific, do you or don't you make a distinction between soft and hard targets?

BA: The PAC is a political organisation. Apla people can tell you better as far as their strategies and tactics are concerned. But, as far as the question is concerned, this question is premised on whether Apla was responsible for King William's Town.

CP: Assuming Apla was responsible or even if they were not, what would be the position of the PAC on attacks like those in King William's Town and Queenstown?

BA: In the context of SA where the law says a white person can carry 27

weapons and an African cannot carry a blade longer than four inches, to talk about hard and soft targets when the law itself discriminates against civilians in terms of how they are armed is ridiculous.

What are soft and hard targets in SA where ordinary African civilians are taken by the police into custody and are killed there and nothing is done about it?

CP: Given the scenario you have just outlined and acknowledging that Apla might not be responsible for the recent attacks in the eastern Cape, would you say Apla would be justified if it had carried out these operations?

BA: When you are fighting against the State in an armed struggle, you have to identify the pillars of the State.

The fundamental question that we must ask is whether there is a war in the country.

CP: Is there a war?

BA: The guerrilla warfare has moved through certain stages and this is being informed by what is happening internationally.

The CIA learnt in Vietnam that you cannot win against a guerrilla army. So what the imperialists are doing is to put up all over the world the flags of peace, justice and democracy and then start a low intensity war against the people.

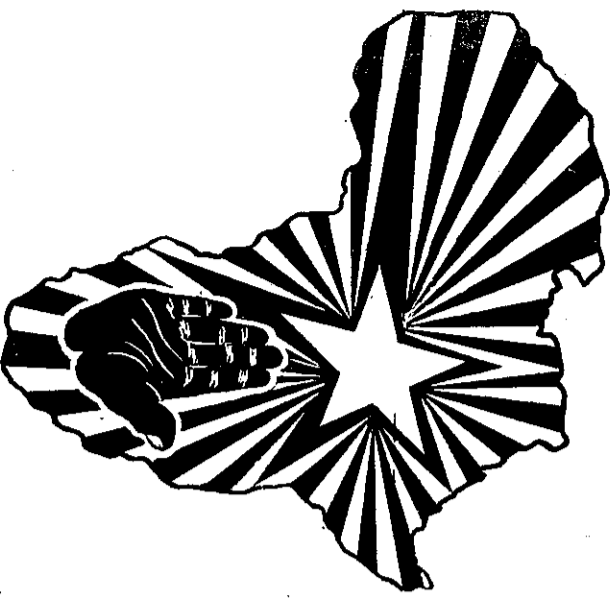
This creates confusion because your people die in large numbers and they do not know why they are dying. You ask anybody in the townships why we have 307 deaths a month and they will tell you: 'We do not know'.

That is low intensity war. The response to this is to draw the enemy out, so that people can see them as the enemy.

CP: Would you say King William's Town and Queenstown are a response to this low intensity war?

BA: I think, and this is my personal interpretation, it could well be the response by whoever has committed it - in order to turn the low intensity war into a visible war.

PAC AGAINST THE WALL



By SEKOLA SELLO

THE recent attacks carried out against white civilians in the Eastern Cape towns of King William's Town and Queenstown along with threats of more to follow, have placed the PAC against the wall.

Although it is still not yet clear whether the attacks were executed by the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), there is no doubt the fallout from these incidents have had disastrous effects on the image of the organisation.

Attacks

Prior to the attacks, the PAC's image and perception among local whites was beginning to change. They were no longer seen as a rabid, racist organisation.

The organisation's international image has also taken a hard knock. It is going to take time to repair the damage.

Such are the disastrous consequences for the organisation that even some of its staunchest supporters, like Zimbabwe, are beginning to feel the heat of harbouring the PAC.

This explains the decision this week by hardline Zimbabwean Information Minister Nathan Shanyarira who barred the organisation from making statements about attacks on civilians while on Zimbabwean soil.

Explanations by the PAC's secretary general Benny Alexander that the PAC and Apla have independent operational structures, have done little to minimise the damage.

It is generally agreed that even if liberation

Hard knocks to political image after Apla strikes out at whites

13/12/92

movements have separate structures, at the end of the day, the military must be subject to the political leadership. This is how all guerrilla movements operate the world over.

Force Pretoria

The recent attacks have brought into sharp focus the issue of the armed struggle which the ANC has, to all practical purposes, long abandoned while the PAC and Apla maintain their commitment to it.

The PAC maintains that it will continue with the armed struggle to force Pretoria to concede

to, among other issues, a sovereign constituent assembly and the holding of one person, one vote elections.

Although the government is still ambivalent about these issues there is no denying that they have moved somewhat towards meeting some of these demands during their on and off negotiations with the ANC.

The ANC abandoned the armed struggle because they acknowledged they could not defeat Pretoria. What hope is there for the PAC to succeed where the much bigger and stronger ANC has failed?

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Apla's military strength is not known but it is estimated to be far lower than Umkhonto we Sizwe's 10 000 men.

Another school of thought argues that the PAC is positioning itself for the forthcoming elections and had to do something dramatic to catch the public eye - that is the black constituency.

Since the attacks, the organisation has had more publicity in one week than at any time since it was legalised.

Apla is now the talk of the townships especially among the disaffected youth.

Whether this will trans-

tion to seize the political initiative again.

The ANC's recent Strategic Perspectives document, which calls for power sharing with the NP, is another lost opportunity for the PAC. The ANC is still sharply divided on this issue.

Instead of the PAC running away with the ball, they are forced against the wall. They are twisting and turning as they make futile attempts to extricate themselves from the dilemma of alleged Apla attacks.

Such is their dilemma that even the ANC-led alliance, which is involved in a bloody and terrifying fight with Inkatha, can't make a moral posture and accuse them of terrorist activities.

While accusing fingers point at Apla, Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa has pointed out the possibility of renegade elements of Military Intelligence being behind the campaign. The aim being to fuel black-white violence and hopefully scuttle the negotiations.

Although Holomisa has not backed this with any evidence but it is possible that MI renegades who are unhappy with the way negotiations are going might resort to this sort of dirty trick.

Another possibility could be renegade Apla cadres who are opposed to the organisation's current talks with the government. A meeting between the PAC and the government which was set for this week was called off as a result of the attacks.

Military operations, se goes conventional wisdom, must advance clear and well defined political objectives. If Apla is behind the attacks, these have failed to advance the interests of the PAC.

ANC slams raid on Border offices

^{2/1/2017} ^{13/12/92}
THE Border ANC has described the police raid on its offices this week as part of a campaign to harass ANC members and criminalise the organisation.

At least 20 policemen and two police dogs filled the ANC offices at about 8.30 am, while at least eight police vehicles, police dogs and a number of riot squad units sealed off the building. (U/A) (2/1)

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said police took away several used cartridges, spent teargas canisters and an empty R-1 magazine which were handed over about a month ago by members of the public whose homes were attacked, allegedly by Ciskei security forces.

outside the auditorium.

all her 24 years.

pened and a great night was had by all.

Azapo to meet

Sowetan 14/12/92

By Mokgadi Pela

(11A)

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is to meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday to increase its Central Committee from 13 to 36 in terms of a national congress mandate.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said the meeting would appoint new heads of secretariats and formations which would then be absorbed into the present 13-member CC.

He said the meeting would be chaired by newly elected president Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

Mokae said other items on Azapo's agenda included, devising a programme of action to frustrate the interim government.

Govt's land promise

Sowetan 14/12/92

By Josias Charle

THE Government has promised not to dispute the Goedgevonden community's claim to their land should it be found that the land belonged to them.

The community's claim to the land is based on their previous occupation and historical connection until their forced removal in 1978.

During the removal they were compensated for their houses only and no payments were made for improvements.

They were forced to move to Vriesgewacht and Gannalaagte, which were later incorporated into Bophuthatswana.

They could no longer farm as a result and

■ Undertaking on claim by the Goedgevonden community:

repeated attempts over the years to negotiate with the South African Government were refused because they were said to be in a foreign country.

The Advisory Commission on Land Allocation heard the claim of the Goedgevonden community to the farms Goedgevonden, Welgevonden and Nagel last week.

It was at this hearing that the Government, through the Department of Agriculture, promised not to contest the community's right to the land. But farmers in the Western Transvaal want the "squatters" moved from the land.

SIX MONTHS GIRI FRIDAY

ARE YOU WORRIED?

STAR 14/12/92 (11A)

Pact, ANC 12-point understanding

Agreement on 12 "points of understanding" on the restructuring of the Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (Pact) has been reached between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the ANC.

This was announced yesterday in a joint statement by TPA

director general Andre Cornelissen and ANC arts and culture department head Wally Serote.

Included in the 12 points was agreement that the performing arts should be de-politicised and that Pact would reflect the diversity of the country's performing arts. — Sapa.

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STAR 14/12/92.

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Liberation movement meets

One of the oldest liberation movements in South Africa, the New Unity Movement, is to hold its eighth annual conference at Cape Town's Lansdowne Civic Centre. The five-day conference, which will start on Wednesday, is expected to be attended by delegates from the Transvaal, Transkei and Natal. It will be opened by the movement's president, Richard O Dudley.

Multipartyism can help put the brakes on political corruption, writes R W Johnson

A plague that blights our land

ST/2 14/12/92

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THE biggest story of the year is also the most difficult to write about: it is the symbiotic relationship which has developed between the new black political elite and Johannesburg's corporate rich. This is not just a matter of the Tambos living in great style thanks to the generosity of Tiny Rowland or Zinzi Mandela's honeymoon being paid for by Sol Kerzner. Who has not heard stories about Allan Boesak's Lancia and house in Bishop's Court, Thabo Mbeki's BMW, Chris Hani's daughter's expensive private school, Cyril Ramaphosa's sojourns at expensive trout-fishing retreats, or Steve Tshwete's expensive clothes, watches and Kilarney penthouse?

Even some months back things had reached a point where Style magazine could happily run an article — "The lifestyles of the rich and militant" — detailing this and more of the same, happily welcoming a new cast of glitterati to the gallery that habitually fills its pages. The private gossip is, of course, a lot more scabrous than

anything that can be printed — it's all about who's abusing their position as trustee of this or that charity or foundation, who has become so accustomed to the high life that they refuse to go anywhere save to five-star hotels by first-class air travel, or, more plainly, who's had R200 000 or R500 000 or, in one particularly outrageous case, R1 million, stuffed into their back pocket by which businessman. To go on would be otiose: there is, as doctors say, as they shrug hopelessly during a flu epidemic, "a lot of it about".

Mention of such facts often produces twin reactions of cheerful cynicism. The first argues that the Nats were just the same: from the earliest days of NP rule there has been a quite brazen racket of crooked land deals in the bantustans, over rigged deals for everything from school textbooks to the usual building contractor scams, not to mention the most outrageous fiddles over salaries, expenses and pensions. Secondly, many whites draw deep enjoy-

ment from stories of black politicians receiving, shall we say, gifts, for such stories fulfil a variety of negative racial stereotypes about the intrinsic corruption of all African politicians. We're just changing one lot of crooks for another, they say; and, no matter how illegitimately acquired this new wealth may be, it's a good thing because it gives the new elite a stake in the system.

Such reactions miss almost all the important points. First, what keeps politicians honest is fear of defeat — and nothing so entrenches corruption as a one party system or a long period of single party government such as the Nats have enjoyed. It follows as night follows day that the greater the degree of single party dominance in the new South Africa, the greater the degree of corruption we shall have to face.

And it could be a great deal worse than it is now — for it is not sensible to assimilate NP corruption with that of African models to the north. At least until recently, multipartyism plus a basic

Calvinist sense of propriety kept corruption within certain limits. It always existed and was always bad, but it had little in common with the truly staggering corruption of Mobutu's Zaire, of Nigerian politics at any time, or even of Mugabe's Zimbabwe where the three richest men are the President, Vice-President, and the army chief. Whatever one wishes to say about De Klerk, Gerrit Viljoen and Magnus Malan, no one believes they — or their predecessors — have mysteriously become the richest men in the country. If our new black elite can become rich this quick in opposition, God save us all when they get into government.

And South Africa is, or ought to be, different. One reason for political corruption to the north is that, all too often, there is only the political kingdom: not much else exists. But here there is a large and thriving private sector and a civil society of multiple groups who can provide a counter-weight to the power of the political elites. The injunction to seek ye first the

political kingdom and then rob everyone else blind, need not apply here.

Much of the business world feels comforted at the sight of this growing corruption: the ANC is becoming capitalist, it says. Such judgments are premature. Corruption is an individual matter; you can buy an ANC politician but the ANC itself is not for sale. Moreover, you will quickly find that you haven't bought your man, you've just rented him, as have a number of other folk, unbeknownst to you — and you'd better keep up your payments or else.

But South Africa ought to have a huge advantage over the rest of Africa — the existence of a powerful Communist Party. Everywhere else in the world it has always been the far Left that has been the most merciless in its exposure and condemnation of the mercenary behaviour of the political rich. To date, however, the SACP and its Cosatu ally have maintained a strange silence about this flourishing new class of "haves".

To a modest degree this is because the SACP seems to be part of the problem. In Britain a Labour MP who sends his child to a private school will be de-selected by his constituency party on the turn; yet no one seems even to have queried similar behaviour by Chris Hani and others and there has been no pressure for disclosure of where the funds have come from to buy houses for the SACP leadership. But on the whole, the SACP elite lives modestly in comparison with the ANC nouveaux riches and is manfully restraining its criticism in order to preserve the ANC-SACP alliance. How long, though, can Cosatu remain recognisably socialist or the SACP remain communist, if one of their major objectives is to provide protective cover for the new bourgeoisie which has so ostentatiously arrived at the very heart of the liberation movement? □

● R W Johnson is a former Rhodes scholar on sabbatical at the University of Natal in Durban.

ANC set to talk (11A) ST 14/16/92 'with all'

EDENDALE. — The African National Congress plans to meet with all political parties on a bi-lateral basis in preparation for a resumption of Codesa, ANC national executive member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said at the weekend.

Mr Valli Moosa said at the ANC Natal Midlands' regional conference here he hoped for a return to Codesa in February with a transitional executive council being established in March or April 1993 to prepare for elections.

He said bi-lateral discussions were necessary groundwork to prevent Codesa deliberations from being lengthy and cumbersome.

The ANC was opposed to constitutionally-entrenched powersharing for South Africa at the expense of democracy and was also against the formation of a troika comprising ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

● Former uMkhonto weSizwe commander Mr January Masilela was unanimously elected yesterday as ANC Eastern Transvaal regional general-secretary, replacing suspended former incumbent Mr Joe Nkuna. — Sapa

Azapo to meet

Sowetan 14/12/92

By Mokgadi Pela

(11A)

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Mokae said other items on Azapo's agenda included, devising a programme of action to frustrate the interim government.

STAR 15/12/92

11A

Apla's mission: talk and fight at once



Johnson Mlambo... confident that young blacks will be both anxious and willing to join the ranks of Apla until its "strength in the battlefield to conduct the people's war will be overwhelming".

The leaders of the PAC

- President: Clarence Makwetu
- First Deputy President and, until recently, Commander-in-Chief of Apla: Johnson Mlambo
- Second Deputy President: Dikgang Moseneke
- National Organiser: Maxwell Nemastryhanani
- Secretary for Foreign Affairs: Gora Ebrahim
- Secretary for Publicity and Information: Barney Desai
- Secretary for Legal and Constitutional Affairs: Willie Seriti
- Secretary for Political Affairs: Jakt Seroke
- Secretary for Finance: Thompson Gaza
- Secretary-General: Benny Alexander
- Deputy Secretary-General: Thobile Gola
- Commander of Apla: Sebalo Phama

THE deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Johnson Mlambo, has admitted that the killing and wounding of King William's Town and Queenstown was the work of units of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mlambo's admission, made during an interview in a neighbouring state, was the first unequivocal acknowledgement by the PAC that Apla carried out the attacks in which five people were killed and many wounded.

"We have been informed that Apla operatives were involved," Mlambo said.

Until the day before the interview, Mlambo, who served 20 years on Robben Island after being convicted of conspiracy to commit sabotage in the '60s, was described by senior PAC members as Apla's commander-in-chief.

But during the interview Mlambo said this was no longer accurate.

He had been commander-in-chief until the PAC congress in 1987, when he was relieved of the post as part of the PAC's decision to send its exiled leadership back to South Africa.

He post had not been filled by Sebalo Phama, who was Mlambo's commander.

Mlambo had earlier described Apla as an army which "by and large" targeted the security forces and which had a

"proud record of continuously fighting in a very principled manner."

After detailing Apla actions, including the grenade attack on municipal policemen in Tladi in Soweto in 1987, the Scorpion machine pistol attacks on security forces in Alexandra in the late '80s and the killing of dozens of policemen in the '90s, Mlambo said: "Apla has been most principled in fighting the struggle in a very highly disciplined manner."

How did he reconcile Apla's attacks on civilians with its "principled policy"?

"The Apla operatives come from an environment where there is a lot of violence," Mlambo said, arguing that the attacks on civilians should be seen in that context.

"We are perhaps looking into those incidents and are perhaps seeking to understand from Apla what is happening. When we have perhaps concluded our investigation, you might hear from us..."

Mlambo insisted the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks had been taken "completely out of context".

The victims had been the focus of unusual attention, he said, because they were all white - the victims were all white - were the only people to have been slain in the violence consuming South Africa, Mlambo reasoned.

"Apla, in furtherance of the political objectives of the PAC, will attack those people that it sees as assisting, like the police

villians? - Well, I have not myself looked at the all guidelines in detail.

Mlambo was then asked who ultimately was in control of, and therefore responsible for, Apla, the PAC's political leaders or the army's commanders. He replied by outlining how the PAC was pursuing a twin-track policy of seeking to mobilise politically without forgoing armed struggle.

"We can't continue to ban ourselves by refusing to ban use of, take advantage of, the available political platforms that are now fully utilise them. If they are successful, then good.

"But there are those who are prepared to carry on the armed struggle (and) we have no moral right to stop them. We feel they should be encouraged and they should be able to carry on the work as much as possible.

"So perhaps you find that the political leadership of the PAC is in the situation where, because it subscribes to all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, and they do perhaps exercise some sort of political and moral guidance."

Mlambo did not see any contradiction between simultaneously talking to the De Klerk administration - it has had two meetings in the past few months - and waging armed struggle against the security forces and their purported civilian supporters.

Two conditions would have to be fulfilled before armed strug-

One of the PAC's shadowy men who have been blamed for the attacks on civilians is Johnson Mlambo, immediate past commander-in-chief of its guerilla army.

PATRICK LAURENCE spoke to him for The Star's Africa News Service.

focus on ubuntu

THE views that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is reneging on the Africanist philosophy turns logic upside down.

What Apla is doing and what Africanism is all about are two different issues.

As early as 1959 Sobukwe said: "Here is a tree rooted in African soil, nourished with waters from the rivers of Africa. Come and sit under its shade and become, with us, the leaves of the same branch and the branches of the same tree."

Those wise words still hold good even today. Right up to now the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is the only organisation that preaches and at the same time practises non-racialism in the true sense of the word.

The doors of PAC are open to all the aborigines of Africa who are prepared to abide by a rule of an African majority.

For so-called whites to refuse to come and sit with us under the same tree and become branches of this big tree cannot be blamed on Apla. Actually, what Apla is trying to do, is to force them to leave their privileged positions and to come and identify themselves with the dispossessed and exploited African masses.

What we do not have in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania are blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians. Instead we promote Africanism.

To say that Apla has launched attacks on unarmed white civilians is not a correct statement. There is a law in the country which empowers whites to buy as much as 27 pieces of weaponry over the counter. Consequently, in 1990 alone, no less than 2,5 million guns were bought by whites.

Compare the number of weapons bought over these years and you realise the seriousness of the situation.

And these weapons are bought for "swart gevaar". They are not bought to thwart an invasion.

Instead they are intended for local inhabitants. And to compound the situation the regime has mercenaries assembled in military barracks throughout the country - mercenaries in the form of Buffalo Battalions 32 and 31, Koevoet, Selous Scouts, Renamo bandits together with the CCB and Askaris.

These killers are armed and paid by the so-called unarmed civilians.

Patrick Laurence in his article on Sobukwe's Ubuntu which appeared in *The Star* of December 12 is also accusing the PAC leadership of being silent over these attacks.

This also is not true. The PAC leadership has been on TV and the radio on numerous occasions where our case has been put clearly: that matters on Apla should be referred to Apla, and PAC matters are best dealt with by PAC.

What the PAC leadership will not allow is

What the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) is doing and what Africanism is about are two different issues. To say that Apla is reneging on Ubuntu is not the truth. **Walter Xweya**, a member of the Pan Africanist Congress, explains his party's attitude to Africanism:

Sowetan 15/12/92

(S) (MR)



Robert Sobukwe ... he never said Africans would not kill.

trial by the media.

This thing about misquoting Sobukwe whenever it suits the likes of Laurence does not impress us. Sobukwe did say, on the eve of our campaign in 1960, that Africans were not ready to kill; but he never said they would never kill. Far from it.

On the contrary, those who worked with him closely just before March 1960 tell us that he rejected the idea of armed struggle simply because they had not prepared for it.

Incidentally, I happen to be one of those who confronted him on this issue. Therefore to say that he would have never advocate what Apla stands for is to state an untruth.

Laurence is correct in saying that whites should abandon their identity as colonists or settlers and to accept Africa and its indigenous peoples without qualification.

Have the whites abandoned their identity? Is it Apla that has named the so-called British Settlers Monument in Grahamstown, the Settlers Way in Cape Town, etc.?

If Laurence's intention is to marginalise the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania from the people of this country, then he is backing the wrong horse. PAC is the African people and the African people are PAC.

Right now we are inundated with calls for membership forms from throughout. Indeed we are finding it difficult to cope with the demand.

If by marginalisation he means we will not be invited to a *bosberaad*, then I may as well say that we prefer meetings in open spaces to those in terrorist surroundings.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania together with its component structures - Apla, Awo, Azanyu and Paso - firmly believe that there is only one human race and that is the human race to which we all belong. If the whites believe they are a superior race (a *Herrenvolk*), then it is for them to decide whether they will be happy in the shade of this big tree.

PAC leader Robert Sobukwe never said Africans would not kill.

STAR 15/12/92. (117)

Churches have a role to play, says Mandela

POTCHEFSTROOM — ANC president Nelson Mandela appealed to South African churches yesterday to help identify the root causes of political violence in the country.

In a speech delivered to the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa in Potchefstroom, Mandela said the Church in South Africa could not "afford a retreat to the coziness of the sanctuary — tempting as it may be — in these confusing and

challenging times".

He appealed to churches to put a great deal of energy into fighting endemic violence in South Africa "so that this scourge can be eradicated totally".

"I am convinced that unless we as a society make full use of the potential our churches have, the democratisation of our society is going to be slow and distorted in some instances," he said. — Sapa.

By Patrick Laurence

Apla responsible PAC leader

EXCLUSIVE
STAR
15/12/92

Units of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) carried out the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks in which five white civilians were killed, PAC senior deputy president Johnson Mlambo told The Star Africa Service in an exclusive interview.

Mlambo, who took over from John Pokela as the commander-in-chief of Apla in 1985, described Apla — the PAC's military wing — as a

"highly disciplined" guerilla army which has fought a "principled" war.

A former Robben Island prisoner, Mlambo argued that these attacks — which were condemned nationally and internationally — had to be seen in context.

"The operatives came from an environment where there is a lot of violence and were cut off from the influ-

ences that are operative in their own community," Mlambo said.

But, if these comments suggested that he was pleading extenuating circumstances for these attacks on civilians, they were cancelled by another statement, in which he appeared to justify them on ideological and military grounds.

"Apla, in furtherance of the political objectives of the

PAC, will attack those people that it sees as assisting, like the police and soldiers, in the maintenance of oppression."

Mlambo, a 52-year-old bespectacled man who completed a BSc in economics while in prison, dismissed criticism of the attacks by the rival ANC as predictable.

"They will be out to con-

demn any action by Apla," he said.

"We can never do anything right as far as they are concerned. A short while ago they were in the chorus which said Apla is killing black policemen, as though Apla is selectively, on a racial basis, seeking to eliminate black policemen."

Declining to be specific about the size or location of Apla units, Mlambo insisted

that Apla was a growing force which drew its support from "the people", particularly the youth. "Wherever there are oppressed people, there is our base," he declared.

● No military bases - Page 7
Apla's mission: talk and fight at once - Page 17

Police warn of blitz by robbers over holiday season



om 8-10 year vineyards. Malolactic in tank. 12 months on French oak further year in and fruity aged flavour - and not toasty oak strictly from exponents. Collected from and Sauvignon.



Causes of taxi war pinpointed

UNBRIDLED commercial rivalry and intolerance among rival taxi associations were the main causes of taxi violence in Alexandra township, the Goldstone commission said yesterday.

Releasing its report on the taxi violence in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, the commission said the immediate and root causes of the violence lay with the taxi operators themselves.

But the report also pointed a finger at the authorities, saying it was clear the sudden booming of the minibus taxi industry in Alexandra was not foreseen and no timely strategy was devised to accommodate it and to deal with the industry's problems.

There was no formal taxi rank. At one rank, more than 500 taxi operators plied their trade, but there were no facilities such as shelters and toilets.

The commission recommended the first step towards the resolution of the conflict in Alexandra between the Alexandra United Taxi Association (AUTA) and the Alexandra Randburg Midrand Sandton Taxi Association (ARMSTA) was to establish proper channels of communication between them.

The establishment of formal ranks in Alexandra was an important priority.

The commission suggested a joint committee be formed to administer taxi ranks and routes.

It suggested the private sector assist national taxi organisations in providing training in business, marketing and entrepreneurial skills. — Sapa.

Mandela: church cannot retreat now

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the church worldwide to warn adherents against the dangers of superficial change in SA that would leave power and privilege in the hands of whites.

Speaking at the centenary of the Ethiopian Church in Southern Africa in Potchefstroom, Mandela said the church "cannot afford to retreat to the coziness of the sanctuary, tempting as it may be, in these confusing and challenging times".

The church in SA had no option but to join agents of change and transformation in the task of acting as midwife at the birth of democracy.

Support

He rejected the contention that the church had been left out in the cold since February 2 1990 and had to take "a lonely walk in search of an identity and a role" following its earlier central contribution to the fight against apartheid.

In trying to marshal the support of "the powerful and influential institution that the church is", the ANC president remained cautious and said he would not support policies which subordinated churches in any way to the government of the day.

He suggested the role of the church during transition and beyond should be:

To warn adherents in SA and in the International Ecumenical Movement against the dangers of superficial change that would leave power and privilege in the hands of whites and a few affluent blacks;

To keep in public focus the legacy of apartheid and help to design strategies for addressing it;

To position itself to act as the conscience of the present and future society — as a "ministry of values";

To take an active part in the mobilisation of society for democracy which should include education aimed at creating a culture of tolerance and at enhancing the moral fibre of the society;

To play the essential role of fostering national reconciliation "underpinned by confession and restitution". The church could help the reconciliation process through a clear and unambiguous rejection of false reconciliation, as it did during the years of its fight against the apartheid heresy, he said;

To focus energy on the war against violence and to help identify root causes "so this scourge can be eradicated";

To take an active part in building a new nation through social reconstruction of the family and community, democratising political institutions and the economy; and

To gear itself to take over some of the burden of education because this could no longer be left to the state alone.

Mandela said he was not being prescriptive to the church, but was convinced that unless society made full use of the potential the churches had, the democratisation of SA would be slow and distorted.

BILLY PADDOCK

Call-up refusals to be investigated — SADF

EVERY individual case of non-reporting for national military service would be investigated and the offender prosecuted if necessary, the SADF said yesterday.

Reacting to the public refusal in Cape Town yesterday by a group of 21 young men facing January call-ups to report, the SADF said the Defence Act still provided for the conscription of white male citizens.

"The status quo will be maintained until the Defence Act is amended," a spokesman said.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) in a statement expressed full support for the 21 individuals.

"Since February 1990 many people have assumed that the whites only call-up was something that would not survive for very long in the 'new' SA.

"Now, almost three years later, thousands of young white South African men are again facing call-ups for military service," the ECC said.

The SADF would not comment on the number of conscripts called on to report for the January intake.

"However, all eligible white males are called up for duty and allotted to various areas of service.

"Furthermore, every individual case of non-reporting will be investigated and, if necessary, prosecutions will be instituted against offenders," the spokesman said.

The ECC criticised the SADF's approach, saying that those who objected to serving in the SADF under the whites only conscription system were under threat of being convicted as criminals for doing so.

The continuation of whites only conscription served government's purpose of maintaining the SADF as its own private army, thereby dragging out the conflict and retarding the entire process of finding peace, the ECC said.

The call-up system was developed in line with the policy of apartheid which had been rejected by most people in SA, the ECC said.

Meanwhile, the SADF has already received several countrywide applications for its voluntary short service system introduced last week.

The voluntary period service system was intended to provide some relief for Citizen Force and commando members, the SADF said when it announced the system last week.

...with the President's regarded President F W de Klerk as the ... Only 14% consid



THE Nero award for fiddling while Rome burns should surely go to President FW de Klerk for attending the opening of the Lost City in the company of the likes of Joan Collins on the eve of the crucial *bosberaad* with the African National Congress.

One wonders if he was alive to the unintended symbolism of the simulated earthquake that turned the civilisation of the Lost City into a ruin. Or whether he saw the grand illusionist, Jean Michel Jarre, as a kindred soul. Or whether, when he woke up on Wednesday morning, he was able to remember which soap opera he was in.

The chief executive has some momentous decisions to make in the next few weeks. More than anything, he needs to get a grip on reality.

In recent weeks De Klerk has appeared paralysed by the fear that if he moves decisively towards a deal with the ANC, he could precipitate a mutiny in his own ranks. His cabinet is divided, the security forces are restive, the white constituency is wavering. The Azanian People's Liberation Army's sick threat to spread racial war and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's transparent attempts to set up a political fiefdom in kwaZulu/Natal do not help.

There is no more time to mess around and prevaricate. The seemingly endless scandals have taken their toll. The government has all but lost legitimacy. De Klerk can remain ensconced in power, like Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire, moored on his yacht up the Congo River, but there is little leadership, and ever-diminishing governance. South Africa is crumbling.

ANC negotiators and some commentators are bullish about this week's *bosberaad*. They believe they can whiff the brew of a settlement from the favourable chemistry of the Cyril Ramaphosa-Roelf Meyer relationship.

De Klerk's sharp rebuke of Buthelezi's unilateralism over a federal constitution has furthered that impression.

This optimism has sustained the ANC through De Klerk's dry spell of the past two months. The release of Barend Strydom, the resort to the President's Council to bulldoze through the grossly unjust Indemnity Act, the prevarication over security force perfidy bordering on treason, the countless cheap shots at the ANC, all amount to a presidency in deep trouble.

Yet, as De Klerk trashes the ANC at every turn, the insiders smile knowingly. Smoke and mirrors, they say. Popular consumption politics.

The ANC hardly look much better right now. A movement that strung up people in trees for smoking dagga can hardly pretend to act as a guarantor of human rights.

Yet, even at its most optimistic, De Klerk's timetable for elections by early 1994 is scary. Does he imagine that this discredited government can continue to govern for 18 months, even with the cumbersome life-support machinery of the transitional executive councils?

The ANC complained that De Klerk's disclosure last week of a transition timetable pre-empted the *bosberaad*, but when the outline is taken stage by stage, he is not far off the mark. In fact, early 1994 could be optimistic. Just to keep on track, there needs to be a multiparty conference by February next year, a dubious prospect.

At least part of the fault lies with the ANC for

This isn't a soap, FW. It's for real

The government is discredited and divided, the military may mutiny, Buthelezi wants secession and Apla threatens a race war. Still FW de Klerk prevaricates.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



accepting the structure of the transition.

By mixing the explosive cocktail of the constitution-making body, the legislature and the executive, the National Party and the ANC have made constitution-making hostage to politics while strong, legitimate government has to wait for a constitutional settlement. On this point, at least, they should have listened to the warnings of the Democratic Party.

Instead, the government and ANC's concoction delays both an election for a constituent assembly and the formation of a fully-fledged interim government of national unity.

The DP has pointed out that if the constituent assembly were not tied to an elected interim government, an election could be held within months. Those elected to the constituent assembly could then excuse themselves from the dirty day to day politicking and get on with the job of drawing up the best constitution for South Africa.

On the other hand, those charged with the day to day politics could form a coalition government of national unity this afternoon if they wanted to. Other countries do it in times of emergency, without having to plod through the elaborate procedures of transitional executive councils.

To reinforce the legitimacy of a collapsing state, a precious symbol of national unity like Nelson Mandela needs to be given real authority as soon as possible. An alliance of all those who constructively want to lead South Africa away from the abyss should govern the country.

What is needed, urgently, is effective joint control over the security forces, and an iron determi-

nation by a multiparty government to wipe out violence and thuggery from all sides, including the third force, criminals and the perpetrators of racial war, and to restore legitimacy to the security forces so they can uphold the law.

Nor can economic recovery or a crash development programme for the unemployed and the homeless wait for the still distant constitutional settlement.

Even accepting that a transitional arrangement that takes us to 1994 is irreversible at this stage, the ANC is in a stronger position than De Klerk to move quickly. It has a mandate to compromise by postponing real democracy to meet the fears of the NP, the security forces, the civil service and whites in general.

On the other hand, a weakened De Klerk appears to be hardly in a position to cross the raging Rubicon. Yet, when he stood at the political pinnacle after the March referendum, a birthday to remember if ever there was one, De Klerk had the world in his hands. He chose to use his advantage to attempt to secure a constitution that would have fallen well short of democracy — a position that eventually scuppered Codesa 2.

A major cause of despondency is Inkatha's federal constitution, carefully timed to impact on the agenda at the *bosberaad*. For the past year, the Inkatha Freedom Party has played a spoiler role. Buthelezi's carefully timed move is still a spoiling one, but — with the aid of American "experts" — he has acted proactively this time rather than reactively.

Having shored up his position as the Zulu populist/nationalist, Buthelezi is playing his other card — that of spokesman for the Natal region. The "regional" option is attractive to the white industrialists and farmers of Natal, but what the country needs most of all right now is a strong central government of national unity to restore governance and end the violence.

Natal is the last place on earth that needs regional autonomy at this time. There would be a staggering conflagration if either the IFP or the ANC won a local election and took power with their own police force and army.

Furthermore, whatever the locals might think, the international community will not allow secession. The Organisation of African Unity has strict policy against the breakaway of new states that create bad precedents on a tribal continent.

Those whites who might be attracted to the Buthelezi option need to get a grip on reality. To go the route of secession or UDI could turn Durban into Sarajevo.

De Klerk is in an unenviable position. He has to stand up to those voices in his cabinet who are ideologically wedded to an alliance with the IFP which, like them, is proposing something short of democracy. Yet to remain willingly tethered in such a way to a small provincial force would be a bad mistake and the *bosberaad*s of now and January will yield very little.

The risky alternative — of moving bravely into the future as a centrist party, of scrapping the notion of permanent power sharing, of calling Buthelezi's bluff, of making a deal with the ANC — could give the NP oxygen and a real chance of doing well in an election.

And who would then begrudge De Klerk his evening with Joan Collins?

Holomisa promises bases probe

Hani slams Apla terror campaign

57A2 16/12/92

By Helen Grange
and Sapa

SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani has condemned the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) for staging attacks against whites, while Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has promised an inquiry into Apla's activities in the homeland. 16/12/92

In an interview yesterday, Hani said: "It is regrettable that some organisations continue with military operations when they themselves are involved in negotiations with the Government.

"I respect the right of each and every organisation to adopt its own strategies. But I think the killing of civilians, black or white, should be condemned by all of us."

Hani, however, warned that any military attack by South Africa against the Transkei to root out Apla

fighters would endanger the fragile peace process.

Last week Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel warned that the Government could launch raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe in pursuit of Apla soldiers.

Holomisa, who announced yesterday in Johannesburg his intention to appoint a judge to investigate claims of Apla training locations in the Transkei, has threatened to retaliate militarily should South Africa conduct cross-border raids.

Members of the Patriotic Front endorsed his standpoint at a meeting yesterday, saying Kriel's comments regarding cross-border raids were "wholly unjustified".

Holomisa said the judge to be appointed would be briefed to investigate claims of Apla bases as well as to look into the activities of "agents of the South African government" on the border of the Transkei.

Last weekend's Sunday Times report that there

were six areas where Apla soldiers were being trained would have to be investigated by the appointed judge.

The judge would also investigate the "military training of the AWB" (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) on the Transkei borders, he said.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), of which Apla is the armed wing, said in a statement yesterday that the United Nations Observer Mission's declining of the PAC's invitation to visit areas where Apla bases are alleged to exist raised "serious questions".

"It is clear the regime is intending starting a war in the Eastern Cape and for the UN Mission to decline involvement to prevent such a war is above our understanding," the statement said.

Although the PAC did not blame the UN Observer Mission for its limited mandate, it would call on UN secretary-general Dr Boutros-Boutros Ghali to enable the team to take measures to prevent violence.

PF throws weight behind ANC poll call

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ANC 16/12/92

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa participants in the Patriotic Front (PF) reiterated the ANC viewpoint that elections for a transitional government were attainable before the end of next year.

The PF meeting yesterday, hosted in Johannesburg by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said such a timescale for

elections would give direction and certainty to the negotiations process.

President De Klerk announced earlier that the government envisaged elections to be held in March or April 1994.

It agreed that multiparty discussions should resume speedily and that Codesa should be re-structured to include groups which boycotted the negotiating forum earlier this year.

The groups committed themselves to agreements reached at Codesa reiterating a decision taken at the recent government/ANC "bosberaad".

Yesterday's talks were attended by the Inyandza National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Yesizwe Party, and the Transkei and Venda gov-

ernments.

A statement issued after the meeting said it received a briefing on the government/ANC "bosberaad" and last Friday's meeting of the front-line states in Harare.

The PF meeting resolved that multilateral talks should proceed as soon as possible and even if those groups who had been boycotting Codesa refused to join the negotiating forum.

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STAR 16/12/92

Into 1993 – with a new realism

STAR 16/12/92

(2008) (11A)



Allister Sparks



Back in 1961 . . . former Congolese leader Moise Tshombe, who initially had white conservative support, with his mercenary Katanga forces in a rebellion to form a breakaway state.

AS THIS column signs out for the holiday season, it does so with the bracing awareness that 1993 is going to be the big one for South Africa.

It is the year in which the great transition from apartheid to democracy has to take place, otherwise it may never take place at all.

The time frame has become clear: another *bosberaad* between the Government and the African National Congress late in January; Codesa 3 in February to reach broad agreement among all parties; the installation of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council by May to run the country and level the ground for our first one-person-one-vote election; then the election itself before the end of the year.

That will provide a Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. The assembly will also serve as an Interim Parliament, from which an Interim Executive will be drawn to rule until this work is done.

Then, some time in 1994, we will have a new constitution, a new government and a new future. A future which will be another country.

But 1993 will be the critical year of transition. If the vital agreements are not reached then, the moment will be lost and the transition may never take place.

Another year of delay, of slim politiekery like we had in 1992, and this country will be doomed, a victim of runaway destabilisation that started out as clever political gamesmanship but slipped out of control and ended up as another Angola.

But I don't think it will go that way. The saving grace of South Africa is that none of us can leave in large numbers like the Portuguese did, particularly in a time of global recession when there are no jobs going anywhere. Like being hanged in the morning, that concentrates the mind, for we are all stuck with the fate of this land.

This is why our transition is crisis-driven. Everyone plays politics until it brings us to the brink, then as our leaders stare into the abyss they step back and face reality again. So we stagger forward, step by crisis-driven step, towards the

new South Africa.

The year now closing has brought us to that brink, which is why we have a new sense of realism. One can count the positive signs. First among them is a recognition by the Government that instead of trying to discredit and defeat the ANC it must work with it.

A transition like this can succeed only if the major constituencies are jointly committed to it. Since the National Party controls more than 65 percent of the white constituency and the ANC more than 65 percent of the black constituency, no deal can work that excludes either.

Most of the setbacks of 1992 stemmed from the Government's failure to recognise this truth. Carried away by the big "yes" vote in the March referendum, National Party strategists became intoxicated with the idea that perhaps the transition to democracy wouldn't mean having to give up power after all.

A whiff of destabilisation for the ANC and the building of an ethnic alliance like Dirk Mudge's DTA in Namibia, and they might win the election.

So began the delaying tactics that led to the breakdown of Codesa 2. Gain time to build the alliance, while letting the ANC twist in the wind and Nelson Mandela's hero image fade as life in the townships continued to deteriorate rather than improve. Cash in on the disillusionment. That was the strategic thinking.

But it has backfired. While the delay has harmed the ANC it has hurt the Government more. It has wrecked confidence and set back the economy, which has destabilised the white constituency as well as the black. Disillusionment has been with the process itself, not just with the ANC.

The appalling massacres, and the Government's failure to bring the perpetrators to justice, have damaged President de Klerk's

image abroad, while the exposure of wholesale corruption has damaged it at home.

Over the year, De Klerk's opinion poll ratings have fallen across the board while Mandela's have continued to rise in the black community. The Nat-led alliance has failed to materialise and some of the prospective allies have proved an embarrassment.

Now the stalling has given way to a sense of urgency. The Government has woken up to the fact that the country is falling apart, taking its own interests down with it, and that the only way to stop the rot is to drive the centre forward fast. That means getting together with the other major partner.

Meanwhile, the national crisis has brought the ANC leadership to a realisation that it, too, cannot govern alone – at least not initially. Power resides not only in the political kingdom as Kwame Nkrumah imagined but in several other sectors as well: in the civil service, in the armed forces, and with the engine drivers of the economy.

There must be a relationship between these nodes of power. The politicians cannot rule regardless of the others. Deals must be struck, understandings reached. The ANC, thanks largely

to an understanding of the negotiating process acquired during 13 years of shop-floor bargaining by the black union movement, has recognised this and accepted the need to make concessions.

And so, out of the ruins of a disastrous 1992, we find ourselves awaiting a hopeful 1993.

There are still dangers ahead. A secessionist-minded Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is trying to set himself up with conservative white support as the Moise Tshombe of South Africa. There is the frightening spectre of our military-security underworld operating beyond the fringes of Government control, of Apla and renegade members of Umkhonto we Sizwe operating beyond the control of their respective political leaderships.

But as these crises loom they will hopefully spur the major players to move even faster down the road to agreement, until an election finally sorts out the dangerous pretenders from those with genuine support.

So hope outshines the darker forebodings. I therefore take my holiday in a spirit of optimism and wish you all a peaceful Christmas and a truly historic New Year. □

● Sparks's column will resume in mid-January.

ANC leaders visit Bisho again

SPAN 16/12/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Instead of bullets, ANC leaders Steve Tshwete and Chris Hani met friendly crowds as they retraced their steps to Bisho on Monday.

In fact, they actually entered the Ciskei capital — an entry violently prevented by Ciskei soldiers on September 7 when 29 people were killed in an ANC march on Bisho.

Hani found himself at a loose end on Monday after missing a

flight from East London to Johannesburg, and decided with Tshwete to visit Bisho. Both men were among the leaders of the march in September.

They drove into Bisho along the road leading from King William's Town where on September 7, Ciskei soldiers with semi-automatic rifles opened fire on ANC members and supporters.

"We passed the stadium (where the shootings occurred), drove into Bisho and parked the car.

"People recognised us and

there was a lot of excitement," Hani said yesterday.

"They followed us into shops and shouted slogans.

"After some time Gqozo's security branch arrived and we greeted some of them.

"The security members told us not to think that they supported Gqozo, because they did not and had to earn a living," he said.

Hani said the visit was a "poignant reminder that we must never forget the people who lay down their lives for freedom".



Chris Hani . . . Bisho visit was a 'poignant reminder'.

Front backs 'open' Codesa

CT 16/12/92 304#
11A

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Hopes for a speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations were boosted yesterday when the Patriotic Front called for "urgent" steps to resolve the country's political crisis.

The ANC-dominated front, which met yesterday, also backed calls for interim government elections by the end of 1993.

It said Codesa should be restructured to function efficiently and "with a greater degree of openness to the public".

However, the front "committed themselves to agreements reached to date in Codesa".

It slammed Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel for saying cross-border raids on Apla might

Warning on Apla slammed

be considered, saying it backed a Transkei investigation into alleged Apla bases there.

The meeting was chaired by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and attended by the Inyandze National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Yesizwe Party and the Transkei and Venda administrations.

In a joint statement the front

said "it is now more than ever urgent that the political crisis in our country be resolved speedily through multilateral negotiations in Codesa".

Firm and clear agreement on time frames was of "special importance" however.

"In particular, the meeting resolved that elections which establish the constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity must be held by no later than the end of 1993."

After the meeting SACP chief Mr Chris Hani repeated his recent criticism of Apla for staging attacks directed at whites, but warned that any attack on Transkei to root out Apla fighters would endanger the peace process.

ANC torture probe 'a farce'

JOHANNESBURG. —

Two former prisoners of the ANC dismissed as a farce yesterday an ANC commission named to investigate human rights abuses in its camps abroad. (INA)

"We and several other former prisoners should have been consulted," Mr Jose Ribeiro de Souza said.

"The ANC cannot appoint commissioners and expect them to be neutral," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

PF says elections possible in 1993

Sowetan 17/12/92

CODESA PARTICIPANTS in the Patriotic Front (PF) on Tuesday reiterated the ANC viewpoint that elections for a transitional government were attainable before the end of next year. The PF meeting, hosted in Johannesburg by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said such a time scale for elections would give direction and certainty to the negotiations process.

President FW de Klerk announced earlier that the Government envisaged elections to be held in March or April 1994.

It agreed that multiparty discussions should resume speedily and that Codesa should be restructured to include groups who boycotted the negotiating forum earlier this year.

The group committed themselves to agreements reached at Codesa, reiterating a decision taken at the recent Government-ANC "bosberaad".

Yesterday's talks were attended by the Inyandza National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Yesizwe Party, and the Transkei and Venda gov-

~~2/1/93~~ **TIME SCALE** Would give

direction and impetus to

negotiations says Codesa PF:

ernments.

A statement issued after the meeting said it received a briefing on the Government-ANC "bosberaad" and last Friday's meeting of the Front Line states in Harare.

The PF meeting resolved that multilateral talks should proceed as soon as possible even if those groups, who have been boycotting Codesa, refuse to join the negotiating forum.

The PF meeting discussed an earlier meeting between the Government and representatives of KaNgwane, Venda, Lebowa and Bophuthatswana. It is understood that the meeting was called by the Government to brief these groups on the Government-ANC "bosberaad".

OPINION *Only oppressed black can turn things around*

Solidarity the only way to gain real freedom

THE situation in Azania at present bears all the hallmarks of a struggle gone seriously wrong. It is the hope of many of us that this is a temporary low point from which we will soon escape.

Of course, only the oppressed black people, who suffer most from the ravages of the present morass and who would be the main beneficiaries of a successful liberation struggle, can turn things around.

The genocidal aspect of the violence, perpetrated by the regime and its organs against black people, might not be acceptable but it is politically understandable.

The white racist establishment has always been completely dedicated to the promotion and protection of white privilege at any cost.

Black people have died by the thousand and throughout the history of settler-colonialism as and when whites deemed it necessary to kill.

There is no basis to suppose that this phenomenon has changed. So, there is nothing particularly startling when whites and their security forces kill blacks.

Of concern is the perpetration of large-scale violence by blacks against other blacks in recent years. Some of it is actually planned by components of the liberation movement against those who are not affiliated to them.

This creates suitable conditions for the regime to unleash its killer squads among the black community.

Black people now live in fear of another community spirit and black solidarity, which served the people well in the past, are all but dead.

In some places, such as the Vaal, criminals, killer squads of the regime and misguided cadres of some political organisations combine into a deadly web which terrorises the black community day and night.

Weapons abound and are used randomly, including the killing of whole families, the extortion of money from business people and the robbery of people in their homes and at street barricades in the dead of night.

Headless chickens

Meanwhile, like headless chickens, much of the black political leadership is running around in circles in the hope of colliding with a De Klerk-created job. Regrettably, this is the level to which the situation has deteriorated.

The inability of the liberation movement to unite for the purpose of struggling or negotiations and the endless bilateral meetings with the regime that lead nowhere, all point to a liberation movement that has lost its way.

It is almost certain that most of the leadership of the liberation movement is aware of the gravity of the situation. But its response is a hopeless one.

It seeks compromise that leaves De Klerk and his machinery intact and negates all that our people have fought for. The army, the police and the civil service are the very essence of State power.

Nobody can rule without complete control of these, unless one remains a mere puppet of whoever controls the security and civil services.

In our country, these services have existed for the protection of white minority interests and the suppression of black people. That is why the suggested compromise amounts to nothing more than an application to De Klerk for jobs.

Aware of this desperation for jobs on the part of a section of the liberation movement, the regime is stalling as long as possible.

After all, the greater the desperation, the stronger will be its continued control and oppression of black people.

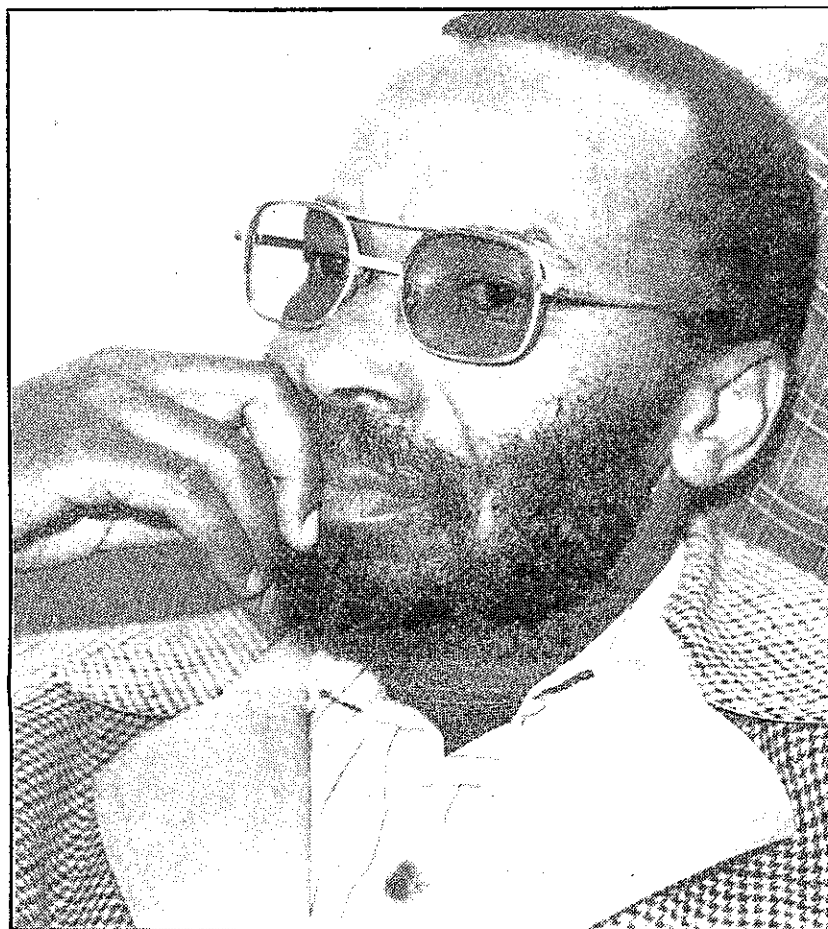
Similarly aware are the bantustans' quislings who have profited a lot from the racist arrangements of the regime. They see the present mess as an opportunity for them to push for modification of the system that will ensure their continued existence.

Proposals for a federal solution to our country are a

■ The chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), Mr

Mosibudi Mangena, analyses the state of

the struggle for liberation:



Mosibudi Mangena ... Black people live in fear of one another.

manifestation of this. In fact, some are so bold as to threaten civil war and secession if their demands for federalism are not met.

While federalism as a concept is fairly neutral, in the context of our country it can only bring more problems, complications and conflict. The occupation and ownership of land has always been at the centre of our political, economic and social problems.

Who owns what part of our country? The demarcation of borders for the proposed federal states will most certainly generate several disputes and controversies that will be very difficult to resolve.

It will be emotionally, politically and historically difficult for the majority of people in our country to accept that whites can claim any part of the country as their own.

If a federal arrangement is opted for, some whites, especially the arch-racist lot, would certainly demand their own state.

The division of our country into different states, based mainly on ethnic considerations, will be an insult to many of us, including many heroic freedom fighters from every language group and every part of the country who dedicated their energies and lives to the cause of liberation, justice, democracy and peace in this land.

Those who imposed backward racist ideas on our society and inflicted much pain on us must be defeated and their obnoxious racial bigotry killed

and buried. Our future should consist of an open and anti-racist society that gives equal political rights to all individuals, regardless of race, language, religion, origin, sex and region.

Yes, the present situation is grave. The leadership of the liberation movement must seek solution in unity and struggle. It is solidarity and struggle that have served us well in the past and shook the oppressor into realising that he cannot continue to oppress us in the old fashion.

While federalism as a concept is fairly neutral, in the context of our country it can only bring more problems, complications and conflict



FW de Klerk

Sowetan

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CU Growth	111,73	104,31	4,55
Guardbank Growth	2432,19	2265,05	4,71
IGI	128,94	120,81	3,55
Momentum	226,62	212,16	4,67
Melfund	177,42	164,82	4,64
Mellife	114,41	106,91	7,39
NBS Hallmark	906,85	846,85	5,89
Norwich	334,29	312,15	4,29
Old Mutual Investors	2569,66	2395,90	3,73
Sage	2325,91	2171,74	4,17
Sanlam	1575,58	1475,97	3,51
Sanlam Index	1198,52	1122,46	4,10
Sanlam Dividend	440,71	413,44	4,88
Southern Equity	199,55	186,82	4,30
Standard	1158,31	1088,77	7,36
Syrets Growth	280,43	262,56	4,56
Syrets Trustee	116,30	108,92	4,66
UAL	1993,81	1863,05	5,18
Specialist equity Funds:			
ABSA Industrial	128,94	120,61	4,38
Guardbank Resources	129,49	120,77	6,20
Guardbank Industrial	122,34	114,84	5,80
Sage Resources	94,54	88,35	6,45
Sanlam Industrial	1032,86	967,34	3,08
Sanlam Mining	239,41	224,15	6,11
Southern Mining	113,90	105,66	5,81
Southern Pure	115,28	107,96	n/a
Standard Gold	133,28	124,99	9,43
Standard Industrial	112,21	105,88	n/a
Standard International	100,05	93,82	n/a
UAL Mining and Resources	322,24	301,83	4,94
UAL Selected	1779,99	1664,75	4,09
Opportunities	205,93	191,84	5,78
Old Mutual Industrial	342,78	319,35	4,28
Old Mutual Gold Fund	82,38	76,78	7,29
Old Mutual Top Companies	237,16	221,12	4,11
Income/Gilt Funds:			
Melboard Income	109,45	108,30	13,91
Guardbank Income	124,47	121,92	14,85
Old Mutual Income	111,69	110,47	13,00
Standard Income	94,55	93,56	14,00
Syrets Income	110,41	109,30	14,50
Syrets Gilt	1099,62	1088,63	n/a
UAL Gilt	1187,12	1175,24	13,19

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... door to seek Hlakotsa said. They did not know whether this wa

ANC disrupts DP meeting

Sowetan 17/12/92

THE Western Cape branch of the African National Congress yesterday condemned the disruption of the Democratic Party meeting in Khayelitsha on Monday.

ANC regional chairman the Reverend Allan Boesak said political organisations had a right "to propagate their own policies and programmes and should be allowed to do so - without interference - when and where they please".

Some DP officials, including Mr Robin Carlisle, were slightly injured when a group of ANC people broke up their meeting.

■ Allan Boesak offers to meet DP to plan chaos-free meetings:

The DP said senior ANC regional officials, including Ms Nomatyala Hlangana, were part of the group.

But Boesak denied this, saying Hlangana and her friends "had worked actively to keep the meeting under control".

He said his organisation was willing to meet with the DP and discuss ways of ensuring that political parties could hold meetings without disruptions.

11A

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oney, I'll never have another suit.'

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942-1061/2/3/4.
Today's birthdays
Ludwig van Beethoven, German composer (1770-1827).

STAR 17/12/92 (11A)
Clinton urged to invite Mandela

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are both expected to attend the inauguration of Bill Clinton as US President next month, according to sources in the incoming administration.

Members of the new Congressional Black Caucus and other influential blacks in the Democratic Party have specially asked that Mandela be included on the official guest list.

Sources in the Clinton team say the tricky protocol to get him on the list is being discussed.

Normally, invitations are directed to the heads of state of countries with

which the US has diplomatic relations, but black members of the Congress — supported, say the sources, by prominent Democrats close to Clinton — have argued that because of "special and unique circumstances" both South African leaders should be in Washington on January 20.

Mandela has already met Clinton — briefly, during the Democratic Party's convention in New York earlier this year, which coincided with the UN debate on the Boipatong massacre — and Clinton has spoken by telephone to both De Klerk and Mandela.

● MIAMI — Dade County commissioners have

voted to honor Mandela nearly two-and-a-half years after he was snubbed by local leaders during a visit to a Miami Beach convention.

The snub led to a boycott by blacks of all conventions. The move is believed to have cost the county R150 million in lost tourist revenue.

The commission voted 5-3 on Tuesday to issue the proclamation, which still must be approved by Dade County Mayor Steve Clark, who voted against the proposal.

The commission acted after hearing a plea from boycott leader HT Smith, who wouldn't say when his organisation planned to call off the boycott. — Sapa-AP.

ANC hypocritical and racist, says DP

11A

Stmr 17/12/92

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party (DP) reaction to the disruption of a meeting in Khayelitsha outside Cape Town on Monday night continued yesterday, with an MP accusing the ANC of hypocrisy and racism.

The DP's Ken Andrew was reacting to ANC statements, first blaming the Pan Africanist Congress for the disruption, then apologising to the PAC and saying political organisations had the right to propagate their own policies.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the DP had been "outrageous in its insensitivity" when it claimed not to have been involved in violence.

Andrew yesterday alleged that ANC office-bearers and supporters had broken up the meeting, during which chairs were reportedly hurled at two DP MPs.

Although Boesak had said the DP had the right to speak, he "immediately gave reasons why the DP should not hold meet-



Ken Andrew . . . alleges that ANC broke up meeting.

ings in Khayelitsha".

Andrew said a Nomatyala Hangana, who had been at the meeting, "has the gall to make

the racist suggestion that the DP should 'first settle the white areas'".

"Perhaps she is sorry the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed so that political parties are not required by law to be racially exclusive."

Boesak said Hangana attended the meeting to try to ensure order after hearing rumours that the gathering would be disrupted.

Andrew said Boesak was hypocritical in warning the DP "of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral Parliamentary system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on Boesak's own ANC regional executive".

The MP said the ANC would be judged in the end by "the actions of its members and supporters — and by the disciplinary steps taken by its officer-bearers against those who violate democratic principles as happened in Khayelitsha on Monday night". — Sapa.

ALL CREDIT CARDS

Senior man prefers law practice



Dikgang Moseneke ... resigned.

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter (1/1A)

Pan Africanist Congress second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke yesterday resigned from the leadership of the organisation, saying he wanted to dedicate himself to his legal practice and do some writing.

Moseneke resigned both his position as second deputy president and as a member of the

^{STAN 17/12/92}
PAC's national executive committee.

In a letter to PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Moseneke said he had neither political ambitions nor a desire to hold political office in any future government.

"I do intend retaining my professional practice through which I hope to continue making some modest contribution in the process of the trans-

formation of our country from an illegitimate, settler minority regime to a nonracial democracy."

Moseneke, who joined the PAC at the age of 14 and began a 10-year sentence for PAC-related activities on Robben Island when he was 15, also served a five-year banning and house-arrest order from 1973 to 1975. He was first elected PAC second deputy president in December 1990.

PAC warns of use of arms

STAN 17/12/74

11A

JANE FURSE (Lebowa) — The Pan Africanist Congress took a hardline stand yesterday against Government/ANC plans to install an interim government, and said it did not rule out the use of arms against such plans.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a 300-strong PAC rally, said the PAC would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year and that the

organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation such a government".

Mphahlele said the Government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities against whites.

"They (the Government) have sent a mes-

sage to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Mphahlele lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, saying they had

joined white liberals in condemning Apla's King William's Town attack.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano had declared his support for the PAC while other countries were supporting the PAC privately because they feared reprisals from the US, which had established a military base in Botswana to monitor PAC activities, Mphahlele claimed. — Sapa.

● Moseneke resigns
— Page 3

Sasco at odds with ANC over 'concessions' plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Students' Congress (Sasco) fundamentally disagrees with the ANC's position on the concessions a future government would have to make to thwart a potential counter-revolution.

Sasco's information officer Mr Mogomotsi Mogodiri said yesterday that Sasco was urging the ANC to convene a liberation movement summit.

The call for a summit followed dissatisfaction with an ANC document.

The document calls for concessions on job security and pensions to be made to civil servants by a future democratic government. — Sapa

Top PAC 'dove' ^(11A) suddenly ^{CT 17/11/2/92} resigns

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

IN a shock move yesterday, the PAC's senior deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, announced that he was quitting his position and resigning from the organisation's national executive committee.

His resignation comes in the wake of increasing tensions within the PAC about its participation in the negotiation process and its confusing reactions to the attacks on a golf club and restaurant in the Eastern Cape, both of which were claimed by the PAC's military wing Apla.

The attacks have been seen as an attempt by the PAC's militant wing to force the organisation out of the negotiation process.

Mr Moseneke, a Pretoria-based advocate, is one of the key members of the group within the PAC who are strongly in favour of a negotiated settlement.

Significantly, his decision to quit the position was announced only days after the PAC's other vice-president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, publicly

From page 1

Resigns ^{(11A) 2/5}

supported Apla's Eastern Cape attacks. ^{CT 17/11/2/92}

In his resignation statement, however, he cited professional and family reasons as his motives for quitting.

Mr Moseneke said that during 1993 the political pressures would require committed and full-time leadership which would prevent him from devoting sufficient attention to his legal practice.

Mr Moseneke was one of the advocates who defended Mrs Winnie Mandela in her trial on kidnapping and assault charges. Her appeal in the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein is due to be held in March.

There have also been persistent but unconfirmed rumours that Mr Moseneke is to be a senior counsel and could be in line for appointment as a judge.

Certainly, his skilled chairmanship of conferences, his role in negotiations and his performance in television debates have reinforced these rumours.

However, the PAC's ambivalent position on negotiations and the armed struggle, particularly in regard to attacks on whites purely because of their skin colour, may well have tipped the scale and pushed Mr Moseneke into quitting his position sooner than intended.

To page 2

New institute for women will work for the rights of blacks

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress Women's League has established the country's first national women's institute. (11A) (25)

The Malibongwe National Development Institute (Mandi), set up in Stutterheim, near East London, early this year, is housed in an old convent. Even though it was set up by the ANCWL, it aims at the "development of all women", said Border ANCWL president Sisisi Dolashe.

"For a long time we have paid lip service to the idea that women must be developed and now it is coming true." ARCT 17/12/92

The institute's main concern is the empowerment of rural disadvantaged black women and its siting in a small rural town is in line with this policy.

In April, the ANCWL bought an old convent in Stutterheim and it is converting it into a centre for 80 residents.

This month, a project co-ordinator joined the staff, which includes agricultural and sewing teams.

Courses planned throughout next year will deal with topics such as adult literacy training, financial management and environmental issues affecting women. — Ecna.

Top PAC man Moseneke resigns from leadership

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan Africanist Congress second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has resigned from the leadership of the organisation, saying he wanted to dedicate himself to his legal practice and do some writing.

A leading advocate in Pretoria, Mr Moseneke — who many observers have credited with being a good strategist and the driving force behind the PAC — resigned from both his position as second deputy president and as a member of the organisation's national executive committee.

In a letter to PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, dated December 16 and marked "Private and Confidential", Mr Moseneke said he had neither political ambitions nor a desire to hold political office in any future government.

"I do intend retaining my

professional practice through which I hope to continue making some modest contribution in the process of the transformation of our country from an illegitimate, settler minority regime to a non-racial democracy, free from economic exploitation and social injustice.

"I also hope to find more time to do some writing," he wrote.

Mr Moseneke's resignation comes two weeks after the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), attacked whites at a King William's Town golf club and in a Queenstown restaurant. Five people died and several were injured.

The PAC, which has neither condemned the attacks nor distanced itself from them, claiming that Apla was "operationally independent" from it, has been criticised both inside South Africa and abroad for the attacks.

MK confirms upgrade

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Senior ANC leaders yesterday reiterated that uMkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) soldiers are still being trained in several African countries.

MK held 31st anniversary celebrations here yesterday.

ANC treasurer and one of MK's founders, Mr Thomas Nkobi, said the upgrading program will convert MK to a professional conventional force.

(11A) CF 17/12/92
"Thousands" of MK cadres are participating in the programme, said southern Natal ANC chairman Mr Jeff Radebe. "We are not making any secret about this".

He said the state's armed forces are manned by "racist bigots" defending "the racist colonial status quo."

"Indeed, if there is anything to be moan it is the fact that we still lack the capacity to train even more of our people," Mr Radebe declared.

11/2/92 (11A)

Apla will rise up. PAC men

JANE FURSE, Lebowa.
— The Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday took a hardline against government. African National Congress plans to install an interim government, and the PAC did not rule out the use of arms.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mr Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a 300-strong PAC rally here, said the PAC would ensure an interim government did not succeed and the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the government to agree on the installation such a government". Mr Mphahlele said the government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up."

In Umtata, Transkei-based Apla "field political commissar" Mr Vuma Ntikinca yesterday warned that a hot pursuit raid into Transkei by the "settler South African regime" would trigger widespread retaliation by Apla. — Sapa

PAC slams ANC/NP plans

■ Official threatens force if interim government is installed:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday took a hardline stand against Government/African National Congress plans to install an interim government, and the PAC did not rule out the use of arms against such plans.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mr Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a crowd of 300 at a PAC rally at Jane Furse in Lebowa, said his organisation would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year and the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation such a government", Mphahlele said.

According to Mphahlele the Government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities against whites.

"They (the Government) have sent a message to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Mphahlele lashed out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani, saying they had joined white liberals in condemning the Apla attack in King William's Town.

Meanwhile, Apla's Transkei "field political commissar" Vuma Ntinkinca warned yesterday that a hot pursuit raid into Transkei by the South Africa would trigger widespread retaliation by Apla forces. He also warned Transkeians to be on the alert and to prepare themselves to ward off blows from the "enemy" when it struck. - Sapa.

Moseneke resigns as PAC's second deputy

Sowetan 17/12/92

11A

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

PAN Africanist Congress second deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke has resigned his posts in the organisation.

In a shock move yesterday, Moseneke announced his resignation as second deputy president and member of the PAC's national executive committee.

He said this was due to work and family pressure.

He said he was unable to fulfil his duties as the PAC's second deputy president and maintain his law practice at the same time.

He added that next year would require intensive undivided leadership with an election battle likely to be fought.

"This will not permit leadership such as mine, straddling between politics and law practice," Moseneke said in a letter to PAC president Mr

■ Family, work pressure too much:

Clarence Makwetu.

He further said he had expressed great reluctance in standing for re-election as second deputy president during the organisation's third annual congress in April.

Moseneke, who joined the PAC at the age of 14 and served 10 years on Robben Island from the age of 15, said he had made his small contribution towards the total liberation of the (black) people in the country.

"As I have said in the past, I have no political ambition. I have no desire to hold political office in any future government.

"I do intend retaining my professional practice through which I hope to continue making some modest contribution to the process of the transformation of our country from an illegitimate settler minority regime to a non-racial democracy."

with South Africa closed down

Mandela and De Klerk invited to the United States

Sowetan Foreign News Service

SA leaders are invited to Clinton's inauguration:

WASHINGTON - President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are both expected to attend the inauguration next month of Mr Bill Clinton as President of the United States.

Members of the new Congressional Black Caucus and other influential blacks in the Democratic Party have especially asked that Mandela be included in the official guest list and sources in the Clinton team say the tricky protocol of doing so is now being discussed.

Normally invitations are directed to the heads of state of countries with

which the US has diplomatic relations, but black members of the Congress - supported, they say, by prominent Democrats close to Clinton - have argued that because of "special and unique circumstances" both South African leaders should be in Washington on January 20.

It is not known what the South African Cabinet's response would be to the two invitations but black members of Congress say they have reason to believe that De Klerk will not be offended.

They add that their wish to have Mandela present is not intended as a slight and that they stand ready to give De Klerk a friendly welcome.

DP calls for urgent talks with ANC

13/01/94 17/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

RELATIONS between the ANC and DP have hit rock bottom following the ANC's alleged disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Tuesday.

DP regional secretary Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote a letter to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting, and called for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Ken Andrew said relations between the two parties would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption".

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

Our Political Staff reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday withdrew his accusation that Apla had been responsible for the disruption at the meeting, saying it was based on "a genuine misunderstanding".

However, Boesak added that the anger at the meeting seemed to have flared when DP MP for Wynberg Robin Carlisle said the DP had never been involved in violence. "Such a statement from people who are seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament is outrageous in its insensitivity," Boesak said.

The PAC had earlier rejected Boesak's efforts to shift the blame for the disruption to Apla, saying it did not "have a problem with political organisations organising meetings in the townships".

Carlisle said ANC claims not to have been behind the demonstration were questionable because prominent ANC member Nomatjala Hanganana was involved "continuously and vocally" in the disruption.

The ANC has claimed Hanganana was sent to the meeting to try to keep events under

control, but Carlisle said she had been involved continuously and vocally in the violent disruption of the meeting and had not exerted any authority to prevent the violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would investigate the disruption and take "the necessary action" against ANC members found to have participated in the disruption.

Andrew said the disruption resulted from ANC concern at the DP's rapidly growing coloured and black membership.

"There is an awareness that down the track, the DP will be a serious contender for a significant chunk of black support. There are very many black people who do not favour a militant, hostile approach to politics," he said.

Unlike most SA political parties, the DP did not carry the baggage of apartheid, violence, intimidation and socialism, he added.

The DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the western Cape where it now had about 40 branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said. "In some townships, the DP youth has to function as an underground organisation."

DP membership in the Free State was overwhelmingly black and the party was beginning to establish itself in the northern Transvaal, he said.

A third of the delegates attending a recent DP national congress in Johannesburg were black, he added.

"The ANC will be judged, in the final analysis, not so much by its fine utterances or its lofty ideals but by the actions of its members and supporters," he said.



Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa makes a point during his news conference in Johannesburg.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

SA judge may head Transkei's Apla inquiry

13/01/94 17/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

TRANSKEI would probably appoint an SA judge to investigate claims that Apla had launched attacks on civilians from bases in his territory, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

In an interview, he said he agreed with a statement by UN observer mission leader Angela King that it was not the role of the mission to investigate Apla bases in Transkei.

He said he wanted the mission simply to monitor the Transkei inquiry into the bases to ensure impartiality.

The UN could send observers to Transkei whenever it wished, but the Goldstone commission would not be welcome because it was an SA government-appointed institution.

An SA judge would probably be appointed to head the investigation, but it was too early to speculate on who this would be, Holomisa said.

Transkeians would defend themselves against the SADF if it raided their territory on the pretext of attacking Apla bases, but this would be a last resort, he said.

"It is the right of Transkeians — not just the Transkei Defence Force — to defend themselves. Our public has been conscientised, they know what to do," he said.

Contingency plans had been drawn up to cope with SADF incursions into the homeland, he said. However, Holomisa expressed the

hope that government would not contemplate going ahead with the raids, which have been condemned by the UN and the patriotic front.

He said the police commissioners of SA and Transkei were in contact and he had advised government it could reach him at his office if it wished to discuss anything with him.

The recent war of words between himself and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over Inkatha's threat to secede if a federal constitution was not adopted, had not resulted in any "bad blood", Holomisa said.

He said there was nothing to justify a meeting with Buthelezi over the issue, because it was "just politics".

● Comment: Page 6

JPA rejects 'lick of

Key PAC member resigns top post

CAPE TOWN — In a shock move yesterday, PAC senior deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said he was quitting his position and resigning from the organisation's national executive committee.

His resignation comes in the wake of increasing tensions within the PAC over its participation in negotiations and its confusing reactions to the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, for which alleged members of its military wing Apla claimed responsibility. The attacks have been seen as an attempt by Apla to force the PAC out of negotiations.

Moseneke, a Pretoria-based advocate, is

Political Staff (11A)

one of the key members of the group within the PAC which is strongly in favour of a negotiated settlement.

Significantly, his decision to quit the positions was announced only days after the PAC's other deputy president, Johnson Mlambo, publicly supported the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks.

However, in his resignation statement, Moseneke cited professional and family reasons for his decision. Moseneke said next year's political pressures would re-

To Page 2

PAC member

quire committed and full-time leadership that would prevent him from devoting sufficient attention to his legal practice.

Moseneke was one of the advocates who defended Winnie Mandela in her trial on kidnapping and assault charges. Her appeal is due to be heard in March.

There have also been persistent rumours that Moseneke is to be a senior counsel and could be in line for appointment as a judge. Certainly, his skilled chairmanship of conferences, his role in negotiations and his performance in television debates have reinforced these rumours.

However, the PAC's ambivalent position on negotiations and the armed struggle may well have pushed Moseneke into quit-

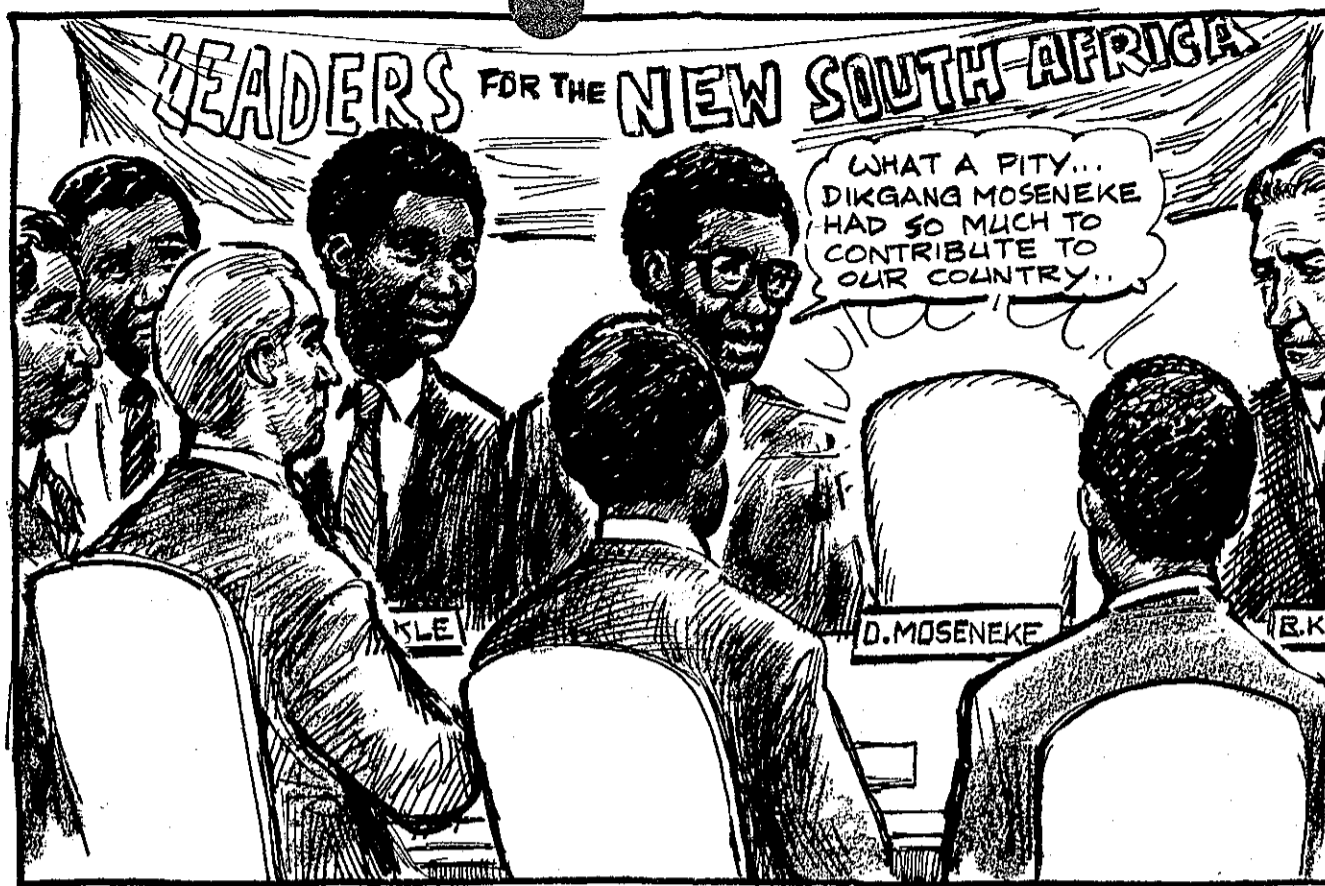
ting sooner than he had intended.

DP spokesman Tony Leon said last night Moseneke's resignation would be a great loss to the PAC because he was always "the most reasonable and moderate part" of its leadership.

Sapa reports that Moseneke — who said he joined the PAC at the age of 14 and a year later began a 10-year "stay" on Robben Island before being banned and placed under house arrest from 1973-78 — noted: "Throughout all these years up to now I have made my small contribution towards the total liberation of our people in this land." He hoped, through his professional work, to continue making "some modest contribution" to the process of transformation in SA.

From Page 1

FOCUS Nelson Mandela looks back on a difficult 1992



focus on Mandela

IL: WE have come through a very difficult year. Negotiations at Codesa failed. Throughout the winter, the country lay bare and exposed, like an open wound, and, according to the Human Rights Commission, more than 3 400 people died in political violence in 1992. Can you reflect, for us, on the past year, especially in the context of the process of the past, almost, three years.

Nelson Mandela: I agree that 1992 was a difficult year. Two central issues faced the country; that of politically motivated violence, ordinary crime like robbery and theft and the question of the declining economy.

Unless those two issues are addressed immediately, any political settlement will remain fragile.

But it would be going too far if one presented the picture as one of gloom only.

A great deal of progress has been made through negotiations generally and in particular through bilateral discussions this year.

We are closing the year on a high note.

The achievements of negotiations are there for everybody to see.

The unbanning of political organisations. The lifting of the state of emergency which lasted three years.

The introduction of the creation of a climate for free political activity in the greater part of the country, with the exception of the bantustans of Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Ciskei.

The release of political prisoners. The return of political exiles. The amendment or even repeal of some repressive legislation.

And then: the signing of the Declaration of Intent of Codesa that was crowned by the decisions at the bilateral (meeting) between the ANC and the Government.

The agreement to hold elections by the end of 1993. The installation of an interim government of national unity.

The decision to resume multiparty talks through Codesa and to respect all the decisions taken by Codesa.

I think that we are closing the year with a great deal of hope for next year.

I feel that there has been progress, not that there haven't been any problems.

There are problems but I am convinced that peace forces in this country are too strong for them to be diverted from their main goal of the installation of an elected interim government of national unity.

IL: Is peace possible; when concepts such as negotiating a new constitution and multiparty democracy and even the peace process are perhaps abstracts to people who are dying in the streets, who have to concern themselves primarily with staying alive and less with constitutional negotiations which are on a plane that is clearly on the after

Ismail Lagardien, Sowetan's Political Correspondent, talks to Nelson Mandela about the year that has passed. The ANC leader is optimistic about 1993 and is pleased with many of the developments that took place this year:

burner of survival in the townships?

NM: The question of violence, even if it results in the death of one person, or injury to one person, is something of great concern to any person who has got the welfare of the people at heart.

The question which we must raise is whether each one of us, as an individual and as the leader of his or her organisation is doing sufficiently to end the violence?

If we are going to stop violence, we will have to stop finger pointing and look at what we are doing ourselves.

If we are able to convey this perception to all opinion makers, then we will have made progress in addressing the question of violence.

But it is not a simple matter, because violence is not just a clash between two black organisations - as many people try to reduce it to.

Judge Goldstone has given between six and seven reasons, if I remember correctly, of the causes of violence.

The State security services are deeply involved in this violence; the aim being to prevent a transformation to a democratic system of Government and to undermine the ANC in particular.

That is the purpose of this violence.

They have failed in both their aims. They have not been able to stop the progress towards a peaceful settlement - they have not crippled the ANC.

But what is worse, the white community in this country is just not concerned about what is happening.

According to the National Peace Secretariat there are no less than a million refugees in this country as a result of this violence.

It is an indictment against the white community of this country that there is no talk about this.

There are no efforts, in South Africa, like you would find in other countries, by the wealthy, those who are living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds at least (now) during this Christmas period.

Displaced people

Such efforts would make these displaced people

feel that they are human beings and that somebody cares.

To give them hope that even during this time when their lives are dislocated they must not despair because people who have the means are thinking of them and are sharing what they have with them.

The failure by whites to rise to the expectation is a serious indictment against the white community in this country.

IL: How do you see the reported violent activities of Apla impact on or influence the transition and peace process?

NM: We strongly condemn the killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians.

There can be no justification for that and the fact that the State security services, using certain black organisations, have been responsible for the death of no less than 15 000 people since 1984 is no excuse for anybody taking even one innocent life.

We therefore condemn the killings that have taken place.

But we must not lose proper focus; the responsibility for what happened in King William's Town, and Queenstown must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Government.

Liberation movement

The PAC is a liberation movement - it is entitled to have a liberation army.

If there were no apartheid, if blacks had the vote, if we were able to live where we like, there would have been no need for liberation movements in this country.

There would have been no Apla.

Therefore, the PAC, like sections of the liberation movement, is entitled to have its own army, it's entitled to conduct operations, when the time is appropriate.

But what has happened, is that the killing, of a few whites, has turned the whole Border region into a war zone.

Just because a few whites were killed, they have also offered high rewards, something they



Sowetan 18/12/92 (11A)

FOCUS 'We are closing the year on a high note' - Mandela



TROUBLE ... Nelson Mandela says unless politically motivated violence, robbery, theft and the declining economy are addressed, any political settlement will remain fragile.

It's not all gloom now

Sowetan 18/12/92

• From previous page

have not done when 15 000 blacks have died in this country.

So the action of Apla must be seen from that angle.

But I am highly critical of the fact there does not appear to be political control over Apla.

The statement that has been made by deputy president (Johnson) Mlambo has created a great concern in me.

Well organised

Any liberation army, if it is going to be a disciplined and well-organised army, must be under strict political control - as Umkhonto we Sizwe is, for example, in spite of the difficulties we have where certain units have taken the law into their own hands because of infiltration by Government agents.

Nevertheless, the army, MK, is under strict political leadership of the ANC and we will not allow them to conduct operations without the express consent of the ANC.

It is distressing, alarming, that Apla is under no control of the PAC.

It is disturbing that we don't have the entire liberation movement supporting negotiations.

But I can assure you there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process.

Elections will be held towards the end of next year. We have no doubt about this.

IL: You said earlier that Dr Treurnicht and his people were inherently scared of democracy and that they are hiding behind what you called the communist bogey, but judging from the National Party's performance at Codesa, where participants from the Democratic Party in particular, noted that Government was "completely out of its depth", it can therefore be said of the NP, too, that it is scared of democracy.

Many people who participated in Codesa's deliberations have said that the Government was completely out of its

depth at Codesa.

Now, judging by the Government's and the National Party's performance at Codesa, the same can be said about them, too, that they are inherently afraid of the full course of democracy.

NM: I agree with you. But we are conducting negotiations in South Africa, not in Utopia.

Political leaders, political parties, are affected by their backgrounds.

They are a political party that was produced by an apartheid society in which the minority has dominated the political and economic institutions of the country for centuries - that is the white group - and the National Party since 1948.

It's not easy, therefore, to move away from that position to a purely democratic dispensation.

So when they speak of democracy, they mean something totally different from the liberation movement.

But they have made progress.

Contribution

And in spite of it all, Mr (FW) de Klerk has made a significant contribution - with all the criticism that we have against him, such as corruption and the use of taxpayers' money certain black political organisations, their surrogates, the killing of innocent freedom fighters simply because they are demanding their liberation in this country, all of which the National Party must take full responsibility - he has made a contribution.

The decision and the agreement to have an election towards the end of next year should put an end to all criticism, because it is quite clear from the discussions that we have had and from the decisions that we have taken to set up joint committees to go into outstanding matters, matters that were not resolved at the last bilateral and the forthcoming meeting between the ANC and Government on January 20 (1993) it is quite clear that both sides are quite keen that this time frame should be kept.

While I agree with you that they also fear democracy; I think that they are resigning themselves to the fact that the advent of democracy is inevitable.

11A

News

in brief

Sowetan 18/12/92

Councils get reprieve

THE Soweto and Diepmeadow councils have presented their action plans to the Transvaal Provincial Administration on time but still have to wait a few days to hear their fate.

TPA director of communications Mr Gert de Jager said the TPA executive committee still had to evaluate the proposed plans and decide if they were viable and realistic.

Both councils had been given until December 15 to come up with viable strategies to sort out their financial houses. If the TPA executive rejects the strategies as unrealistic, impossible or unworkable, the councils will be dismissed. - Sowetan Reporter

Campaign women wounded

A MAN was arrested after two women taking part in a clean-up campaign in Alexandra yesterday morning were shot and wounded.

The women, part of a clean-up operation in Sixth Avenue in the township, were approached by two men reportedly armed with 9mm pistols. Shots were fired and Mrs Lizzie Nkosi (35) and Mrs Nora Nchunu fell to the ground. They were admitted to the Alexandra Clinic and later transferred to the Johannesburg Hospital where they underwent emergency operations.

Sowetan 18/12/92

EC warns PAC on Apla

THREE European Community ambassadors to South Africa yesterday warned PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu that the organisation's failure to condemn acts of violence claimed by its military wing, Apla, undermined its democratic credentials. British ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve and the ambassadors from Portugal and Denmark told Makwetu at a meeting yesterday the EC supported the view that negotiations alone could achieve peaceful transition. - Sapa- -----

NEWS ANC, NP had suspected Dikgang was not happy ● Sadtu issues protest note

Taxi drivers' ultimatum

Sowetan 18/12/92

■ Union wants more offloading points:

THE South African Taxi Drivers' Union has lodged a complaint with the Pretoria Traffic Department in protest against the alleged harassment of taxi drivers in the city.

The union has sent the Chief Traffic Officer, Mr HJ Nicklin, a memorandum giving his department a seven-day ultimatum to meet their demands.

Mr Maurice Bokaba, Sadtu's secretary, accused the traffic authorities of failure to provide adequate loading and off-loading facilities. Taxi drivers were subjected to a series of traffic offences as a result.

"Previous discussions held between us and the authorities have shown there was a dire need for an urgent implementation of a strategised operation order.

"The existing rank is too small and therefore cannot accommodate all taxis operating in Pretoria," said Bokaba.

He said the traffic department had seven days to respond to the union's demands, failing which they would disrupt the smooth running of traffic.

A consumer boycott of white businesses would also be embarked upon, subject to consultation with political organisations. Acting Chief Traffic Officer Mr Jimmy Allison confirmed having received the memorandum.

Moseneke's resignation a blow to PAC

Sowetan 18/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Ex-PAC leader touted as future judge:

11A

DIKGANG Moseneke's resignation from the Pan Africanist Congress on Wednesday was a loss the Africanists could have prevented and which they did not need, political observers have noted.

Intelligence sources in the ANC and senior Government officials yesterday said they had sensed Moseneke had been unhappy in the PAC lately - especially because of the movement's obdurate stance on negotiations.

It was true Moseneke's law practice had been neglected during his tenure as the first deputy president of the PAC, but he felt that if he got his way in the PAC, he would stay on.

"It appears as if the Apla issue was the last straw," an ANC executive said yesterday.

Cabinet sources yesterday said Moseneke was "probably the best thing that had happened to the PAC in recent months".

"In all our contact with him, he has shown a keen interest to involve the PAC in negotiations at the highest level," this source said.

In a curt statement issued in Johannesburg yesterday, the PAC's president, Mr Clarence Makwetu said "it was a pity" Moseneke had announced his resignation in the media before the movement's national executive council could discuss it.

Speculation is also rife that Moseneke's recent promotion to Senior Counsel and the very strong possibility of him becoming a Judge.

From all over, yesterday, however, the perception is that the PAC had lost "its only really presentable face."



Three-member Goldstone committee to probe Apla

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

STAYL 18 11292
investigation of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe as far as its activities might relate to public violence and intimidation.

The Goldstone Commission has established a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation into the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mr Justice Goldstone announced yesterday that the three-man committee to be chaired by Gert Steyn, a member of the Goldstone Commission, will hear evidence on the location of Apla camps, arms, ammunition, personnel and on its operational activities.

The Pan Africanist Congress has said it would not allow the Goldstone Commission to investigate its military wing.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the Government had agreed to the involvement of the Commission in the investigation being conducted by Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn into covert operations of the SADF.

The ANC had agreed to an in-

The other members of the committee investigating Apla are Port Elizabeth advocate Fikile Bam and Nico Coetzer, a Bothaville attorney and the immediate past president of the Law Societies of South Africa.

The United Nations has appointed Professor Kwane Frimpong of the University of Ghana to observe the proceedings of the committee.

The committee's first public sitting will take place in Port Elizabeth on January 4 at a venue to be announced.

Written information and submissions under the terms of reference of the committee should be submitted as soon as possible, and in any event not later than December 31, to The Secretary, Goldstone Commission, Private Bag X858, Pretoria 0001.

New year of hope

dawns - Mandela

By Ismail Lagardien

STAN 18/12/92
11A
The past year has been the most difficult of the past three years of South Africa's democratisation, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in an exclusive interview with the Sowetan.

But, Mandela said, the new year dawned with hope for a better period, in which the vacillating and uncertain political situation, the violence and poor economy could become controllable.

The stability that restarted multiparty negotiations would be stronger by late next year, when elections for an interim government of national unity will be held.

Mandela explained that a great deal of progress "has been made through negotiations over the past three years".

"But because of one bad year it would be going too far if one presented the picture as one of gloom only.

"I think we are closing the year with a great deal of hope for next year."

● Full report — Page 10

Scathing attack on PAC by diplomats

STAR 18/12/92

By Esther Waugh
and Hugh Robertson

The European Community, in an unusual step, has issued a strongly worded demarche to PAC president Clarence Makwetu, expressing concern over the organisation's unwillingness to condemn attacks by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

And the United States administration has protested to the PAC about Apla's threats of violence.

It was announced yesterday that the Goldstone Commission has established a committee to conduct a preliminary investigation of Apla.

The announcement of the probe, the EC demarche and US reaction came as Apla denied the existence of a "spokesman" who, in a telephone call to a news agency, declared war on whites.

The demarche — a formal diplomatic protest — was delivered yesterday at a meeting in Johannesburg with Makwetu by the current leadership trika of the European Community. The EC ambassadors told Makwetu that negotiations alone could achieve a peaceful transition in South Africa.

The EC troika, made up of British ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve, Portuguese ambassador Gorge Ritto and Danish ambassador Peter Bruckner, comprises the past, current and future leaders of the EC.

Diplomats said the PAC would find it difficult to raise funds and campaign internationally if it did not respond satisfactorily to the EC concerns.

PAC leaders have until now refused to distance themselves or to condemn the alleged attacks by Apla in Queenstown and King William's Town.

In a statement issued by Sir Anthony after the meeting, he said the ambassadors "were encouraged by the declared willingness of the PAC to take

Scathing attack on PAC

From
Page 1

part in the negotiation process and hoped that the PAC would categorically condemn the use of violence so that it could



continue to Cohen ... con-
play a full demned violence.
part in multilateral negotia-
tions to determine South Afri-
ca's future. *S. PARL 18/12/92*

As the pressure on the PAC
mounted, Apla commander Vic-
tor Phama denied that an Apla
official named "Congo Jibril"
exists. It was "Jibril" who an-
nounced to a news agency on
December 6 that Apla had "de-
clared war" on whites.

In a faxed statement from
Dar-es-Salaam, Phama dis-

tanced him- from the war
declaration.

"Congo Jibril is a planted
agent provocateur assigned the
task of discrediting the legiti-
mate struggle of the oppressed
and dispossessed majority,"
said the statement.

The US administration has
been told that while the PAC
leadership opposes actions of
violence, it has no control over
Apla forces.

At a press briefing yesterday,
US Assistant Secretary for Afri-
can Affairs Herman Cohen said
that although Washington had
no means of knowing whether
or not the PAC could exert con-
trol over Apla, it condemned all
acts of violence.

The Commonwealth Observer
Mission to South Africa said
yesterday it was prepared to go
to Transkei to verify SA Gov-
ernment reports that the home-
land was harbouring Apla
bases.

Moseneke 'had to choose'

Political Staff *STAN* 18/12/92 reer and politics.

11A

Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday rejected speculation that the sudden resignation of second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke was due to tension between proponents of the PAC's participation in negotiations and recent attacks by its armed wing, Apla.

Makwetu said Moseneke's decision to resign from the PAC leadership was because he had to choose between his legal ca-

Moseneke publicly announced his resignation from the PAC leadership on Wednesday.

Makwetu said Moseneke, who practises as an advocate in Pretoria, had recently become a Senior Counsel.

"Since his contributions in both fields were outstanding we knew that his final decision would be painful and a loss, irrespective of which direction he chose," Makwetu said.

PAC sources today described the resignation as a blow.

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The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its "operationally independent" armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), have received more publicity following the attacks on white civilians in the eastern Cape recently, than at any time since the PAC was banned and forced into exile 30 years ago. Is this perhaps a measure of its effectiveness?

Until recently, the PAC was to most blacks a half-forgotten, rather colourful

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ANC in terms of radicalism ahead of the elections which could take place within a year. Or so the perpetrators may have thought.

In the event, though, just about everybody, including the PAC's main funders, the OAU, was outraged and condemned the atrocities. If anything, they have made the main parties to the negotiations more anxious to reach a settlement — not least as a prerequisite for ending the violence.

Just how seriously should Apla be taken?

There can be no denying the destructive potential of any desperate band prepared to bomb soft targets to further their cause. Their number is not a significant factor in such a scenario.

According to Law & Order Minister Her-nus Kriel, there are about 120 trained Apla militia members, some inside SA and others based outside. He named Zimbabwe and Transkei — though not Tanzania, where Apla is based, under PAC secretary for defence Sabelo Palma, about whom very little is known. Kriel warned that government would, as a last resort, consider cross-border action against Apla.

Zimbabwe Foreign Minister Nathan Shamu-yarira, who denied there were Apla bases in his country, had earlier warned the PAC to cease issuing warlike statements from its borders. Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has denied repeatedly that Apla members are either being trained in the Transkei or that there are any Apla bases there.

This week, the officer commanding Army Group 39 in Queenstown, Col Gerrie Brand, said that he was unable to confirm or deny a Sunday newspaper report which identified six Apla training camps in Transkei.

This followed a case in the East London regional court last week, in which a self-proclaimed Apla cadre, Steven Dolo, testified that he was responsible for the military training of Apla members at Sterkspruit in the Transkei.

Despite Transkei's "independence," however, Pretoria could presumably easily turn the screws on the territory to close down any Apla bases if indeed there are any there.

Despite claims of responsibility for the bombings by an alleged Apla man who identified himself as Congo Jibril, some observers, such as Mike Hough of the Institute for Strategic Studies at Pretoria, maintain that these should not necessarily be taken as such

"until it is proven in court." He points out that there have been instances in the past when Apla claimed responsibility for terror attacks for propaganda purposes. It is further observed that the eastern Cape is a hotbed of armed dissidents and splinter groups, any one of which might have carried out the attacks in Apla's name.

Apla, as it is, was formed in 1968 in Tanzania, as the successor to Poqo, the PAC's liberation army formed in 1961 and active in the early Sixties following the PAC's banning. Poqo had declared war on the colonial regime and its white settlers. It was the first (and only) black organisation unashamedly committed to killing whites as part of a messianic strategy to sow national panic and effect political change. It made its mark especially in the eastern Cape. Unlike Apla, Poqo was not bureaucratically organised and was crushed by the State in 1963.

Mouldering cadres

The PAC first began using the name Azania in 1965. The new military wing, Apla, was for a long time purely symbolic and consisted of a few hundred cadres mouldering away in training camps somewhere in Tanzania. Only in 1968, under then commander Templeton Ntantala did it become active when, in train with a Mozambican liberation group (Cafremo), it attempted to infiltrate a group of 12 into SA. But the operation was blown — it seems by the then PAC leadership, which boasted of it.

There followed a long period of inactivity and internal PAC squabbles, including a rebellion by Ntantala against the then leader, Potlako Leballo.

The first trained Apla insurgents struck in 1978 in Krugersdorp and, thereafter, in dribs and drabs. In the Eighties, the police held Apla responsible for 1%-2% of terror attacks in SA. There was a series of trials involving Apla from about 1985 to 1989.

Opportunistically, of course, the PAC leadership refuses to condemn the recent attacks or even to acknowledge them as Apla's work. They simply "wouldn't know," they maintain. They could, technically, be charged with conspiracy if they did know or if Apla were not "autonomous" — a nice way out when sensitive targets get hit. Yet, unlike the ANC, the PAC has not suspended violence, nor did it sign the Peace Accord.

Government's reaction to the PAC suggests, perhaps, that it does not take Apla all that seriously. Regarding violence and Apla, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has reiterated government's position — which was conveyed directly to a PAC representative last week: the PAC must clarify its position. It has yet to do so.

Meyer added that remarks by PAC chairman Clarence Makwetu (after he had met Democratic Party leader Zac de Beer last Thursday), together with the DP statement, indicated that the PAC is seriously thinking about the matter. He hoped this would lead to a more positive attitude or clarification by the PAC in due course. Without it, govern-

ment did not see its way clear to resume bilateral discussions with it.

At their meeting, the PAC and DP pledged to work towards ending violence — a goal which they recognised depended partly on a political settlement.

Makwetu read out the joint statement, which said in part that both sides recognised the destructive effect that violence "and, in particular, the killing of innocent citizens," has on creating a climate conducive to a settlement. The PAC was prepared to discuss cessation of hostilities, he said.

On constitutional matters, "Both view the convening of a multilateral forum to decide on the modalities for electing a representative body, which will draw up a new democratic constitution, as an important step both in resolving the issue of violence and achieving a political settlement."

Though they took different views on the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, considerable common ground was found on the "urgent need to bring violence to an end."

Makwetu, who is not the most impressive figure in SA's political gallery, fended off questions about Apla by saying the PAC would not be subjected to "trial by the media."

distinction between political violence and other types is not always clear. The figures are probably better indicators of trends than of absolute levels of conflict.

As the Legal Resources Centre's Howard Varney says, the sad irony is that more people are dying now than in the dark days of the State of Emergency.

His pessimism at the outlook for next year should perhaps be counterbalanced by the renewed optimism on the negotiations front.

NEGOTIATIONS FM 18/12/92

New year wishes

Despite complications tossed into the negotiations brew by the strong federal push of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his group of "concerned South Africans" (Cosag), as well as the PAC's ambivalence about violence, government is "convinced the time-scales and objectives it has proposed for 1993 are attainable." That's according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The timetable for elections is not hard and fast, though there is agreement, notably with the ANC, on the steps to be followed towards:

- A multilateral negotiating forum;
- The contents of the transitional constitu-

tion;

- The principles of a constitution; and
- Implementation of the transitional executive council.

This programme follows the outline given by President F W de Klerk last month, when he spoke of an election not later than March or April 1994. The date could be brought forward depending on how fast the process moves.

In his last media briefing for the year ("unless something dramatic happens over the next weeks, which we are not predicting"), Meyer told journalists that government had reached this optimistic conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all significant political groups in the country.

"In spite of differences regarding the process and the contents of constitutional development, notable common factors can be identified across the political spectrum."

While the process had been delayed, Meyer said, the interaction among parties and the influence on them of external factors such as the economy and violence "has led to a more pragmatic attitude in most parties."

He gave as examples the "necessity" for strong regional government, a growing economy, power-sharing and constitutional continuity.

He added that the "nature and style" of discussions had changed during the year. This applied especially to the depth of dis-

cussions and their seriousness and intensity.

In the new year, government intends doing everything in its power to get all parties together as soon as possible in one conference. Resumption of multilateral negotiations — in whatever form — had to be the next step. He appealed for the process not to be delayed by arguing over whether to change the name of Codesa. The matter is, however, somewhat more complex given Cosag's insistence on a new forum and Buthelezi's demand for a conference to review decisions reached in Codesa.

Pressed on the question, Meyer pointed to the agreement reached with the ANC that Codesa should be restructured — to bring in other parties — "but it might also be necessary to restructure it from other angles, especially as far as decision-making or at least the structure of its operation is concerned." He thought it was too large and needed to be streamlined.

It was significant that the Minister had "no certainty" about whether Inkatha would accept the Codesa agreements. This would be clarified at next month's meeting.

However, all parties are agreed, Meyer added, that change can be effected only through "a forum of a multiparty nature." A concerted effort to this end would be made over the next two months in bilateral and multilateral talks.

Meetings already arranged with govern-

CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 18/12/92

ment for next month include: Cosag; representatives of the self-governing states; the Afrikaner Volksunie; the ANC; and "maybe" others as well.

It was important to note that multilateral talks should not necessarily replace the one-on-one contact between parties and groups. This presumably includes the critical government-ANC talks, which so rile Buthelezi.

In the coming year, government would encourage talks at regional level on the subject of local authorities. It is here, presum-

ably, that greater clarity will emerge on the status of Buthelezi's regional constitution and its implications.

CONTINUED

New year brings fresh hope for SA - Mandela

By Ismail Lagardien

The past year has been the most difficult of the past three years of South Africa's democratisation, the president of the ANC Nelson Mandela said in an exclusive interview with the Sowetan today.

But, Mandela explains, the new year dawns with hope for a better period wherein the vacillating and uncertain political situation, the violence and poor economy could become controllable.

He explains that a "great deal of progress" has been made through negotiations over the past three years.

Elections

He points out, too, that the surge for peace in South Africa will withstand efforts by the far-right and far-left to the contrary.

"I can assure you that there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process.

"Elections will be held towards the end of next year. We have no doubt about this."

He said the year was ending on a high note.

"The achievements of negotiations are there for everybody to see."



Nelson Mandela ... surge for peace will survive sabotage from far Left and Right.

He listed as among the most significant, the decision to resume multiparty talks through Codesa, and the agreement to hold elections for an interim government by the end of 1993.

Mandela said more had to be done to control violence.

"But it is not a simple matter, because violence is not just a clash between two black organisations — as many people try to reduce it to.

"Judge Goldstone has given between six and seven reasons, if I remember correctly, of the causes of violence.

"The State security services are deeply involved in this violence, the aims being to prevent a transformation to a democratic system of government and, in particular, to undermine the ANC.

"That is the purpose of this violence.

"It has failed in both its aims. It has not been able to stop the progress towards a peaceful settlement — it has not crippled the ANC."

Mandela strongly criticised the white community's response to the violence.

"According to the National Peace Secretariat there are no fewer than a million refugees in this country as a result of this violence.

"It is an indictment against the white community of this country that there is no talk about this.

"There are no efforts, in South Africa, like you would find in other countries, by the wealthy, those who are living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds, at least during this Christmas period.

"Such efforts would make these displaced people feel that they are human beings and that somebody cares.

"To give them hope that even during this time when their

lives are dislocated, they must not despair because people who have the means are thinking of them and are sharing what they have with them.

"The failure by whites to rise to the expectation is a serious indictment against the white community in this country."

He said that while the right-wing could disrupt the negotiation process, it would fail to stop a political settlement.

"If they think they are going to undermine the peace process in this country, they are making a serious mistake because they have not got that capacity.

"They must bring their demands to Codesa so that we can discuss them — as South Africans.

"We can search for a peaceful solution.

"We have sympathy for the fear of the white minority in this country. We are prepared to address those fears but we are not prepared for any unilateral actions on the part of any party."

Mandela said, like State security force actions which led to the death of unarmed civilians, the actions of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) military wing — the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — were to be deplored.

However, he said, the Gov-

ernment and apartheid were ultimately to blame.

"We strongly condemn the killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians."

"But we must not lose proper focus, the responsibility for what happened in King William's Town, and Queenstown must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Government.

"The PAC is a liberation movement — it is entitled to have a liberation army.

"If there were no apartheid, if blacks had the vote, if we were able to live where we like, there would have been no need for liberation movements in this country.

Disturbing

"There would have been no Apla."

He said the fact that Apla seemed beyond political control was disturbing.

"It is distressing, alarming, that Apla is under no control of the PAC.

"It is disturbing that we don't have the entire liberation movement supporting negotiations.

"But I can assure you there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process.

"Elections will be held towards the end of next year. We have no doubt about this."

Buthelezi defends proposal for KwaZulu/Natal state

18/12/92
BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected claims that he was trying to go it alone in adopting the KwaZulu/Natal "federal constitution".

He also said the region had proved that in "terms of income produced and revenues collected in the state of KwaZulu/Natal it is currently subsidising the other regions of SA".

However, SA Sugar Association chairman Tony Ardington, who was also KwaZulu-Natal Indaba economic committee chairman, disputed this, saying unless the region got a share of the proposed federation's fiscal resources it would not serve the best interests of the people living in that region.

The Indaba was one of the key bodies involved in the formulation of the proposed constitution.

Ardington said more than 23% of the people in SA lived in KwaZulu/Natal "yet it generates only 14% of the GDP".

Without substantial fiscal transfers from central government there would not be the resources to meet the needs of the

people living in the region.

"They would be condemned to inferior education, health care and welfare services, no matter how well intentioned and competent the regional government," he wrote in a newspaper article this week.

Buthelezi said that by no stretch of the imagination did his proposed constitution suggest KwaZulu/Natal could be self-sufficient but it would be viable as a federal state within a federation.

"This is consistent with the reality of the state of KwaZulu/Natal whose economy is surely not self-sufficient in terms that it does not provide for the full range of required services and industries..." he said.

He said the proposed constitution required that a federal republic for SA be adopted by the population of the country before his idea could succeed.

However, he did not explain why he threatened to take his constitution to a referendum of the people in the region before there was a federal republic.

'DP membership gains sparked ANC attack'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE significant inroads the DP was making into the black and coloured areas was the prime reason for the ANC's attack on two of its senior MPs in Khayelitsha last week, DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday.

He said one of the MPs involved, Jasper Walsh, had written to the regional dispute resolution committee to record the DP's protest, but asked the body to take no action. The DP and the ANC regional offices would try to resolve the issue bilaterally.

He said the party's recruitment drive since mid-year had borne startling results, with the region

recording the highest number of new membership applications in one day in the history of the party.

"About two weeks ago in one day we received 220 application forms in the post. It is the biggest number in one day in the history of the party," Andrew said.

He said the party had made good inroads into coloured and black areas in the western Cape, and especially in the Boland region.

At the beginning of the year the DP had 14 branches in the Western Cape, mainly composed of white members. Since then, the membership drive had increased the branches to more than 40.

"These are mostly due to coloured and black members increasingly joining the party, and in this region the DP is by far the strongest and has the best chance of success in an election," he said. Other areas — especially the far Northern Transvaal — were showing strong growth.

The branches consisted of between 50 and 400 members. Some older ones had more than 900 members.

He said in some of the more remote places with too few members to form a branch, support groups were formed to carry the recruitment drive.

While there was not significant Indian membership of the party, there had been interest shown from certain sectors of the community in Natal, Andrew said.

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Miami in spin over Mandela

MIAMI — County commissioners have voted to honour Nelson Mandela nearly two and a half years after the ANC president was snubbed by local officials during a visit to Miami Beach, Florida. (11A)

The snub led to a black convention boycott.

The commission voted 5-3 on Tuesday to issue the proclamation, which must be approved by Dade County mayor Steve Clark, who voted previously against the proposal. B10AM 18/12/92

The convention boycott was initiated in 1990 by angered black US leaders, and was estimated to have cost the county up to \$50m in lost tourism. — Sapa-AP.

B10AM 18/12/92 .

Report is disputed

Sowetan 18/12/92 (11A)

■ Did not threaten military action:

PAN Africanist Congress education secretary Mr Mogole Mphahlele yesterday denied that he had made threats of military action against an interim government.

On Wednesday a *Sapa* correspondent reported Mr Mphahlele as telling a PAC rally at Jane Furse that the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation of such a government".

Interim government

But Mphahlele yesterday said: "I wish to state clearly that the statement 'PAC will fight the interim government', attributed to me, is a deliberate misquotation with the intention of discrediting the PAC."

He said he had told the rally: "The PAC is opposed to the concept of interim government. We want a transitional authority supervised by the international community to prepare for elections for the constituent assembly. An interim government will be opposed with the vehemence shown in campaigns against Codesa."

Mr Mphahlele added: "This is not a retraction but a correction of what was reported." - *Sapa*.

'Guarantees in exchange for support'

Cosatu seeks election pact with ANC

B/DAY 18/12/92

11A

COSATU and its allies want to enter into a "reconstruction pact" with the ANC for a post-apartheid SA as a basis for backing the ANC in next year's proposed election campaign.

Anti-apartheid organisations are currently thrashing out a blueprint for the pact.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday the union federation wanted a new government to ensure:

- Basic trade union rights for all workers — especially the right to strike;
- The right of trade unions to intervene on all issues relating to the health and safety of workers and the poor;
- A comprehensive programme of education and training to upgrade and empower workers, youth, students and the unemployed; and
- Genuine negotiations around economic decision-making and involvement in economic reconstruction and restructuring programmes throughout the country.

Negotiations on the economy would include examining what options were open to address the economic crisis and create jobs.

In addition, programmes to meet the needs of ordinary people and to make the economy internationally competitive needed to be addressed simultaneously.

Naidoo said Cosatu would hold bilateral meetings with civic, youth, student and other organisations of "civil society" to discuss the planned pact.

It would also be discussed within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

An ANC spokesman said the idea of a pact would be "sympathetically consid-

DIRK HARTFORD

ered" by the organisation in discussions with its alliance partners.

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin said the party leadership was "strongly supportive" of the pact, but added that details were still under discussion in the party's constitutional structures.

The pact had been discussed with Cosatu in a bilateral meeting six weeks ago.

And the SACP was planning a consultative conference early next year to discuss the future of what he called "the socialist project".

Cronin said the pact would be central to discussions at the conference.

Naidoo pointed out that not all Cosatu members were ANC supporters, although the majority were.

If Cosatu was going to explain to its members — and the poor in general — why it was important to vote for the ANC, it had to sell them certain guarantees from the ANC, he said.

The pact would lay a basis for changes in the nature of Cosatu's alliance with the ANC in a post-apartheid SA, Naidoo said.

"Our alliance has been an anti-apartheid alliance. Once there is a new government we will need to establish what kind of alliance — if any — there is going to be in the future," Naidoo said.

He predicted any alliance in a post-apartheid SA would be "fundamentally different" to what existed at the moment.

It would be based on what programme a future government would be prepared to negotiate to address the needs of ordinary people in society, Naidoo said.

Goldstone begins probe into Apla

CAPE TOWN — The Goldstone commission yesterday launched a probe into the PAC's military wing Apla.

Judge Richard Goldstone announced the preliminary investigation — to be conducted with a UN observer present — as pressure mounted at home and abroad on the PAC to distance itself from Apla activities.

As the PAC was licking its wounds in the wake of the shock resignation of its senior deputy president, Dikgang Moseneke, the EC issued a *démarche* — the strongest form of diplomatic censure — to PAC president Clarence Makwetu for the organisation's failure to condemn Apla activities.

Goldstone said a committee had been set up — in agreement with the Justice Minister — to hear evidence and receive submissions on the location of Apla camps, arms,

(11A) Political Staff

ammunition and personnel and on their operational activities.

The committee's proceedings would be observed by UN-appointed Prof Kwane Frimpong of Ghana University.

Goldstone added that his commission was seeking the co-operation of all other institutionalised forces so that similar investigations could be conducted.

The ANC had agreed to an investigation of Umkhonto we Sizwe by the commission in so far as its operations or affairs might relate to public violence and intimidation, including the location and control of weapons and explosives in its possession, his statement said.

The PAC has stated repeatedly that it

□ To Page 2

Apla

BIDM 18/12/92
will refuse to co-operate with any such probe, which comes at the urging of the UN's Security Council.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that an Apla spokesman, meanwhile, has denied that the military wing had declared war on whites.

Apla commander Victor Sabelo Phama said from Dar es Salaam that Congo Jibril, who claimed to be an Apla member and who made the declaration in a telephone call to Sapa on December 6, was an *agent provocateur*.

Yesterday the PAC's Johannesburg office rerouted a fax from Phama to Sapa. The fax said: "We wish to state that our investigations have revealed that there is no such person as Congo Jibril in Apla ranks or any other bona fide structures of the PAC. Therefore Apla is not responsible for the utterances of a Congo Jibril and dissociates itself with such utterances."

Jibril was a planted *agent provocateur* assigned the task of discrediting the struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed majority, it said, adding: "Apla strongly condemns such dirty tricks by the regime."

Earlier this week PAC senior deputy president and former Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo said the highest rank in Apla was held by Phama.

Also on the issue of Apla yesterday, three EC ambassadors to SA warned the PAC president that the organisation's failure to condemn the acts of violence claimed by Apla undermined its democratic credentials.

British ambassador Sir Anthony Reeve said he and the ambassadors from Portugal and Denmark had told Makwetu yesterday that the EC supported the view that negotiations alone could achieve peaceful transition.

"The ambassadors said they were encouraged by the declared willingness of the PAC to take part in the negotiation process and hoped the PAC would categorically condemn the use of violence so that it could continue to play a full part in multilateral negotiations to determine SA's future."

There has been speculation that more high-ranking PAC officials could quit in the wake of Moseneke's resignation.

(11A) From Page 1

Political analyst Gary van Staden predicted that other PAC leaders unable to reconcile themselves with overtly racist attacks on white civilians might resign.

Makwetu, who said it was a pity Moseneke's resignation had been made public before the national executive council could discuss it, nonetheless wished his erstwhile deputy well.

Only one other senior PAC member — who wanted to remain anonymous — would comment on the resignation. The source discounted any link between Moseneke's resignation and the alleged Apla attacks and said his stated reasons — the pressure of his professional workload — were genuine.

DP senior negotiator Colin Eglin said Moseneke's resignation would be a serious blow to the organisation and would shift the equilibrium of the leadership, possibly making it more radical.

Although he had been expecting the move, he did not believe the timing of the resignation was entirely coincidental. "He has a strong commitment to the rule of law, constitutionality, a bill of rights and he brought a great deal of a culture of democracy to the leadership of the PAC."

□ PAC education secretary Mogale Mphahlele denied yesterday he had threatened military action against an interim government. He had been reported by Sapa as saying in Lebowa that the PAC would ensure an interim government did not succeed next year. The organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the government to agree on the installation of such a government", he was quoted as saying.

Yesterday Mphahlele said he had made no threat of military action. "I wish to state clearly that the statement 'PAC will fight the interim government' attributed to me is a deliberate misquotation with the intention of discrediting the PAC."

He said he had told the rally the "PAC is opposed to the concept of interim government. We want a transitional authority supervised by the international community to prepare for elections for the constituent assembly. An interim government will be opposed with the vehemence shown in campaigns against Codesa".

ANC, DP to kiss and make up

W/mail 18/12 - 22/12/92

11A ~~2004~~

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town
A FENCE-MENDING exercise to heal relations between the Democratic Party and the African National Congress in the western Cape is on the cards for early January following the violent disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha this week.

At issue is the alleged involvement of senior ANC and civic organisation members in the fracas.

The ANC claims the regional secretary of its Women's League, Nomatyala Hangana, was there to intervene in case of trouble — but the DP insists she was part of the chanting mob which hurled chairs and invective at MPs Jasper Walsh and Robin Carlisle, bringing the meeting to a chaotic end.

Tensions were fuelled further by ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak, who claimed tempers flared when Carlisle told the meeting the DP had never been involved in violence — a statement “outrageous in its sensitivity” coming from people “seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament” while Khayelitsha's people had been “in the direct firing line of state violence”.

Boesak denied ANC involvement in the disruption, saying the Pan Africanist Congress' mili-

tary wing, the Azanian Liberation People's Army (Apla) had claimed responsibility.

He later withdrew this statement as “an error made in good faith” and the ANC has now formally apologised to the PAC for the “misunderstanding”.

Hangana, meanwhile, justified her actions by saying she told people before the meeting that the DP had the right to speak, but that they should “also ask questions which would show the DP it was not welcome in Khayelitsha”.

She said the DP should “first settle the white areas where the National Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were growing in strength before trying to enter black townships”.

This prompted a stinging attack from DP national chairman Ken Andrew: while Boesak and Hangana conceded the DP's right to speak both “immediately gave reasons why the DP should not organise in black townships” — making “a mockery of the ANC's professed commitment to democracy and non-racialism”.

Hangana's suggestion was “racist” and Boesak saw fit to “hypocritically warn the DP of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on

Dr Boesak's own regional executive”, Andrew said.

DP MP Jasper Walsh, who has called on the ANC to investigate and publicly discipline members involved, said the disruption was “clearly planned” and involved ANC as well as civic organisation members. The PAC, however, has said it also had members at the meeting — although it denies they were involved in disrupting it.

ANC organising secretary in the western Cape Willie Hofmeyr said yesterday a meeting would be held with the DP “to see what can be done”. The ANC would also inquire into the matter to see whether disciplinary steps should be taken against any of its members.

However, he was adamant the ANC had not planned to break up the meeting — the DP's first public event in a black township — “because we knew that if anything happened it would be used in a massive propaganda campaign against us.”

“The only way the DP can win support in black and coloured areas is to portray the ANC and National Party as at two extremes, both tainted by violence.”

It was “outrageous” to suggest the ANC intended to disrupt the meeting as this would only reinforce that perception, he said.

Body blow for PAC moderates

W/Mail 18/12-22/12/92

11A

THE shock resignation of one of the Pan Africanist Congress' most respected leaders, second deputy vice-president Dikgang Moseneke, is a blow to that faction of the organisation straining toward the negotiating table.

"He was the so-called moderate faction's most high-profile figure, obviously his resignation will affect them," says political analyst Eugene Nyati.

Moseneke's resignation comes at a time when attacks on whites by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, have intensified the struggle between the militants and the pro-negotiations faction over the political direction of the PAC.

The recent cancellation of talks between the government and the PAC in the wake of Apla attacks in the eastern Cape was seen as a victory for the hardline elements.

This has prompted speculation that Moseneke resigned because he was unable to reconcile himself

Although he cited career

and family reasons

for leaving the PAC,

speculation is rife

that recent attacks on

whites by Apla was behind

Dikgang Moseneke's sudden

resignation.

By PAUL STOBER

with the PAC leadership's unwillingness to resist uncontrolled grassroots militancy.

Moseneke and other senior PAC figures are known to have hit criticism from some quarters of the organisation for not publicly defending its military wing.

Quoting Western diplomatic sources, Nyati described Moseneke as "a reluctant PAC member for the past 18 months".

Moseneke was becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the PAC and felt closer to the African

National Congress, he said.

"For historical reasons he could not resign, but because of the Queenstown incidents he may have chosen to do so now," speculated Nyati.

Moseneke, who is on holiday and could not be contacted, attempted to dampen speculation about his reasons for leaving the PAC by releasing to the media a copy of his letter of resignation to the PAC's president, Clarence Makwetu.

In it he said he wanted more time for his legal practice and his family.

He added that he had no ambition to hold political office in a future government.

It is known that Moseneke's ambitions lie in the legal field.

It is believed he may have chosen to jettison the organisation before its actions adversely affected his career plans.

The PAC has yet to release a statement about Moseneke's resignation.



Leaving ... The PAC's respected Dikgang Moseneke

DEMOCRACY BECKONS: *Peace forces are too strong to be diverted in their goal of an elected interim government, says Mandela*

We're on the high road

STAR 19/12/92.

(11A) (204)

LAGARDIEN: We have come through a very difficult year. Can you reflect on the past year in the context of the process over the past three years?

MANDELA: I agree that 1992 was a difficult year. Two central issues faced the country, that of politically motivated violence, ordinary crime like robbery and theft; and the question of the declining economy. Unless those two issues are addressed, any political settlement will remain fragile.

But it would be going too far if one presented the picture as one of gloom only. A great deal of progress was made through negotiations and in particular through bilateral discussions. We are closing the year on a high note.

The achievements of negotiations are there for everybody to see: the unbanning of political organisations; the lifting of the state of emergency which lasted three years; the introduction of the creation of a climate for free political activity in the greater part of the country, with the exception of the bantustans of Bophuthatswana, Kwa-Zulu and Ciskei; the release of political prisoners; the return of political exiles; and the amendment or even repeal of some repressive legislation.

And then there was the signing of the Declaration of Intent of Codesa that was crowned by the decisions at the bilateral (meeting) between the ANC and the Government. There was also

ly involved in this violence, the aim being to prevent a transformation to a democratic system of government and to undermine the ANC in particular. That is the purpose of this violence.

They have failed in both their aims. They have not been able to stop the progress towards a peaceful settlement — they have not crippled the ANC. It still remains the most powerful force in the country today.

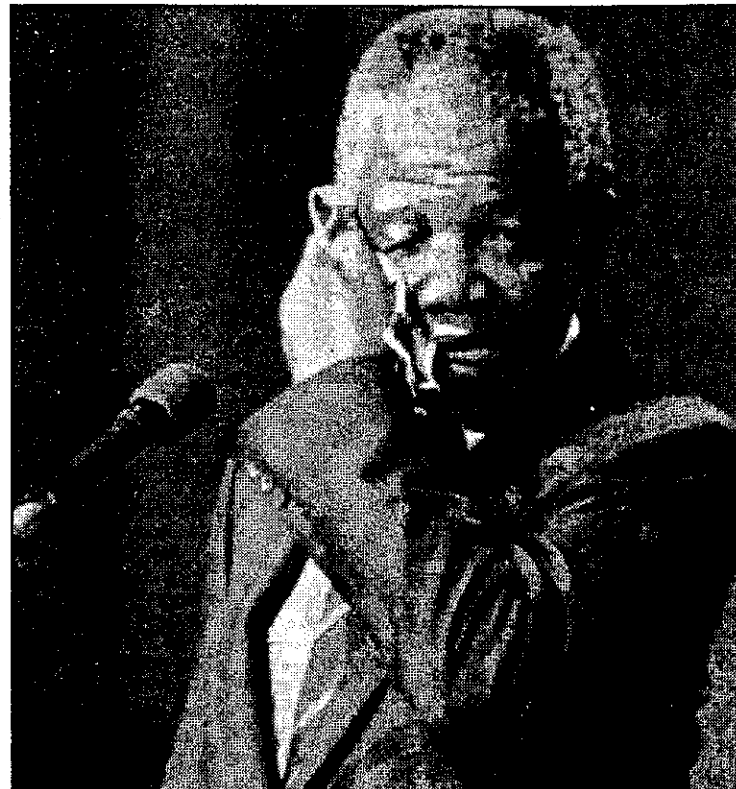
Nevertheless, the presence of the international observers and their activities, which are spread around the country, has put tremendous pressure on all political organisations to examine their own records and to avoid doing anything that would compromise them in the presence of these observers.

Today we are able to conduct demonstrations in towns and cities which are right wing. That would never have happened in the absence of international observers. I think, therefore, that we are getting on top of the violence. This, too, is something that gives rise to hope.

But what is worse, the white community in this country is just not concerned about what is happening. According to the National Peace Secretariat there are no less than a million refugees in this country as a result of this violence. It is an indictment against the white community that there is no talk about this.

There are no efforts in South Africa, like you would find in other countries, by the wealthy, those who are living

NELSON Mandela is optimistic about 1993 and is pleased with many of the developments that have taken place this year. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, Political Correspondent of the Sowetan, spoke to the African National Congress leader.



(Johnson) Mlambo has caused me great concern. Any liberation army, if it is going to be a disciplined and well-organised army, must be under strict political control — as Umkhonto we Sizwe is, for example, in spite of the difficulties we have where certain units have taken the law into their own hands because of infiltration by Government agents.

Nevertheless, the army, MK, is under strict political leadership of the ANC and we will not allow them to conduct operations without the express consent of the ANC. It is distressing, alarming, that Apia is under no control of the PAC.

It's disturbing that the entire liberation movement is not supporting negotiations. But I can assure you there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process. Elections will be held towards the end of next year, we have no doubt about this.

YOU said earlier that Treurnicht and his people were scared of democracy. Judging by the Government's and the National Party's performance at Codesa, could the same not be said of them too?

I AGREE with you. But we are conducting negotiations in South Africa, not in Utopia. Political leaders, political parties, are affected by their back grounds. They were all the products of an apartheid society in which the minority has dominated the political and economic institutions for centuries — that is the white group — and the NP since 1948. It's not easy, therefore, to move away from that position to a purely democratic dispensation.

So when they speak of democracy, they mean something totally different from the liberation movement. But they have made progress.



NELSON MANDELA: "It has been a very difficult year, but there has been progress. We are ending on a high note."

to hide their opposition to any democratic dispensation.

After all, who is Treurnicht to talk about dictatorship? He was a member of a party (the NP) which dictated to the majority.

We repeat the call to Treurnicht and all other rightwingers, that if they think they are going to undermine the peace process in this country they are making a serious mistake, because they have not got that capacity. It is possible for them to do some damage initially and that may lead to the killing of innocent people. But they will never succeed. They must bring their demands to Codesa so that we can discuss them — as South Africans.

We have sympathy for the fear of the white minority in this country. We are prepared to address those fears but we are not prepared for any unilateral actions on the part of any party.

HOW do you think the alleged violent actions of Apla impact on the transition process?

WE strongly condemn the killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians. There can be no justification of that. The fact that the State security ser-

vices, using certain black organisations, have been responsible for the death of no less than 15 000 people since 1984 is no excuse for anybody taking even one innocent life.

But we must not lose proper focus. The responsibility for what happened in King William's Town and Queenstown must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the Government. The PAC is a liberation movement. It is entitled to have a liberation army. If there were no apartheid, if blacks had the vote, if we were able to live where we liked, there would have been no need for liberation movements in this country. There would have been no Apla.

But what has happened is that the killing of a few whites has turned the whole Border region into a war zone. Just because a few whites were killed, they have also offered high rewards, something they have not done when 15 000 blacks have died in this country. So the action of Apla must be seen from that angle.

But I am highly critical of the fact there does not appear to be political control over Apla. The statement that has been made by deputy president

case of political prisoners; the return of political exiles; and the amendment or even repeal of some repressive legislation.

And then there was the signing of the Declaration of Intent of Codesa that was crowned by the decisions at the bilateral (meeting) between the ANC and the Government. There was also the agreement to hold elections by the end of 1993, the installation of an interim government of national unity, the decision to resume multiparty talks through Codesa and to respect all the decisions taken by Codesa.

I think that we are closing the year with a great deal of hope for next year. I feel that there has been progress, not that there haven't been any problems. There are problems but I am convinced that peace forces in this country are too strong for them to be diverted in their main goal of the installation of an elected interim government of national unity.

IS peace possible, when concepts such as negotiating a new constitution and multiparty democracy and even the peace process are perhaps abstractions to people who have to concern themselves more with simply staying alive?

THE question of violence, even if it results in the death of one person or injury to one person, is something of great concern to anyone who has the welfare of the people at heart. The question is whether each one of us, as an individual and as the leader of his or her organisation, is doing sufficient to end the violence.

If we are going to stop violence, we will have to stop finger-pointing and look at what we are doing ourselves. If we are able to convey this perception to all opinion-makers, then we will have made progress in addressing the question of violence.

But it is not a simple matter, because violence is not just a clash between two black organisations — as many people try to reduce it to. Judge Goldstone has given between six and seven reasons. I remember correctly, for the cause of violence.

The State security services are deep-

less than a million refugees in this country as a result of this violence. It is an indictment against the white community that there is no talk about this.

There are no efforts in South Africa, like you would find in other countries, by the wealthy, those who are living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds at least (now) during this Christmas period.

Such efforts would make these displaced people feel that they are human beings and that somebody cares. To give them hope that even during this time when their lives are dislocated, they must not despair because people who have the means are thinking of them and are sharing what they have with them.

The failure by whites to rise to the occasion is a serious indictment against the white community in this country.

THE rightwingers, especially people like Eugene TerreBlanche of the AWB and Andries Treurnicht, have made particularly provocative statements. How do you think this impacts on or influences the peace process?

TREURNICHT, Jaap Marais and TerreBlanche claim to represent the interests of the Afrikaners and it is correct that somebody

should champion the cause of a particular section of the community. There is nothing wrong with that.

What we do criticise, however, is the fact that they are spreading fear, concern and feelings of hostility among the Afrikaners, especially against black people.

Treurnicht responded to my speech in Potchefstroom, where I said he should come to Codesa and put forward his demand for self-determination. His reply was that if he accepted my invitation he would be submitting himself to a communist dictatorship.

What is actually happening is that they fear democracy. They are also aware that they are in the minority and that in any joint discussions they will be outvoted democratically. They are using the communist bogey in order

There are no efforts in South Africa by those living under better conditions, to raise food, clothing, funds at least now during this Christmas period. The failure by whites to rise to the occasion is a serious indictment against the white community.

Judge to probe Apla, SADF and MK

STAR 19/12/92

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
and SABA

THE Goldstone Commission yesterday announced that it would begin probing the activities of Apla, the armed wing of the PAC, early next year and would also investigate certain activities of both the SADF and the armed wing of the ANC.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the Apla hearings would begin on January 4 in Port Elizabeth. He said the covert activities of the SADF would also come under scrutiny next year, as would the alleged involvement of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe in unrest.

Threats

The PAC, however, has reiterated that it will not co-operate with the commission. And the organisation's PWV leadership claimed yesterday that the "drastic decline" in political violence in the PWV over the past two weeks was because of the recent Apla attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a statement read by PWV regional chairman and national executive council member Ntsundeni Madzunya, the PAC said Apla's threats to retaliate for every black who died in violence had not only led to the decline in violence, but had also proved the Government had the capacity "to instruct mercenaries to stop the killings."

● TO PAGE 2.

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Judge's probe

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● FROM PAGE 1.

An SAP statement described Madzunya's claims as "ludicrous to say the least — and what makes it even more ridiculous is the attempt to link the recent attacks in the eastern Cape to the alleged decline in violence in the PWV region".

The SAP said any decline in "train and other violence can be attributed to increased police action on the one hand, and peace initiatives by the Peace Committee and other concerned organisations and individuals on the other". Almost 200 people, the police statement said, had been arrested and charged for offences committed on Transnet premises.

Madzunya said the absence of large-scale violence in the PWV following Apla's attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown proved that "agents of the regime" were primarily responsible for violence in the PWV area.

The Apla leadership, through PAC first deputy president and former Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo, this week formally claimed responsibility for the two eastern Cape attacks.

The PAC has received much domestic and international criticism for its failure to censure — or distance itself from — Apla.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week resigned

from the organisation's leadership. Although he cited family and professional pressure, observers and PAC-watchers believe the Pretoria advocate's resignation was triggered by his opposition to Apla's attacks.

Reports from Cape Town yesterday said PAC information chief Barney Desai may well follow Moseneke and quit the PAC. Though the PAC was tight-lipped about his health, the articulate, former London barrister is said to be ill.

Desai is on holiday and could not be reached for comment.

Reports from Washington indicate that international pressure on the PAC is continuing. US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen told reporters in the US capital that the US government had protested to the PAC about Apla's threats even before last month's attacks. But PAC leaders had said they had no control over Apla, Cohen said.

He was briefing reporters on events in Somalia when he was asked to comment on the Apla attacks. He described them as "blatant acts of terrorism".

"I note that over the past year Apla has threatened to take violent measures so that the negotiations could be undermined. When we first heard of these threats we protested to the PAC leadership, and throughout that period the PAC leadership said they were opposed to such measures, but told us they were not in control of the armed wing. And they are continuing to say that."

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STAT 19/12/92

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POLITICAL STAFF

THE SACP and Cosatu are working towards developing a joint strategy — a “reconstruction pact” — on socio-economic issues which they intend to discuss with their ally, the ANC.

The joint SACP-Cosatu strategy is expected to be discussed at a meeting early next year.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani said yesterday that the idea of such a joint strategy was first mooted at an SACP-Cosatu meeting six weeks ago.

“In the course of our discussions we asked what we expected, as leaders of the working class, from a new government,” he said.

It was then decided that representatives of the SACP and Cosatu would be appointed to define a common position on socio-economic issues to be discussed at a meeting next year.

PAC doves lose grip

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ARG 19/12/92

IN a sea of rhetoric filled with slogans such as "one settler, one bullet", lawyers Mr Dikgang Moseneke and Mr Barney Desai represented men of reason and gave the Pan-Africanist Congress a more humane face.

But in a headline-making move this week Mr Moseneke, regarded as a dove, resigned as second PAC deputy-president and quit the militant movement's national executive committee.

Speculation is rife that Mr Desai, another so-called PAC moderate, will follow his example and quit as information head.

Such a move would highlight a turbulent period in which the PAC doves have seemingly lost out to the hardliners who support actions taken by the movement's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

■ Rumours abound that Mr Barney Desai may be the next one to resign as the balance within the PAC leans towards the hardliners.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

Though the PAC was tight-lipped about his health, the articulate former London barrister is also said to be ill.

Rumours about his health have often cropped up on the political grapevine this year.

In October, the PAC issued a statement denying that he had had a heart attack.

Mr Desai was re-elected PAC secretary for information in April, a month after the movement had issued a statement scotching rumours that he had

been sidelined.

Speculation was rife at the time that radicals were forcing Mr Desai out because he was said to be pro-Codesa.

Mr Moseneke's resignation points to a behind-the-scenes battle between the PAC's moderates and hardliners.

The radicals won the first showdown on a hot summer's day at the University of the Western Cape last December when delegates rounded off a two-day consultative conference by turning their backs on Codesa.

Before that meeting Mr Desai said there was a split in the PAC on whether to negotiate or continue fighting from the outside.

Militance won the day at UWC and participation in Codesa was rejected.

■ Mr Desai is on holiday and could not be reached for comment.

300 pitch for Heroes' Day

By Quentin Wilson

(11A) South 1911/2/92 - 13/11/93.
A LAID-BACK crowd of about 300 people lounged around Athlone Stadium to commemorate Heroes' Day on December 16.

The ANC-organised festival, although poorly attended, was also intended as a celebration of uMkhonto weSizwe's 31st birthday.

But "Relax and enjoy" was the slogan of the day. People bought goods from a small number of informal traders invited for the occasion; watched Lightbods play a friendly soccer match against volunteers from the crowd and listened to recorded music.

"This is not a day for long-winded, serious speeches," declared Dr Allan Boesak, Western Cape ANC chairperson, in his opening address, "We just want you to sit back, relax and enjoy. It's been a busy year and now it's time for a rest."

But there were a few serious moments when a minute's silence was observed for all those who died in the struggle against apartheid.

ANC member, advocate Dullah Omar, also delivered a few sober words of reflection on the year's activities.

Said Omar: "The single biggest victory achieved this year was to get the government to agree to an elected constituent assembly.

"Six months ago, when Codesa 2 broke down, the regime refused our demand for an elected body to draw up a new constitution. But as a result of our mass struggles, the NP was forced to agree, and now, for the first time, it has become part of their language for the future."

Omar urged the crowd to "remain vigilant" and to "continue mobilising" for an end to NP rule.

"When we celebrate this day next year, we should also be able to celebrate an election that swept away a minority regime forever. That is our task," he said.

The day, however, certainly came nowhere near delivering a threatening, death-knell for the government.

There was a stayaway, but maybe it's that time of the year.



SA ready to set sail — again?

AT THE end of 1991, there were tentative murmurings of hope. Flagship Codesa looked set for smooth sailing; confident election-date predictions were made for the coming year and the National Peace Committee revved up its cylinders for a nationwide peace drive.

But 1992 flopped — Codesa capsized and all but sank, a record number of South Africans were killed in politically-related warfare and the prospect of a democratic election did not even come close.

Despite all this, however, the same tentative twinklings of hope have reappeared.

The bosberaad/legotla pact between the ANC and the NP to rebuild a modified Codesa has revived the possibility of a speedily negotiated settlement.

Prospects of elections in the coming year are once more in the air as these two political kingpins haggle over a date.

So what happened during 1992 in which events seemed to have swung full circle? Is South Africa simply back to where it was a year ago or has there been political progress to speak of? Why did 1992 flop in its expectations?

The rot started with the referendum fiasco in March. Although white South Africa stamped their approval on President FW de Klerk's call to push ahead with negotiations, it had the opposite effect.

Ironically, Codesa was more on line before white South Africa gave it the go-ahead than after. Just two months after De Klerk's landslide showing, Codesa 2 jammed.

Predictably, it was not the CP which ruined negotiation efforts but the Codesa participants, and particularly the government.

With hindsight, all the time and money spent on referendum campaigning could have been saved — the bulk of government efforts should have been directed at thrashing out joint proposals with the ANC to make Codesa workable.

Meanwhile, the ANC experienced considerable strain.

For the first half of the year, all their efforts were Codesa-orientated and the lack of progress increased despondency within the organisation's ranks.

The ANC continued to talk while a part of their membership were still in prison or falling victim to massacres like that at Swanville.

1993 is in with a chance — maybe our last, suggests

Quentin Wilson:

South
19/12/92 - 13/1/93

'The rot started with the referendum fiasco in March'



They allowed De Klerk the luxury of consolidating his support base through the referendum without so much as a whisper of protest.

Then came Boipatong in June which proved to be the hinge of the year's history.

No longer could the ANC talk in the face of such complete disregard for the loss of black lives and their tactical emphasis switched accordingly.

Immediately, the ANC ditched its short-term negotiation efforts and found itself on more familiar terrain — issuing a bundle of demands for the government to address while linking a mass action onslaught to meet these objectives.

A consolidation of its own support base followed as millions took to the streets in a campaign that piled pressure on De Klerk to accept an elected constituent assembly, while marshalling his security forces to deal more effectively with the ongoing violence.

Almost every week, the "rolling mass action" could capitalise on a fresh unveiling of NP skeletons.

Government knowledge of activist Matthew Goniwe's assassination in 1985 surfaced; pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman spoke publicly about detention deaths; toilet towns and other hopeless tales of wasted government spending heaped more dirt on De Klerk's public image.

Momentum for the mass action grew and peaked in early August when Cosatu pulled off a general strike that succeeded in grinding the economy to a two-day halt.

In September, it was De Klerk's banustan allies who were targeted by the ANC alliance. The Bisho bloodbath focussed global attention once more on apartheid. De Klerk found himself in a corner as his other banustan buddies, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Lucas Mangope threatened to follow in Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's bloodied footsteps.

What was De Klerk to do? Should he ditch his carefully cultivated allies in a bid to regain NP credibility or were they essential team-mates in the contests to come?

These questions continue to split the cabinet, a cabinet already weakened by the exit of a steady stream of "burnt out" ministers through the year.

But after Bisho, De Klerk had nowhere to turn — except to the ANC's agenda.

The Record of Understanding reached between these two in September was a helpful pointer to the new power relations that had developed since Codesa's breakdown in May.

Although tactfully played down by the ANC leadership, this bi-lateral episode largely produced what the ANC had been calling for since the Boipatong massacre.

The release of the remaining political prisoners and a commitment by the NP to fence off volatile hostels showed that the ANC had finally got their way, much to the annoyance of Inkatha and chunks of the NP membership.

After De Klerk's special sitting of parliament fizzled and with his alliance still split, the NP went it alone again, meeting the ANC in a secret bosberaad to jointly plot common ground for multi-lateral talks later on.

So, although fat pension schemes for present government officials have been secured, and security force members of the Ferdi Barnard variety have been promised safety through indemnity legislation, the transition project seems back on track.

So much so, that even the PAC seemed ready to step aboard after their two exploratory meetings with the government in Nigeria and Botswana. In the end though, this trend was reversed by their military wing, Apla, who continue to give white South Africa a shrill wake-up call to the reality of violence.

The year, through all its trauma, has nevertheless thrown up conditions conducive to a small glimmer of hope for the future. Except for the haunting spectre of violence, 1993 is in with a chance — and it may be the country's last.

17 million face crucial choice

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93

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THE government and the ANC are inching closer to an agreement on a date for a democratic election.

Following their bosberaad two weeks ago, negotiators from both sides agreed that they had to press forward and set a date soon.

The government wants elections to be held in March or April 1994 while the ANC believes they could be held as early as September next year.

Both parties hope that they can convince the other participants at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to accept their proposals.

The ANC and the government have one more round of talks to complete — hopefully on January

20 next year — before taking their proposals to Codesa.

Their optimism means that South Africans who have never participated in an election before should begin to learn what an election means and to prepare themselves to make that crucial choice which will shape the future of the country.

More than 17 million South Africans are expected to vote in the election, according to the Department of Home Affairs.

This excludes the 3,1 million Africans in the nominally independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC states).

A racial breakdown of the potential voters shows that there are 12

million Africans, 3,3 million whites, 1,8 million coloureds and 600 000 Asians.

These figures make up 77,5 per cent of the population — all the people over the age of 18.

However, less than 15 million would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2,7 million potential black voters are without identity books.

The position of the TBVC states, their participation in an election and the position of their citizens living in South Africa are being negotiated.

Parties will also negotiate the qualifications for voters and the method of identification in the elections.

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Hendrickse set to quit

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse is set to quit as leader of the Labour Party as it wrestles with the problem of how to remain politically viable.

Matters will come to a head at the party's annual congress in Port Elizabeth on December 27 and 28.

At issue is a dispute between those who favour an alliance with the ANC and those who believe such a move would result in them being rejected by their "coloured" constituents because of ANC links with the SACP.

Mr Hendrickse favours an alignment with the ANC but the majority of his MPs don't.

This predicament is partly the reason why Mr Hendrickse, 65, is believed to have "offered" to step down in favour of deputy leader, 62-year-old Miley Richards.

At Labour's previous annual conference in Durban, ANC Foreign Affairs spokesman Thabo Mbeki laid the foundation for future co-operation between Labour and the ANC.

He said the two parties should walk the same road as they were "on the same side" having both signed

the National Peace Accord, the Codesa Declaration of Intent and having been co-founders of the Patriotic Front (PF) in October 1991.

Since then the relationship has been further cemented — culminating in October's conference of PF Codesa participants in Port Elizabeth, hosted by the Labour Party.

Alliances

Official Labour policy favours alliances "in which the autonomy of the different parties is guaranteed" and "not at the cost of the continued existence of the Labour Party".

The party is not likely to be disbanded and the feeling in party circles is that it still has a role to play because of its rural support — a debatable claim given the overwhelming victory the NP scored over the LP in the July Diamant (Kimberley) by-election, won with a 2 500 majority.

If Mr Hendrickse keeps to his undertaking made at a national executive meeting in Port Elizabeth in October — to make way for new blood — it would be a strategic move that could keep the party together.

For the LP it would also mean ensuring that it retains the benefit of the considerable political wisdom and expertise of Mr Hendrickse.

Labour sources say the idea of Mr Hendrickse "stepping down" should not be seen as an attempt to "oust" him. But there is a feeling among MPs that the perception that the Hendrickse family (Mr Hendrickse has two sons and a son-in-law in Parliament) and the LP were one and the same should end.

And Mr Hendrickse, apparently, agrees that standing back could be a unifying factor and expectations are that he will deliver his last opening address on December 28.

● Labour's support in Parliament has not stopped haemorrhaging. At the end of October, Labour had 27 MPs to the NP's 44, against 76 out of the 80 it started off with in 1984.

S/TIMES 20/12/92

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

11A

Hold thumbs as '92 slides away

By SEKOLA SELLO

As the year draws to an end, expectations are once more high that the much talked about, but elusive, animal — a new SA — is around the corner.

But will next year usher in a new deal?

Apart from the endemic violence, one topic dominated the SA political landscape — the constitutional negotiations between the government and ANC.

The year started with these two parties poles apart after the NP unveiled its complex set of constitutional proposals.

The DP was sceptical about the Nats' proposals, saying they were likely to bog down the fragile negotiations process.

Predictably, the ANC shot the NP down and offered theirs as the best solution to break the political logjam.

They proposed that an interim government should have a short

lifespan; that its principal function was to organise an election for a constituent assembly.

Codesa finally agreed on the need to appoint — rather than elect — a new interim government for the country.

The ANC said they would reject co-option and instead spoke of an interim government council to oversee the running of the country.

Inkatha entered the fray by rejecting the ANC's proposals and calling for a transitional government of reconciliation — broader based than Codesa.

Radical forces on either side of the spectrum threatened to wreck this forum. The CP accused Codesa of selling out whites, particularly the Afrikaner.

On the left the PAC and Azapo said Codesa would short-change blacks.

The reality of the gulf separating the various participants soon dawned and the forum continued to be dogged by controversy.

Although Inkatha participated in the talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to take his seat in Codesa until the participation of Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, was clarified.

Allegations of a secret deal between the government and the ANC surfaced. Buthelezi threatened to tear to pieces any agreement reached behind his back.

While Codesa was being battered from all sides, it was the Boipatong massacre on June 17, in which 39 people died, which posed a more serious threat to the negotiations process.

The ANC suspended all talks with the government. These were only resumed almost six months later.

Cosatu emerged as a force to be reckoned with following their call for a crippling three-day work stayaway.

A report by Amnesty International found that the ANC, high on talk about democracy, tortured and even killed some of its

cadres in camps in Angola and Tanzania. Rogue elements of ANC self defence units continue to run wild in the Vaal triangle.

Dirty tricks by some members of the security forces, it seems, are still continuing under De Klerk's rule while massive corruption in KwaNdebele and Lebowa were recently exposed.

The Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC, which some analysts believe holds the key to the country's future, has already been rejected by Inkatha. Instead, Buthelezi has come up with a federal proposal for KwaZulu.

Amidst all this, Apla, the military wing of the PAC, has increased its attacks against white civilians. To counter Apla, the government threatened cross-border raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe.

Given the fluidity of the latest developments, next year may be the last mile to a democratic SA. It may be the beginning of the worst of times . . .

CP News 20/12/92
11A



MASSACRE . . . This youth stood little chance as Ciskei soldiers opened fire on unarmed ANC marchers at Bisho on September 7 in a well-rehearsed operation by homeland forces.

PAC hawks now in charge

S1 Times 20/12/92. (11A)

THE dramatic resignation of one of the PAC's top strategists, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, has finally put the hawks in the PAC in control of the movement — and dashed almost all hope that the organisation will form part of the envisaged new negotiation forum.

Mr Moseneke is understood to have thrown in the towel after a top PAC official, first deputy president Johnson Mlambo, this week admitted that Apla (the PAC's military wing) was involved in the recent Eastern Cape atrocities.

It was mainly through the hard work of Mr Moseneke (second deputy president) and the PAC's Cape Town-based secretary for information and publicity, Barney Desai, a former London-based lawyer, that the PAC and the government had progressed to within days of final preparatory talks, scheduled for December 9.

A historic summit meeting would have followed later next month between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk.

But, even as the finishing touches were being put to the plan, Apla launched its attacks against civilians in Queenstown and King William's Town, killing five whites and leaving scores seriously injured.

Mr Moseneke — regarded by many as a future leader of the PAC — was abroad at the time. Ironically, he was trying to pro-

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

mote a new image of the organisation and briefing African leaders on the PAC's forthcoming talks with the government.

Mr Moseneke arrived back in South Africa on December 10.

Four days later Mr Mlambo confirmed that "Apla structures were involved" in the Eastern Cape killings.

That same day Mr Moseneke delivered by hand his letter of resignation, marked "private and confidential", to Mr Makwetu and sent a copy to the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander.

Mr Makwetu and Mr Alexander were so stunned by the suddenness of the Moseneke resignation, that they conspired to keep the letter "secret" to try to talk Mr Moseneke out of his plans to quit.

Circular

On December 16 Mr Moseneke, despite having marked his letter confidential, made a statement to the media about his resignation.

The next day Mr Alexander sent a circular to all PAC units, including foreign missions, officially informing them of the letter, and confessing that he and Mr Makwetu wanted to keep the matter "secret"

because they still had "a duty for Comrade Moseneke to perform in his official capacity in early January.

"We were to discuss the matter with him," he wrote.

"It would appear as though our comrade has made up his mind on this matter."

The consensus among those who know Mr Moseneke well is that the Apla killings, compounded by contradictory, ambivalent and convoluted attempts by PAC officials at "explaining" the "rationale" behind them, was so incompatible with Mr Moseneke's commitment to the rule of law that it left him with no alternative but to quit.

Mandela brings rain to Potch

By DAN DHLAMINI (11A)
ANC president Nelson Mandela came to Potchefstroom this week for the first time in 33 years, and he brought the rain with him.

Before he spoke to a 10 000 crowd at the Ika-keng stadium there were some anxious moments and suspicions of sabotage when the lights failed and he had to leave.

However, his address - and the rain - cooled

clp news 20/12/92
down everyone after the lights had come back.

Mandela came to Potchefstroom at the invitation of his former client, the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa. He told church leaders that the ANC guaranteed freedom of religion and the independence of the church.

He praised the leaders, saying that their church - which is celebrating its centenary - was one of

the few institutions still in the hands of the African people.

Mandela said the Ethiopian Church and the ecumenical movement had made a significant contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

Mandela told the cheering crowd they should let bygones be bygones, and that people should gear themselves up for a free election for a non-racial SA next year.



MILITARY MEN . . . MK chief-of-operations Lehlohonolo Moloi called on youths to join the ANC army.

■ Pici EVANS MBOWENI

MK recruits new blood for a future SA

By THEMBA KHUMALO

C/News 20/12/92

THREE years ago South Africans would have braced themselves for yet another series of bomb blasts to mark the anniversary of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on December 16.

The police and SADF would have manned roadblocks at main entrances to townships in search of MK men.

All that caution disappeared with the unbanning of political organisations when President FW de Klerk ascended to power nearly three years ago.

However, since the hasty suspension of the armed struggle at the Groote Schuur meeting between the government and the ANC in 1990, many MK soldiers are now confined to their camps in African states where they are being prepared for a conven-

tional army in a new SA.

"We need more soldiers to swell our ranks in a new army in a future SA," Lehlohonolo Moloi, MK's chief-of-operations, told thousands of ANC supporters at a rally held at Tumahole Stadium in Parys on Wednesday.

Moloi, a veteran fighter who dared the SA security forces by arming and successfully infiltrating hundreds of MK cadres into the country through Botswana during the days of the armed struggle, recruited openly for MK at the rally.

The conventional retraining is thought to have relieved most guerillas who were itching to be deployed in the townships at the height of violence between ANC supporters and Inkatha.

With talk of a new government within the next

twelve months, Moloi's requests for more recruits to join MK were not far off the mark.

He knows too well that if a new conventional army was to be formed tomorrow, SADF officers would dominate senior positions.

Furthermore, Moloi is aware that should political developments overtake the retraining of MK, the only alternative left for the guerillas is the "Zimbabwe option" in which North Koreans were brought in to retrain Robert Mugabe's cadres.

The ANC's impatience with the slow pace of events was reflected in a speech by Gill Marcus, who shared a platform with Moloi in Tumahole.

She said: "We want one man one vote next year. The longer we delay the elections the more violence we will have."

Dikgang to be chosen judge?

MOVE over Dikgang Moseneke, former PAC deputy president. Enter Dikgang Moseneke, South Africa's youngest black judge. ~~25~~

Speculation is rife that Moseneke may be appointed to the Bench next year - making him the youngest black judge in the country. ~~11A~~

This, it is believed, is the reason why he resigned as the PAC deputy president and also from its national executive committee. ~~21B~~

However, controversy surrounds his possible appointment. Members of the Black Lawyers' Association of which he is a founding member claim that he has already taken silk in legal parlance. However, a spokesman for the Pretoria Bar, a Mr Scholz, denies this.

For Moseneke to become a Senior Council, the Pretoria Bar has to make the recommendation to the Minister of Justice.

Two members of the BLA, who asked to remain anonymous, claimed that the appointment of Moseneke as SC was announced at their annual meeting held on October 17 and 18. The national chairman of the BLA, PM Mojapelo confirmed the announcement but said they had not been officially informed.

Another possibility is that even if Moseneke is not yet an SC, his appointment as one is imminent - thus paving the way for him to eventually become a judge.

Moseneke announced his resignation from the PAC this week - fuelling speculation that he was disenchanted with the organisation's recent political line. ~~C/PAC~~

His resignation came in the wake of attacks on white civilians allegedly by the PAC's military wing, Apla. ~~20/12/92~~

According to sources, Moseneke realised that his continued leadership of the PAC would minimise his chances of being appointed to the Bench.

FOCUS Azapo plans programme to recruit one million members



focus on Azapo

THE AZANIAN PEOPLES Organisation hopes to provide a million blacks with a political home by the end of 1993, its president, Professor Itumeleng Jerry Mosala, said in an exclusive inter-

view.

Mosala also cautioned the ANC "not to allow itself to be partners in reformed apartheid structures," as this amounted to "sellout" politics.

Elected president of Azapo last month, Mosala will expend all his energies next year helping to rebuild the organisation. As a full-time president, he will also be engaged in a recruitment campaign "unparalleled in South African political history", he said.

"We intend recruiting at least one million members throughout South Africa, political climate permitting.

"Our major resources are our people ... we believe that our people will participate freely in building Azapo into a forceful organisation," he said.

Financial constraints would not dampen the spirit of Azapo, he said, pointing out that "we may not have the type of donations other organisations receive from their liberal friends but we can rely on the support of black liberation movements throughout the world".

"We have been encouraged by the support we received from our friends in Brazil, and indeed from all black organisations in the world, as we wage the struggle for the true liberation of our people.

"Here we are not talking about the sellout political dispensation as determined by Pretoria. We are talking about the total liberation of our people as determined by themselves.

"The black oppressed people of the world support our struggle and not the struggle in Codesa," he said.

He said the movement would go back to its donors, "people who supported the Black Consciousness Movement in the '70s".

"They are still there and have already indicated their willingness to resume their support."

He said the church had little financial support, yet it commanded the largest membership which no political organisation can hope to match.

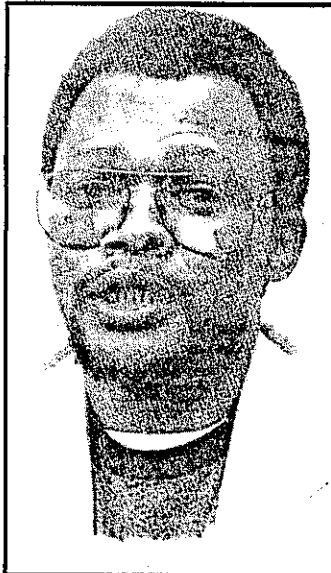
"This goes to show that financial support is not everything. We have human resources endowed with a vision to lead the masses to their liberation," he said.

On claims that Azapo was a racist organisation, placing emphasis on black exclusivity, Mosala said it was the black people who were struggling for their liberation.

"For whites to become members of Azapo, all racist institutions should be smashed so that white people can become members of the organisation."

He said the notion of non-racialism was based on wrong assumption, arguing that it was an

Sowetan 21/12/92.
Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Jerry Mosala says bilateral talks will not solve the chaos in the country but will lead to more conflict. He outlines his organisation's plans for the New Year in an exclusive interview with **Joe Mdhlela:**



Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala

ideal or a goal that had to be achieved.

"We don't have a non-racial struggle but a black struggle, with the true liberation movements bent on destroying all the racist edifices of our society."

On the new political order in this country, Mosala said the interim government would provide no lasting solution.

On the contrary, he said, a new constitution to steer this country to a new dispensation was the responsibility of a constituent assembly.

In this forum, he argued, all political formations would need to be represented to make their contributions as to the shape of a new constitution.

"Only after this would the country have a transitional authority."



As for the partnership envisaged by the ANC and the regime in terms of ruling the country, he said this was a recipe for conflict as had already been shown by Inkatha's behaviour of espousing their blend of federalism.

"Technically Inkatha is correct in being suspicious of the Government-ANC bilateral talks. Just like ANC, they are vying for partnership with the existing racist government."

He warned that the regime was not morally obliged to sustain Codesa, and was merely used as a forum to prop up the confidence of the white corporate world as well as the international community.

As a way of hailing the country out of its economic problems, the Government had to present itself as being amenable to change.

"It is De Klerk's Government that should negotiate, black people should wage a liberation struggle," added Mosala.

Azapo refused to negotiate directly with the regime, he said.

"We will talk to the Government through a mediator, not because we want to negotiate, simply because we would be putting forth our demands.

"We can talk to Government on what we think should happen, like the setting up of a constituent assembly, as well as getting information as to when they would be relinquishing power and how armed forces should be quarantined," he said.

He said by talking to the Government on these issues it did not mean Azapo would be negotiating.

"It is more like demanding to have a timetable for the transfer of power to the people," concluded Mosala.

Mosala warned that the ongoing bilateral talks by the Government and black organisations would do nothing to erode the political power the De Klerk regime enjoys.

"Bilateral talks are a crisis management process which merely tinkers with apartheid arrangements to the satisfaction of the De Klerk regime," he said.

Mosala, who resigned his visiting professorship at the University of Cambridge, starts his full-time tenure as president of Azapo in February 1993.

NEWS ANC wants full disclosures

Revelations could create crisis in talks

Sowetan 21/12/92
 ■ **Proof that third force was real:**

PRESIDENT De Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SA Defence force were involved in serious malpractice and illegal activities had created a crisis in the negotiation process, the ANC has said.

While commending De Klerk on his revelations, senior African National Congress NEC member, Mr Mac Maharaj, said attempts at cover-ups would be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans and would have serious implications.

Although reticent on what the serious implications would be, Maharaj sounded a clear warning to De Klerk to be open about the matter.

Maharaj said De Klerk's announcement on Saturday morning was a step in the right direction but "not nearly enough".

"There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation. The names of those members involved, the acts committed together with the units involved, must be made public immediately."

De Klerk had also acknowledged

that some of the activities included attempts to undermine negotiations.

Maharaj demanded that disciplinary steps be taken against security force members involved.

● The Pan Africanist Congress has said the axing of top SADF members by De Klerk was an acceptance by the Government of the existence of a Third Force within its ranks, reports **Sonti Maseko**.

The organisation's National Executive Committee member, Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya, said the measures against the top military men on suspicions of involvement in dirty tricks, aimed at derailing the negotiations process, was also a demonstration that the Government had the capacity to stop and start the violence in the black townships.

"The fact that there are now generals implicated in the violence puts a big question mark on the SADF and the police.

"We cannot rely on them, we cannot have a stable political environment where free and fair elections can take place," said Madzunya.

AN Monday December 21 1992

1992 (1992) 21/12/92

on army crimes

FW faces acid test

■ BCMA recalls

Tiro's murder:

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday said the announcement by President FW de Klerk that 16 Defence Force officers would be retired was accompanied by hypocrisy and double-talk.

Mr Vuyisa Qunta, publicity and information secretary, said De Klerk was party to the so-called total strategy employed to quell the efforts of black people to attain justice, liberation and peace.

"He was party to the declarations of the state of emergency which gave the white security forces licence to terrorise the black community without fear of any discipline.

"The acid test of whether De Klerk is serious will be whether the crimes which have been committed by his henchmen will be revealed and the criminals taken to court, including those he refers to as civilian collaborators."

The BCMA is not convinced that the regime is trying to put a stop to the slaughter of black people which it ordered its security forces to carry out. Rather the regime appears to be polishing its image and pruning those whose activities have been exposed to the public.

Qunta said former Saso president Mr Onkgopotse Tiro was certainly assassinated by the South African forces in Gaborone in February 1974.

B/DAM 2/12/92

Serote attacks arts body

ANC culture department chief Wally Serote has lashed out at the National Arts Initiative (NAI), saying the new arts co-ordinating body could fail to achieve the broad forum it wants as it has not initiated dialogue with the ANC. (NA) (S)

However, NAI steering committee chairman and University of the Western Cape vice-rector Prof Njabulo Ndebele says the organisation has not adopted an official policy of excluding the ANC, which was invited to the NAI's plenary meeting.

ANC prepares for big election day

11A

Gordhan 21/12/92

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS has hit the election trail - not with speeches but by ensuring supporters will be ready and able to vote come the first non-racial poll a year later.

The risk of a low turnout if voters fear intimidation, and the possibility that blacks who have never voted will inadvertently spoil their ballots, are the two major concerns, ANC electoral official Mr Khotso Gordhan said.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC was working hard on the problem. As well it might. In the elections the ANC will be up against the ruling National Party, whose well-oiled election machine has kept the party in power for 44 years.

Black rivals have also been tackling the problem. Chief Mangosuthu

■ POLL FEARS Include possible intimidation, ignorance of voting procedures:

Buthlezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party last September offered R4 000 to the first IFP Youth Brigade member to get 4 000 IFP supporters' voting papers in order by next July.

Some 21 million voters will be voting and around 18 million will be doing so for the first time. Of these some 63 percent are illiterate.

"People have difficulty understanding what an election is," said Gordhan.

With the help of churches and education and development foundations, the ANC has set up "election workshops" where voting procedures are explained.

One concern, according to Gordhan, is whether polling should take place over one or three days.

Fear is the key. In black townships, where around 300 people are killed each month in political violence, to vote could be life-threatening.

Many will stay away on the first day to see how the polling goes and venture out later if all is calm, Gordhan said.

Another problem is what kind of documents voters will need. As many as 4,5 million potential voters do not have the ID that will entitle them to vote. - Sapa-AFP.

Azanla's role under spotlight

Sowetan 21/12/92 (11A)

■ Organisation carrying out congress decisions:

By Mokgadi Pela

THE role of the Azanian National Liberation Army will come under the spotlight during the two-day consultation between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Harare.

Delaying change

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday that the issue had been necessitated by "FW de Klerk's role in the violence and his tactics of delaying change in the country".

Mosala said Azapo was carrying out

its congress decision to meet the BCMA to discuss the "dangerous and treacherous road ahead".

He said they would also discuss the looming elections, power-sharing and the negotiation process.

Accompanying Mosala were deputy-president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, secretary general Mr Don Nkadameng and deputy secretary general Mr Lybon Mabasa.

Mosala will lead the Azapo delegation, while the BCMA will be led by its chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena.

Mosala said Azapo would hold a press conference on Wednesday both in Harare and in Johannesburg.

Azapo unimpressed

Sowetan 21/12/92 (11A) (11A)
AZAPO on Saturday said President FW de Klerk's decision to suspend or retire 23 senior SADF members in an effort to cleanse military intelligence activities did not go far enough.

In a statement, Azapo said nothing short of the complete "quarantining" of both the South African Police and SADF would satisfy it.

"The suspension of a number of military generals by Mr FW de Klerk vindicates our view that the quarantining of the so-called security forces by a neutral force is the only way of

■ Wants De Klerk to quarantine soldiers:

attaining stability during the transitional phase."

It said it did not believe the generals "were a few putrid flies in an otherwise pure ointment".

De Klerk should submit the country's security forces "to neutralisation by a neutral, international force" and resign his own position to make way for a democratic constituent assembly. - *Sapa*.

Voter education programme kicks off ANC election drive

THE ANC has hit the election trail — not with speeches, but by ensuring its supporters will be ready and able to vote come the first nonracial poll a year down the line.

The risk of a low turnout if voters fear intimidation and the possibility that blacks who have never voted will inadvertently spoil their ballots, are the two major concerns, says ANC electoral official Khotso Gordhan.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said this month that the ANC was working hard on the problem.

As well it might. In the elections, the ANC will be up against the NP, whose well-oiled election machine has kept the party in power for the past 44 years.

Rivals have also been tackling the problem — Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last September offered R4 000 to the first IFP Youth Brigade member to get 4 000 IFP supporters' voting papers in order by next July.

About 21-million voters will be voting, and about 18-million will be doing so for the first time. Of those about 63% are illiterate.

"People have difficulty understanding what an election is," said Gordhan.

810 44 21112192
"We have started educating our structures."

With the help of churches and education and development foundations, the ANC has set up "election workshops", where voting procedures are explained and potential voters are encouraged to carry out mock polls.

The first results have unearthed considerable problems. "Some believe it is only for the ANC," said Gordhan. "Others think you have to put your own name in a box."

Recruit

In mock polls so far, one in every two ballots has been spoilt, Gordhan said.

In the meantime, the ANC has been negotiating with government this month about electoral procedures.

Mandela stressed the importance of setting up an electoral commission before the elections, and warned that the NP had the capacity to "distort" the outcome.

For example, the NP could campaign to naturalise and recruit up to 500 000 foreigners already in SA, Mandela said, just as it had urged British and other foreign residents to become citizens and vote

for change in the whites-only referendum on reform in March. (11A)

One concern, according to Gordhan, is whether polling should take place over one or three days. "One is enough for the whites, but not for us," he said.

Fear is the key. In the townships, where up to 300 people are killed each month in politically motivated violence, to vote could be life-threatening.

Many will stay away on the first day, to see how the polling goes and venture out later if all is calm, Gordhan predicted.

Another problem is what kind of documents voters will need.

As many as 4.5-million potential voters do not have the ID document that will entitle them to vote, according to Gordhan.

The ANC's workers in the Cape have begun a door-to-door campaign to urge voters to get their papers in order.

But ANC officials fear there is not enough time to get correct papers for all voters, and will be pressing government to accept baptism certificates, the only document most black people possess, as valid ID. — Sapa-AFP.



HEROES

JULY 1963
POGO STATIONS



PAC regional secretary Tunediso Modise, regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya and secretary for relief and aid Bonga Majola at the PAC West Rand region media briefing at the weekend which claimed Apla was responsible for the decline in violence in the PWV area. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

PAC's claims on violence in PWV area 'ludicrous'

POLICE have described as "ludicrous" PAC claims that the activities of its armed wing Apla are behind a decrease in violence in the PWV area.

The SAP has suggested that Apla might have been responsible for train attacks on the Reef.

Any decline in train and other violence could be attributed to increased police action and national peace committee initiatives, police said.

PAC West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya said on Friday that his organisation had noted a sharp decline in political violence since Apla attacked whites at King William's Town and Queenstown. This was in contrast to "international scarecrow" suggestions that the attacks would increase violence.

The general decrease in political violence, train attacks and attacks in which more than six people died indicated that Apla's threat of retaliation for every black killed had "borne fruit", Madzunya said.

The decline in the wake of the Apla attacks in the eastern Cape and subsequent threats proved that a "mercenary" element under the state's control was primarily responsible for

violence in the PWV area.

"It is common cause in international relations that the threat of military action by those who have a demonstrable capacity to retaliate always serves as a preventative measure in the conduct of aggression by opposing forces," Madzunya said.

The response of ordinary citizens, who were joining the PAC in large numbers, showed there was a perception "on the ground" that Apla was responsible for stemming violence.

The PAC had declared 1993 constituent assembly year but believed "the bullet cannot be abandoned until the ballot has been secured".

The PAC and Apla would refuse to co-operate with the Goldstone commission's probe of Apla's activities.

In response to growing international criticism of the PAC, Madzunya said the organisation's policy had always been "to accommodate the wishes of the oppressed" and to shape its own destiny.

The PAC still owed allegiance to the OAU, which had recently criticised the organisation for not distancing itself from Apla's attacks.

STEPHEN COPLAN

Trees go to retain view

BIDA 21/12/92
GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Forestry Department has been forced to remove hundreds of pine trees it had planted along the scenic Long Tom pass and to halt afforestation that would have affected tourism and ecology in the Lowveld.

Seedlings planted over an area of 35ha, with a commercial potential of R500 000, were removed after local residents and the Wildlife Society lodged objections.

More than 2 000 residents of the Lydenburg/Sabi district petitioned the department to remove the trees, which they said would obscure the panoramic view for which the pass was famous.

Wildlife Society conservation ecologist Andrew Duthie said the department had undertaken to remove up to 20% of the young trees planted along the pass that links the Highveld to the Lowveld.

The trees would have obscured "the entree to the Lowveld", as well as threaten natural vegetation in the area, Duthie said.

Seasonal flowers that bloomed spectacularly would have disappeared as they could not compete with the trees.

Department spokesman Bos-

Eskom power t

IN A gesture of goodwill, Eskom offered to supply electricity to the Rand township of Vosloorus free until January 7.

But the local town council, who controls the power supply, is to switch on the lights. It will on residents guarantee they will pay for other services, such as refuse removal.

The council cut electricity supply weeks ago because, it said, few of township residents were in accounts.

Vosloorus Civic Association spokesman Jabulani Dumani said that Eskom had written a letter to the council on Thursday requesting it to resume electricity supply until January 7 on which Eskom and the council expected to sign an agreement for utility to take over the supply from the council.

Dumani said Eskom had agreed to charge the council for electricity consumed between December 1991 and January 7 date Eskom had resumed supply. Eskom official Jan de Beer said utility's offer to the council was an attempt to alleviate the plight during the festive season.

Comment could not be obtained from the council.

Top PAC man slams use of violence

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A TOP PAC figure, Mr Sipho Shabalala, has slammed organisations using violence, indirectly criticising the PAC's military wing, Apla.

Mr Shabalala, the PAC's secretary for economic affairs, said in an interview in the latest issue of Executive, released yesterday, that a nation-

wide stand against political violence was a must.

"No political organisation or leader should be spared total condemnation if engaged in violence and/or doing nothing to stop it.

"We cannot take corpses to the constituent assembly.

"People must demonstrate against perpetrators of violence.

"Political gains achieved through

violence must be condemned by local and foreign media and governments as being immoral.

"Perpetrators of violence must receive no international financial support."

Mr Shabalala said organisations engaged in violence were going to lose political support.

"At the same time, bilateral deals between the ANC and NP/De Klerk's

CT 22/12/92 11A
regime, coupled with electioneering by both parties, are likely to fuel violence and confrontations from excluded organisations and individuals.

"The level of socio-economically motivated violence is likely to continue, and might be exploited by anti-democracy and anti-African unity forces."

RELATIONS between government and Inkatha were now worse than those between Inkatha and the ANC, government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said last Friday. Strong stuff, seeing as how supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are still killing each other.

The Constitutional Development Minister was speaking at one of the SA "breakfasts" hosted by the Aspen Institute's Pauline Baker in Washington. He probably would have said the same thing to US President-elect Bill Clinton's transitional advisers had they agreed to see him. They would not (although no slight was implied by this) so he did the next best thing. Baker is still in the running for a Clinton Africa policy slot.

Some in the audience thought he was being insincere and that government was only faking estrangement from Inkatha to show that Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not the "surrogate" ANC president Nelson Mandela claimed he was in his address to the UN Security Council in July. These critics believe Pretoria is in cahoots with Inkatha to derail negotiations and impose a settlement without the ANC.

Clearly, they were not listening very hard to what Meyer was saying. Either that, or they have a very low opinion of the political heft of the ANC and see the poor dears in its leadership being tricked at every turn. As so often, behind admiration lurks condescension. Truth is, the Minister could scarcely have been clearer.

He left no room for doubt that the dominant players in government and the ANC, the latter after a somewhat prolonged informal referendum, have reached broad agreement on the sequence of events and decisions that will lead to an elected nonracial government over the next 12-15 months. Others, principally Buthelezi and the PAC, were still free to come aboard, of course. Indeed, that would be preferable. However, their participation was not indispensable. Fixes could and would be found.

The sequence, as outlined by Meyer to his American listeners, looks like this. Government will hold a

Inkatha's absence will not derail govt's reform train

SDM 22/12/92 ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~
SIMON BARBER in Washington

second retreat with the ANC on January 20, lasting four to five days, to review progress on the seven basic steps to an election they have already agreed upon. The first of these is that a reformulated Codesa should meet by the end of February.

The new multiparty forum will then set about drawing up the rules for a transitional election commission to take charge of the security forces (including the integration of the SADF, MK and other elements), finance, local government, the SABC and preparations for elections for a transitional government/constituent assembly. Agreement should also be reached on an interim constitution and bill of rights, principles for a final constitution and a court to ensure adherence to those principles when the document is being drafted in the assembly.

Authorised by Act of Parliament, the transitional election commission will effectively become the government, ideally by June, by which time independent homelands wishing to participate will have had the opportunity to rejoin the republic. Among other things, it is hoped that the commission will formally invite in the World Bank and call for the removal of remaining economic sanctions, including the de facto US ban on IMF lending (but not the UN arms embargo). The re-engagement of both the bank and IMF at this stage is specifi-



□ MEYER

cally referred to in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly last week, as is the possibility of UN support for elections.

Depending on how swiftly the revised Codesa and the commission can get their work done, elections

could be held by year's end, but not later than March 1994. Representation would be on a proportional basis.

As for how power sharing would be achieved at the executive level, Meyer suggested two options: separate direct election of a president who would then pick his cabinet to meet the power-sharing objective, or using the outcome of the general election to assign cabinet seats on the basis of votes cast for each party. As for how long the interim/transitional/constituent assembly would sit, Meyer guessed the NP would split its current difference with the ANC and settle for two years.

In the light of its unwillingness to disavow Apla's terrorism, the Minister did not sound particularly confident that the PAC would be at the table when multiparty talks resumed in the new year. The resignation of deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke was "a great pity — it will have a negative effect".

As for Buthelezi, he had to get a grip on reality and stop seeing a conspiracy between the two major players. To begin with, he must understand the dynamics of a situation in which parties had to work together to reach agreement on a constitutional playing field while at the same time contesting for support. "We are looking at power sharing where the ANC and NP co-operate in a govern-

ment of national unity. We have to be nice to each other and compete at the same time — it is important for parties to read this correctly."

The Inkatha leader also needed to revise his notions of federalism. "We" did not use that word any more, said the Minister, but rather preferred to talk of regionalism and "maximum devolution", and to make the boundaries of future regions subject to negotiation at the national level. "Inkatha wants a bottom up approach. We say no, we have to ... work from the top down."

Meyer calmly observed that if Inkatha chose not "to be part of the solution", there would probably be "ongoing conflict" in Natal. It was to be hoped, therefore, that the ANC would help bring Buthelezi back to the table. If not, "we" would proceed "through other ways and means without the participation of all parties". SA's future, he suggested, would not be sacrificed on the altar of consensus. It was necessary only to achieve "the majority of support of all South Africans" — something the NP and ANC evidently feel is within their reach.

The Minister would undoubtedly be unhappy to hear this called tyranny. The only tyrant, as he repeatedly stressed, was time. At the simplest level, the clock runs out on the present constitution in September 1994, when President F W de Klerk would have to call another white election. That could not be allowed to happen.

Even more pressing, however, was the economy and the fact that there could be no growth without "stability" and "certainty". Thirdly, there was the question of international patience. It was about to run out, and when it did SA would be abandoned.

That being the case, it would, of course, be totally unfair to describe present developments as a compact between the mayor of Chicago and Al Capone to manage the city jointly and make recalcitrants offer they cannot refuse. Obviously, what we have here are two groups of highly committed democrats exercising their prerogatives for the common good. The next US administration is hardly likely to get in their way — or complain if they have to get a bit rough with dissidents.

Joseph on critical list after stroke

Staff Reporter

11A
CT 12/12/92
VETERAN anti-apartheid activist and the first South African to be placed under house arrest, Mrs Helen Joseph, 87, is critically ill in the Johannesburg General Hospital after a severe stroke.

Mr Carl Niehaus, ANC spokesman and a close friend of Mrs Joseph, said this was her second stroke in the past four years. Mrs Joseph had had the use of only one of her vocal chords after the last stroke.

"She is in a very critical condition, but she is conscious and can open her eyes," he said.

"I spent last night sitting by her in her flower-filled ward, and other friends have taken turns in doing the same."

d
OL In 1983 Mrs Joseph was elected patron of the now-defunct United Democratic Front.

stars

Police dispute threats against PAC member

Sowetan 22/12/92 ~~11A~~
■ **FORMER SPY** 'Problems' started when he

refused go to King William's Town: **11A**

By Josias Charle

A MEMBER OF THE the PAC who was engaged as a spy for the police has claimed they are out to kill him because he failed to provide them with information.

Mr Peter Masango (22) of KwaNdebele told *Sowetan* he was asked to become a spy for the SAP after being arrested for possessing dagga and police paid his R50 fine.

Police have denied that Masango, an active member of the PAC, was threatened and said he asked to be recruited as an informer.

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch said Masango provided "crime information" from September to December, when he was "suspended" after he had asked for higher fees

"although the information did not justify higher fees".

Masango said he was arrested in September while on duty as a security guard when police confiscated some PAC documents.

He said a sergeant gave him R160 and later R400 for transport and other operational costs.

Masango's brief was to attend PAC meetings and note speakers and statements made at such meetings. He was also given a camera to film proceedings.

He said problems started after the King William's Town killings. His handler asked him to go to the town to gather information on the killers. He was promised R50 000.

"I refused to take the job and I was then threatened with death. They also threatened to turn the PAC against me, so I decided to go

Interim govt a 'colonial trap'

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) has resolved to campaign against elections for an interim government which they denounced as a "sell-out" and a "neo-colonial trap".

Newly elected Azayo president Mr George Biya said the interim government would not deliver anything to the people. — Sapa

ANC urges PAC to end confusion

23/12/92 Own Correspondent (17) (21)

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC needed to urgently clarify the status of their armed wing Apla and put an end to "very confusing statements" from their senior officials on their activities in the interests of peace, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

PAC leaders have both distanced themselves from and cautiously condemned the recent Apla attacks.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke is believed to have resigned because he could not support Apla's activities.

Mr Niehaus said the ANC "strongly condemned" the continuing attacks on civilians.

He said the ANC was opposed to attacks coming from both Apla and right-wing extremists and found the government was allocating disproportionate energy to the Apla killings while black deaths were given less priority.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa called on the PAC yesterday to re-enter talks with the South African government.

257
11A
STAR 23/12/92

Labour to debate its future

CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party, seriously mauled in its stand-off in the House of Representatives with the National Party, begins one of the most important congresses in its turbulent history in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

The two-day congress, in party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse's backyard, will determine Labour's political future.

The party is unlikely to go it alone: delegates will grapple with the choice of forging a formal alliance with the ANC or becoming part of a centrist party.

An alliance with the National Party is not on the agenda after the bitterness caused when the NP outmanoeuvred Labour and reduced its outright majority in the House of Representatives from 76 out of 80 seats to a minority of 27.

Despite speculation, it is unlikely the beleaguered Hendrickse will step down in favour of his deputy, Toekomsrus MP Miley Richards.

'Change in behaviour patterns is needed'

(11A) ~~11A~~ LINDA ENSOR *BIDM* 23/12/92

CAPE TOWN — The political left had not confronted with sufficient seriousness the need to challenge South Africans to change their behaviour patterns, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Dr Mamepe Ramphele said yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of a book and video based on the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenarios, Ramphele said the left mistakenly believed political transition would automatically bring with it socially responsible citizens. This was not the case.

Ramphele believed the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenarios, which had played an important role in helping South Africans to face the future, remained valid.

The scariest future would be a "business as usual" one in which people did not change but continued with old behaviour patterns.

The "business as usual" situation outlined by the scenario planners was one in which the solution to economic and social problems was postponed pending the election of a new government.

Change would be confined to the political arena. Its effect would be to derail the political transition in as little as 12 to 18 months and ensure continued economic decline, social disintegration of black communities and an increase in violence.

Ramphele said SA lacked leaders with vision. People needed to be able to define social roles for themselves.

However, she said that as change took place, South Africans had to be grateful — considering the history of the society — that things were not worse than they were.

Vital congress for troubled Labour Party

Sowetan 23/12/92
11A
■ **FUTURE DILEMMA** Crucial gathering to decide on centrist role or alliance with ANC:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE LABOUR PARTY, seriously mauled in its stand-off in the House of Representatives with the National Party, begins one of the most important congresses in Port Elizabeth on Monday.

The two-day congress, in party leader Allan Hendrickse's backyard, will determine Labour's political future.

Delegates will grapple with the choice of forging a formal alliance with the ANC or becoming part of a centrist party.

An alliance with the National Party, once a serious topic, is not on the agenda; not after the bitterness caused when the NP reduced its majority in the House of Representatives from 76 out of 80 seats to a minority of 27.

Despite speculation, Hendrickse is unlikely to step down in favour of his deputy, Toekomsrus' MP Mr Miley Richards.

Richards said: "Nobody has consulted me on

whether I want to be leader. Speculation about Mr Hendrickse retiring is nonsense."

Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said: "We must go out, establish alliances and move in a centrist direction."

The NP trounced Labour in the Diamant by-election in June.

Hendrickse is one of those favouring an alliance with the ANC.

"We still have our constituency. It is important that coloured people continue to identify with the oppressed and not allow themselves to be abused by the NP."

He sees the DP not as a centrist party but as an affluent party representing the interests of big business.

In January Hendrickse, who had lost trusted lieutenants, suffered his first no-confidence debate defeat in the House of Representatives.

He refused to resign but was sacked by President FW De Klerk who told him to step down as chairman of the Ministers Council by noon on

11A

ANC urges PAC to clarify Apla's status

B/DAM 23/12/92

RAY HARTLEY

THE PAC should urgently clarify the status of its armed wing Apla, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

In the interests of peace, he said, the organisation should put an end to the "very confusing statements" from senior officials on its activities.

PAC leaders have distanced themselves from and cautiously condemned the recent attacks claimed by Apla. PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke is also believed to have resigned because he could not support the Apla activities.

Niehaus said he found it "quite astonishing that the political leadership of the PAC has not got control over Apla" against the

background of continuing attacks on civilians. These attacks were "strongly condemned" by the ANC.

"The people of SA need to realise that we need to find ways to work against violence and for political tolerance," he said.

He said the ANC was opposed to attacks by Apla and by right-wing extremists.

It found, however, that government was allocating disproportionate energy to the alleged Apla killings while black deaths were given less priority.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holo-

misa called on the PAC yesterday to re-enter talks with the SA government to begin to defuse the tensions surrounding claimed Apla killings.

Holomisa said the PAC, although having linked itself to the King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, had not claimed responsibility for killings on Transkei roads in the Queenstown area.

"I wouldn't like to join the war of words between the ANC and PAC," he said.

Niehaus said the ANC continued to believe a major security drive against Apla would not in itself solve the problem. He stressed there was no evidence Apla was responsible for the attacks.



By GAVIN EVANS

EVEN by South Africa's weird standards, 1992 was a particularly strange and volatile political year. It began with negotiations in full flight and ended with negotiations about to begin. It started with a peace accord and finished with violence reaching new heights. It opened with South Africa helping to end the war in Angola, and ended with South Africa accused by its neighbours of trying to resume the war in Angola.

It was a year of massacres and mass action, of corruption and bureaucratic collapse, of torture revelations and death squad exposés and of an overwhelming sense of a country rolling downhill. In short, it was a bad year for politics. Which, of course, is not the same thing as being a bad year for politicians.

As far as the parties go, the National Party started well with its referendum triumph, then got silly by trying to play tough, and in the process started to fall apart with rampant corruption and security force scandals being exposed. The Nats ended looking mean, weak, divided and more than a little desperate.

SOME PULLED UP THEIR SOCKS, OTHERS HAD HOLEY UNDERPANTS...

FW DE KLERK (down): As the referendum triumph turned sour, FW's fortunes dwindled. A year ago he looked like a long-term player. Now he's a poor man's Gorbachev — vacillating, scared of his security forces and even more scared of the future.

NELSON MANDELA (up): Sprightlier without Winnie, he has reined in most of his wild men, ridden the torture storm well and has emerged as more trustworthy, more in control and perhaps even more sensible than his opposite number. Like it or not, he's the president-in-waiting.

MANGOSITHU BUTHELEZI (down): With friends like he's chosen, who needs enemies? Cornermen include a weeping brigadier, a Rhodie Boer from Bop, and a jackboot brigade. Dreams of UDI likely to turn into nightmares for him and everyone else.

CLARENCE MAKAVETU (sideways): Reasonable (relatively) and articulate, he was doing well until his soldiers revolted. It's tough to negotiate when your members don't want to.

ZACH DE BEER (up): Integrity and honesty, both rare political commodities

most often found in politicians without power (or the prospect thereof). Possesses a certain gravitas which commands respect. Can he turn these into vote-winning assets?

ANDRIES TREURNICHT (down): With the white referendum, he and his party went down the toilet. At 71 he's a sad figure, presiding over a crumbling empire, totally lacking in vision and doomed to obscurity.

EUGENE TERREBLANCHE (down): The man in the holy green undies has become a pathetic, quixotic figure. In the land of the blind, the one-eyed pig-in-a-safari-suit is king (while the world enjoys the joke).

JERRY MOSALA (down): A not very big fish in a shrinking Azapo pond.

MEVILLE ALEXANDER (down): Who? hand he's succeeded Magnus Malan as the reigning cabinet nassy. On the other, his nasty brand of politics is temporarily out of favour now that the government is back in bed with the ANC.

GENERAL GEORGE MEIRING (down): The hands of the army chief are a little

grubby, and he keeps on putting his jackboots in his mouth.

GENERAL PIERRE STEIN (up): Look for this fly boy to take over from Bad "Kat" Liebenberg as army chief in a year or so.

CHRIS HANI (sideways): No longer the big Umkhonto weSizwe chief, and the South African Communist Party is less sexy than it used to be. But he still commands plenty of support, and is close enough to the ANC mainstream to remain a big player.

PIK BOTHA (down): Still full of Christ-mas cheer (and other spirits?), and a born survivor, but the big fella is losing it — just ask the Angolans.

THABO MBEKI (down): Occasionally seen but seldom heard. He's still a shoo-in for Pik's post, but crown prince? Forget it. The job is taken.

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA (up): He's withstood the Winnie storm, survived being called a self-out by the party hardliners, ridden the "cabaline" whippers, and has kept on rising. And remember he's only just turned 40.

ROELF MEYER (up): Despite a wobbly response to the Ferdie Barnard thing,

Inkatha (and its chief) started in bad shape with a series of scandals. Its officials behaved like spoilt children, more isolated and desperate than ever, with only rightwingers and homeland generalists as allies.

The Pan Africanist Congress picked up support from erstwhile ANC young lions, gained wider respect by talking about talking, and then let its

Scorecard '92: Who's in, who's out, who's hot

*Winnied 23/12-24/12/92.
In a volatile year, last year's heroes often became this year's villains.*

military wing blow it with a series of racist terror attacks. This lost the PAC international support, put its negotiators in an impossible position and exposed the depth of divisions within it.

The rightwing (Parliamentary and extra) had its bubble well and truly burst, and is now lacking in policy and leadership. It has been reduced to noisy fringe players, though not quite so fringe as Azapo. Wosa and the rest of the far left.

The Democratic Party had a good year with men like Zach de Beer, Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew emerging as genuine honest brokers, but the DP has yet to translate the goodwill into anything approaching a viable, non-racial electoral base.

As for the rest, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei stayed in the news by being recalcitrant, violent and petty, but their plug is waiting to be pulled. And the Labour Party is over.

Within all this, the fortunes of the men (for there were very few women) within the parties rocked and rolled according to their own disparate criteria. Some had it very good, others not so hot. Below is a scorecard of how we see them:

MAC MAHARAJ (up): The one-time chief party insurrectionist has been born again as a non-party chief negotiator.

RONNIE KASRILS (down): The fastest man in Parkhurst has run his last race. After Bisho it's downhill all the way.

JACOB ZUMA (down): A tainted past, and a too-moderate present, has sealed it for yesterday's Mr Intelligence.

PATRICK "TERROR" LENOTA (up): Released from the security and intelligence graveyard into the real world of elections, this former United Democratic Front fireball is on a slow upward curve.

DEREK KEYS (up): When last did a cabinet minister get Mandela and Trevor Manuel to take serious note of his economic advice?

LEON WESSELS (up): One of the few honest men in the cabinet — and still the only one to apologise for past sins.

RICHARD GOLDSTONE (up): First judge to force politicians to listen. He's managed to rile everyone, a good sign.

MALCOLM X (up): When the local and living ain't lekker, find a foreign market.

P

X

THE opera's not over, they say, until the fat lady sings. After a frustrating year of political stalemate and conflict, and socio-economic degeneration, South Africa is still in suspense, waiting for the National Party to commit itself to the transfer of power to the democratic will.

Perhaps a more appropriate musical for South Africa's negotiation process is the *Bekkersdal Marathon*, the Herman Charles Bosman classic in which the dominee, after announcing that his congregation will sing Psalm 119, goes into a trance without specifying which of its 176 verses.

The long-suffering congregation sings itself hoarse for eight hours as the organist trills on, inspired by "medicine" in a black bottle fetched by several elders and a deacon in ever-lengthening trips out to the *konsistorie*.

It has been one hell of a year, an ultramarathon in which South Africa thirsted for leadership.

Yet it began on a high. The all-white referendum produced an overwhelming majority for negotiations. For a brief moment in time most blacks and whites seemed at one with themselves and the future. Even *The Weekly Mail* was infected by the mood and proclaimed: "Let the good times roll".

But then came the blows. The deadlock at Codesa II; Boipatong; mass action; Bisho; the stream of scandals implicating the state in corruption, incompetence and murder; the Azanian People's Liberation Army's bombings; and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's veiled threats to drag Natal out of the republic. All of this to the backdrop of negative economic growth, capital fright and flight and the steadily corrosive township violence.

Even the record of understanding between the African National Congress and the government, a fresh flash of hope in October, was marred by Buthelezi, who stormed out of negotiations, miffed at his evident exclusion from what he perceived to be important deliberations.

Among the biggest casualties of the roller-coaster ride from post-referendum euphoria to post-Boipatong catatonia were the National Party and President FW de Klerk. For him, it has been a long downhill journey since the release of ANC president Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political parties, when he was regarded, even in the townships, as something of a saint.

By the time of the funeral of Boipatong victims in July, if the posters were to be believed, De Klerk was wanted in the townships for murder. It was a precipitous slide.

A convincing two-thirds majority "yes" in the referendum, cutting the rightwing challenge down to size, enabled De Klerk to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. For the

An endless tune

w/mail 23/12-29/12/92

rest of the year, he assiduously set about snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

De Klerk overplayed his hand at Codesa II. He held out for the constitution of the new South Africa to be front-loaded by the largely unrepresentative, apartheid-tainted Codesa parties, rather than drawn up by an elected body.

This he sought through the slippery device of leaving the time frame for a final constitution open-ended. The high majorities that the NP demanded for "amendments" to the interim constitution — 75 percent — would have ensured that temporary mechanisms such as power-sharing would be locked into the constitution forever.

The NP miscalculated and overestimated the ANC's desire to cut an early deal at all costs. The failure of the government to accept the ANC's generous terms at Codesa II was taken as objective proof to many thousands of suspicious ANC supporters that the party of apartheid could not change its spots.

De Klerk's folly was not simply a tactical miscalculation. A large pile of dirty laundry has tumbled out in public this year to support claims that elements of the state are complicit in the violence. To have thought he could play for time while the townships were burning underlines the central question mark against the De Klerk presidency.

Either he knew what was going on, and was seeking to undermine the ANC as an electoral opponent, or he didn't know, and therefore one could only conclude that he had no adequate control of his intelligence-gathering agencies, who were too busy stoking violence in black communities to gather intelligence for him.

As the constitutional deadlock began to stretch out, the volatile climate in the townships was like a bomb waiting to explode. When it did, at Boipatong on June 17, the already fragile multiparty negotiations were blasted into a thousand little pieces.

Whatever electoral advantage De Klerk might have presupposed from a delay, his party, far from moving confidently into the head of an alliance that could electorally challenge the ANC, was dealt a glancing blow.

De Klerk's image of reform gave way to one of weakness, his homeland and tricameral allies deserted him, his top lieutenants collapsed from the "burden of work", and Mr Consensus resorted to railroading the Further Indemnity Bill through the President's Coun-

The year started on a high note, but the scales soon slipped to the bass end.

The only hope for South Africa is for the African National Congress and the government to change the tune

By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**



cil because he could not even persuade the House of Delegates to support him.

On the other side of the table, the ANC also took a battering as it battled to establish a direction during the year. The movement's negotiators, emasculated by Codesa II, were pushed to the sidelines as the ANC returned to a new militancy at its May policy conference.

Just as the movement's leadership were preparing for the run-up to elections and political power, they were forced to revive the struggle. The megaphones were dusted off, the United Nations security council was summoned, and Ronnie Kasrils was sent out to marshal the troops.

There was a lot of talk about permanent mass action and there were a lot of assurances about not turning the taps on and off again. But then Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops opened fire on an ANC march on Bisho, and the taps of mass action dried up once more.

All of this exposed a deeper fault-line running through the ANC — one that was heightened by the debate that raged over the "sunset clauses", the proposal that sought to postpone democracy and lengthen the transition from minority rule.

On the one side were those who saw the NP — pejoratively known as the "regime" for all

'Apla frees blacks'

W/Waw 23/12-29/12/92
THE Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) on Monday resolved to campaign against elections for an interim government which they denounced as a "sell-out" and a "neo-colonial trap". (11A)

Newly elected Azayo president George Biya said the interim government would not deliver anything to the people, and Azayo would launch its "I will only vote for a free Azania" campaign next year. This campaign calls for a boycott of interim government elections in favour of voting only for a constituent assembly.

At its annual congress in QwaQwa last weekend, Azayo also called for the amalgamation of the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) with the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

"We have no problems with Apla's actions which are aimed at freeing black people," the Azayo president said of Apla's recent attacks on whites. — Sapa

that is driving SA crazy



these years — as necessary evil partners and, on the other, those who retained the image of the government as the ultimate enemy and who opposed any deal on anything near the NP's terms.

The victory for compromise at the ANC's national working committee and the national executive committee — even if fiercely opposed in some of the regions — lobbed the ball back into the government's court.

The question, as one moves into 1993, is: who will the NP forge a political marriage with?

Suitor number one is the ANC which, for all its tactical and ideological confusion, does represent the major black political party. After the *bosberaad* in early December, there was some cause for optimism that the two parties were

headed for a deal, that they could then sell at a broader multiparty venue.

An NP alliance with the ANC, however, creates the risk of a backlash by elements of the security forces who, no matter how damaged by the past year's revelations, have become increasingly outspoken; the breakaway of a section of the NP, including its Natal region; and the renewed wrath of suitor number two, Wrecker Buthelezi, the third force in South African politics.

On the eve of the government-ANC *bosberaad*, Buthelezi unveiled a radical document which, taken literally, would lead to the breakaway of Natal and create an armed militia at his disposal to cleanse his opponents ideologically. He thundered against every other political force

except his friends on the far right, retaining his most scathing comments for De Klerk.

The next week he and the president were purring together on the steps of the Union Buildings. Buthelezi said it was just like a quarrel between a husband and wife. What he didn't say is that it was the worst kind of quarrel, the kind where he had just found his wife sleeping with his enemy.

Buthelezi's chief attraction lies in the fact that he is only proposing what the NP itself wants to do with South Africa — carve it up into regions or federal states. He quite effectively put the issue of federalism on the map.

Perhaps we should know federalism by the company it keeps: Andries Treurnicht, Andries Beyers, Buthelezi, Gqozo, Lucas Mangope. Federalists bemoan the smearing of their plan as the f-word. A better term would be neo-apartheid.

The question remains to be answered: to what extent are the forces of neo-apartheid a stalking horse for the NP's own federal plan? To what extent is De Klerk committed to an ideological agenda that at the end of the day could rule out an alliance with the ANC?

We will know the answer to that question in February or March next year. Simply getting agreement on a date for an election and restarting multiparty negotiations won't be good enough. There must be a reasonable expectation of a political settlement that enshrines democracy, if the new talks are to succeed where Codesa II failed.

But that will only be a beginning. A major obstacle to an election, it became clear during 1992, is whether it will be free and fair. The ANC, with justice, has pointed out that there is little or no political freedom in Bophuthatswana, in Ciskei, in kwaZulu, and in many of the townships living under a siege of violence.

Yet suspicions over the ANC's own commitment to tolerance have been deepened first by the ANC's own report into torture and murder in its detention camps, and reinforced by Amnesty International's even more damning indictment.

Even more to the point, the ANC has to explain how easy it is for the NP to hold a political meeting in Transkei. Or for the Inkatha Freedom Party to hold one in Sebokeng. Or, for that matter, for the Democratic Party to campaign in Khayelitsha, or the Pan Africanist Congress to operate in Munsieville.

Let's hope the international monitors can do what South Africans themselves appear incapable of doing: providing a climate in which

political forces can respect their opponents' right to campaign in an open political marketplace.

But, despite the abuse hurled on the ANC by the government, even the most ardent diehard blood Nats must prefer the ANC devil they know to the PAC one they don't.

The PAC's ambivalent response to Apla's eastern Cape attacks on whites was a statement of political failure by the organisation which only two years ago claimed it had 750 000 members and was growing.

Yet, three years after being unbanned and moving into above-board organisation, with the newspapers and airwaves open to them, three years of attempting to woo support from the ANC by claiming that it is too moderate and selling out to the government, they have achieved little except dead policemen. Even then, one doesn't know who were killed by criminals and who by Apla guerrillas.

After all these opportunities to set up an organisational base, Apla resorted to armed propaganda, to announce itself to a new generation that had not yet seen Benny Alexander on television.

In so doing, they might have initiated a culture of murdering whites. Like the necklace method which became a spontaneous form of behaviour in the townships in the 1980s, the PAC don't know what kind of fuse they have lit.

They should study the history of Algeria where racial attacks, retaliations and counter-attacks cost an estimated million lives and made any hope of racial reconciliation impossible.

The one thing Apla did succeed in doing was breathing life back into the khaki right. For most of the year the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its allies, marginalised by the referendum and led by a buffoon with holes in his underpants who fell off his horse, looked overblown and passé.

Now they have a fresh cause, and thousands of new converts. In the new year we shall see if the Apla and AWB crazies can succeed in reducing South Africa into a racial bloodbath.

That fear is one of the best reasons why De Klerk and Mandela should make a pact early in 1993 and proceed as soon as possible to an election. The best bet remains that the ANC and the NP, in their own confusion and blindness, be entrusted to lead South Africa out of the darkness.

Let's hope De Klerk does not repeat Dominee Welthagen's mistake when, waking up to the sound of amen at the end of eight hours of non-stop singing by the Bekkersdal congregation, and seeing the darkness through the window, assumed it was the beginning of the evening service.

Before drifting off into a trance again, he announced: "We will now sing from Psalm 118."

I don't think the country can take it.

REVIEW '92: Twelve grim months when high hopes were laid low ...

Will we ever bury the past?



The old defenders of apartheid now fight the stalwarts ... Rightwingers and police clashed at the by-election at Potchefstroom — long a stronghold of the National Party. The Conservative Party won the election

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

THIS was the year in which the past came back to haunt us. As we were hoping to build on the changes of the past few years, the ghosts we thought we had buried in the rubble of the Berlin Wall or in the graveyard of apartheid returned to stalk the land.

In 1992, the New World Order's promise of stability and peace was shattered by age-old ethnic conflicts before we even began enjoying it. The hopes of a mega-Europe, where the collapse of socialism would end the divisions of the past and spread the prosperity of the West into the hungry countries of the East, did not last long into the year. The second half was dominated by bitter wars, the spectre of neo-fascism and disillusionment with the promise of unbridled capitalism. And the European Community — for which 1992 was scheduled to be the great year of unity — stood by helplessly, its future thrown into doubt by the rejection of the Maastricht Treaty.

Take Germany. It was believed that unity would be difficult and costly but as one of the world's strongest economies, it would soon bring new prosperity and growth to the former Communist bloc. All that is now overshadowed by the threats of Nazi recidivism, as youths who gained little from the formation of the new Germany turned on immigrants and other minorities in the same way as their post-Weimar ancestors.

The promise of a world order without super-power rivalry, in which the "peace dividend" could contribute to an end to global recession, gave way to one in which the great powers dithered over new ways to deal with racial conflicts in Europe and famine in Africa.

Back home, the seeds of the new South Africa were just germinating after Codesa I in December last year and seemed to be taking root during the referendum of March. But they were quickly strangled by the faster-growing weeds of apartheid: corruption, maladministration, ethnic passions, disdain for human life, unemployment, poor education ...

Codesa II collapsed and instead we got Boipatong and Bisho. Even when FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela got together again and shook hands over a Record of Understanding in Octo-

The year old ghosts refused to stay silent

W/Mail 23/12 - 29/12/92

Did the year just seem tough because the dead were new in their graves and fresh in our memories — or will the spectres of the past disturb our sleep for year after year after year?

By **ANTON HARBER**

ber, our hopes were soiled by an angry and threatening Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was unhappy at being excluded from all this peace-making.

For years everyone had said white minority rule could not last because it was repressive, corrupt, inefficient and power-hungry; now these became the reasons we could not get rid of it. It was just too fond of power, too used to corruption, too habituated to repression, too inefficient to get on with the job.

But it was no longer a simple split between those who represented the past and those who stood for the future. The National Party was certainly haunted by the ghosts of corruption and violence, but the African National Congress also found a few old bones in its cupboard. After four inquiries into what happened in ANC camps in exile, and with a fifth one on track, the organisation still had not dismissed or even disciplined anyone.

And the Pan Africanist Congress, having railed against negotiations for years, found itself stymied by its own supporters, wielding its own



FW de Klerk ... First serious look into his skeleton cupboard Photo: GUY ADAMS

slogans, when the organisation tried to take its place at the table. The government also found that the military men who had done such a good job keeping it in power for 40 years were now a terrible burden because they were still holding on to their power and privilege and the methods that kept them secure.

The police, long accused of taking sides in the political battle, faced a much more serious allegation from British expert Peter Waddington: gross incompetence. Even if they had the will to stop violence and crime, they probably didn't have the skills, he told us. The men in blue who

had kept "terrorists" at bay for years and were the scourge of the anti-apartheid movement couldn't even identify the men with traditional weapons who were terrorising train commuters.

The great hope of the divide-and-rule school of white minority power, Buthelezi, turned on those who had helped create, fund and empower him over the years. He became a source of division in the NP itself as its leaders tried to decide whether he was a potential ally or a dangerous foe.

1992 will turn out to have been a critical year for Inkatha. Just when it was hoping to recover from the disclosures of security police funding, the year began with *The Weekly Mail's* disclosures of extensive military intelligence covert support and training for what the South African Defence Force saw as the "third force" in South African politics. As the year closes, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into these allegations is drawing to an end and seems certain to add weight to them, particularly those that point to MI-trained Inkatha hit men fuelling the violence in Natal. The Goldstone report will also contain devastating information about the kwaZulu Police and some of Buthelezi's key generals, accused of lying and hiding information from the commission.

Judge Richard Goldstone, in fact, was the official apartheid ghostbuster who was meant to rid us of all these spectres that refused to stay in the grave dug for them in February 1990. But there were so many spooks which needed so many inquiries that his rapidly growing empire of commission became the country's fastest-growing industry.

The effect was that what should have been a year when we started rebuilding and redeveloping, when we could have tackled all the difficulties we inherited from apartheid, was spent trying to keep the lid on old problems. But we couldn't: we were enveloped by the corruption, the incompetence and the narrow-mindedness of the past.

And instead of the New South Africa rising shining and clean and strong, it staggered forward with its armour already tarnished by the old.

Whereas we started the year with hopes of

● To PAGE 6

REVIEW '92: Twelve grim months when high hopes were laid low ...

From PAGE 5

peace and revitalisation in southern Africa, with our country the driving force for renewal and democratisation of the subcontinent, we ended it with another war in Angola, scant hopes of peace in Mozambique and, once again, a pariah status for the South African foreign minister in neighbouring states.

At the beginning of the year, the state president was welcome in Red Square and Nigeria. By mid-year, he couldn't even go safely to Boipatong, where he was unceremoniously chased out by an angry crowd.

As usual, the mood was best captured by our sportsmen. At the forefront of attention was a rugby squad so out of touch with a changed world that its bad performance on the field was matched only by its boorish behaviour off it. It was led by that arch-symbol of the old arrogance of white power, Naas Botha. He retired at the end of the year.

On the other hand, what should be the game of the future, soccer, seemed to have even more trouble ridding itself of the after-effects of the years of neglect and isolation: petty squabbling over trainers, poor organisation and humiliating defeats.

The good people did not make the news this year. We heard little from those of courage and conviction who provided the torchlights of hope and strength during the dark years, the Archbishop Desmond Tutus, or the Beyers Naudés, or the Helen Suzmans. The headlines were dominated by the killers and the crooked, the Ferdi Barnards, the Joffel van der Westhuizens, the cabinet ministers caught up in corruption scandals.

There were really only two men who stood above the quagmire. The negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, represented those who — despite all the problems outlined above — pushed resolutely forward to take us closer to a democratic election.

Will we ever be able to bury the past? Was this just a tough year when the dead were new in their graves and fresh in our memories, or will the ghosts of apartheid disturb our sleep for year

It's back to the past
w/mail 23/12-29/12/92
And now for the good news ...

IT was a year of violence, stalled negotiations, dirty tricks, corruption scams and economic decline; of misgovernment, missed opportunities, crisis and dismay. But life in South Africa, surprisingly, goes on — and continues to have its lighter moments, its respites and small mercies. Here is some of 1992's good news:

- Whites vote for Jonty Rhodes in the referendum.
- Taxpayers no longer have to fund Barend Strydom's meals.
- FW de Klerk is not nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.
- De Klerk purges "not the third force", including two generals and four brigadiers, from the South African Defence Force.
- The IMF and World Bank defer the opening of offices here and advance us no loans.
- The Currie Cup eludes Louis Luyt.
- Times Media MD Steve Mulholland emigrates to Australia.
- Jani Allan.
- Abdul Bhamjee.
- A share offer to Sowetan staff makes newspapers safe for the Argus group.
- Former PAC luminary Dikgang Moseneke is saved for the supreme court.
- Stoffel van der Merwe quits politics.
- The mighty Springboks lose their balls at

- Twickenham.
 - Nelson Mandela loses a wife, and the country a headache.
 - The New Nation nominates the NP's Roelf Meyer joint "Man of the Year".
 - "Mr Regional Fixit" Sean Cleary is unceremoniously ejected from Angola.
 - John Bishop covers his stiff upper lip.
 - Condom ads finally appear on SABC-TV.
 - Spike Lee refuses further interviews with white journalists.
 - Labour Party parliamentarians inject their skills and probity into the NP.
 - Mangosuthu Buthezi promises to spill his last drop of blood defending Ulundi against the ANC.
 - Eugene Terre'Blanche promises to spill his last drop of blood defending whites against Apla.
 - Naas Botha hangs up the dreaded boots.
 - "Streaker of Bisho" Ronnie Kasrils reverts to jogging in Parkhurst.
 - Two Azapo stalwarts and a placard disrupt the Paul Simon tour.
 - Playboy magazine gears up for publication in South Africa.
 - Zola Budd watches Barcelona on screen from Bloemfontein.
- The old year is dead — long live the new!
DREW FORREST

after year after year?

The ANC should certainly be able to clear out its cupboard. Its two most important leaders, Ramaphosa and Mandela, are untarnished by the misdeeds of exile.

And De Klerk ended the year with the first serious look into his skeleton cupboard when he purged the military of some top men. But he is less fortunate than his opposite parties: fewer

and fewer people believe that he and his cabinet were untarnished by the activities of those they commanded.

And whereas the ANC has slowly built up its first team, De Klerk's has slowly collapsed this year, with minister after minister falling like skittles as the corruption and the repression of the past caught up with them.

The crucial issue of 1993 may be amnesty —

not whether it happens, which seems inevitable, but whether it is used in a desperate and unilateral bid to bury the past by those who fear the future, or as an agreed and well-considered attempt to reconcile ourselves with history.

There are many who think that the year is ending on the worst possible note, with racial killings in the eastern Cape raising the fear of South Africa copying the "ethnic cleansing" of eastern Europe. In fact, the horror of terrible events may speed up change, driving home — more than any media opinion or expert advice — the dangers of delay and the need for the major political parties to accept that they are each other's best options for the future.

And in the international sphere, the election of Bill and Hillary Clinton brings a fresh breath into the White House that may come to represent the emergence of a new left-leaning option, a younger, more optimistic alternative to the era of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. New people — and even some good people — are going to Washington again in a mood that resembles nothing so much as the elation when the election of John Kennedy ushered in the Sixties. (But then, of course, Somalia could become Clinton's Vietnam.)

In South Africa, we end the year with something close to consensus on the timetable for an interim government and a democratic election. There are still important and difficult differences over what these institutions will look like, but there is a growing feeling — on all sides — that the speed of transition is more important than the details of who will wield what power.

We also have a growing consensus on policy for economic reconstruction, and how to balance the need for growth against demands for the redistribution of resources.

If we can convince the powers that be and the powers that want to be to get on with the job at hand and call a democratic election as soon as possible, then 1993 may be a year when the new can start fighting back against the old, when we can stop debating reconstruction and get started on it.

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1993

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Azapo suspicious of UN intentions

Sowetan

24/12/92

11A

~~11B~~

~~11C~~

By Isaac Moledi

■ Organisation wants to meet IFP over Bekkersdal violence:

THE Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday it would resist any attempt by the international community to force it into accepting any concept of power-sharing.

The organisation also said it wanted to meet the Inkatha Freedom Party and discuss the differences which have led to a "raging war" between the two organisations in Bekkersdal on the West

Rand.

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandeleni Nefolovhodwe said at a Press conference his organisation had noted with regret the role of the United Nations peace-keeping mission in the country.

He said it was questionable whether the UN was in the country to keep statistics, to monitor violence or to placate organisations which had signed the Peace Accord.

Azapo had met representatives of the UN and the Organisation of African Unity to lodge complaints about the violence at Bekkersdal.

Publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said although the organisation was engaged in a "war" with the IFP at Bekkersdal, their option was to meet and discuss their differences. Since the hostilities began in October last year, 21 Azapo supporters had been killed.



Azapo slams reforms

SOUTH Africans had seen nothing but violence, destruction and further dispossession since President F W de Klerk introduced his reforms three years ago, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said yesterday.

"Reformist structures and processes like Codesa, bilateral talks, power-sharing between self-appointed parties cannot and will not eradicate white supremacy," it said in a

Christmas message by its president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala. ● Azapo was engaged in a war with the IFP in Bekkersdal on the West Rand, Azapo said yesterday.

Since "hostilities" broke out early in 1991, at least 21 Azapo supporters had been killed, Azapo publicity secretary Mr Gomolemo Mokae said in Johannesburg. — Political Staff, Sapa

(M) CT 24/12/92

Justice for SA peace

Sowetan 24/12/92
■ Azapo gives a Christmas
message: (11A)

By Mokgadi Pela

A Z A P O
president
Professor
Itumeleng
Mosala has
called on
black people
to continue
struggling
for justice in
order to
achieve a
lasting
peace.



Itumeleng Mosala

Mosala said in his Christmas message that peace resulted from justice and not vice versa.

"Only justice will end violence. Only justice will transform our townships from human dumping grounds into thriving, social communes. Codesa collapsed because the white minority regime seeks to bring about peace without justice," Mosala added.

He said processes like Codesa and power-sharing between "self-appointed" parties could not eradicate white supremacy.

Mosala accused the Government of having duped South Africans into believing it was committed to peace. "In keeping with all dictatorships throughout history, the white minority regime has healed the wound of our people lightly by shouting peace while engineering violence against them," Mosala said.

FM 25/12/92

11A

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

Day of the wolves

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) could be heading for a split — or at least the loss of its more sensible people — unless it resolves glaring contradictions in tactics and ideology.

The main confusion centres on the nature of the so-called armed struggle and its justification. In particular, the issue is whether whites (not merely soft targets) will be specifically hit by the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

If, as the recent attacks in the Border area suggest, whites are to be targeted because they are white, it would mark a radical departure from PAC policy which has to date always rejected such a racist approach.

Formally, of course, the PAC has always maintained that the term "settler" does not mean white but refers to a supporter of a particular repressive system. It was a colour-blind definition. Such a person would, at least according to the infamous PAC slogan "One settler, one bullet", be shot (how or whether personal affiliation would be established was never clear). Some PAC leaders downplayed even that as but a part of Apla's psychological warfare.

The first sign of fundamental division came with the resignation of second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke. Moseneke, an advocate and easily the brightest star in the leadership, said he was resigning because family and professional commitments took up too much of his time. Yet the handling of the announcement and the circumstances — two weeks after the Border attacks claimed by Apla — strongly suggest dismay on the part of Moseneke, whose loyalty evidently was strained.

In an interview published shortly before he resigned, Moseneke said that among the things he no longer believed in was "that the oppressed are right all the time." And the toughest thing about being deputy president was "keeping in touch with national activities and making sufficient contact with grass-roots members and supporters."

But the PAC leadership now reflects utter confusion and opportunism.

Within days of Moseneke's departure, the Tanzania-based commander of Apla, Sabelo Phama, was quoted as saying that his organisation had no knowledge of the person — one Congo Jibril — who had claimed responsibility for the King William's Town and Queenstown bombings. Jibril had identified himself as an Apla guerrilla. Phama strongly implied that the attacks were not the work of Apla.

Soon thereafter, however, PAC first deputy president Johnson Mlambo (a former commander of Apla under whose stewardship whites were not targeted as such) said that the bombings, in which five whites were killed, were in fact the work of Apla. It was the first official PAC acknowledgment.

Choosing to describe Apla as "most prin-

ciplined in fighting the struggle in a very highly disciplined manner" — which is nonsense — Mlambo explained that the attacks were in furtherance of the political objectives of the PAC.

Deliberately confusing the issue — which is the attacking of whites — he said Apla "will attack those people that it sees as assisting, like the police and soldiers, in the maintenance of oppression." He said that though Apla structures were involved in the attacks, this did not necessarily mean the instructions came from the top leadership. Its operatives, who came from an oppressed background, he said, had a certain autonomy. According to Mlambo, the PAC is pursuing a twin-track strategy of seeking to mobilise politically without forgoing armed struggle. His statement is characterised by ambiguity and reflects the kind of opportunism the PAC displayed over the spontaneous Poqo attacks of the early Sixties, when responsibility was claimed only after the fact.

On the one hand, therefore, the leadership seem content simply to be swept along by events, soaking up whatever swing in support might be coming its way from militants and feral youth — a small constituency with little appetite for and less understanding of negotiation politics. On the other hand, it leaves just enough room to change tune.

However, it would seem that hardliners now have the upper hand in the PAC and will continue to dissemble. At the weekend, for example, West Rand chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya stated, incredibly, that there had been a decline in violence since Apla had attacked whites. This proved that "State mercenaries" were mainly responsible for political violence.

A big question mark now hangs over whether the PAC will be part of the multiparty talks due in February. Until its sudden switch to outright terrorism, the PAC — or its leadership — were on the way to joining negotiations. It has yet to give a satisfactory explanation of its stance to government, which broke off contact until this is done.

Meanwhile, the white Right has announced its intention of acting against Apla. The Conservative Party has said it will raid Apla bases in Lesotho in a week unless government acts. These developments came after a teenage girl was killed and five people wounded in two separate attacks on whites in remote areas of the country last Saturday. Nobody had claimed responsibility by the time the *FM* went to press.

Police could not connect the two attacks — on a farm near Ficksburg in the Free State and on a bakkie on the Queenstown-Dordrecht road inside Transkei. However, police spokesman Capt Steve van Rooyen said it appeared as though whites were again being singled out for attack.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha has requested the assistance of the Lesotho government in trying to find the attackers.

Shocked at the latest attack in Transkei, Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel said SA had closed two entrances to Transkei at

Queenstown and Dordrecht until government was assured of the safe passage of South Africans. ■

CORRUPTION *FM*
Leaving town

25/12/92

SA and German companies were involved in a multimillion dollar scam which saw the Botswana government lose an estimated P50m over the past three years. This is the finding of a secret commission of inquiry ordered by Botswana President Ketumela Masire into a financial scandal involving the companies and the Botswana Housing Corp (BHC). The *FM* first reported on the inquiry two months ago (*Current Affairs* October 23).

According to the commission's report, the BHC and a government Minister were involved in an intricate web of corruption in which millions of dollars were siphoned off by Spectra Trading (of which the Premier Group is a majority shareholder), Goldav Construction and the German-based Prack Consult.

Former Assistant Minister of Local Government, Lands & Housing Michael Tshipinare had received P500 000 and an unspecified amount of shares as bribes from a company called Spectra Botswana, co-owned by the two SA companies.

Spectra and Goldav are accused by the report of gross overcharges, amounting to millions of pula, in a contract to build a P25m headquarters for the BHC. A Goldav Construction official, Alex Goldman, transferred P2m in initial payments to a Channel Islands bank without the knowledge of Premier or of his partner, Lev Davidov, according to the report.

Another company, Wade Adams Botswana, was also accused of paying massive bribes to the BHC's top executives.

Its three top officials, including CE Ioannis Pestas, have fled the country, the commission says, and the company's construction of 900 houses has been suspended because some of them are falling apart.

Prack Consult's German owner Helmer Prack has fled to Germany and refuses to return to Botswana to testify.

Presidential Affairs & Public Administration Minister Lieutenant-General Mompoti Merhabe said the report outlined "gross mismanagement, utter negligence, unbridled greed and dishonesty" in the operations of the BHC.

Masire appointed the commission, headed by British lawyer Richard Christie, in August.

The Botswana authorities were also investigating the possibility of criminal prosecution, but most of the individuals accused of wrongdoing have since fled the country. Administrative action could also be taken against civil servants responsible.

Meanwhile it is reported that the Premier Group has appointed lawyers to investigate

than disseminate information and should be avoided to lower the risk of conflict. Communication with voters would be more effective through negotiated time and space allotments on TV, radio and in the printed media.

The election itself should be spread over a few days and people should be allowed to vote where it suits them rather than at high profile polling booths.

Schlemmer believes an election should be preceded by a much more elaborate process of "pacting" right down to local level. Cooperation between parties at top level is generally good, but not at lower levels, which is where many of the problems occur.

In countries with successful democracies, success is usually based on a lower intensity of political motivation. Elections are part of a broad, unwritten agreement which SA still needs to develop. Schlemmer is also concerned about the influence on voters of the "ruling consensus" in an area. He describes it as a "village politics" phenomenon not uncommon in the Third World. In terms of the "consensus" people are simply expected to vote for a particular party even if they don't want to.

Schlemmer is not in favour of large-scale international involvement in SA's election process. Though international assistance in conflict resolution followed by monitoring of elections has achieved moderate success in southern Africa (*Current Affairs* December 11), usually only two main players have been involved.

Considering the potential for nationwide conflict between supporters of just the four major political groups — the National Party, ANC, PAC and Inkatha — the task facing international peacekeepers would be impossible. Schlemmer says a peacekeeping force for SA would have to be massive and the international community would not be prepared to finance it.

The efficacy of international monitors is also questionable. In southern Lebanon, for instance, the UN observer force is powerless to stop cross-border conflict. A local monitoring force agreed to by all parties and representing all of them would be more effective.

Schlemmer agrees that the current timetable for elections seems optimistic. While it's not impossible to prepare for an election within the next year or two, schedules in the reform process so far have generally taken two to three times longer than planned — and the same may happen again.

The implications of delaying an election are important. President FW de Klerk is constitutionally bound to another tricameral poll late in 1994. But, if necessary, the constitution can be changed — if it hasn't been replaced by a transitional agreement by then. A transitional government could be established through negotiation — representing all major parties and ruling until the climate is more conducive to free elections.

A drawn-out transitional period and poll delay won't be ideal, but unless the level of violence drops and that of tolerance rises,

political leaders may have no choice. The crucial element at every stage will be negotiated agreement.

ELECTIONEERING

Questions of tolerance

FM 25/12/92
The ANC wants elections next year. Government says early 1994 is a more realistic date. But both may be way off the mark.

The violent disruption of a Democratic Party public meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town last week has again raised doubts that elections are possible in the foreseeable future without plunging the country into an orgy of unprecedented conflict.

Though DP meetings in "black" areas have been disrupted before — notably in the OFS and northern Transvaal — what happened last week underscored an important point. If a party as innocuous as the DP can't have a meeting in an area as peaceful as Khayelitsha, is it possible to have pre-election activity anywhere else without risking massive bloodshed?

Leaders across the political spectrum argue that elections can't be held hostage to continuing violence. They say constitutional certainty and a democratically elected government will be the most effective counter to the current conflict.

That may be so, but an "elections-at-any-cost" attitude certainly won't solve SA's problems. Unless the poll is seen to be free and fair and all the main parties accept the outcome, violence and instability will increase and the country will face a similar fate to that of Angola.

Human Sciences Research Council election specialist Lawrie Schlemmer says it would be foolish of parties to try to resolve issues through the polls only. Elections must be the result of settlements rather than an attempt to impose them. "I don't believe we should risk an election unless we have a contract between parties about some form of joint action after the election," he says.

He adds that there's no doubt SA needs an election — and should not try to avoid it. But if too much hinges on the poll, it could "blow us apart" and threaten all the progress so far made. There is also a need for pre-election agreements between the parties on how to campaign and how the poll itself will be conducted.

Public rallies serve more to "rabble rouse"

THE CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATION

The rag and bone shop

FM 25/12/92

11A 8/11/92

ANC president Nelson Mandela a year ago promised SA a "Christmas present" — which turned out to be Codesa, rather like one of those awful ties, spotty and unacceptable, that relatives give but one is too polite to refuse.

This is not to suggest that Codesa had no value: merely that, in retrospect, it was a badly designed vehicle for constitutional change. It brought within one hall too great a diversity of opinions, parties and expectations. In the event, a quick-fix solution to our problems proved impossible and Codesa disintegrated as rancour and greed overtook its participants.

A great deal of practical work was done in committee — and will be available to whatever body succeeds Codesa — but, politically, the initial euphoria was unwarranted.

The major failing of the convention was that violence was imperfectly addressed. The National Peace Accord, various concerned observers and, most effectively, the Goldstone Commission, with foreign assistance and goodwill, faced up to the reality.

Not that Goldstone, or anyone, can bring the violence to a swift end. What can be done is to expose, ruthlessly — "to the bone," as President F W de Klerk once put it — the agents of violence whose aims are to abort a constitutional settlement.

A year on from the first plenary session of Codesa 1, we have only the bare outline of what a democratic constitution could look like. But we do have a far greater understanding of the roots of violence.

In particular, we can see the cogency of ANC criticisms of government's credibility in the area of covert operations. De Klerk's weekend axing of two SADF generals and 14 other officers — and the suspension of seven more — proves that the *prima facie* evidence for a third force within the security establishment has been true all along. Various commissions and brave figures have contributed to this understanding — and De Klerk must be commended for acting with boldness.

It has been pointed out that the purge does not go far enough — or not yet. In terms of the Further Indemnity Act — which De Klerk rammed through the President's Council — the disgraced military figures and their CCB operatives may qualify for blanket forgiveness, which would be a pity. This has been a year of miserable political deals — most notably the exchange of psychopaths involving Barend Strydom and Robert McBride — but there is no need to enter 1993 on such a dubious note.

We should at the very least know what the sacked and suspended officers have done, with whom they did it and with

whose authorisation — if any. Only then should even the possibility of indemnity be raised.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone Commission — which sparked De Klerk's actions — is to investigate the military wings of the ANC and the PAC. The PAC's Apla, whatever its degree of complicity in the attacks in and around Transkei, seems a particularly murky and reprehensible outfit; but the question of incorporating Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SADF, whatever MK's misdeeds in foreign camps, must be resolved.

In terms of having identified at least one third force and given Apla's brutal revelation of itself, the broad peace process has been relatively successful. The point about Apla is that, however nasty, it is small; and there can be no political motive in holding back from crushing it. MK as such is no longer part of the problem.

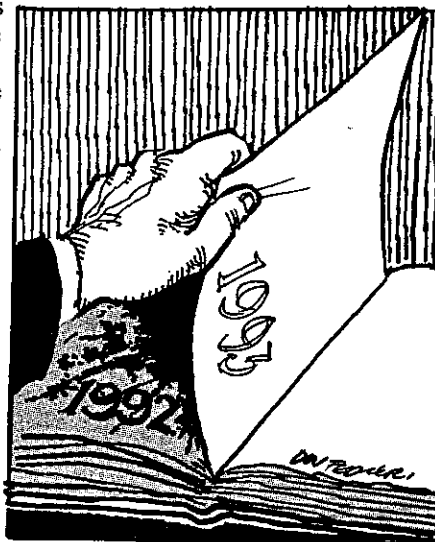
All of which, of course, does not address a fundamental cause of violence isolated by Goldstone: ethnic conflict along Zulu (or Inkatha) vs ANC lines. Since Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi refuses to accept the Record of Understanding between government and the ANC, the potential for an escalation of this conflict is very real.

A further problem lies in the white right wing, which is armed and dangerous. The threat of reprisals — which would almost certainly be indiscriminate — against Apla, or those perceived as staging attacks on whites, must be taken seriously. We already have one too many *Wit Wolf* at large.

Nevertheless, there is room for optimism on violence. The principle established by De Klerk — that those who have broken the law must be punished — should never have been vitiated by the Indemnity Act. But at least the President *has* acted; and this should serve warning on would-be vigilantes on the Right, or pockets of Zulu chauvinists, that behaviour which contributes to public fear and unrest will be dealt with appropriately.

One's optimism must, however, remain guarded. In the past, whenever a step forward on the path of settlement has been taken, some incident of horrible violence has occurred to wreck it. So curious has been the coincidence of massacre and hope, that many have suspected the former was designed to smash the latter. There is no need to list the candidates — they would all share a desire not to have a settlement.

As long as any of these people are at large, sudden outbreaks of killing can be expected, until the security forces get a grip on the situation. Clearly, they could never do so while harbouring men with evil designs. Bearing this in mind, De Klerk's purge is probably the best news of a bitter and, in many ways, wasted year. ■



Former

'enemy'

SI Times 27/12/92
to probe

11A
Apla

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

A FORMER Robben Island prisoner and erstwhile "enemy of the state" is a member of the three-man committee appointed this week by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to conduct preliminary investigations into Apla activities.

Transkei-born advocate Fikile Bam, 54, was jailed for 11 years in 1963 for sabotage, and was banned from South Africa after his release in 1974.

After numerous spells in detention and under house arrest, Mr Bam was allowed to leave Transkei and enter South Africa in 1985, when he established the PE Legal Resources Centre at the height of the state of emergency.

Allegations

His appointment to the committee has been welcomed in both legal and political circles, where he has a reputation for being an independent thinker who is tolerant of different political persuasions.

The committee will be chaired by Goldstone commission member Gert Steyn, who worked for more than 12 years in the Eastern Cape.

The third member is Free State attorney Nico Coetzer, who has no ties with the Eastern Cape.

Their appointment follows mounting allegations that Apla bases exist along the Transkei border.

The committee will sit on January 4 in Port Elizabeth.

When the pace got too much

SI Times 27/12/92

THE WIMPS

OPponents of the government cruelly referred to it as the "Wimp Factor".

While the indefatigable, chain-smoking President de Klerk rolled through crises and triumphs, his lesser colleagues fell by the way. The year saw the exit of Minister of State Affairs and key negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, finance minister Barend du Plessis and secretary-general of the National Party Stoffel van der Merwe.

Dr Viljoen cited ill-health, Mr du Plessis exhaustion and Dr van der Merwe said it was personal.

In May, shortly after the release of the Pickard report, which detailed wide-scale corruption

and mismanagement by the Department of Development Aid, Dr Viljoen was appointed minister of State Affairs while Dr van der Merwe was given the post of the first secretary-general of the National Party.

Dr Viljoen held the Development Aid portfolio for four years from 1984 and was succeeded by Dr van der Merwe when he was appointed Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr van der Merwe announced his resignation from political life a day before the release of the Parsons and De Meyer reports

which detailed further abuses in the Gazankulu and Lebowa homelands.

While Dr van der Merwe had not been at the helm during the period when the abuses took place, he had become tired and disillusioned with his new job of trying to sell the NP to potential black voters.

Mr du Plessis resigned after eight years as finance minister, having come within eight votes of succeeding President PW Botha in 1989.

He had come under enormous criticism for his handling of VAT, his role at Codesa and his unimaginative handling of the economy.

A search for justice

SI Times 27/12/92

THE JUDGE

JUDGE RICHARD GOLDSTONE has just emerged from an Appeal Court hearing, a visitor waits, he disrobes while talking on the phone. Before the hearing, the American ambassador met with him.

He grabs a quick sandwich at the snack bar at the Bloemfontein theatre, where he ponders on the ramifications of his commission's raid on the offices of Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection in Pretoria.

The head of the commission into "Public Violence and Intimidation" is a man almost unique in senior SA legal circles in his lack of pomposity and sincere desire to hear the opinions of others.

The Goldstone commission began as an adjunct of a Peace Accord that has become a battered dove on crutches.

However, while local dispute resolution committees literally battle to get off the ground in conflict zones, the Goldstone commission has shown an unerring impartiality and a willingness to tiptoe where others have previously feared to tread.

Ground-breaking commissions into violence in a number of townships, allegations of state covert activity and taxi warfare have pinned the root of conflict on apartheid, poor policing, and political rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC that generates the intolerance necessary to fuel conflict.



JUDGE GOLDSTONE

The international credibility the commission enjoys is less important though, than the slow return to respect for the law.

Legislation, which if accepted in the form the commission drafted on public protest, should come into effect early next year and will be a model of democratic government. However, a proclamation on dangerous weapons drafted by the commission two months ago for the State President is gathering dust in Pretoria.

The commission has two more years of its brief to fulfil. If SA is a more violent place, it will be less because we lack an understanding of what is fuelling violence, than that we lack the will to curb it.

Greatest show in town

SI Times 27/12/92

DUELLING DUO

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, the ANC's secretary-general, had scarcely announced that the ANC was pulling out of negotiations because of the Boipatong massacre when his telephone rang.

It was Roelf Meyer, Constitution Minister, and he was angry: "What the hell do you think you are doing?" Mr Ramaphosa chuckled: "Well, the good news is we're still talking."

For the next three months the only show in town was the "R and R show", as it became known.

While negotiations were theoretically suspended, it was this sanctioned channel of communication that finally sealed the return to talks with the Record of Understanding on September 26.

The success had much to do with the rapport between the two men, who at face value could not be more different.

Both cut their molars on student politics while studying law, but Mr Ramaphosa later became the first general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Meyer the MP for Johannesburg West.

Many politicians hold their breaths in the hope that the R and R show will continue.

NEWS FEATURE *Nothing has changed for cadre who was sentenced to death for MK activities*

Mncube's wish for Christmas

IIA
Sowetan
28/12/92

By Sonti Maseko

■ **FORMER GUERRILLA** *Voting rights*

for blacks remain his wish for this year:

FORMER Death Row inmate Mthetheleli Mncube says his Christmas wish this year was a vote for every black person in this country.

The 29-year-old young man who left the country to undergo military training so as to take up arms against the Government has not changed one bit.

Only time has gone by and his work is different.

He is committed to the same ideals that sent him out of the country 12 years ago and that brought him to the brink of death. The vote for blacks remains the goal.

He was sentenced to death after he was found guilty of being responsible for a series of landmine blasts in the Weipe farming area bordering on Zimbabwe and for killing two security policemen after his capture on December 26 1986.

Then Mncube and his co-accused, Msondeleli Nondula, were released in September this year as a result of an agreement between the ANC and the Government.

He says his joy will not be complete until all the remaining political prisoners are released.

How did he spend Christmas while he was in jail?

It was only in the last two years, he said, that they were allowed to receive



Mncube and his wife, Nomsa, soon after his release.

‘Joy will not be complete until all political prisoners are released’

food parcels from their relatives.

They would then combine the food and share it among themselves, and also bring in those prisoners whose relatives could not come.

In a sense, they managed to practise the Christmas spirit of togetherness

and sharing.

His main concern during this Christmas was his mother's health. Mrs Tryphina Mncube is lying ill at Baragwanath Hospital. He spent a whole day at her bedside.



Mncube . . . wants vote for all.

Educate the masses on need for tolerance, says Goldstone

Judge urges peace drive

STAR 28/12/92

Political Staff

Peace-loving South Africans need to embark on a mass education drive for tolerance, Mr Justice Goldstone said today in the Goldstone Commission's third report.

The judge said political organisations had failed to do this successfully, and the thrust could now well come from non-political bodies.

"It would be difficult for the political leaders to ignore such an initiative. Public funding therefor should be sought and, so too, the support of the international community."

The judge was highly critical of the IFP and the ANC.

"It remains clear that a primary trigger of violence and intimidation remains the rivalry between, and the fight for territory, and the control thereof by, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC)."

He said the situation in Natal/KwaZulu had "if anything, deteriorated".

Contributory factors to violence continued to be socio-economic issues, suspicion and negative perceptions of the security forces, and the availability of sophisticated weapons.

The commission believed the violence in Natal/KwaZulu could only be curbed if there was agreement by the parties concerned on:

- Free political activity in all areas.
- The role of tribal chiefs.
- The police investigation of political deaths and injuries.
- The withdrawal of G3 rifles given to tribal authorities in KwaZulu.
- The cessation of political attacks in breach of the National Peace Accord.
- The cessation of attacks on all existing authorities.
- Affiliation to a political party and public rights or privileges.

Unable

According to the report, complaints were made by the ANC and the IFP that there were "no-go" areas in which one party or the other was unable to carry on political activity.

"If elections or referenda are to be held in South Africa, or, as suggested by the IFP, in Natal/KwaZulu, it is obviously a precondition that the parties contesting such an election or participating in such a referendum must be free to carry on political activity," said the report.

Such activity must include the holding of meetings and peaceful demonstrations. A public commitment by the KwaZulu government, the KwaZulu police (KZP), the

IFP and the ANC to allow such free political activity was therefore essential.

The report said there should be an undertaking by all parties to give due recognition to the role of tribal chiefs (amakhosi) and to pay due respect to them. Their role should be defined.

Complaints were also received about the inability of or failure by the SAP and the KZP to arrest and successfully charge the perpetrators of serious political crimes. On the other hand, the SAP and the KZP complained about the lack of community co-operation when they sought to investigate such crimes.

"The commission believes that international police observers could be of substantial assistance to both the SAP and the KZP. Their presence and involvement, for example, in selected police stations, would go a long way towards lessening the fears of many that they would not receive fair and serious attention to complaints.

"Without the full co-operation of the communities in which they operate, the police cannot be expected to perform adequately or successfully," said the report.

"In this area, too, an adequate

● To Page 3

● From Page 1

quate, well-known and trusted witness protection programme would encourage witnesses to report information to the police."

Concern was also expressed at the frequency and ease with which bail was granted to persons arrested on charges relating to serious cases of public violence and intimidation.

"This phenomenon heightens fears of further violence and

acts as a form of intimidation that prevents witnesses from furnishing information to the police."

The commission suggested that consideration be given to withholding permission to address public meetings to those parties which clearly breached the National Peace Accord.

And, while the present negotiations for a future constitution proceeded, it called on all political parties to desist from making inflammatory political attacks on the present authorities.

"For the same reason, there should be a suspension of any further transfers of land or po-

Judge urges peace drive

STAR 28/12/92

lice stations to the KwaZulu government."

The judge said the commission was impressed by a plea from Priscilla McKay, of Pine-town Child Welfare, for the education of the youth on political tolerance.

"National organisations such as Child Welfare might consider

embarking upon a mass education drive for tolerance and actively engage the political leaders of South Africa, at all levels, in such a programme," he said.

Since the commission's second interim report on April 20, at least 10 committee reports have been submitted.

The committee will also hear evidence in preliminary inquiries to be held at Port Shepstone, Empangeni and the Nqutu area.

ANC accolades for Helen Joseph

(11A)

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JOHANNESBURG. — Death has robbed the people of South Africa of one of their finest daughters, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo said of anti-apartheid activist Ms Helen Joseph.

Ms Joseph, 87, died at Johannesburg Hospital on Friday after being admitted after suffering a stroke.

"Those of us who have had the privilege and honour of working with Helen Joseph feel particularly saddened by her death.

"We feel cheated because her death has occurred on the eve of the triumph of the struggle to which she had dedicated her life.

"Even while her health was failing, she never gave up the fight.

"Her place will be hard to fill. We are however comforted by the fact that Helen leaves behind a rich heritage of total commitment to the cause for all our people." — Sapa

Labour Party at crossroads

LABOUR Party (LP) members would decide tomorrow whether the party should dissolve or not, party leader Allan Hendrickse said yesterday. (111) (20)

The annual congress of the party begins today in Port Elizabeth, but Hendrickse said the major issue facing delegates would be tomorrow's decision.

"All our energies will be focused on the future of the party — will it continue to exist as a party, do we dissolve it or do we form an alliance and, if so, with whom do we form this alliance?" he said.

Hendrickse refused to speculate on which way the party caucus was moving, but said the executive had met late yesterday to prepare for the congress. There was an indication, however, that he saw the alliance option as the strongest.

It is understood from other party sources that there will be a major push for the alliance option and that the LP is likely

BILLY PADDOCK

to enter into an alliance with the ANC/SACP/Cosatu axis.

Hendrickse would not be drawn on this, but said the LP was firmly within the patriotic front and was fully committed to remaining within it.

Two weeks ago, at a patriotic front report-back meeting, LP national spokesman Peter Hendrickse said that tomorrow's decision by congress would not affect the party's involvement in the front.

Today's keynote address at the opening of the congress will be delivered by Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

Hendrickse said Holomisa was likely to be asked about Transkei's reported involvement in the Apla controversy.

But at the report-back meeting Holomisa denied any knowledge of Apla being given sanction to operate from Transkei.

B107A) 28/12/72

Hopes high for crucial summit between Mandela and Buthelezi

ANC and Inkatha delegations scheduled to meet tomorrow are hoping to set a date for the important summit between their leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources in both parties said they were "very confident" about how preparations were proceeding, with an ANC negotiator saying the summit "would definitely happen" and it was just a matter of time.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose was hopeful a date could be set tomorrow, but cautioned that the problems were not superficial. He said only two meetings were scheduled, but the delegations could decide to hold further talks to prepare the

ground.

A summit between the two leaders could move multiparty negotiations ahead more quickly.

The ANC source said it was "vital that the summit of delegations headed by the respective leaders succeed".

"We have to ensure success. If we do not prepare a strong foundation for the summit, there will be problems and we do not believe the country wants to see it fail at this stage," he said.

He said the negotiations were extremely tough with both sides looking for a way through the two major problem areas — Mandela's demand that Buthelezi accept

28/12/92.

BILLY PADDOCK

the record of understanding between himself and President F W de Klerk concluded in September, and Inkatha's adoption of the "go-it-alone" federal option.

Mdlalose said the first meeting last month was "very encouraging" and progress was made with "a great deal of goodwill".

Neither the ANC nor Inkatha was prepared to divulge details of the talks.

Relations between the parties, especially in Natal, have been bad for most of the year with both leaders blaming each other for the escalating violence.

One of the events most damaging to an already tense relationship was Mandela's address to the UN where he labelled Inkatha a puppet of Pretoria.

Buthelezi insisted that the peace committee censure the ANC leader for provocation and intensifying the violence. He refused to attend crucial peace accord meetings until Mandela apologised.

Shuttle diplomacy by peace accord chairman John Hall, led to former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda being brought in to mediate. But the issue remained unresolved with Kaunda saying there were good arguments on both sides.

Mandela complained a few months ago that he had phoned Buthelezi on at least 12 occasions, but the latter had refused to take his calls and the "ball was now in his court".

Buthelezi has consistently objected to ANC/government "collusion" and bilateral decisions.

But the ANC source said if there was no hope for the summit coming off then he would not be involved in the preparatory negotiations.

"There would be no purpose of negotiating for something that is not going to take place," he said.

Time overdue for firm leadership, says HSRC

RAY HARTLEY

THE time was long overdue for SA's political leaders to begin exercising firm leadership on the basis of achievable strategies, HSRC social dynamics GM Lawrence Schlemmer said in the December edition of the organisation's magazine Prospects.

"The process of political negotiation in SA is almost sublimely ambiguous and confusing. One week we appear to have deep and irreconcilable conflict; the next we appear to have political understanding," he said.

Many NP members had the impression that the ANC created crises and then won "more than its fair share of concessions", with government appearing to bend over backwards, he said.

Schlemmer said the ANC's sudden shift back to bilateral talks with government was unexpected.

"In some ways it is a positive feature of the current process. Both the NP and the ANC alliance have come from very different parts of the political spectrum.

"They carry with them fears, sensitivities and commitments which were firmly established in their party structures in the previous period of armed struggle and naked ideological and strategic antagonism."

Also writing in Prospects, Stellenbosch University international law professor Gerhard Erasmus said SA might need more international involvement to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Erasmus said mutual trust was lacking among the main political players in SA, and the resulting inability to reach agreement coupled with escalating violence had threatened both negotiations and regional peace.

"This is the basis for international involvement. We need the international community to help us with our own efforts."

Monitoring could restore trust in the machinery of state which had been used to enforce apartheid in the past.

The escalating violence, however, could require a greater role by the international community.

The first elections would require extensive monitoring, and the registration of voters, campaigning, media access, polling and counting, would have to be free and without intimidation.

"Untag's success in Namibia has established a reputation of objectivity."

Work for Life starts job creation project

ROBERT WICKS

MORE than 7-million economically active South Africans have no recorded employment and about 450 000 new job seekers are entering the market each year, according to figures released by Work for Life Entrepreneurial Developments.

Work for Life has been launched by engineering firm Rutec to assist retrenched staff by creating community self-reliance.

Blue chip corporations, governments, international development aid agencies, banks, entrepreneurs and community organisations were being targeted in an ambitious job creation project which could see the establishment of half a million micro-enterprises in the next five years.

Rutec director Andre van Heerden said a successful programme had been implemented with Anglo Alpha, and a similar project was in the pipeline with Foskor for the new year.

Productivity centres in disadvantaged communities were established and then run by candidates with a genuine desire to work for community upliftment.

Extensive training in technical, business and marketing aspects was undertaken. Revenue was derived from technical and business training services, the marketing and distribution of appropriate technology and the supply of raw materials.

"Each centre operates as a franchise of Work for Life, training 100 people a month at a fee of R50 a course. From this it obtains 30 micro-enterprises at a set-up cost of around R4 000 each," said Van Heerden.

Rutec guaranteed an equipment buyback and ceded its shares in the centre to the investor for its exposure in the first year, Van Heerden said.

Cosatu threatens mass action if taxes go up

Political Staff



(11A)

STAR 29/12/92

Labour unions would embark on a renewed programme of mass action if the Government increased taxes in its 1993 Budget, Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) president John Gomomo has warned.

Speaking yesterday at the 27th annual Labour Party conference in Port Elizabeth, he said Cosatu would not tolerate the Government "manipulating and misusing" taxes.

He said Finance Minister Derek Keyes had indicated that he was likely to announce tax increases in his 1993 Budget speech.

Political freedom had to be fought for, and mass action was an important part of that strug-

gle, Gomomo said.

Giving the opening address, Labour Party leader Reverend Allan Hendrickse called for the formation of a government of "national salvation" to rescue South Africa from economic and political ruin.

It was "nonsense" to talk of a government of national unity, because the division that was the legacy of apartheid would haunt the country for generations to come, he said.

"A government of national unity suggests we are unified when we cannot be at this stage in our history."

Instead, a government comprising a broad spectrum of political parties would create the kind of stability needed to attract foreign investment.

Such a government was the only hope of dragging South Africa back from the abyss of civil war, he said.

Hendrickse warned that no minority government had ever handed over power willingly and the National Party was unlikely to be the first to do so.

"Today I want to warn President de Klerk that if they are planning by devious means to cling to power and perpetuate apartheid, the future of this country will be too ghastly to contemplate," he said.

He urged the Labour Party to reject any alliance with the National Party because of the latter's history of apartheid.

The National Party had reneged on the Declaration of Intent adopted by Codesa and had

brought about the collapse of Codesa 2 because of its intransigence, he said.

"The explosive situation that was created came from Government and their direct or indirect involvement in the State security forces and the SA Police in fomenting violence."

Hendrickse said no amount of internal investigations would resolve the problem.

He sharply criticised the media, particularly the SABC, for subjecting his party to "the most pernicious misinformation and disinformation".

He called for an international commission to supervise elections for an interim government and the role of the media in order to ensure that elections were free and fair.

STAR 29/12/92
ANC, IFP (11A)

optimistic about talks

The ANC and IFP were cautiously optimistic yesterday that today's meeting between the two parties would set a date and agenda for a summit between their respective leaders, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC was aiming for tangible conclusions on a Mandela-Buthelezi summit to secure peace between the two parties.

The ANC did not want the talks to be purely "ceremonial". There would be no point in continuing a series of preparatory summit talks if they did not produce concrete results.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he expected the preparatory meeting to clear whatever obstacles remained in the way of the summit.

He cautioned, however, that the obstacles were not superficial.

Mdlalose is to lead the IFP delegation and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma the ANC team.

Neither the ANC nor the IFP would divulge the agenda for today's talks or the venue, but it is believed they will meet at a hotel in Durban. — Political Staff.

Plans for ANC-IFP summit

■ Teams meet to plan agenda for Mandela, Buthelezi indaba

ANC and IFP negotiating teams will meet today in a bid to thrash out the details of a possible summit between their respective leaders, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources close to the talks, however, remained cagey yesterday regarding details of the agenda.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the delegations would discuss "a possible agenda" and "a possible meeting" between Mandela and Buthelezi.

He said the ANC did not want the talks to be symbolic.

"The meeting must have a tangible result.

"The ANC has a strong commitment to try to

make such a meeting (between the two leaders) possible."

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose was earlier reported as warning against over-optimism.

Mdlalose expected the preparatory meeting to continue clearing whatever obstacles remained.

Today's meeting will be a follow-up to an earlier leader summit preparatory meeting between the two organisations.

The IFP has objected to the September 26 Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC who agreed to - among other points - fence off certain hostels and ban the carrying of traditional weapons. - Sapa.

Sowetan 29/12/92

THE violence was committed in a cycle of attack and counter-attack between two groups, the ANC, which dominates Bruntville township, and Inkatha, which dominates the hostel.

Although witnesses brought before the committee by these two parties denied that specific attacks on the other party had been committed by their supporters, and suggested that they might have been the work of criminal elements, no evidence was presented of any systematic involvement of outside groups. It follows that the key to the resolution of the violence lies, in the first instance, in the relationship between the two groups.

Having identified the immediate cause, it must also be emphasised that the conflict should be seen in a wider social, economic, spatial and political context.

In analysing the underlying socio-economic causes of the continuing violence, the committee was greatly assisted by the impartial and balanced evidence of Prof Doug Hindson, a social scientist attached to the University of Durban-Westville. He was also able to draw informed parallels with developments in other parts of Natal.

In his evidence Hindson emphasised the extent to which polarisation had taken place between the township dwellers and the hostel inhabitants. Whereas previously there had been a significant number of Inkatha supporters in the township and ANC supporters in the hostel, the two groups had become increasingly homogeneous and at the same time more hostile to one another.

This was underlined by evidence from Inkatha supporters that there were now refugees who had been driven out of the township and who were living in the hostel. Together with the destruction of some outlying buildings, this had made the hostel even more crowded than usual. Conversely, the evidence of ANC supporters and the committee's own observations were that a swathe of township houses near the hostel are deserted as their inhabitants have been driven out, allegedly by hostel dwellers.

To understand the polarisation of the two groups it is necessary to focus not only on their oppositional

ANC, Inkatha conflict goes beyond mere politics

BlDmy 29/12/92.



A Goldstone commission committee chaired by DIRK VAN ZYL SMIT yesterday issued its final report on the Mooi River violence. This is an edited extract.

stance towards one another but also to record their different forms of social organisation and their different ways of interacting with figures of authority.

In the case of the hostel dwellers, the impression the committee formed was of a relatively tightly organised group with strong loyalty to Inkatha and its leaders. The group is characterised by a respect for authority and a willingness to cooperate with figures of authority.

The ANC in the township is organised much more loosely. Apart from the ANC branch there are also a women's league and a youth league. The latter is particularly powerful as, according to the local ANC leader, Mr Mthethwa, who testified before the committee, it dominates the street committees that exercise close control over their immediate localities.

The differences in structure of the two organisations explain aspects of their mutual hostility, which goes beyond mere rivalry for political dominance. Thus, for example, the relatively powerful role of youth on the ANC side leads, on occasion, to the taunting of older (and, it appears, often less educated) Inkatha members. The latter react with particular hostility because of the value that they place on respect for authority. Although this matter was not explored fully, there also appear to be further tensions that are brought about by differences in perceptions

of "proper" gender roles.

The differing approaches to authority are also relevant to the groups' differing relationships to the security forces. As Hindson and other witnesses noted, there are historical reasons for the ANC to be suspicious of the security forces and for Inkatha to support them. These suspicions may be reinforced by aspects of policing discussed later in the context of the current circumstances under which policing is conducted.

However, these attitudes also have sociological roots. Thus it became clear that, like the ANC, Inkatha also felt it was not always treated fairly by elements of the SADF and even that the police were not investigating its complaints adequately.

Nevertheless, the inherent respect which its members show for authority meant that it sought to address its complaints in a less confrontational way, while at the same time reacting with great hostility to challenges to the authority and dignity of its members. Although these factors may not be direct causes of the violence, they are part of the wider picture.

The polarisation between the groups is reinforced by a sense that they are competing for scarce economic resources. The committee accepted Hindson's evidence that a protracted labour dispute had result-

ed in the workforce at Mooitex, the textile mill which is the major employer in the area, now being composed almost exclusively of hostel dwellers, with the result that township dwellers are almost totally excluded, and that this is a source of frustration to them.

The committee is not making a finding about whether this frustration is based on a legitimate grievance or about the labour dispute in which Mooitex and the two trade unions — the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union and the United Workers' Union of SA — are involved. No matter what its justification, the sense of frustration and grievance is an underlying cause of the violence in the eyes of the inhabitants, who may not be fully knowledgeable about details of the dispute.

The economic dimension of the violence cannot be ignored. There is widespread unemployment in the Mooi River/Bruntville area generally and in the township in particular. Mooitex cannot operate profitably in conditions of social instability. Its temporary closure in June 1992, which might well have become permanent, underlines the seriousness of this factor.

The links between the spatial and social causes of the violence also emerged from Hindson's evidence. In particular, he pointed out that the hostel inhabitants, who are predominantly single men working for Mooi-

tex, felt seriously threatened by the demands which had, from time to time, been made by the ANC for the hostel's closure.

They form a reasonably stable community, but one that has become systematically more isolated by its exclusion from the life of the surrounding township — their custom is not even accepted in township shops any more. Most of them have worked at Mooitex for many years and have homesteads not too far from Mooi River, but from which they could not commute. A call for the removal of the hostel without the provisions of an alternative is therefore seen as a threat to their livelihood, and this may well be an underlying cause of the violence.

Also important is the wider political context of the violence. The dispute between the inhabitants of the township and the hostel is mediated by the political organisations to which they belong, or to whom their loyalties are ascribed. This was recognised earlier by the commission, which expressed its disappointment at the absence of support from national and provincial leaders for the peace process at Mooi River.

Both Harry Gwala and David Ntombela, the regional leaders of the ANC and Inkatha, respectively, testified before the committee. Gwala adopted a belligerent attitude during his first appearance and at one stage refused to answer questions from the Inkatha representative, Mr Powell. It was also clear from his testimony that he harboured considerable personal animosity towards Ntombela.

However, at a subsequent appearance, on the final day of the hearing, he not only answered Powell's questions without demur but expressed himself firmly in favour of the peaceful resolution of disputes and made some positive suggestions.

In his testimony, Ntombela concentrated on measures that could be taken to restore peace at Mooi River.

In all, the impression was created that while the broader political conflict in Natal between the ANC and Inkatha did have an impact on Mooi River and could be described as an underlying cause of the violence, it was at least possible that regional leaders would allow local leaders enough room to manoeuvre, so as to develop forms of peaceful co-existence of their own.

...where they have been trapped since being expelled from Israel.

Labour Party rejects NP alliance

PORT ELIZABETH — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has called for the formation of a "government of national salvation" to save SA from political and economic ruin.

Opening the party's 27th annual conference yesterday, he said it was "nonsense" to speak of a government of national unity because the legacy of division caused by apartheid would remain for generations to come.

A government made up of a broad spectrum of political parties would create the kind of stability needed to attract foreign investment.

Hendrickse warned that the NP would not willingly hand over power.

Pointing the way to the Labour Party's future, Hendrickse urged the party to reject any alliance with the NP because of its history of apartheid and racism.

"Don't make the mistake that so-called coloureds and Indians made in

Zimbabwe and Namibia. Your future lies with your brothers and sisters in the struggle," he said to applause.

Hendrickse sharply attacked the media, particularly the SABC, for subjecting his party to "the most pernicious misinformation and disinformation".

He called for an international commission to supervise the media during the run-up to a nonracial election.

Cosatu president John Gomomo warned of renewed mass action in the new year if government increased taxes.

"We are not going to accept government manipulating and misusing our taxes," Gomomo said.

During a debate on the future of the party yesterday Labour appeared set to continue as a separate entity — at least for the immediate future — but in a closer alliance with other mem-

bers of the patriotic front, reports our Political Staff.

But the decision is unlikely to be unanimous, and there are signs of further defections.

Speaking in support of an alliance with the ANC, Northern Cape MP Desmond Lockey said the LP should form joint structures with other members of the patriotic front at local and regional level to pool resources and "fight the NP".

Earlier, Riversdal MP Dougie Josephs called for the retention of the status quo, stating that people should not be "ashamed" to be coloured.

The coloured people were a reality, he said.

ANC Eastern Cape chairman Linda Mti and Raymond Mhlaba of the SACP called for unity of "the oppressed" and pledged their organisations' support for the Labour Party. — Sapa.

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Compelling reasons to end the violence

■ 'INHUMAN

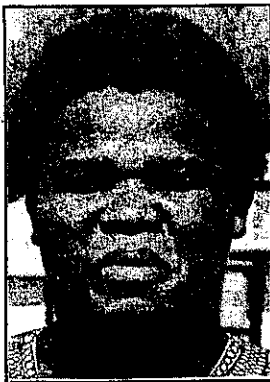
ACTS' *All life, especially black life, is sacred, says Dr*

Gomolemo

Mokae, publicity

secretary of Azapo:

Sowetan 30/12/92



Unity in action in 1978, Azapo and ANC activists march with their banners at the funeral of Reverend Maahwabatha Mayathula in Soweto. This is the unity that Mokae argues should be recaptured to restore peace in black areas ravaged by violence

THERE ARE, in Azapo's view, numerous compelling reasons to put the ending of violence high on our agenda for 1993.

These reasons are, among others, moral, economic, political, social and psychological.

Moral: A human being is, supposedly, the highest form of life in the universe, distinguishable from other species by virtue of having a soul.

A soul is "the spirit or immaterial part of man, the seat of human personality, intellect, will and emotions."

Thanks to his soul, man holds - or should hold - all lives sacred, particularly those of fellow human beings.

As a higher being, he may take lives of lower beings for consumptive purposes.

Bloodcurdling

However, taking of human life, for whatever reason, is an incongruous act for a human being. It is all the more inhuman when it is through blood-curdling methods like "necklaces", for, even lower forms of life are deserving of humane methods of ending their lives.

Therefore, if we are to give this country a more human face, we have to frustrate the violence eating it away like a cancer.

Economic: No investor worth his dollar, pound or mark can readily invest in a violence-ridden country.

This, however, is not the most vital issue to us. Though we acknowledge the importance of foreign investment, we place a higher premium on self-reliance.

Therefore, the most worrying feature of this violence, is the countless lives of black breadwinners lost through the violence. And, if many of the remaining breadwinners are too busy fighting one another to fend for their brood, can the economy be any better?


Political: The boring "climate of free political activity" cannot, obviously, prevail when violence still engulfs this country. Nor can free elections be held.

Intimidation

Any political settlement which can come into being out of a climate of thuggery, intimidation and fear will, naturally be unstable.

For black people, coming from over three centuries of insecurity and oppression, it is all the more important that a new settlement should spell peace. Otherwise, it would not yet be hurrah, let alone Uhuru!

Social: Much has been written about

11A 

What kind of society is it which can afford to turn its children into judges and executioners of their parents?

the destruction of black peoples' social ethic, *botho/ubunni*.

A violence which pits brother against brother, son against father simply because of political differences, clearly hits at the fabric of the society they belong to.

When one's political cause becomes so important that, in order to get at perceived rivals, usually sacred ceremonies like night vigils and funerals are desecrated, then that society is really in trouble.

It is in even more trouble when its future mothers and fathers, its youth, is turned into ogres who resort to the most vile methods to implement political programmes.

What kind of society is it which can afford to turn its children into judges and executioners of their parents?

Psychological: Russian physiologist, Pavlov, has been immortalised in the psychological phenomenon of "Pavlovian reflex".

In a nutshell, Pavlov had synchronised his giving of food to a dog with the ringing of a bell. Each time, when the dog saw food and the bell rang, it salivated.

After he had conducted this ritual for a while, he stopped feeding the dog and only rung the bell. And the dog, thanks to psychological conditioning, continued to salivate, even though there was no food.

Pavlovian reflex

Most South Africans, black and white, have developed a bizarre form of Pavlovian reflex numbness.

A few years ago, when someone was hacked to death, shot with an AK-47, or necklaced, they used to be shocked. Nowadays, the severity of the violence has desensitised them to the horrors. And it took the killing of a few whites in the Eastern Cape for their senses to return! This says a mouthful about this country's sick values and the psychological make-up of some of us. As architects of apartheid and herrenvolkism

would have it, to some of us, white life far supercedes that of black life!

Black Consciousness was developed as an anti-thesis to this white racism; to interalia, teach blacks that they are no less men than white people.

How easy is it to convince our children of this, when black leaders exhibit such impotence in the face of the violence?

Put another way, how easy is it to argue against the township saying, "*Seithare sa Mosotho ke Lekgowa*" (A black person's remedy is a white person) when it takes a primarily white peace secretariat to get black leaders together?

Ashamed

Sometimes, seeing the kind of things black people are ready to do to one another, while proffering a million reasons why the same things are not done against whites, almost makes one ashamed of being black.

Some of the organisations who were quick to label others terrorists for allegedly killing whites, are the very ones who, in the mid-80s, condoned use of the necklace against blacks.

Therefore, in Azapo's view, in 1993, it is not only going to be incumbent upon black organisations to stop violence, hence saving black lives. We would have to give our people not only reason and opportunity to live: but reason to live with heads held high. Azapo has braced itself to rise to this occasion. As before, we are going to argue that all life, especially black life, is sacred. We are going to campaign "township to township, village to village" against the violence. And we are going to extend our hand of comradeship to other black organisations to curb this violence.

It would be sad, indeed, if this hand was to be, yet again, spurned.

"What kind of society is it which can afford to turn its children into judges and executioners of their parents?"

"Azapo has braced itself to argue that all life, especially black life, is sacred. We are going to campaign 'township to township, village to village' against the violence"



The reality of today, fire guts the house of a family in the Vaal triangle. Can black leaders rise to the challenges of today and stop the carnage?

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Stop-start build-up to the year of reckoning

STAR 30/12/92

11A

WHEN Codesa 1 closed in December 1991 there was widespread optimism that 1992 would see South Africa keep its title with destiny: interim government was to be implemented and the country's political structure was to change forever.

Well, it didn't turn out quite as that. An extraordinary blur of events (detailed on this page) led to it that in terms of progress in negotiations for a new system, the year was one of political water-treading. Disappointed observers remarked as December 1992 drew to a close that talks were not much further advanced than they had a year before.

Now there is consensus that 1993 has to be the year of reckoning. The two central players, De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have said so openly. If there is not some form of inter-government in 1993, they have failed to deliver on their promises to the nation. In order to prepare ourselves for this decisive year, it is an instructive exercise to look back at what went right — and wrong — in 1992.

It was Codesa 1 in December which provided the break-

through for official multiparty negotiations. At Codesa 1 — after a series of bilateral Accords and Minutes — 17 political groups committed themselves to an undivided South Africa by signing the historic Declaration of Intent.

Although the Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana government did not sign the document then, the IFP did sign an addendum to the declaration at Codesa 2 in May.

The negotiation forum was boycotted by the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo, and right-wing groups. In spite of several meetings between the Government and some of these groups, there is still no indication if and when they will join multiparty talks.

Out of Codesa 1, attended by almost 400 delegates, emerged a labyrinthine structure with a secretariat, administration and five working groups.

They got down to work on February 6 and in the last four months several of the working groups appointed sub-committees to handle specific difficult issues as they arose.

As the weeks dragged on 380 delegates — some of whom sit in Parliament and have to fly

In determining South Africa's future, negotiations are the only political game in town. The process had a rough ride in 1992, says ESTHER WAUGH, but there are hopes that 1993 will be different.

back and forth — met regularly at the World Trade Centre. It was a saga of optimism, breakthroughs, setbacks, disagreements, deadlocks and dogged determination.

Every week the parties tabled and debated documents dealing with wide-ranging subjects.

After the failure of Codesa 2 in May — primarily because the ANC and Government could not agree on the rules surrounding the writing of the new constitution — the negotiation process hit a new low since talks-about-talks began in May 1990.

The ANC and Government agreed relatively easily on the first phase of the transition — who would govern the country until elections were held for a constitution-making body (CMB).

But, in spite of the fact that both sides agreed on the need for an elected CMB, the main stumbling block at Codesa 2

was that they could not reach agreement on who would write the new constitution.

The negotiation process sputtered and finally stalled when the ANC broke off bilateral and Codesa talks as a result of the Boipatong massacre. This move once again threw into sharp relief the fact that the ANC and Government were the key players in the process.

The ANC then issued 14 demands — focusing on transition arrangements and violence — which the Government would have to meet before the ANC would return to formal negotiations.

A flurry of letters was the only communication between the two sides during July and August.

The first break in the stalemate came with the arrival of United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance, who tried to broker a deal on the release of remaining political prisoners be-

tween the Government and ANC.

His report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali led to the first meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

After a three-day NEC meeting at the beginning of September, the ANC leadership decided that the discussions were "incomplete" and the Government had not yet implemented "practical steps" to deal with the violence and political prisoners.

The process only really began to climb out of the doldrums after the Bisho massacre in September following intervention by ANC leader Nelson Mandela in a conciliatory interview with The Star.

Ironically, it was the violence which brought the Government and ANC together again at the violence summit on September 26 where they signed the Record of Understanding.

The summit re-established fully fledged bilateral negotiations and the two sides agreed on the banning of dangerous weapons, security measures at hostels and the release of political prisoners.

But, the IFP angrily broke off talks with the Government as a result of the ANC/Government agreement.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthe teamed up with Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie and has demanded a conference of review of the Record of Understanding.

However, the Government and ANC agreed at a "bosberaad" earlier this month that agreements reached at Codesa would not be reviewed.

Thus the process had, in a sense, come full circle in the 12-month period. The progress made within Codesa was "on hold" — and it was still unclear whether agreements reached then could simply be dusted off when multiparty talks got under way again.

Certainly, the opposition from the IFP and other groups strengthened — but so did the commitment of the Government and ANC to forge ahead at all costs.

The stage was set for the resumption of talks — if De Klerk and Mandela could sustain their new-found unity on the urgency of restarting the stalled transition. □

Call to donors ^{11A} ~~211~~

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday called on foreign donors to stop funding organisations implicated in political violence in South Africa until a culture of tolerance existed among their members.

Reacting to the Goldstone Commission's report which said rivalry between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party was the main cause of violence in the Mooi River/Bruntville area in Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are". *Sowetan 20/12/92*

"If these donors are so worried about the violence as they claim to be, they should discontinue their funding until they (the organisations) have inculcated a culture of tolerance within their members.

Labour Party opts for ANC alliance talks

PORT ELIZABETH — The Labour Party yesterday mandated its leadership to initiate discussions with the ANC "with regard to possible alliances".

The decision — after more than six hours of often heated debate — puts the party more firmly within the ranks of the patriotic front.

The 27th annual congress, however, rejected a resolution that would have given the green light for individual members to enjoy dual membership of Labour and a second political party or organisation. It also unanimously resolved not to disband.

Political Staff

Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the party's future did not lie with the NP or the DP, but with the ANC and the patriotic front. "Whether you like it or not, Nelson Mandela will be the president of SA. I pledge my personal loyalty to him."

Hendrickse accused the DP of sabotaging attempts to form a moderate centrist party by "hijacking" several Labour members. Talks with the DP on the formation of a centrist grouping had ended when senior Labour members joined the DP.

Among the 14 resolutions adopted at the congress were a call for government to engage in bilateral talks with the PAC in an attempt to end attacks by its armed wing Apla, and that all armed forces be brought under the control of the envisaged transitional executive authority.

Hendrickse was unanimously re-elected party leader for a 15th term, while deputy leader Miley Richard was also unanimously re-elected. Durban Suburbs MP Luwellyn Landers was elected national chairman to replace Chris April, who defected to the DP earlier this year.

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new cases of tuberculosis.

opportunities next year will be the informal and 7-million had little or no sanitation.

'Biased Goldstone report contains lapses' Inkatha

BIDMY 30/12/92

DURBAN — Inkatha said yesterday the Goldstone commission's third interim report was partial and included several serious lapses.

Although recognising the practical merit in some of the report's recommendations, Inkatha said the commission had not reported "as objectively as it should".

Adequate notice be given to existing authorities of public meetings, breaches of the peace accord be penalised, the release of suspects on bail be reviewed, the role of tribal chiefs be defined and recognised and parties refrain from inflammatory attacks on present authorities, Inkatha said.

However, the commission did not refer to the "fullscale assault" on Inkatha's rural constituency as a major cause of violence, and also ignored Inkatha requests to investigate the "eight massacres of Inkatha members and supporters that have occurred since August".

In Maritzburg, Inkatha's Natal Midlands leadership said Inkatha objected to some of the commission's findings relating to the Mooiriver-Bruntville area.

They said they had never agreed to be disarmed simply if the ANC agreed to abide by the national peace accord. Inkatha spokesman Velaphi Ndlovu said the regional leadership had also never agreed

to the fencing of the Bruntville Hostel.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that national peace committee chairman John Hall said yesterday a joint public meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi was needed to bring about peace.

Reacting to the commission's report, Hall said that at the end of the day, all roads led to political leaders. He said that leaders' involvement in driving the peace accord home to grassroots peace committees would eliminate violence and intimidation as political weapons.

Goldstone's recommendations, which called for a drive to promote political tolerance, were also contained in the provisions of the national peace accord, Hall said. It was, however, the responsibility of leaders to discipline their members who did not obey the accord.

□ The Azanian People's Organisation yesterday called on foreign benefactors of organisations implicated in political violence to discontinue funds until a culture of tolerance existed among their members.

Reacting to the commission's report which said rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha was the main cause of violence in the Mooiriver area of Natal, Azapo said the donors should "put their money where their mouths are". — Sapa.

ANC, PAC slated on business ties

ADRIAN HADLANE

THE ANC and PAC have declined to utilise or encourage black business in SA, Centre for African Studies economist Eugene Nyati claims.

Writing in the Portfolio of Black Business in SA 1993, Nyati said the relationship between the ANC, PAC, trade unions and black businessmen remained disjointed and fractured.

"Despite their declared commitment to black empowerment, black liberation movements still prefer to do business with white institutions even when they could get comparable service from black business," he said.

The ANC had "never made any serious effort" to have many of its requirements catered for by black-owned businesses, Nyati said.

The management of pension and other black trade union funds had been handled mainly by white firms.

"The millions of rands (from the funds) would appear to be logical resources to help actualise the much talked about empowerment of the oppressed," Nyati said.

"If black political and business leaders cannot co-operate with each other before liberation, it is arguable whether things will be any different after a majority government takes power," he added.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, left, and ANC international relations head Thabo Mbeki at yesterday's peace talks in Durban.

UN officials probe rampage by returned exiles in Durban

KATHRYN STRACHAN

UN OFFICIALS returned to Geneva this week after investigating an incident at the National Co-ordinating Committee for Returned Exiles offices in Durban earlier this month when staff were held hostage for seven hours by angry returned exiles.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Jonas Foli said the two officials left Johannesburg on Sunday, and would be delivering their findings to the UNHCR head office in Geneva.

Foli said the "little crisis" occurred when 25 exiles took staff hostage when they were told there was no money to pay their grants. The situation was defused after the ANC intervened.

Reports said the refugees went on the rampage, assaulting staff and destroying pictures. Jewellery was also reportedly taken from a number of staff members.

Sapa reports Durban police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo saying police were called to the offices, but were not investigating because no

charges had been laid.

In response to questions on why the exiles had not received their grants, the committee's chairman Moss Chikane said: "We have just run out of cash." He said the committee had received a budget of R53m from the UNHCR for the year, but the budget had not covered the needs of the organisation.

"Many people are still coming in on their own steam and hoping to get grants when they arrive, but there was a shortfall," he said. Chikane said his organisation hoped the discussions with the UN officials would result in increased funding.

Chikane added that the organisation was being scaled down as it believed government would assume greater responsibility for accommodating exiles in the new year. It was also cutting back on staff to leave more funds available for assisting returnees, he said.

SADP colleges Anglo... plot

LOOKING AHEAD *New Year messages from South Africans, great and small*

Leaders pray for change

Sowetan 31/12/92

11A

■ PEACE AND JUSTICE The most sought after wishes of the people:

By Sowetan Reporters

THE PRESIDENT of the Azanian People's Organisation Professor Itumeleng Mosala says:

The words 'a happy and prosperous new year' are 'nice' words, no more, no less. In an economic, social, political and educational system in which only white people experience the real meaning of this greeting, these words represent a racist insult to black people.

Mr FW De Klerk's three years of reformism have done nothing to redeem the racist meaning of the new year greeting. Instead, with the help of other white people from around the world, he has struggled to make black people of Azania signatories of their own death warrants through bilateral talks and the infamous Codesa.

In the new year, he will try yet another trick, 'the interim government' of self-appointed parties.

Happiness and prosperity are like peace. They do not fall from the sky. Prosperity for all as opposed to prosperity for the minority, white or black, is a product of justice.

Where there is no justice, there cannot be prosperity, least of all happiness. There can be no happiness and prosperity in the midst of violence.

There can be no happiness and prosperity where there is wholesale betrayal of the fundamental aspirations of the black majority. Nineteen ninety-two was the year of betrayal.

Azapo wishes the people a different 1993. I wish all Azanians a year of justice. Only justice can bring about happiness and prosperity.

Nineteen ninety-three must be the year for self-emancipation of the Azanian masses. Azapo calls on parents, children, workers, students, women, men, churches and community organisations to stand up for justice in 1993. Stand up for a genuinely liberated, democratic and just Azania.

Gertrude Shope, ANC Women's League President, says:

I thank all the women who have made sacrifices to bring the political situation of our country to the level it enjoys today. That is, the realisation of apartheid as a crime against humanity.

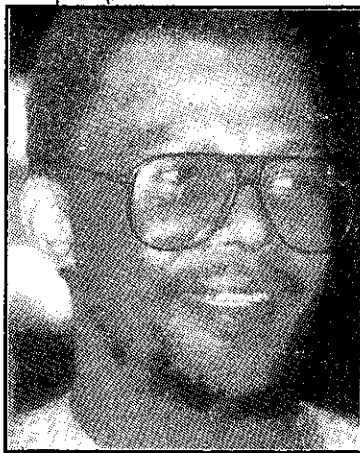
As we go towards 1993 we should bear in mind that a lot still has to be done. We should make sure that by the end of 1993 all children in our country should have had a universal education and special efforts should be made to improve health facilities and take care of the disabled.

The emancipation of women should be given the attention it deserves so as to lift up the level of society as a whole.

We are looking forward to an interim government of national unity. We are looking forward to the election of a constituent assembly that will take care that all the rules made to govern are accepted by all.

The youth, together with their parents, should work towards a South Africa we can all be proud of.

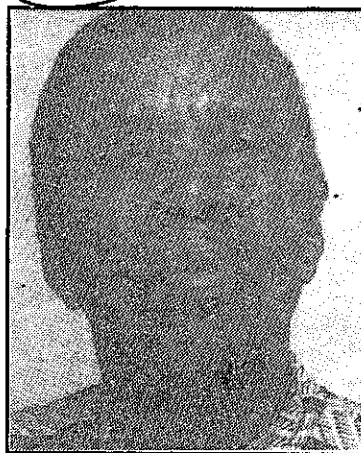
Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha Freedom Party, **Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi**, says:



Itumeleng Mosala



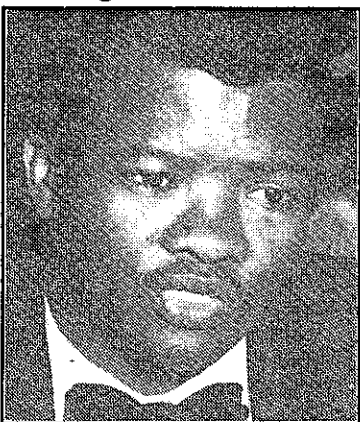
Desmond Tutu



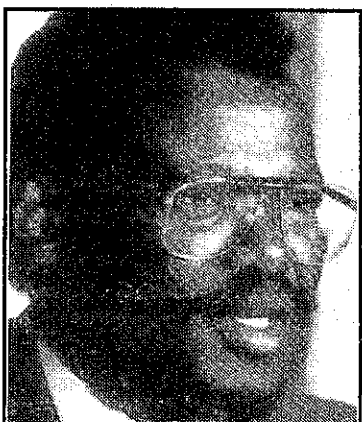
Gertrude Shope



Mary Mabaso



Bantu Holomisa



Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Gibson Kente



Letta Mbulu

As the year ends, we lament the deaths that the current violence has cost us in the past year. It is with a sense of shame that one looks back at the tragic internecine conflict which goes on unabated despite our pleas for peace and despite our prayers for peace.

"We, however, cannot abandon hope despite this endemic violence which, together with the grinding poverty in which the majority of our people live, is such a heavy burden. One wishes that we could have a quick-fix for all these problems and yet we know that there will be no quick-fix for us that will fall like manna from heaven.

The year which now ends could not therefore deliver to us the long-sought after blessings of democracy, freedom and social justice.

As we move into the New Year, I wish to reaffirm our unwavering commitment to terminate the violence which is raging over our country. In 1993 we will concentrate all our energies in a renewed effort to negotiate with all other political formations and with the people and through all the people of our country - a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

In 1993 the constitution of the state of KwaZulu/Natal we hope will be submitted to a referendum so as to begin the process of ground-up democracy building for a unified, inseparable and all-encompassing Federal Republic of South Africa.

As the year ends, I wish to join will all the readers of *Sowetan* and their families in invoking the protection of God over our country and all her people and for a Prosperous and Peaceful New Year to all our South African citizens."

Mary Mabaso, president of the Interdenominational Women's Prayer League, says:

The leaders talk about peace but they are not committed to it. Women should stand together to be instruments of peace. Most women died horrible deaths and children were left orphaned. We should forget the ideologies that divide us and unite for peace.

Transkei military leader **General Bantubonke Holomisa**, urged liberation movements to force the National Party government to concede to a political settlement.

He said that 1993 should be "our last year talking about rights".

"The matter cannot be postponed any longer. Liberation movements should stop wasting time on Government structures meant to counter revolution and instead concentrate on Pretoria."

New Year message from the Archbishop of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican Church), **The Most Reverend Desmond Tutu**:

I think all of us would like to see an end to the violence, an end to corruption and the coming of a new dispensation.

We are praying for the new South Africa to become a reality which will see God's children riding trains, buses and taxis, in safety.

We should get about the business of living together harmoniously and stop wasting the country's resources on useless things.

Rather we should spend those resources on building schools, houses, clinics etc...etc.

Nandi Nyembe, an actress who has appeared in *Sophiatown*, *Township Boy*, *Curl Up & Dye*, says:

To do all the things I have been promising myself all these years. One of them is to stage and perform in a semi-autobiographical musical and hopefully attain fame and fortune. Who knows, I might even become a millionaire.

Thulani Ephraim Sibisi, top athlete, says:

I am hopeful that 1993 will become one of our most prosperous years because we have planned a mammoth recruitment drive to ensure larger membership in SCA and a greater athletics awareness in Soweto.

Levy Makhutle, a Soweto schoolteacher, says:

Many more students are bound to join the vibrant group that I am currently working with and boost the casts of my two plays *Deck of Cards* and *Pangs of Frustration*. This is helpful for them because the arts are not taught at black schools.

Dukuza Ka Macu, popular playwright and director, says:

I wish all artists the best. This should be boosted by their abstaining from drinking. Many of us have seen their future swimming at the end of an empty beer bootle.

And many of our popular artists should refrain from silly behaviour and utterances to be better examples for budding artists.

Gibson Kente, playwright, director, choreographer, composer and the doyen of township theatre, says:

I still promise to continue to fight to meet the needs of the black child, one of them

being education. My greatest wish for next year is to see the successful release in February of my music album featuring songs from many of my plays, called *Oh, Come The Day*.

Letta Mbulu, singer and actress, says:

For the few years that God will have spared me I would like to put a smile on the beautiful face of the black child. There are several ways of doing it... with a toy, some candy or secure sponsorship for a scholarship for an intelligent child who cannot afford it. Such small things are important.

"We are praying for the new south Africa to become a reality which will see God's children riding buses, taxis and trains in safety," **Desmond Tutu**

"We should forget the ideologies that divide us and unite for peace," **Mary Mabaso**.

STOP SUFFERING!

My name is Stanley and I live in Alexandra. For 10 years my left eye was going blind. The doctors said it was dying but they didn't know why. I suffered terrible sharp pains every day and I had accepted the fact that I'd lose this eye completely. I could not work without glasses and there was no medication that could take away the problem or even reduce the pain. I decided to go to the Universal Church in Bez Valley and after the Pastor prayed for me the pain disappeared completely! Now my eye is absolutely normal and I no longer need glasses to work. Thank God I'm healed.



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LOOKING AHEAD *The people of South Africa cry for peace and goodwill*

What the people want in '93

■ POLITICAL TOLER-

ANCE An end to violence and jobs are high on the list of hoped-for windfalls next year:

By Lulama Luti

PEACE, AN END to violence, respect for one another, employment opportunities and most importantly, political tolerance.

This is what South Africans from all walks of life would like to see in 1993.

During a snap survey conducted by *Sowetan* this week, many people were optimistic that 1993 would be a peaceful year.

Miss Daphney Khoza, a personnel officer, of Hillbrow in Johannesburg said: "To be honest with you, I think we'll see less violence. Whether through political differ-

ences or just ordinary crime.

"I also think there will be an improvement in the rate of unemployment."

A hard-hitting Mr Richard Manana, a banker from Dobsonville, Soweto, said: "For 1993, President FW de Klerk must go. It is because of him and his Government that the country is in such a terrible state.

"Secondly, I would like to see all our children go back to school for the whole year. The country's economy won't shape up without educated people."

Mrs Veronica Matthys from Ennerdale, near Vereeniging said: "Let's go for peace in 1993. All this fighting should stop. And let's create more job prospects for the unemployed.

"I'm sure if there are jobs, there would



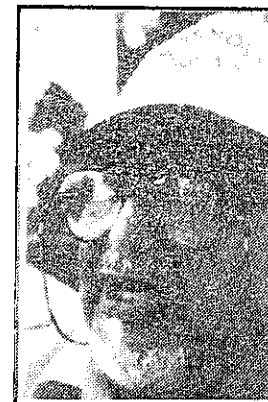
Nomsa Nojoko



Eunice Mehlo



Richard Manana



Maurice Omar



AM Maphoto

definitely be less violence."

A taxi owner from Bosmont in Johannesburg, Mr Maurice Omar, said: "We want 1993 to be peaceful. We should work together towards peace in the country.

"We should forget about fighting. We should strive to alleviate the suffering many people are going through at the moment."

Wish for peace

Constable AM Maphoto from Alexandra near Sandton said the only thing that he wished for was peace.

"If you have peace nothing will go wrong. I want to help all people, black or white, it doesn't matter what colour they are. It's my job to do that."

A street sweeper employed temporarily by the Johannesburg City Council, Mrs Eunice Mehlo from the Transkei, said she wished for a permanent job in the new year.

"I've got five kids back home and they are all at school. My husband is sick and I would like to see him get better. I would also like to see an end to violence."

A chef at the Bryanston Country Club, Johannesburg, Mr Patson Gumede, said he did not know what would happen in 1993.

"But, I would certainly like to see freedom and people living in harmony."

His sentiments were echoed by nursing sister at the Johannesburg Hospital, Miss Nomsa Nojoko, who added that

she was looking forward to a brighter and better 1993.

"I think we are headed for a peaceful year in which there will be freedom."

Mr George Maseko of Standerton said he hoped for peace and goodwill among people in the new year.

"I think through prayer we will find peace. And we should also stop being jealous of one another."

Miss Brenda Adams from Klipspruit West, Johannesburg, said she wished South Africans could learn to love one another and learn to respect each other again.

She said she hoped for an improvement in general living conditions throughout the country.

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Alliance 'could squeeze out NP'

3/11/92
BLOOM
THE Labour Party's congress decision to seek a closer alliance with the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, could see the NP squeezed out of the western Cape as a major contender in the first non-racial elections scheduled tentatively for the end of next year, politicians said.

At the same time, the decision places the DP and Labour at loggerheads as opponents competing for the "so-called coloured votes in the Cape", a Labour Party source said.

The decision, taken with another that forbade dual membership, would also pave the way for Labour MPs uncomfortable with an alliance with the ANC to cross the floor to the DP. There was strong support among some in the caucus favouring an alliance with the DP.

Raids

The source said the party had been squeezed badly as it was constituted as an ethnic party in terms of SA's constitution. It was also being subjected to "midnight raids for scalps from rival white parties, the DP and NP, to dominate parliamentary debates".

DP MP (Johannesburg North) Peter Soal confirmed his party would head-hunt Labour Party members to "ensure that we remain the official opposition in Parliament".

He said there was concern that the CP might gain a few new MPs.

The ANC welcomed the Labour Party's decision to seek a closer alliance, but said a decision about the kind of alliance would be up to the national working committee

BILLY PADDOCK

and negotiations between the tripartite alliance and the Labour Party.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation had a great deal of sympathy for the Labour Party's congress decision which it saw in a "positive light"

However, the ANC would have to wait for a formal approach from the Labour Party to see what kind of alliance it wanted.

This would be discussed by the national working committee. Depending on that decision, negotiations between the tri-partite alliance and the Labour Party would follow.

He said the tripartite alliance was a close and formal alliance and there was a looser alliance through the patriotic front. The main criteria for a close alliance would be the extent of the party's commitment to the ANC's aims and objectives.

Figures released by the DP indicate that it is rapidly recruiting coloured members in the western Cape with branches growing from four at the beginning of the year to over 40.

There are indications that the ANC is not faring well in recruiting coloureds. A Labour Party alliance with the ANC would boost the alliance's chances greatly and might also stem the flow of members leaving the Labour Party to join the DP, a DP organiser said.

He said that the DP viewed the Cape, its strongest area, as the area it could dominate in regional elections.

Should the alliance plans bear fruit, there would be a strong battle and the NP would fade into third place, he said.

Women

11A
■ **Former Sowetan journalist Boitumelo Mofokeng, who works for the SACC, looks ahead into the new year and charts the goals that women must strive to reach and their hopes for the country:**

Sowetan 31/12/92
The year 1992 was marked by violence, conflict, poverty, drought and a turmoil that outweighed any good that came out of it.

When one considers that we live in a male-dominated world one is tempted to say that men have succeeded, in their short-sightedness and insensitivity towards human rights, in ruining the society that we live in.

The blame for the mayhem that engulfs us lies squarely on their shoulders. But apportioning blame is not the issue in this article.

This year promises to be a year of great changes - change of heart, change of mind and probably a change of government. Will change also come for women in South Africa?

Women make up more than 50 percent of the total population but they are excluded from decision-making bodies and forums. Since 1990 they have been presenting their agenda to the male-controlled organisations but nothing has come out of those meetings.

Women want to be accepted as part of the human race in whose development they have contributed. All along they have been victimised, oppressed and exploited.

They have carried the misery of dying, malnourished children and elderly people, they have tackled courageously the devastation caused by the endless violence and they have fought to keep together the family unit which was collapsing under the turmoil.

All this we have seen in the relief programmes and support services they offered in places like refugee centres, squatter camps and Boipatong, to name a few.

The women's agenda is not long, ambitious or far-fetched. Like everyone else, we want freedom and peace. We also want justice. The issue of women's rights is an issue of justice.

We want to decide and have a say on issues that affect us directly like parental rights, reproductive rights, equality at work, church and in the home, equal legal status with special emphasis on the right to ownership of land and education.

With elections looming, voter education should be simplified and extended to all. Women form a greater percentage of the illiterate community. More energy should be put into literacy programmes to ensure that they do not only learn about party symbols and where to put the cross.

They should be empowered with tools that will enable them to reason, argue and decide why they are for or against a particular party.

The year 1992 saw women across the colour line and political spectrum come together to explore how they want their rights handled in a future government.

The National Women's Coalition became a beacon of light that strengthened women's will to campaign for equality. It further encouraged women to dissociate themselves from roles of "auxilliary" or "courier".

Our hope is to see the woman's charter being treated with the same importance as any legal proposal made on issues of justice and human rights. We hope that liberation movements and political parties will be practical in their policies regarding the emancipation of women.

Next year should be the year for international solidarity. The issues of women in South Africa remain issues of women all over the world.

Elections top priority for new year, says Mandela

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

STAR 31/12/92
The core challenge set by the events this year was the holding of free and fair democratic elections for a constituent assembly, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his New Year message last night.

"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. South Africa urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation."

The ANC's demand for a democratic election was based on the urgency with which South Africa needed to address its economic crisis.

The world stood ready to support SA with aid, investment and sporting and cultural exchanges, but would only do so with a democratically elected,

legitimate government representative of all South Africans".

The extent of the disregard for black life had been underscored by the almost hysterical response to the recent killing of whites in King William's Town, Queenstown and Ficksburg when almost 15 000 blacks had lost their lives in violence.

He said violence was the greatest disaster South Africa had faced in 1992.

"The acknowledgement by President de Klerk of the involvement in the violence by senior SADF officers confirms the efforts to destabilise the negotiation process and the ANC."

The other problem South Africans had grappled with in 1992 was negotiations.

A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission had to be set up in the new year.

There is great optimism among South Africans after their hopes in 1992 were washed away in blood, sweat and tears:

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Politics

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SOUTH Africans enter 1993 with no more than guarded optimism after their hopes were washed away in so much blood, sweat and tears in 1992.

While 1992 started off as the year during which everything would fall into place, things came apart and the country found itself in political and social chaos.

The optimism with which 1993 is greeted stems, perhaps, from vague promises that multi-party negotiations will resume by the end of February at a restructured Codesa.

Government is expected to complete a series of bi-lateral meetings with, among others, the Concerned South Africans Group and the ANC by the end of January when Parliament opens.

These talks are expected to lead to multi-party negotiations.

The restructured Codesa is expected to be a lot leaner and should shrink from a cumbersome 500 delegates, advisers and support staff to around 150.

Parliament and Codesa will again run simultaneously but with a greater amount of symbiosis - the one complementing the other.

Government still bears the responsibility to table a Budget and this will be done at the end of March.

Besides the mooted increase in petrol early in the year, next year's Budget will, as usual, contain good and bad news.

The bad news is that an increase in VAT is expected to be announced, while the good news is that greater, if not total, parity in the pensions between black and white people will be effected.

Parliament will next year also consider legislation to speed up the process of transition.

The ANC has prepared what it has called "The Transition to Democracy Act" which should establish the framework for legislation that Parliament will consider.

All of this amounts to relative agreement by the middle of next year and possibly the announcement of a date for elections to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly by the end of the year.

It has been reliably learnt that the Government has already made tentative enquiries to at least one European government about uniform identity documentation for all South Africans and which are aimed at the elections.

Azanla commander to be buried on Saturday

Sowetan 31/12/92

By Mphikeleni Duma

(11A)

■ Airport comes to standstill as youths pay tribute to their comrade:

A UNIT commander of the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, will be buried in Odendaalsrus on Saturday.

Mr Seema Mabele, who died in a mysterious car accident in East London last week, had been deployed in the Eastern Cape "in order to fight the white settler colonial regime", according to a BCMA official in exile.

Bloemfontein's Hertzog Airport came to a standstill on Tuesday when Mabele's body was brought home. Hundreds of members of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) staged military drills to welcome the body.