

BLACK POLITICS — 1993

JANUARY

# Men who could turn the tide

SAR 2/1/93

11A

## THE NEGOTIATIONS

Roelf Meyer

MEYER, the Minister of Constitutional Development, contacted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa immediately after the ANC broke off talks in June — their daily dialogue was a lonely flicker of light.

September's Record of Understanding between Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk gave public backing to deals cobbled together in private. But Meyer's firefighting role is far from over.

Another Boipatong could easily disrupt talks. And ironically, as elections draw nearer, Meyer will have to deal with National Party hawks, like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Henrus Kriel and Natal leader George Bartlett. They believe that wooing the ANC has already cost too much and put ties with the Inkatha Freedom Party at risk.

Meyer has backing, but as electoral advantage begins to take precedence over nurse-maiding the talks, Meyer will find himself pushed to drive harder bargains with the ANC.

Cyril Ramaphosa

RAMAPHOSA, the ANC's chief negotiator, is an important link with the ANC grassroots. A powerful presence on TV, he also marched in front in the mass action campaign and at Bishop. His role will get more complicated in 1993. The ANC's militants resent giving the Government an inch. Other supporters are growing weary. Fruitless negotiations could leave the ANC open on the Left. More bloodletting works to the advantage of the Right. Both spell damage at the polls.

With that in mind, Ramaphosa and others must be deeply concerned at the ANC's lack of campaign readiness.

Frank Mdlalose

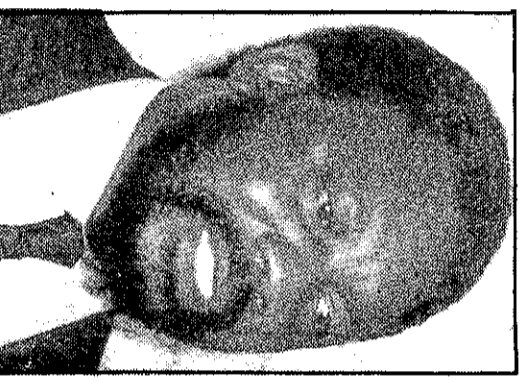
DR MDLALOSE, chairman of the IFP, is working with Meyer to restore sour relations. He is also heading talks with the ANC.

The best the IFP-ANC talks can produce is a truce. In dealing with the Government, Mdlalose and the IFP have a tough choice. Since to their demand for "independence" and hope that the National Party Right will back them? Or return to the IFP-ANC alliance could win an election?

NEGOTIATIONS, the economy and the violence will dominate 1993 as in the year just past. Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN looks at a handful of individuals whose performance in the coming year can make a difference.



ROELF MEYER: His firefighting is far from over.



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA: Role will get more complicated.



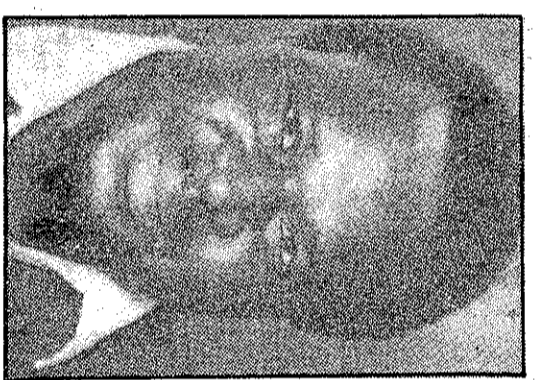
FRANK MDLALOSE: Talks can bring a wary truce with ANC.



DEREK KEYS: Has a rough 1993 ahead of him.



JAY NAIDOO: Helped limit the damage of the protests.



TITO MBOWENI: Says it won't be easy to get out of the mess.

## THE ECONOMY

Derek Keys

THE ANC's Trevor Manuel recently praised Finance Minister Keys for evaluating "every decision he took on the basis of whether a future democratic government would be comfortable with it".

But Keys still has a rough 1993 ahead of him. Cosatu president John Gomo this week warned that tax increases could spark mass action. Keys's offer of relief for basic foodstuffs in exchange for a higher VAT has also drawn criticism.

Keys has said SA cannot afford increased social spending and warned that 30 000 government jobs must go. He won't be popular. Will the political rows leave him time for the longer-term planning tasks?

Jay Naidoo

NAIDOO, Cosatu secretary-general, was a key figure in efforts to limit the damage that the mass action stayaway eventually produced. Similar diplomacy this year will call for a careful balancing act. On the one hand, workers are mindful of job insecurity and will not take action lightly. On the other, living standards are under assault.

In economic forums, broad agreements of principle will be easily reached, but nuts-and-bolts proposals — wage freezes and so on — will reveal whether workers, bosses and the Government can combine to pull the economy around.

Tito Mboweni

MBOWENI (33) is the ANC's key spokesman on economic affairs. The economy is a "hot issue" among rank-and-file members, he says.

The year 1993 may not require the ANC to commit itself to detailed policy that could fan fires at grassroots level. But in a recent issue of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, Mboweni warned: "To get out of the mess will not be easy."

The ANC says it will challenge the giant monopolies. Nevertheless, Mboweni has tried to assure business of the workability of ANC economics. In a recent interview he said nationalisation was "just one of the policy instruments which can be used in pursuance of national economic objectives... I don't think the ANC would want to keep on expanding the public sector without taking due regard of the maintenance of confidence in the economy..."

Business respect for ANC thinking would make joint action on the recession easier. It could also help the ANC. A convincing economic policy could turn business friends into financial backers.

## THE VIOLENCE

Judge Richard Goldstone

GOLDSTONE'S investigations nailed the security forces on some counts but acquitted them on others. This even-handedness went some way towards restoring faith in justice and the law.

The long-term value of Goldstone's work, though, will be in establishing procedures that can be used in future systems of justice and law and order.

One part of Goldstone's work — the commission on mass demonstrations — is likely to find expression in legislation this year. But with the work on his desk certain to pile up again, Goldstone's challenge will be to see how the credibility and effectiveness of his work can be emulated as widely as possible.

Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn

JOINT control of the security forces will be one of 1993's thorniest issues, and men who command respect on the other side of the barricades will be invaluable. Steyn, the SADF Chief of Staff who conducted the investigation that led to last week's purge of senior army officers, has his admirers in opposition political groups.

There have been claims the purge was a smoke-screen and left Army Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen — implicated in the Matthew Goniwe murder — and others unscathed.

But the rise or fall of Steyn's stocks in 1993 will say a great deal about the readiness of the SADF to place itself under broader political control. In theory he should take command of the SADF when General Kat Liebenberg retires this year. A successful restructuring of the SADF would be a giant boost for the peace effort.

Johnson Mlambo

THE PAC congress in April relieved Mlambo of his post as commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). But this is political sleight of hand. As both deputy president of the PAC and military commander, Mlambo was a living contradiction of the PAC's claim that it had no influence over Apla. The damage Apla can do is not limited to the victims of its attacks. The sudden fierce conflict in the eastern Free State with the Right mobilising, has suddenly raised the spectre of race war.

The PAC last year began talking, but that is now on hold. Mlambo has a root and influence in both camps. If the PAC is to put a brake on Apla, he is the one who will have to say so unequivocally.



GOLDSTONE: Even-h



STEYN: M from Li



MLAMBO both

**Judge Richard Goldstone**

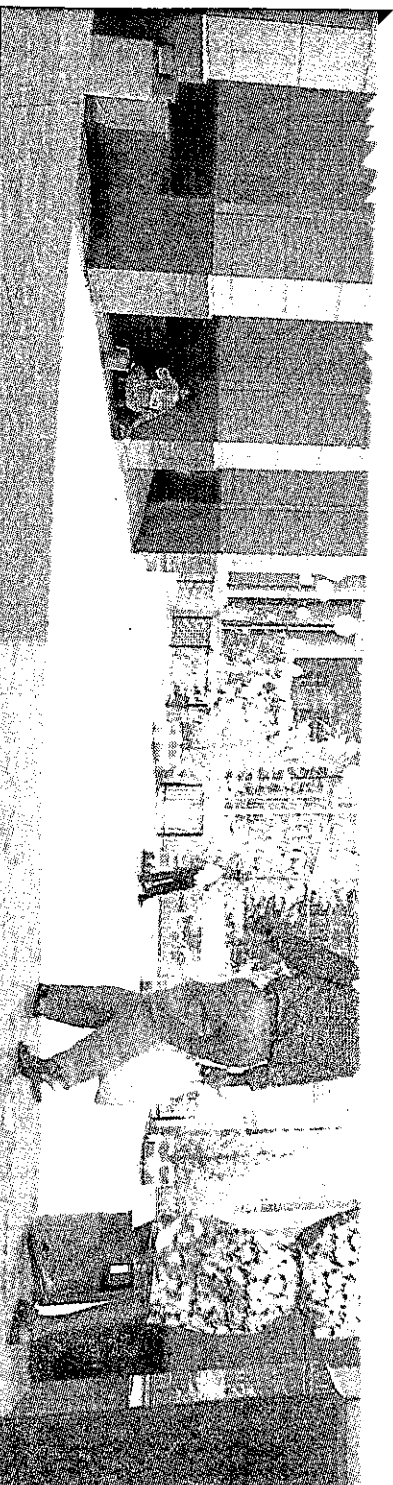
GOLDSTONE'S investigations nailed the security forces on some counts but acquitted them on others. This even-handedness went some way towards restoring faith in justice and the law.

The long-term value of Goldstone's work, though, will be in establishing procedures that can be used in future systems of justice and law and order.

One part of Goldstone's work — the commission on mass demonstrations — is likely to find expression in legislation this year. But with the work on his desk certain to pile up again, Goldstone's challenge will be to see how the credibility and effectiveness of his work can be emulated as widely as possible.



**GOLDSTONE:** Even-handedness.



**Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn**

JOINT control of the security forces will be one of 1993's thorniest issues, and men who command respect on the other side of the barricades will be invaluable. Steyn, the SADF Chief of Staff who conducted the investigation that led to last week's purge of senior army officers, has his admirers in opposition political groups.

There have been claims the purge was a smoke-screen and left Army Intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen — implicated in the Matthew Goniwe murder — and others unscathed.

But the rise or fall of Steyn's stocks in 1993 will say a great deal about the readiness of the SADF to place itself under broader political control. In theory he should take command of the SADF when General Kat Liebenberg retires this year. A successful restructuring of the SADF would be a giant boost for the peace effort.

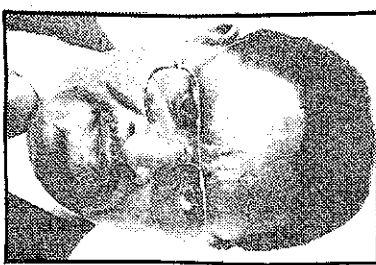


**STEYN:** May take over from Liebenberg.

**Johnson Mlambo**

THE PAC congress in April relieved Mlambo of his post as commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). But this is political slught of hand. As both deputy president of the PAC and military commander, Mlambo was a living contradiction of the PAC's claim that it had no influence over Apla. The damage Apla can do is not limited to the victims of its attacks. The sudden fierce conflict in the eastern Free State, with the Right mobilising, has suddenly raised the spectre of race war.

The PAC last year began talking, but that is now on hold. Mlambo has a foot and influence in both camps. If the PAC is to put a brake on Apla, he is the one who will have to say so unequivocally.



**MLAMBO:** A foot in both camps.

BY VOICE OF GULLINGS

The COSATU Secretariat has met with the national office bearers and the National Council of SADF to discuss ways to overcome the problems they face. Further meetings with the national office bearers have been agreed to.

The COSATU CEC has approved in principle the need to give these sectors special attention.

Marais, Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh, the Commissioner of Police and several SAP generals met the CJP, not to discuss problems but to discuss answers. Significantly, the CJP was represented by a top city councillor, stockbroker Ian Davidson, now one of the CJP's three directors.

began patrolling the streets and 100 seasoned policemen and 100 detectives were moved in. Twenty-two high-ranking police officers, led by Myburgh, again met the CJP executive and announced the deployment of even more detectives.

A month ago The Star itself witnessed one result: a gang of heavily armed robbers raided the Bank of Lisbon across the road. They were nailed in mid-robbery when 30 to 40 policemen emerged from nowhere, killing two and arresting the survivors.

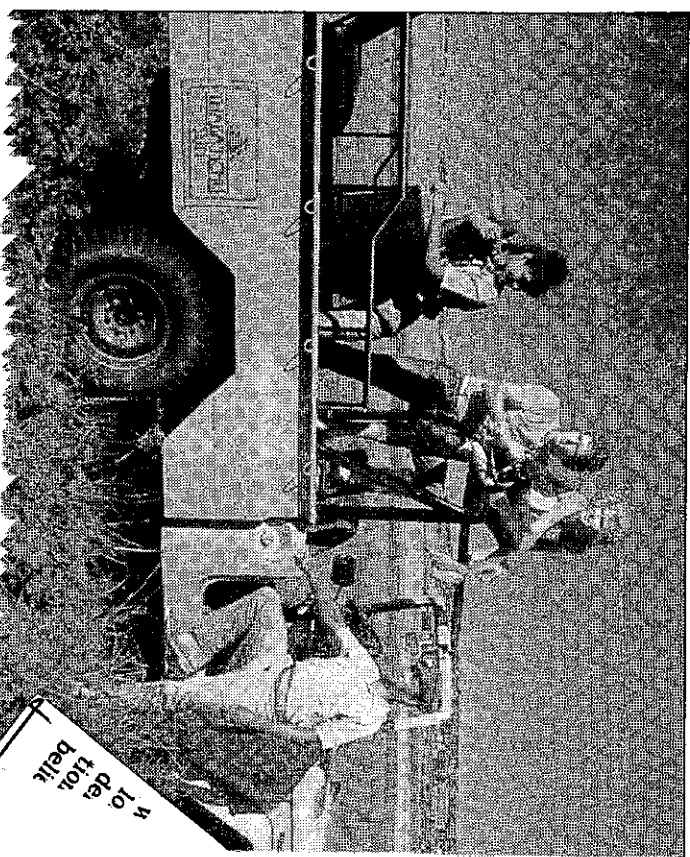
ic events of 1993 will be the completion of the Bank City project. This seven-block, medium-rise development of classic design by First National Bank now dominates the once "soft" area west of Harrison Street. It has given the city centre a "big city" feel and will bring 5 000 new middle-income earners to the city centre.

Although Bank City's first phase paid no attention to the new reality street hawkers, subsequent phases were redesigned to assist order hawking and give hawkers places to stow their equipment at night. The area around the Standard Bank's handsome flagship building, which follows the curve of Stronds Street South, v

**Progress On Resolutions**

It is UNITY IN ACTION in the face of workers today face massive retrenchment the unions have to contend with to our militant unions and directly of the regime. Our affiliates in this early half a million we have organised

e to acknowledge that we have made AWU, but recently discussions have a national seminar to draw together farm or rural areas has still to be set.



M 10 de tior, belk

Blacks and whites filled with gloom – survey

# Pessimism rules SA

THERE is a definite trend towards pessimism among all South Africans in their outlook for the year ahead, according to a Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group.

Markinor said findings showed that blacks were equally pessimistic about 1993, with 41,7 percent of whites and 40 percent of blacks feeling that things will be worse.

## Stalled negotiations

In a similar poll for 1992, only 32 percent of whites and 29 percent of blacks indicated they lacked confidence in the future.

"This is the first time since 1989 that optimism among blacks has dropped below 100 on the Markinor Annual Optimism Index," according to Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson. "This is undoubtedly attributable to the stalled political negotiations, the deepening

economic recession and the increase in violence, especially among 'soft' targets."

He said that from 1982, when the poll was first held, until 1985, optimism among South Africans was low largely as a result of the introduction of the state of emergency during that period. The trend began to change in 1986, and with the outcome of the general election in 1987, impacting positively on South Africans' views of the future, optimism rose steadily up to 1988.

However, overall optimism dipped again from 1988 to 1989 as township violence escalated. From then on, as optimism among whites dropped, confidence among blacks rose — no doubt because of the release of ANC president Nelson Mandela and the implementation of President de Klerk's reform programme.

"In fact, towards the end of 1989, blacks for the first time showed more confidence in the future than whites. The turning point came in 1991 when

white optimism suddenly rose and black optimism dropped."

Scott-Wilson said blacks living in the Vaal Triangle were "dramatically" more pessimistic (75 percent) than those living in Pretoria (25,4 percent), while those living in Cape Town were the most optimistic (44 percent).

Conversely, whites living in Cape Town were the most pessimistic (44,8 percent), with those in Port Elizabeth and East London (40,4 percent) and Bloemfontein (40,1 percent) the most optimistic about the future.

Asked about the economic situation in the country during the past year, only 1,1 percent of whites and 2,5 percent of blacks felt it "got a lot better", while 59,5 percent of whites and 30,6 percent of blacks felt it "got a lot worse", showing a markedly greater degree of pessimism among whites.

Far more whites (53,4 percent) than blacks (37,2 percent) felt 1993 would be a troubled year, while only 10,4 percent of whites as opposed to 23,3 per-

cent of blacks felt it would turn into a peaceful year.

Among the whites, the Afrikaans-speaking (58,3 percent) were more pessimistic than the English-speaking (49,2 percent). Last year, only 33 percent of white South Africans thought the year ahead would be a troubled one. Whites in Bloemfontein and blacks in Cape Town were the most positive about peace.

## Rising concern

The most negative whites were those in the PWV area and the most negative blacks those in the Vaal Triangle.

"Clearly, there is a rising concern for the country's future," Scott-Wilson said.

The poll was conducted among 2 300 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks — and was part of an international year-end poll conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International. — Sapa.

# Apla 'Great Storm' message jars with PAC

STAR 2/1/93.

**BRONWYN WILKINSON**

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, has declared 1993 the "Year of the Great Storm" and claimed that more than 500 security force members were killed last year — the largest security force death toll since modern guerilla warfare began in South Africa in 1961.

In a New Year's message from Dar-es-Salaam, Apla chairman Sabelo Victor Phama declared that last year had seen perhaps the largest number of guerilla actions yet launched in South Africa.

However, the New Year's message from the PAC itself contrasted sharply in its conciliatory tone with that of the military wing. PAC president Clarence

Makwetu said his organisation remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up a constituent assembly this year.

"To this end we believe that the new negotiations forum could be established by February 1993, that voter registration be started by March 1 1993, and that elections for a constituent assembly unfettered by prior deals be held by October 1993."

But in his war-talk New Year's message, Phama said "the enemy could not hide the fact that it was feeling the heat", adding that Apla's "theatre of war" was expanding daily and covering urban and rural areas throughout South Africa.

The masses had taken up the challenge and were now facing reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, Phama said, claiming that grassroots distrust for negotiations was proved by the fact that Apla's ranks had swelled to over 10 000 members.

"Let us gear ourselves up for 1993, which we hereby declare the Year of the Great Storm," he said.

Both the ANC and SACP declared themselves committed to the resumption of all-party negotiations this year.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the core challenge set by events was the election of a constituent assembly this year.

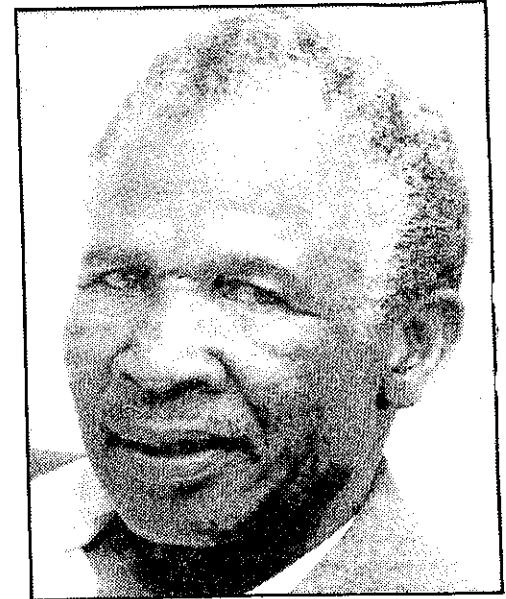
"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which

our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. South Africa urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation," Mandela said.

South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani said last year's mass action had laid the basis for a breakthrough in negotiations this year.

He said 1993 had to be a year of continuing mass involvement in the transition process.

"We must move into 1993 with the determination to bring peace to the squatter camps, peace to the hostels and townships. 1993 must be a year in which we carry forward the struggle for a more just, peaceful and equitable world order," Hani said.



**CLARENCE MAKWETU:** His message was in contrast to the sabre-rattling.

# After the 1992 blues <sup>CIPRES</sup> here is 1993 <sup>3/1/93</sup> 11A

By **NOMVULA KHALO**

THE year 1992 was wrecked by violence – and many feel things will be worse in 1993.

Both blacks and whites are pessimistic about the outlook of the year ahead, with a Markinor poll showing 41,7 percent of whites and 40 percent of blacks feeling the coming year will be worse than any other before.

For the first time since 1989 optimism among blacks dropped dramatically – this was attributed to stalled political negotiations, the deepening economic recession and the increase of violence. This is according to a recent

poll of 2 000 urban adults.

From 1982 to 1985 optimism among South Africans was low, largely as a result of the introduction of the State of Emergency during that time.

By 1990 optimism among whites dropped and confidence among blacks rose, because of the release of Nelson Mandela and the implementation of President FW de Klerk's reform programme. Then blacks, for the first time, showed more confidence in the future than whites.

People interviewed by City Press had this to say about 1993.

Dorris Mahlabane of Dobsonville said: "I

would like to wish everybody peace and happiness in everything they do. Those who are out of work should not despair ... they will find jobs and their dreams will come true."

Elizabeth Maropane of Orlando East said: "We'll enjoy 1993 only if all our political leaders come together as one. Violence must just come to an end and these unknown assailants who are killing our innocent people should stop what they are doing. Let us all be merry and take 1993 as the year of happiness."

Mario Deimonte of Italy said: "SA is the most beautiful country,

rich in everything and full of wonderful people, but they are destroying all that. And 1993 will never change anything, instead it will be worse. But I wish all South Africans a wonderful year and they should set an example to their young ones as the future is in their hands."

Nthato Modise of Orlando West said: "My new year resolution is that I would like to see everyone getting involved in rectifying all the mistakes we made in 1992. Let us all be involved in making 1993 a peaceful year. We must all appreciate the beauty of our country."

Jane Owoses of Namibia said: "Let there be

peace and harmony all over the world. Let us enjoy the beauty of our country. We must all contribute to our happiness."

Mpho Madisha of Orlando East said: "If our political leaders can tolerate each other 1993 will be the best year for everyone. But they must forget their problems and concentrate on building a good and better future for every South African."

Orlando Pirates player Ronie Zondi said: "For us football players it's a one way road – football all year through – but I wish everyone all the best and a peaceful new year to them and their families."

Mrs Chair of Mzimh-

lophe said: "We had the most terrible year in Mzimhlophe, but we hope things will be better as we are starting to move into our houses. I also predict everyone will use condoms because Aids is a killer."

Beverly Pillay, 19, of Pietersburg, said: "I hope there will be no violence at all in the new year. I hope people will sit down and discuss their problems without fighting each other. And racism should be abolished completely. To all students let us all go to school and stop going up and down the streets, because education is the key to everything."

# Hendrickse swears loyalty to Mandela

LABOUR Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse's dramatic vow this week — "My personal loyalty I swear to Nelson Mandela" — has brought him full circle back to the position he held before joining the tricameral parliament.

Mr Hendrickse has a lot in common with the "liberation comrades" he is determined to rejoin forces with — in spite of his failure to persuade his party to follow him into the ANC camp at this week's 27th annual party congress in Port Elizabeth.

Like most other black extra-parliamentary leaders, Mr Hendrickse spent 60 days "awaiting trial" in 1976 on no specific charge.

When other liberation fighters were jailed or exiled, Mr Hendrickse, with Mangosutho Buthelezi of Kwazulu, the erstwhile firebrand Indian politician YS Chinsamy of the Indian Reform Party and Enos Mabuza of Kangwane formed the South African Black Alliance in an effort to join all victims of apartheid in a kind of forerunner to the Patriotic Front.

Then, in 1983 at a meeting in Eshowe, Mr Hendrickse dropped his Saba affiliates and opted for the tricameral parliament, which excluded blacks, earning pariah status almost overnight.

## Corruption

Although rejected as a stooge, Mr Hendrickse never stopped calling for the unbanning of political groups and the release of the likes of Mr Mandela.

He was, however, never forgiven for the Eshowe decision despite valiantly opposing "from inside" attempts by the government to perpetuate apartheid either in policy or in new legislation.

If Mr Hendrickse had one big flaw, it was perhaps that he became a victim of the corruption of power. His dictatorial style led to dissension in the ranks and rebels within his caucus.

Not surprisingly, with the willing help of the National Party hierarchy, to whom he had become a thorn in the flesh, his fall from power was sealed by an NP-orchestrated coup.

He was dismissed as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives in February last year.

Relegated to the political wilderness, Mr Hendrickse sought sanctuary with the ANC. Although his past is still held against him by certain elements within the ANC, Mr Mandela accepted Mr Hendrickse's bona fides and welcomed him into the ANC fold as "a co-victim of the system".

Which is how the former enigmatic Labour Party became part of the broad liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, and a PF participant at Codesa.

His next ambition was to persuade the delegates at this week's congress to follow him into a formal alliance with the ANC, complete with dual membership.

*But this time his political flock rejected his political guidance.*

The irony is that, if the resolutions taken this week are anything to go by, only Mr Hendrickse, his sons, Michael and Peter,

Political Reporter **NORMAN WEST** reports on this week's Labour Party Congress in Port Elizabeth

and son-in-law Desmond Lockey, all MPs, would favour becoming card-carrying ANC members.

Deputy leader Miley Richards said the party's political future lay in retaining its identity, but to survive "it depended on co-existence with the PF". He side-stepped "co-existence with the ANC".

Mr Hendrickse's exhortations that the LP's political future lay with the ANC "whether you like it or not" and that "if you are not going along (with the ANC) you are going to remain behind", did not win many hearts and minds.

At best, Mr Hendrickse was hoping the party would move towards dissolution and merging with the ANC and, at worst, that he could persuade the dwindling number of party faithful to agree to at least dual membership of the ANC.

In both instances the delegates refused to budge in the biggest public rejection of party leadership in the 27-year history of the party.

Mr Hendrickse warned delegates "whether you like it or not Nelson Mandela will become president (of South Africa)" and "your future does not lie with the NP or the DP".

Mr Lockey, MP for Northern Cape, endorsed the suggestion of an alliance with the ANC, saying the LP could not fight an election alone and the future of the party was with "those who did not have the vote".

Delegates from branches in the Eastern Cape, the Cape Peninsula, Boland, Natal and East Rand were all against a suggestion that the LP disband.

## Compromise

None was in favour of a formal alliance with any other party, but at the same time there was no objection to the party's retaining its character as an independent party and participating, as it already does, in the Patriotic Front or as part of the Codesa PF group of participants.

In the end, a compromise resolution was adopted merely mandating the leadership to initiate discussions with the ANC "with regard to possible alliances".

Mr Allan Hendrickse, cutting a dejected figure on the platform after a two-day debate that did not go his way, was nominated unopposed.

Confirming earlier information that he was considering quitting as leader, he said in an haltingly and emotional acceptance speech that "after yesterday (Monday) I decided to rethink my position".

"It does not help if you elect me as leader and you do not follow my leadership. Where were those who were close to me who dropped me? I have come to the conclusion that black people support me more than coloured people and that more black people support the Labour Party than coloured people."

THE ANC's demand for speedy elections was motivated by the need to address the economic crisis in SA, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his new year message.

"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. SA urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation."

Mandela said the whole world stood ready to welcome SA with open arms, with aid and investment, sporting and cultural exchanges. However, they would only do so with a democratically elected, legitimate government representative of all South Africans.

"Addressing the serious economic crisis cannot be delayed; this motivates the ANC's urgent demand for speedy elections," he said.

Mandela said the greatest disaster confronting SA was violence.

"Despite ... our repeated efforts to achieve both free political activity and a climate of political tolerance, 15 000 people have now lost their lives," he said.

"The extent of disregard for black life has been underscored by the almost hysterical response to the tragic killings in King William's Town, Queenstown and Ficksburg.

"While we unequivocally condemn such blatant acts of naked terrorism, our outrage is against all acts of terror, be they

## Time for talking is over, say SA leaders

CIPREN 3/1/93.

perpetrated against black or white unarmed and defenceless citizens."

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said 1992 had been a year of contrasts between promises of peace and the grim realisation of violence, promises of democracy and continued minority rule, and promises of economic recovery while in reality the economy continued its downward slide.

His organisation remained committed to the decisions taken by the Patriotic Front in 1991, and remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up an elected Constituent Assembly.

"To this end we believe that the new negotiations forum could be established by February 1993, that voter registration be started by March 1 1993 and that elections for a constituent assembly unfettered by prior deals be held by October 1993," the PAC president said.

For all its squandered opportunities and violence, 1992 was the year in which the basis was laid for a breakthrough in negotiations in 1993, said SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

In his new year's message, Hani said 1992 was the year in which "the wheels began to come off (State President FW) De Klerk's double agenda".

"More than anything else, this was the result of the most extensive mass campaigning in our history, from June through August."

He said 1993 had to be a year of continuing mass involvement in the transition process.

"We must move into 1993 with the determination to bring peace to the squatter camps, peace to the hostels and townships. But we know that this requires not pious wishes, but ongoing and all-around pressure on, and exposure of those in power.

"The year 1993 must be a year in which we carry forward the struggle for a more just, peaceful and equitable world order," Hani said.

An interim government in SA will be "a non-racial bantustan" and represent no more than the latest homeland to gain independence, said Azanian People's Organisation president Itumeleng Mosala.

Mosala said in his New Year's message that 1992 had been a year of betrayal for black South Africans.

"I wish all Azanians a year of justice. Only justice can bring about happiness and prosperity," he said. - Sapa

THE  
YEAR  
AHEAD



# Call to 'oppressed masses'

THE Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) issued a call to "the oppressed masses" on Saturday to get organised in anticipation of elections for a constituent assembly later this year.

In a statement issued to Sapa by Cast president Khabisi Mosunkutu, the organisation called on township residents to establish an election committee in each street to ensure that residents were in possession of identity documents and informed about the modalities involved.

Mosunkutu said that Cast would examine the election campaigns of the different liberation movements. It would voice its support for the party whose programme most suited its needs and which was most likely to defeat the NP at the ballot box.

However, pressed on the point, he said that Cast would allow individ-

uals freedom of choice when it came to the vote.

Referring to proposals tabled in the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber aimed at bringing together the municipalities of Johannesburg and surrounding townships, Mosunkutu said Cast believed any interim arrangements in this regard should emerge from guidelines drawn up at a national negotiating forum.

"It is important to have a national consensus framework worked out at a national negotiating forum for the interim," the statement said.

"We believe the civics involved in such a move would need to review their stance very carefully."

He added: "All civics must support the national negotiating forum, which would help bring about uniformity in negotiations at local level." — Sapa.

# 17 000 families housed in year

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration had provided 17 000 families with homes during 1992 but there was still a shortfall of almost 500 000 serviced premises, TPA Administrator Danie Hough said last week.

Hough said one of the TPA's greatest challenges during the year had been trying to keep pace with the process of urbanisation.

By the year 2010, about 69% of the black population in SA (33.2-million people) would have moved to the urban areas, the President's Council economic committee has estimated.

The TPA had spent R223m during 1992 on the provision of land and serviced plots for low-income groups in the Transvaal, Hough said.

He added that the granting of a maximum R7 500 discount on houses falling within the National Sales Campaign, announced recently by government, had helped tenants to purchase their own homes.

"The most important benefit is that full home ownership has now become a reality for many people."

Hough said that as a result of the announcement, more than 150 000 houses in the Transvaal, including 50 000 in Greater Soweto, had become eligible for the discount.

The prevention of illegal squatting and the provision of housing for the homeless had resulted in the TPA, which employed 88 000 people, becoming one of the largest town establishers in the country, said Hough.

# Another day in court for Vermaas

BUSINESSMAN Albert Vermaas, who has been in jail for three weeks, awaiting trial on currency charges, will appear in court tomorrow.

Vermaas, who is also expected to appear in the Transvaal Supreme Court in Pretoria on January 25 on fraud and theft charges involving R134m, was arrested on December 10 after police staked out a meeting between himself and a Norman Sparrow at Shell Ultra City on the highway between Pretoria and Johannesburg.

After a dramatic helicopter and car chase, Vermaas was arrested. He

DIRK HARTFORD

was found with a \$1 note in his possession — which he said he kept as a good luck charm. Sparrow was found later, allegedly with \$30 000 in the boot of his car.

Vermaas has made two unsuccessful appeals to be released on bail. Details of Sparrow's involvement in the alleged currency deal are expected to emerge in tomorrow's trial.

It is expected that Vermaas's trial on the currency charges will be completed before his long-running trial in the Supreme Court resumes.

# Spate of bilateral talks aimed at charting course to multiparty forum

POLITICAL negotiators will tackle their task with renewed vigour this week, in a bid to get a multiparty forum off the ground by the end of February.

In the next three weeks there will be a spate of bilateral talks between the various major parties struggling to break deadlocks and overcome obstacles to full talks on a new constitution.

Negotiators from the three major parties — government, the ANC and Inkatha — have said while there has been increased convergence on many crucial issues such as the economy, regionalism, human rights and

minority protections, talks are generally more difficult and the bargaining tougher.

This week a government team, led by President F W de Klerk, will meet a delegation from the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), including leaders from Kwa-Zulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei as well as members of the CP and Afrikaner Volk-sunie.

The meeting on Friday and Saturday is seen as very important by government and the NP following divisions over Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stance after his rejection of the government/ANC record

BIDAM 4/1/93  
**BILLY PADDOCK**

of understanding in September.

A government source said the main objective of this meeting would be to show that the record of understanding went no further than agreements reached in principle at Codesa; to listen to Cosag's objections and suggestions for restarting multiparty talks; and to bring the delegation up to date on where government/ANC bilateral talks were moving.

A priority would be to allay fears that government and the ANC were clinching se-

cret deals that they would foist upon other parties. Government hoped this would help pull Buthelezi back into the main negotiation process.

ANC and Inkatha delegations have been hard at work over the past couple of weeks, discussing a proposed meeting between the two organisations' leaders.

Last week the parties appeared to make limited progress and after nine hours of talks decided to form working groups to resolve contentious areas, including that of free political activity in KwaZulu. Another full round of talks will take place on January

15 in Durban where the parties hope to set a date for the summit.

Sources in the ANC and Inkatha said while progress seemed slow this was a clear indication that superficial agreements were being avoided and delegates were getting to grips with the issues. They were pleased with the discussions and insisted that proper preparation was vital to ensure the meeting of leaders was successful and would lead to a major reduction of violence in Natal.

ANC and government negotiators had not been idle over the holiday period, working in

□ To Page 2

## Negotiations

BIDAM 4/1/93  
small groups to clear up minor contentious issues in order to prepare the way for the second stage of an extended bilateral meeting starting on January 20, one senior ANC negotiator said.

Government and ANC spokesmen have refused to divulge details of the discussions, merely saying they are in preparation for the talks later this month.

The two parties hope to reach finality on the stages of the process towards a non-racial election for a constitution-making body,

(11A) From Page 1  
tentatively scheduled for the end of this year.

At the same time, other multiparty forums are making progress on a range of issues such as the economy, housing, health, education, local government and electricity.

Since the national economic forum was launched, a new realism has crept into these discussions and progress has apparently been made in setting priorities for the Budget in March.

Sowetan  
4/1/93  
(11A)

**'Apla' not criminal**

THE PAN Africanist Congress has objected to a description of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, as a criminal hit squad.

Following a spate of attacks on whites in South Africa recently - for which Apla has either been blamed or has claimed responsibility - Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha described Apla as a criminal hit squad.

PAC information and publicity chief Mr Waters Bishop Toboti said the organisation objected "strongly because Apla is an army of national liberation whose principal mission is to defend the oppressed millions of Africans against the brutalities and venalities of ... "the South African Defence Force".

# Gloom abounds in South Africa

Sowetan 4/1/93.

119

**T**HERE IS A DEFINITE TREND towards pessimism among all South Africans in their outlook for the year ahead, according to a Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group.

Markinor said findings showed that blacks were equally pessimistic about 1993, with 41,7 percent of whites and 40 percent of blacks feeling that things will be worse.

In a similar poll for 1992, only 32 percent of whites and 29 percent of blacks indicated a lack of confidence in the future.

"This is the first time since 1989 that optimism among the blacks has dropped below 100 on the Markinor Annual Optimum Index," according to Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson.

"This is undoubtedly attributable to the stalled political negotiations,

■ **DOWNWARD SPIRAL** Blacks,

whites lack confidence in the future:

the deepening economic recession and the increase in violence, especially among 'soft' targets."

The poll was conducted among 2 300 urban adults - 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks - and was part of an international year-end poll conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International.

He said from 1982, when the poll was first held, until 1985, optimism among South Africans was low largely as a result of the introduction of the State of Emergency during that period.

The trend began to change in 1986 and with the outcome of the general election in 1987 impacting positively on South Africans' views of the fu-

ture, optimism rose steadily up to 1988.

However, overall optimism dipped again from 1988 to 1989 as township violence escalated. From then on, as optimism among whites dropped, confidence among blacks rose - no doubt because of the release of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and the implementation of State President FW de Klerk's reform programme.

Mr Scott-Wilson said blacks living in the Vaal Triangle were "dramatically" more pessimistic (75 percent) than those living in Pretoria (25,4 percent), while those living in Cape Town were the most optimistic (44 percent).

# Azapo vows to defend members

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation has vowed to use all its resources to defend its members against perpetrators of violence.

The assurance came from Azapo's Transvaal vice-president Nkosi Molala, who was addressing thousands of mourners at the funeral of slain Azapo member Mandla Billet Nono in Bekkersdal, Westonaria.

Nono was killed two weeks ago in an apparent feud over political su-

*Sowetan 4/1/93.*  
■ Organisation lashes at UN as partisan:

(11A) (S)

premacry between the Inkatha Freedom Party and Azapo in the area.

Molala criticised "certain priests" for not speaking out against the killing of Azapo members, but failed to name them.

He also criticised the United Nations and Commonwealth observer mission to South Africa, alleging they

were equally partisan. According to Molala, Azapo followers were being killed because they were not prepared to negotiate under present political circumstances.

He reiterated Azapo's stance that the organisation would negotiate once the government had shown willingness to resign. - Sapa.



# NEWS Constituent assembly polls expected this year ● Rector must stay suspended

## Prepare for elections - Cast

*Sowetan 4/1/93*  
THE Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal has called on "the oppressed masses" to get organised in anticipation of elections for a constituent assembly later this year

Cast president Khabisi Mosunkutu called on township residents to establish an election committee in each street to ensure that residents were in possession of identity documents and informed about the process involved.

### Liberation movements

Mosunkutu said Cast would carefully examine the election campaigns of the different liberation movements.

It would voice its support for the party whose programme most suited its needs and which was most likely to defeat the National Party at the ballot box.

Pressed on the point, he stated that Cast would however allow individuals freedom of choice when it came to the vote.

Referring to proposals tabled in the

### Street committees must help residents get IDs, poll information:

Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber aimed at bringing together the municipalities of Johannesburg and surrounding townships, Mosunkutu said Cast believed any interim arrangements in this regard should emerge from guidelines drawn up at a national negotiating forum.

"It is important to have a national consensus framework worked out at a national negotiating forum for the interim. We believe that the civics involved in such a move would need to review their stance very carefully.

"Now is the time to surge forward in a coherent way and not in a disjointed fashion. All civics must support the national negotiating forum, which would help bring about uniformity in negotiations at local level," Cast said. - *Sapa*.

## News in brief

### SRC rejects move on rector

*Sowetan 4/1/93*  
LETTERS asking parents to agree to the reinstatement of the Tshiya College of Education rector should be ignored, the QwaQwa Students' Representative Council has said.

The rector, Mr WR Botha, was suspended in February after student dissatisfaction with his administration.

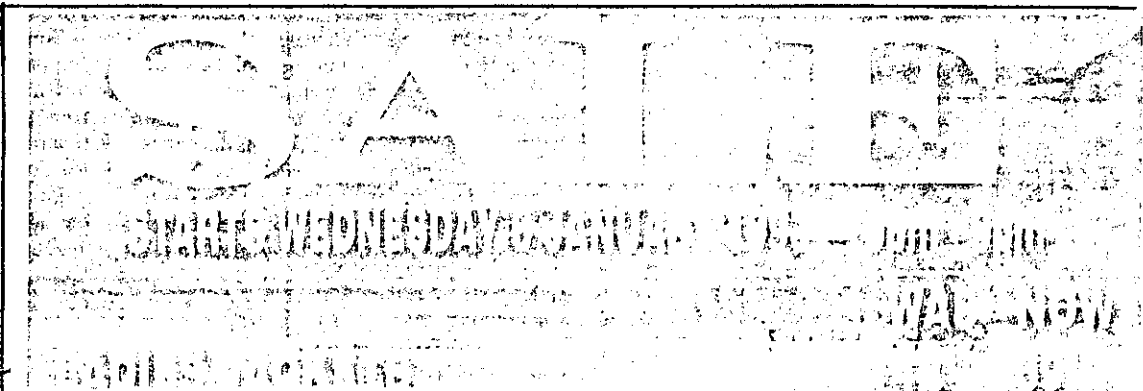
An SRC spokesman, who asked to remain anonymous, said the self-governing state's education Minister DT Mokoena, sent a letter to parents which they had to sign to enable the rector's reinstatement.

The SRC called on all parents to ignore the letter until the college opened on January 27.

### 'Azapo aims to free blacks'

THE AZANIAN Peoples Organisation believes that the primary aim of the struggle is the liberation of black people and everything else secondary, deputy general secretary Mr Lybon Mabasa said on Saturday.

Speaking at the funeral of a unit commander of the Azanian National Liberation Army, Seema Mabele, in Odendaalsrus before 1 500 mourners, Mabasa said: "as long as black people remain in bondage violence will exist in the communities." *Sowetan 4/1/93*



# Azapo offers its support

11A

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will support any form of mass action aimed at empowering the oppressed, says Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae.

Azapo would extend a hand of friendship to any other liberation movement in a call for mass action, Mokae was reported as saying yesterday.

Mokae, reacting to the recent warnings by Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) president John Gomomo of another round of mass action in the new year, said Azapo supported any form of mass action as long as it was aimed at empowering the oppressed.

But that would mean excluding pupils from such actions.

He said the key word for mass action this year would have to be unity of action.

Mass action should involve maximum damage to the Government and a minimum effect, if any at all, to the "oppressed masses", he said. - *Sapa and Sowetan Reporter.*

*Sowetan 5/1/93*

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, possibly a page number or reference code.



## Options for local authorities under the spotlight

WILSON ZWANE

LOCAL Government Minister Tertius Delpoort will meet the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) on January 13 to discuss a draft document on options for future local government structures. *Blom 5/1/93*

The document was finalised last month by a working group of the local government negotiating committee comprising government and Sanco representatives.

The document has been circulated to Sanco regions and contains three options for local government:

- The inclusion of extra-parliamentary groups in the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs;
- The scaling down of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs to make it more cost-effective and less unwieldy; and
- The establishment of a new forum for local government.

Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary and Sanco negotiator Dan Mofokeng said yesterday Sanco would push for the acceptance of the third option.

Cast president Kgabisi Mosunkuthu hoped an interim agreement would be reached and be developed at subsequent meetings.

He said an interim agreement was necessary as a host of issues, including the resolution of rent and services boycotts, hinged on it.

No comment could be obtained from Delpoort's office.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said recently the time was not ripe for his organisation to advise members to suspend boycotts of rent and services.

Suspension of boycotts depended on "sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government at 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 neighbouring townships.

# Govt, ANC make progress in talks

*Blom 5/1/93*  
 GOVERNMENT and the ANC had made a lot of progress in talks and negotiators on both sides expected far-reaching discussions to be concluded by the end of January, sources said yesterday.

A joint committee set up by the parties at their December hosberaad was busy fine-tuning proposals on a range of issues, ANC negotiator Mohamed Valli Moosa said yesterday.

He said both sides had presented ideas on the constitutional process, violence, armed formations in the country and the resumption of multiparty talks leading to elections.

"In the committee we are looking towards making significant progress by the end of January with the two parties holding far-reaching discussions at our extended bilateral talks which will last quite a few days."

Talks are scheduled to start on January 20 and last about five days.

His optimism was shared by a government negotiator, who added that bilateral negotiations with the ANC should not be seen in isolation from a whole series of bilateral talks taking place on a range of levels "on an almost twice-weekly basis".

He said bilateral talks were deemed by most parties to be beneficial to the process and designed to ensure that

when multiparty talks resumed they would not run into the same start-stop problems experienced at Codesa.

Codesa was important in getting parties together but did not provide the conditions for them to come to grips with issues seriously and fully negotiate them, he said.

Bilateral negotiations were a lot tougher with parties making slower progress. But a "far firmer foundation" was being laid, he said.

Valli Moosa agreed that the seemingly endless rounds of preparatory talks were achieving success.

Government was meeting the Concerned South Africans Group on Friday in an attempt to resolve obstacles between it and the three homeland leaders — Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brig Oupa Gqozo — as well as CP leader Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The ANC was regularly meeting other parties in the patriotic front, as well as Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana government and other groups in the hope of reaching the necessary convergence by the end of February to allow a multiparty forum to resume during March, said Valli Moosa.

## Mandela to speak at Joseph funeral

ANC president Nelson Mandela will speak at a requiem mass for veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph at St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg on Thursday. *Blom 5/1/93*

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu would deliver a sermon at the mass, which would also be addressed by ANC stalwart Albertina Sisulu.

Joseph, who died on Christmas Day at the age of 87, will be buried in Soweto's Avalon cemetery alongside

*Blom 5/1/93*  
 fellow ANC Women's League founder Lilian Ngoyi.

Niehaus said the ANC would provide buses to transport mourners to the cemetery, but members of the public were requested to provide their own transport to ensure smooth progress from the cathedral to Soweto, he said.

Rev Timothy Stanton will conduct proceedings at the graveside.

A traditional purification ceremony would be held in Soweto later on Thursday, Niehaus said.

RAY HARTLEY



# Subpoena threat

# PAC faces legal action

*Sowetan 5/1/93*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

**T**HE GOLDSTONE COMMISSION may subpoena Pan Africanist Congress leaders to testify in its special inquiry into the activities of organisation's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army.

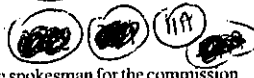
This step would be taken if the PAC ignored present requests by the commission to testify voluntarily, a spokesman for the commission said yesterday.

This development came as the PAC claimed the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before a committee of the commission presently sitting in Port Elizabeth.

#### Campaign to discredit Apla

The PAC told *Sowetan* that its intelligence sources had information that one of the two dissidents was Mr Justice Nkonyana, a former Apla commander who was allegedly involved in the assassination of former PAC leader Mr David Sibeko in Tanzania in 1979.

The organisation said this was part of a campaign to discredit Apla and the PAC.

  
The spokesman for the commission said both committee chairman Mr Gert Steyn and the chairman of the Goldstone Commission Mr Justice Richard Goldstone had no knowledge of PAC or Apla dissidents being flown in to testify.

Only South African Police and SA Defence Force witnesses gave evidence yesterday.

The hearing will adjourn until Monday.

#### Refusing to co-operate

Meanwhile, PAC publicity director Mr Waters Toboli said the organisation remained adamant that its information was true and that it would maintain its stance of refusing to co-operate with the commission even if subpoenaed.

"We have said in the past that the Goldstone Commission was appointed to inquire into public violence between rival political groups in which we are not involved.

"Secondly, the commission was appointed by the Government and is therefore not credible," he said.

● See also page 4

Subpoenas for leaders if they refuse to testify on Apla

# Ultimatum to PAC

Own Correspondent

STAR 5/11/93

had no knowledge of PAC or Apla dissidents being flown in to testify.

The committee heard yesterday that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) carried out at least 41 terror attacks in South Africa in 1991 and 1992 and used Transkei as the base for its campaign.

Counsel for the South African Police, Francois van Zyl, told the committee investigating the activities of the PAC's military wing that various attacks had been carried out on the instruction of the Apla high command in Transkei.

The police had information from arrested Apla members and other sources that Apla members had undergone military training in Tanzania, Libya, Uganda, China, Zimbabwe, Egypt and Nigeria.

Apla had about 120 trained members inside Transkei, although the number of members who had received "crash training" courses in the territory was not known.

Van Zyl named 10 places in Transkei, including Sterkspruit, Umtata and Butterworth, where Apla recruits had undergone "crash" training in the use of AK-47 and R-4 rifles, landmines,

● To Page 3

The Goldstone Commission may subpoena Pan Africanist Congress leaders to testify in its special inquiry into the activities of the organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

This step would be taken if the PAC ignored requests to testify voluntarily, a spokesman for the commission said yesterday.

This development came as the PAC claimed the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before a committee of the commission sitting in Port Elizabeth.

The PAC said its intelligence sources had information that one of the two dissidents was Justice Nkonyana, a former Apla commander who was allegedly involved in the assassination of former PAC leader David Sibeko in Tanzania in 1978.

The organisation said this was part of a campaign to discredit Apla and the PAC.

The spokesman for the commission said both committee chairman Gert Steyn and the chairman of the Goldstone Commission Mr Justice Richard Goldstone

## Ultimatum to PAC leaders.

● From Page 1  
grenades and 9 mm pistols.

Apla members were ordered to commit robberies and to steal vehicles for sale in neighbouring countries to raise funds, he added.

He told the committee, that the SAP had information indicating that evidence of Apla camps in the homeland was being destroyed.

Referring to an admission by military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa that the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) had lent 9 mm pistols and ammunition to Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in April to protect

their leaders, Van Zyl said Transkei should submit those weapons for ballistic testing to see if they had been used in terror attacks.

Apla had plans for more attacks on policemen, farmers and other civilians, he added, submitting that Apla's activities could not be divorced from the PAC.

He presented a memorandum on behalf of the SAP, recommending that the committee:

● Investigate the location of Apla camps or training centres, the alleged training of Apla members in Transkei, the alleged signing of an accord between the TDF

and Apla, and the alleged supply of arms and ammunition to Apla by the Transkei authorities.

● Subpoena all persons within its jurisdiction who may have information that could help the committee.

● Request the Organisation of African Unity to prevent its members from assisting Apla and to pressure the PAC to end its policy of violence.

● Request that Transkei stop supporting Apla at once.

The Transkei government has turned down an invitation by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone for Transkei to give evidence to the committee.

STAR 5/11/93

250 59 11A 800

11A 800

# 'Show and shock' strategy

STAR 5/11/93

11A

87A

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The recent spate of attacks by the Azanian People's Organisation was part of its "show and shock" tactics, the Goldstone Commission has been told.

Danie Pretorius was making a submission on behalf of the South African Defence Force to the Goldstone committee — chaired by Gert Steyn — which is investigating Apla.

Pretorius said this type of warfare was waged against farmers and residential areas so that there would be reprisal by the authorities. Apla could then retaliate.

He said Apla had committed itself to the continuation of the armed struggle against the white community, police and security forces.

The Apla strategy was guerrilla war which entailed armed propaganda, attacks on military institutions and planning for the creation of liberated zones.

Their strategy, he said, showed a clear Maoist approach as more emphasis was placed on the struggle in the rural areas.

It was part of Apla's strategy that the political and military wings should work together with the strategy for the takeover of government based upon a two-pronged revolutionary mode.

Weapons were being brought into the country by Apla members from abroad in an attempt to bolster the internal military structure.

Libya remained the main source of finance and training for the PAC.

# Apla is

# used as

# 'bogey'

# PAC

11A

Sowetan  
6/1/93

**T**HE GOVERNMENT WAS using the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) as a bogey to discredit the PAC after it failed to get the organisation to suspend its armed struggle, a defiant PAC said yesterday.

Political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the names of Vumankosi Laurence Ntinkinca, Letlapa Mphahlele, Luyanda Humphrey Gqomfa and Welile Gideon Maflika had been mentioned by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel at meetings the PAC had with the Government last year.

The Government had linked these four and other alleged Apla operatives to activities dating back to 1986 in the Eastern Cape, Natal, Northern Transvaal and Free State.

#### Capture the cadres

"The Government wanted us to stop the attacks because the police had failed to capture cadres," Seroke said.

"In both the Pretoria and Gaborone meetings we refused to knuckle down to Government pressure to stop our military struggle," he said.

The organisation was committed to all forms of struggle, which included negotia-

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

tions, sanctions and the military campaign, until majority rule was achieved.

"We are thus still prepared to talk to the Government but it cannot ask us to disarm ourselves while it retains its military and economic clout, putting us at a disadvantage.

"The Government wants to disarm the liberation movement and then force it to accept the National Party brand of democracy like regionalism, federalism and minority rights," Seroke said.

He spoke to *Sowetan* after the South African Police released names and pictures of purported Apla cadres, offering a substantial reward for information leading to their arrest and conviction.

"They are on a wild goose chase because they will never find Apla. Pressure from whites is mounting as it gets increasingly difficult for the SAP to capture Apla cadres. Issuing warrants of arrests will serve no purpose," Seroke said.

● See Apla 4 - big reward page 3

ANC to keep  
low profile

Political Staff  
THE ANC (Western Cape) is not planning marches or rallies to coincide with the opening of Parliament on January 29, according to regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

He said the ANC was considering something "symbolic which is nice and peaceful", such as asking people to observe five minutes' silence.

The ANC's 81st birthday celebrations on Friday will consist of a motorcade starting on the Grand Parade at 2pm, travelling through the Cape Flats to Strandfontein beach.

# Decision on judge's role in probe awaited

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is expected to decide today whether to second Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to Transkei to head an independent commission of inquiry into the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in the homeland.

A formal request for the judge's secondment from Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa had been passed on to the Justice Ministry and was receiving urgent attention, Foreign Affairs Ministry spokesman Awie Marais said last night. A decision could be expected today.

A Port Elizabeth-based committee of the Goldstone Commission investigating the PAC's military wing went into recess yesterday to allow Transkei and the PAC to respond to evidence led on Monday by the SAP and SADF that Apla had

used Transkei as a platform for terror attacks in South Africa.

Sapa reports that committee chairman Gert Steyn said yesterday that Transkei consul-general August Mapasa had requested copies of the testimonies so that the homeland government could study them and respond.

But Holomisa continued his defiance of requests that Transkei give evidence to the committee, stating: "Transkei will never testify before the Goldstone Commission."

He said the homeland was sticking to its decision to have its own judicial commission of inquiry into Apla activities — and into the "destabilisation of Transkei by the South African security forces" — headed by Mr Justice Goldstone.

He agreed that ballistics experts from neutral countries could test weapons lent by the Transkei Defence Force

to Apla and the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, for the protection of their leaders in the homeland.

Before going into recess, the committee could find no evidence that the Government had flown in Apla dissidents from abroad to testify before the committee as had been alleged.

According to Sapa, Steyn said reports that the committee intended to subpoena PAC leaders were premature as the PAC had requested copies of the submissions made on Monday by the SAP and SADF. He expected the organisation to respond by Friday.

PAC publicity director Waters Toboti was quoted yesterday as saying the PAC was adamant its information was correct and that it would maintain its stand of refusing to co-operate with the commission, even if subpoenaed.

The committee will sit again on Monday.

STAR 6/1193 (11A)

# Swedes come clean on aid

STOCKHOLM — Sweden will give financial support openly for the first time to the ANC and other South African groups, a Foreign Ministry official said yesterday.

Rasmus Rasmusson said Sweden would earmark official development assistance to the South African groups in its 1993/94 budget proposal.

Rasmusson could not say if the figure for the South African groups would be 200 million crowns (about R86 million) as reported by the daily Dagens Nyheter yesterday.

The ANC will receive most of the funds, and the rest will go to

churches and independent organisations, he said.

Sweden has supported the ANC and other nationalist movements in South Africa for nearly 30 years, but until now has sought to protect their identities.

"The ANC has been receiving aid from Sweden to help the victims of apartheid," Rasmusson said. "But now that there is a new openness in South Africa, there is not the same need for protection (of recipients)."

He added there was no inconsistency with handing out official aid to the ANC while easing up on sanctions. — Sapa-Reuter.

STAFF 6/1/93

# Transkei, Apla scorn SAP offer

SA 6/11/93  
By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
and Sapa

Transkei and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) have scoffed at the SAP's offer of substantial rewards for the arrest and conviction of four men the SAP claims were Apla cadres wanted on terrorism-related charges.

In a telephone interview from Dar es Salaam yesterday, the chairman of Apla's high command, Victor Sabelo Phama, warned the Government to stop "dragging innocent" people into its probe of "revolutionary violence".

Phama said there were several discrepancies and inaccuracies in the information the police had given to the media on the four men.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said the SA Government should apply for the extradition of the men if it believed they were in Transkei.



People are dying in SA and all the emphasis is on protocol, writes Cosmas Desmond

# Time for our leaders to talk

STAR 6/1/93.

(11/1) (1/1) (1/1)

A meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi will certainly not solve all the problems; indeed it may not solve any.

It is, nevertheless, essential that it take place, if only to stop everybody else passing the buck to them. Whatever the outcome of the meeting, people will no longer be able to excuse their own inactivity on the grounds that nothing can be done without a meeting between the two.

Not that we can expect much activity from the people of Durban, the vast majority of whom were not even prepared to turn on their car headlights as a sign of their concern for peace.

Is it really necessary, however, for the proposed meeting to be surrounded by such hype? Even Reagan and Gorbachev, when leaders of the two superpowers, did not insist on such protocol. It

is like a meeting between two Bobby Fischers. But in his case people are not dying while demands are made about the shape of the table and the colour of the carpet.

Some preparations are doubtless necessary though it is difficult to see why it should take so long to draw up the agenda when it virtually writes itself.

A discussion between two adult, civilised, human beings is hardly a big deal; people do it all the time, the ability to communicate verbally being one of the defining characteristics of a human being.

To build up a mystique about the meeting emphasises the distance between the parties and can only have a negative effect on the outcome. It also exaggerates the importance of the individuals involved.

Further, if the leaders, who are not personally involved in physi-

cally fighting each other, find it so difficult just to agree to talk to each other, how can the actual combatants be expected to do so? And that is what has to happen.

Politicians, like clergymen, doctors, economists, and many others, love to mystify their role; it makes them seem important and stops the people "interfering". But why must we ape the games that Western politicians play?

Openness and true democracy would rule out personality cults and involve all the people; there might even be just a hint of "ubuntu". I realise that the "new South Africa" has yet to be born; conceived in secrecy, intrigue and elitism, umbilically tied to Western values, it could be aborted.

I remember the time, many years ago, when I could phone Chief Buthelezi and ask whether I could drop in to see him; he would reply: "Certainly, come for lunch

tomorrow." (Mandela at the time was in no position to make such an invitation to anybody; nor was he too important to have me pay the rent on his matchbox house in Soweto.) Could not Mandela do the same? Or vice versa?

Even if one were simply to pitch up on the other's doorstep, surely the traditional rules of African hospitality would prevent him from being turned away. Why not behave in a normal human, particularly African, fashion instead of becoming entwined with all the bureaucratic, status-ridden, point-scoring, egocentric trappings of so-called "statesmanship"?

ET survived falling off his horse; they might benefit from voluntarily getting off their high ones. Instead, they tend to fit Clement Attlee's description of Churchill: "Nails his trousers to the mast. Can't climb down."

It augurs ill for the future of South Africa if politicians are to be so conscious of their status and the people are to be expected to pander to their delusions of grandeur.

It is bad enough that they already claim the right to all the material rewards of the ruling class, without their being accorded the status of demi-gods. They are ordinary people doing one of the very few well-paid jobs which require no qualifications.

Politicians are supposed to be servants of the people who elect them and pay their salaries, not their lords and masters. We do not need a De Gaulle or a Churchill, and certainly not a Thatcher or a Reagan. Attlee would be a better model. He was the most modest, self-effacing Prime Minister that Britain ever had; he never stood on ceremony, he was "Clem" to even the most junior member of

the party; he travelled by public transport; he never did become a "personality".

Yet he not only introduced the most wide-ranging social reforms that Britain had ever seen but also, almost single-handedly, facilitated the independence of India. He was, as even his political opponent Harold MacMillan acknowledged, "a good man and a good politician".

Too many of our politicians seem prepared to forsake the former in the mistaken belief that it will help them become the latter.

I would like to suggest that the first, and perhaps the only, item on the agenda for the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting should be the recognition of what they have in common: their humanness, their history of oppression, their concern for people, not "their people", who are suffering and dying. □

# Major SA players in US dog box

US politicians are unimpressed with the performance last year of both the South African Government and the ANC, reports HUGH ROBERTSON from Washington.

THEY might not say so on the record, but most of the influential African specialists in the United States generally had a low opinion of the political talents and negotiating skills shown by the major parties in South Africa in 1992.

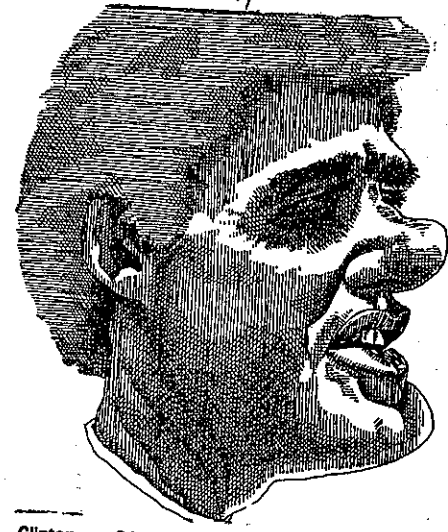
Surprisingly, since he is known for his bland and cautious statements, probably the most candid remark encapsulating this widely held view came from the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, when he said at a media briefing last month: "I am not satisfied with the performance of any of the parties in South Africa."

By way of a jocular aside, he added: "How's that for evenhandedness?"

In the Senate, in the House of Representatives, in the State Department, the US Treasury and, who knows, in the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, there appears to be a consensus that the South African Government and the ANC are engaged in some bizarre competition to see who can outdo the other in ill-advised statements and inept decision-making, with both emerging triumphant.

The year started well for the Government, when President de Klerk announced a white referendum to determine whether or not whites wanted the Government to proceed with negotiations aimed at full democracy. The ANC's criticism of the referendum was lost in a deluge of praise from the US media and US officials. But to many Africanists in the US, De Klerk failed to capitalise on his win. The day after the result was announced, some of them say, should have been the day De Klerk tackled white opponents in the military and security establishment.

5702 6/1/93-



Clinton . . . SA could become his bargaining chip.



Cohen . . . candidly critical of SA negotiators.



Baker . . . offer to mediate turned down.

ure to take action against manifest wrongdoing in the military and police, wrongdoing exposed more than two years ago in official inquiries into the CCB and certain police shootings, have puzzled many Americans who are otherwise sympathetic. Indeed, disciplinary steps strongly recommended by judges who investigated various actions by the police as far back as 1990 still have not been taken.

Thus it was not surprising to Americans that Mr Justice Goldstone should have rebuked the Government in the wake of the Boipatong massacre for having failed to act on his recommendations aimed at preventing such atrocities and the perception — actively promoted by the ANC — that De Klerk had some interest in allowing the military and the police an unfettered hand, gained credence.

The fact that long after all the judicial recommendations, long after the inquiries, and long after the tragedies at Boipatong, Bisho and elsewhere, De Klerk should have ordered an investigation into the role of the military in South Africa's violence and, as a result of police work undertaken partly by the

Goldstone Commission, should have dismissed generals and others of high rank for their alleged role in the violence, was reported on extensively — but the praise that might have come De Klerk's way if he had acted far earlier was missing.

Probably the biggest complaint against the ANC in 1992 was the rashness of many of its decisions and actions. The shooting at Bisho, for instance, was widely covered but so was the role of radicals who were accused of having provoked the incident. There was also much questioning of the wisdom of the campaign of mass action, which some in Washington saw as a bid by ANC radicals to wreck negotiations and attempt to force a settlement on the other parties.

ANC radicals also were seen to be behind the collapse of Codesa 2. When the deadlock over a so-called white constitutional veto was reached, the ANC's official position was that it would consider withdrawing from further negotiations. In Washington the impetus for that threat was seen to be the radicals who are viewed with great scepticism, the more so because they are suspected of being unenthu-

siastic about negotiations anyway.

There is a pervasive belief in Washington, enunciated as much by the State Department as by Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill, that the only forces that would gain from a breakdown in negotiations would be those irrational extremists on the Left and Right who refuse to negotiate and who apparently believe their interests can be served by violence and confusion.

That is why Washington was so aghast when Codesa 2 collapsed, the campaign of mass action began, and the Bisho tragedy ensued.

What supported American fears was the convenient way in which the horror of the Boipatong massacre was seized upon as a reason for breaking off talks with the Government. Where previously a simple deadlock in negotiations was cited implausibly as a reason why the ANC might pull out, suddenly that rationale was abandoned and Boipatong was held up, in almost indecent relief, as a more persuasive reason for ending the talks.

Few in Washington were con-

vinced, and the resulting UN Security Council meeting on the massacre, at which the ANC failed to provide the evidence which it claimed to have of Government collusion in the massacre, produced a strictly neutral resolution which did not apportion blame. But the UN meeting had some unsung benefits for South Africa. Aside from the ANC learning that the UN was no longer the plaything of the liberation movements, the ANC was also left in no doubt that the UN was determined to ensure a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Insofar as ANC radicals may have spurred the decision to abandon Codesa, the UN meeting must have been a disaster for them. Nothing last year more reinforced the pressure for a resumption of negotiations than the talks behind the scenes which took place quietly during that debate. So forceful were the African countries in their support of resumed talks that the PAC itself made discreet overtures in a lobby off the Security Council chamber to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, about the possibility of it joining the negotiating process.

Earlier the PAC, as much as

the ANC, was given unambiguous warnings by African countries, again behind closed doors, that the world would not accept a settlement in South Africa that was not reached by negotiation. Revolutionary dreams of armed struggle, mass action and rendering the country ungovernable were rudely dashed in the sleek office towers that cluster around the UN's headquarters in Manhattan.

As the negotiations deadlock went on, alarm in Washington grew. At the height of the crisis, the US offered the services of its Secretary of State, James Baker, as a mediator to get Africa was known to be faint, but with klaxons sounding at the National Security Council and the White House, his prestige and influence were made available to the Government and the ANC, separately. Incredibly, both sides rejected the US overture.

Washington continued to agonise as it saw both the Government and the ANC feed the fires of the far Right and far Left, and questions flew about the city. Why did the ANC set out such radical demands as a pre-

condition to resuming negotiations, demands which the Government probably could not meet? Was this a move by radicals to ensure talks did not resume?

What political leadership would fail to see that the only way to end the violence would be through rapid progress towards a truly democratic society? But there were also some shrewd insights which gave hope to the stalwart. If the ANC was playing so hard to get, it must have believed absolutely that the Government was genuine in wanting negotiations to succeed. After all, it would have been absurdly pointless for the ANC to have drawn up a long list of preconditions if it felt the Government wasn't interested in successful negotiations.

And so the faint flickers of hope were kept alive. But will they survive the inevitable tempest of change that comes when a new administration takes over at the White House? Few are willing to say, since so little is known about the foreign policy that President Bill Clinton will apply anywhere, let alone to South Africa. There are some hints, however.

Most of those who will have

the final say on South Africa: policy are veterans of the Carter administration, though they have matured and grown wiser in the interim. They are honourable, principled people who remain imbued with the Carterian passion for spreading democracy and human rights.

They also believe as avidly as their predecessors that economic freedom is an indivisible part of true democracy. So, while they might be a little tougher on the Government, they are unlikely to embrace the ANC's radicals with much enthusiasm.

In an article under Carter's name, but written by an adviser, support is given for a continuation of local sanctions until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

An area of major disagreement with the Government — and feasibly with a future government — will be Armscor's programme for the development and sale of advanced weapons of mass destruction. Clinton himself has said that an end to the proliferation of such weapons will be a cornerstone of his foreign policy — and he does not mean only nuclear weapons. As Armscor is aware, the new sanctions imposed last year by the Bush administration related to the production of certain missiles and missile systems, among other things which South African newspapers are not free to report.

In trying to assess Clinton's style, his friends in Arkansas say one thing that should never be forgotten is his capacity to strike deals. And here they sound a word of caution for South Africa. The whole of Africa is fading from public and political attention in the US except, perhaps, among black Americans. Watch out for South Africa becoming a bargaining chip as Bill the Dealmaker seeks to lubricate some fairly drastic legislation through Congress, where he will need the support of the Congressional Black Caucus.

And watch out, too, they say, for a White House obsessively focused on domestic issues, to the extent that Africa — already a stepchild of US foreign policy — will become more of a nuisance than an area of major concern. — Star Bureau. □

# ANC celebrates 81st birthday

Staff Reporter

(11) ARG 7/1/92

THE African National Congress celebrates its 81st birthday tomorrow and the Western Cape region will mark the occasion with a motorcade from Cape Town across the Cape Flats.

The procession will start at the Grand Parade at 2pm and end at Strandfontein beach at 6pm for the ceremonial cutting of a cake in the

ANC colours of black, green and gold. All are welcome to join the motorcade and the birthday celebrations.

The route is: Grand Parade 2pm; Victoria Road, Woodstock 2.15pm; Mowbray station 2.30pm; Langa 3pm; Heideveld station 3.30pm; Nyanga bus terminus 4pm; Guguletu bus terminus 4.30pm; Khayelitsha Khaya Bazaar 5pm; Mitchell's Plain Town Centre 5.30pm; and Strandfontein beach 6pm.

# Azapo declares a war

By Joe Mdhlela

**M**ANDLA Nono lies buried in grave A3418 with the Azapo flag flying over it at the Bekkersdal Cemetery on the West Rand.

This young life, only 23, was terminated two weeks ago by a rival's arms of war. Nono's life was committed to the liberation of all the oppressed black people of "occupied Azania".

But the organisation of which his life was an asset has made this sobering vow: "Never again will we fold arms and turn the other cheek when our members are killed in great numbers. Henceforth we will fight fire with fire, gouge out an eye if ours has been gouged out."

The pledge was made by Azapo's Transvaal president, Mr Nkosi Molala, at the funeral service of activist Nono.

Addressing the mourners, Molala said: "I hope what I say today is shared by my comrades in the national executive committee."

Molala's statement was greeted with a tumultuous roar of "yes", "Amandla" and "Buwa".

Even in this climate of apparent militancy, organisations in the embattled Bekkersdal talk about striking peace.

Spokesman for Inkatha Freedom Party in the area Mr Charles Loliwe said it would be silly to think that Inkatha was not committed to peace and co-existence with other organisations.

**28 KILLED** *Nono the latest victim since violence erupted in 1990:*

*Sowetan 7/1/93*  
**Peace does not go alone. If you prepare for peace, you must equally make provision for war, so that the very war should protect the peace you may achieve**

"We are committed to peace and we would like to iron out our differences with Azapo," he said.

Loliwe said he appreciated that there could be problems but it was through negotiation that they could be overcome.

However, it would be naive to wish away the fact that there are tensions in the area, and that their members are being killed.

"It is precisely because of these problems that we need to talk together," he said.

Secretary of the local branch Mr Father Ratsoeu showed *Sowetan* graves which have become home to 28 Azapo activists since 1990. Five died this year.

"They all lie here," pointing at various graves where his comrades have been buried. "How long should we come here to bury our comrades?" he asked.

"We are tired of folding our arms and watching our comrades getting killed. We have to defend ourselves and to that end we will use all resources we can lay our hands on to repel the enemy," he said.

During the past February, the community of Bekkersdal celebrated the first anniversary of the dawning of peace in the area. The peace accord between the warring factions, Azapo, ANC, PAC, was signed in February 1991.

Up to that point 300 people had lost their lives, with thousands seriously injured in a "war" that appeared to have political undertones.

**We are committed to peace and we would like to iron out our differences with Azapo**

Compounding the problem was the fact that thousands of homeless people had been "resettled" in squalter conditions.

The majority of the people who live in these informal houses are either unemployed or under-employed, so that their immediate dependents "must be innovative in order to survive".

The use of AK-47s, handgrenades, pangas, knives, petrol bombs and the dreaded necklace are commonplace at Bekkersdal, boasting a population of 100 000.

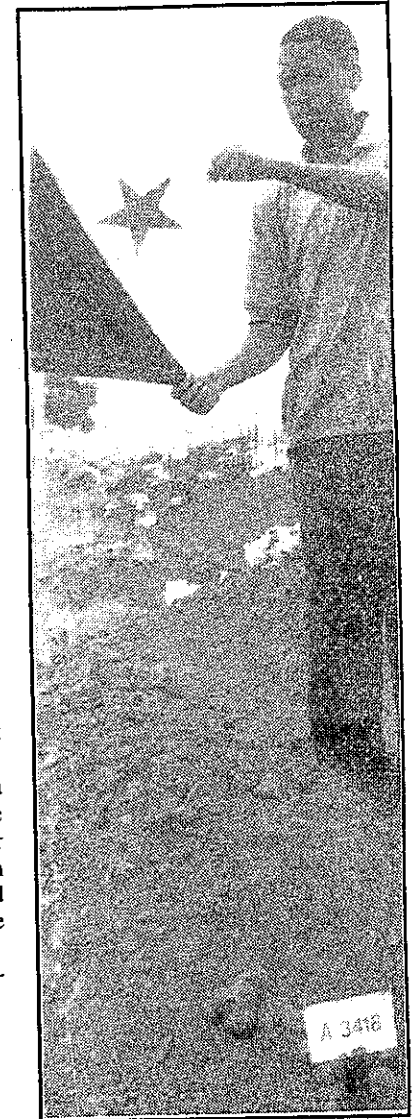
That young life buried at grave number A3418, appear to have aggravated matters and made peace prospects harder to realise.

"Why should we talk peace when our members are decimated at every turn?" asked Miss Lydia Lentshe, branch leader of Azapo women's movement Imbeleko.

In a eulogy for the slain Nono, Molala made the following remarks: "Peace does not go alone. If you prepare for peace, you must equally make provision for war, so that the very war should protect the peace you may have achieved."

This, in a nutshell, reflects the volatile situation at Bekkersdal.

It is not always easy to talk peace.



Father Ratsoeu standing next to Mandla Nono's number A3418 grave.

Smr 7/11/93

# Walkout by IFP disrupts meeting

By Julienne du Toit

A meeting in Bekkersdal to resolve a dispute between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Organisation ended indecisively last night. 7/11/93.

According to the chairman of the Bekkersdal Monitoring Committee (BMC), Vuyisile Ndabeni, IFP members walked out after being outnumbered by Azapo and ANC supporters in the Paul Nel Hall.

The meeting was called after violence in the township on Sunday, when two people were killed and four injured.

Ndabeni admitted the BMC had not enforced the quota of each organisation strictly enough.

The IFP contingent also claimed, on its return, that the hall was not a neutral venue.

A working group, comprising two representatives each from Azapo, IFP, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC, would meet today to discuss logistics for a meeting tomorrow.

● In the township yesterday, three gunmen opened fire at a taxi rank, wounding one man in the leg. Police said the the gunmen were chased away, apparently by members of Azapo.

## Peace talks collapse in tense Bekkersdal

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bekkersdal remained tense after a man was killed and two were injured as peace talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Organisation collapsed.

West Rand police spokeswoman Major Henrietta Bester said gunmen killed Mr Lucas Molikale after they could not find his son at 1.30 am yesterday.

Two others, including IFP delegate Mr Michael Mfekayi, had gunshot wounds hours before the meeting.

After the meeting, police arrested nine people in connection with commercial explosives and the discovery of an arms cache.

Major Bester said two men in possession of commercial explosives were arrested and nine who claimed to be members of the African National Congress were arrested in connection with the discovery of an arms cache.

A homemade handgrenade, four petrol bombs, three home-

made shotguns, a 9mm pistol and several rounds of ammunition were confiscated.

The incidents followed a walkout by IFP delegates at a peace meeting at Paul Nel Hall on Wednesday night in the West Rand township which was marred by rowdiness and poor discipline.

The meeting, attended by observers from the Organisation of African Unity, European Community and the United Nations, was later postponed pending a decision by a working group that was to meet yesterday.

Trouble started when a group of youths entered the hall, which is located in what is said to be an Azapo stronghold. They took seats a few metres from IFP delegates.

An irate IFP delegate, Mr Charles Loliwe, refused to take part in the talks, in spite of pleas from Azapo, the Bekkersdal Monitoring Committee and his co-delegates.

The youths began toying outside after they were asked to leave by officials.

(11A) (11B) (11C)

ART 8/11/93

# Apla row: ball in FW's court

STAT 8/1193

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

President de Klerk has not yet contacted Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa about the alleged Apla training bases in the area, the homeland leader said today.

In an unusual step Holomisa today published a letter he sent to De Klerk on December 17 about the Apla controversy.

He revealed that the homeland had been informed of alleged Apla bases in Transkei after he had told De Klerk about an alleged SADF signal ordering the removal of activist Matthew Goniwe.

"We dispatched our police to the places cited but no evidence of their existence was found. You were informed of these steps and the outcome," the letter said.

In the letter Holomisa said it was time for everybody to seriously examine the truthfulness of the existence of Apla bases in Transkei by taking part in his proposed Commission of Inquiry.

He said he had made a request for Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to chair the proposed commission.

Holomisa also inquired from De Klerk whether there were any prescribed conditions under which Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe would operate

after their unbanning.

"Our experience in similar scenarios is that armed wings of liberation movements and the Defence Force are confined to bases while political leaders hammer out the new dispensation.

"The advantage of this arrangement is the exercise of control over all members of the forces there by reducing to the bare minimum the chances of what we witness today."

He complained that veiled threats of cross-border raids by South African Ministers and warnings to holiday-makers were "serious elements of the destabilisation process".

● Bronwyn Wilkinson reports that Transkei's request for the secondment of Mr Justice Goldstone to head the Apla probe in the homeland has hit a technical hitch.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said last night it appeared the agreement between South Africa and the homeland provided for the secondment of judges in a "judge's capacity only" and not to head commissions of inquiry.

He said President de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee were addressing the request from Holomisa, but they would have to work around the problem.

# Wooing the ANC now high on Jerusalem's agenda

ISRAEL'S new ambassador, Alon Liel, has come to South Africa with a definite mandate: to build a "meaningful relationship" with the ANC as the dominant force in the black community.

Fulfillment of his mission is complicated by the ANC's view of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as a fraternal body and by the oft-declared esteem of ANC president Nelson Mandela for PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

Liel (44), a career diplomat who was appointed by the new Labour-Left government of Yitzhak Rabin, identifies another problem: the failure of Israel's previous Likud government to build contacts with the ANC in the three years since Mandela's release.

"For the last three years we did not try to develop these contacts," he says. "We see it as a mistake."

A man with a friendly dispo-

sition and a ready smile, Liel adds: "Our new government believes it was a mistake in the past to focus on our contacts with the (De Klerk) Government and (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and to neglect the ANC."

Rabin's government wants a "balanced policy" which does not favour De Klerk or Buthelezi over Mandela; for that reason Liel's immediate and primary task is to win friends for Israel in the ANC.

Liel, who was wounded during an Israeli attack in 1968 on a PLO camp at Karame in Jordan, does not see the ANC's friendly ties with the PLO as an insuperable problem.

"For the previous government (of Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir) it was a major problem. It fought against contacts by foreign governments and foreign organisations with the PLO," Liel says. "But for the present government it is not a problem, for several reasons."

7747L 8/1/93  
11A  
ISA  
The Rabin government is itself engaged in discussions with Palestinian leaders who support the PLO in the Middle East peace talks, Liel says. "We are aware of the fact that they co-ordinate their positions with the PLO," he adds.

Thus it is not opposed to political links between foreign governments or organisations and the PLO, provided they do not have a military dimension.

Liel notes pertinently: "The ANC has abandoned the armed struggle. As far as we know, the military contacts that existed between the ANC and the PLO in the past are no longer operative."

Another development has helped to reduce concern in Israeli political circles at the friendly links between the ANC and PLO, Liel remarks. Israel's "major enemy" among the Palestinians is no longer Arafat's PLO but Hamas, the Islamic fundamentalist organisation.

Israel's new ambassador to South Africa, Alon Liel (right), wants to wean the ANC from its cool attitude towards the Jewish state, reports PATRICK LAURENCE.

A sign of the changing attitude to the PLO in Israel is a recent vote in the Israeli parliament calling for the repeal of a law forbidding Israeli citizens from talking to the PLO. Dissident Israelis who defy the prohibition risk being jailed for three years.

Under Israeli law, the ban cannot be rescinded until the resolution is passed on three occasions. But the majority vote in favour of repeal on the first division suggest the law is des-



tinued for revocation.

Liel cautions against exaggerating the significance of the votes. He sees it as the start of a process, meaning that there is still a long way to go. "We do not recognise the PLO," he acknowledges. "But I would say, overall, that the present government sees the contact between the PLO and the ANC differently from the previous government."

Responding to a question, Liel elucidates on his statement

that Hamas — which he sees as a linear successor to the Muslim Brotherhood — is a bigger problem to Israel than the PLO.

"Hamas does not live in peace with the idea of the State of Israel. It would like to see the state dissolved. The PLO, at least on paper, declared in 1988 that it seeks the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel."

While the PLO aim of establishing a Palestinian state on territory occupied by Israel after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war does not amount to formal recognition of Israel, "at least many PLO leaders have realised that the State of Israel is a fact," Liel says.

He recalls that when he was the guest of Radio 702 recently, he was told by some callers that Israel, as the product of Zionism, had no right to exist.

Their views reflect the controversial UN resolution of 1975 which declared that Zionism,

like apartheid, was a form of colonialism and racism. But, Liel emphasises, the resolution was decisively repealed a year ago and thus no longer represents a majority world view.

The conversation turns to the expulsion from Israel last month of 415 suspected leaders of Hamas after the kidnapping and brutal assassination of an Israeli policeman.

It is put to Liel that the expulsion — which seems to be a collective punishment or even reprisal — seems unfair because the alleged Hamas leaders and/or collaborators were not charged and tried in a court of law.

"We are not expelling them, we are removing them temporarily," he replies. "After two years, they can come back."

"It caused such an uproar in the Israeli public that something very drastic had to be done: introduction of the death penalty or blowing up houses of ter-

rorists or removing the leadership ...

"We will do our best to move towards peace but we will not compromise when it comes to the defence of the lives of our people."

Liel reasons that the Rabin government was able to take tough action against "terrorism" because in its first five months in power it had already proved its peace credentials by its willingness to surrender territory for peace "on all fronts, including the (strategically important) Golan Heights".

The decision to expel the suspected Hamas leaders, before they were convicted in court of complicity in the murder of Israelis, was necessary to make "the connection between the act of murder and the punishment", he says.

Whether the "drastic action" will further complicate Liel's task of building bridges into the ANC remains to be seen. □



# Goldstone inquiry hamstrung

W/maul 8/1-14/1993.

**A** GOLDSTONE Commission committee began hearing evidence on the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) this week — but it remains highly doubtful it will be able to make a finding.

A committee chaired by retired senior magistrate Gert Steyn heard submissions by the police and South African Defence Force. But both Transkei and the Pan Africanist Congress have refused to participate, and it remains unclear how any conclusion can be reached without them.

Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa remains determined to hold his own Goldstone Commission, with a far wider brief than that of the Port Elizabeth inquiry.

The committee adjourned until Monday to allow the PAC and Transkei time to study the submissions and in the hopes they would agree to testify.

There has been intense speculation that the commission may subpoena PAC leaders to testify. However, Steyn has said this was "premature".

The political repercussions of such a step would undoubtedly make Judge Richard Goldstone think very carefully before taking it.

The PAC asked for copies of the submissions, but remained adamant it would not participate, and would defy any subpoena.

Holomisa described the hearings as a "kangaroo court", and said no information would be made available to it. He said he was prepared to have guns, loaned to the PAC for the protection of its leadership on visits to the homeland, submitted for ballistics testings by a neutral party.

Holomisa has asked for the secondment of Goldstone to head a Transkei inquiry, to which he wants members of the Transkei bar appointed. This inquiry will probe not only the claims of Apla camps and training in Transkei, but also the South African

*Refusals by the PAC and  
Transkei to participate in a  
Goldstone inquiry into Apla  
means the committee will  
have difficulty reaching a  
conclusion, reports*

**SHADLEY NASH**

government's response to the issue, its "approach" to the PAC's unbanning, cross-border raids by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and even the effectiveness of the National Peace Accord.

Commenting on the Port Elizabeth hearing, Holomisa noted that the police and defence force were "now

11A  
~~STAFF~~  
~~STAFF~~  
~~STAFF~~  
retracting former allegations that there are bases. They are now saying people had crash courses," he said.

Although Holomisa has said Goldstone has agreed to head the Transkei inquiry, no comment has yet come from the judge himself.

In their submissions this week, both the South African Police and Defence Force said that Apla terror attacks emanated from the Transkei and that the homeland was used to conduct "crash courses" for Apla. Francois Van Zyl, counsel for the police, identified at least 10 districts as areas where training of Apla members, sometimes at night under trees and at creches, have taken place.

Van Zyl said the police had information, from arrested Apla members

and other sources, that steps were taken to destroy evidence that Apla members were trained in the region. The police attributed 41 attacks in South Africa to Apla.

Counsel for the SADF, Danie Pretorius, said recent Apla attacks formed part of a strategy called "Show and Shock". He said the idea was to attack soft targets to extract reprisals and in this way identify the "enemy". The "enemy", once identified could be targeted for attack by Apla.

The SADF also alleges that Transkeian territory was used to train Apla members. "Apla is still expanding and creating its internal structures within the Republic of South Africa and recruitment and training is still continuing," he said. — Pen

**W**HEN negotiators sit down for the next round of multiparty talks, they will do so with guns at their heads. It may be their last chance to find a formula for interim government and the constitutional process before the country sinks into irreversible chaos.

As parties push frantically ahead with bilateral talks, hopes are high that a multiparty forum will be in place by early March at the latest.

This time the African National Congress and the government will not have the luxury of scoring constant election points against each other. Increasingly, the two are moving closer as the "moderates" on whose compatibility the country's future depends. The recent activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army have given renewed purpose to militants at both ends of the spectrum.

The ANC and government will enter a friendlier tournament, but with different handicaps.

**L**ast year the government, on a high from its sweeping referendum victory, could afford to play hard to get. But corruption scandals, divisions in the cabinet over whether to party with the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party, the sinking economy and encroaching anarchy have thwarted any hopes of hanging on to power by dragging out moves towards power-sharing.

The presence of foreign monitors, forging a stronger link between the international arena and what happens here on the ground, puts new pressure on the government to honour its democratic professions. And with Bill Clinton in the White House, delaying tactics will find less favour in the United States than under the Republicans.

The ANC is better off than it was last year, having seized the moral high ground over the calamity-struck government. It has also managed to sell the concept of power-sharing to the bulk of its constituency — a coup for a movement whose militants were given a healthy fillip by the months-long mass action campaign.

As the government and ANC prepare for another round of extended bilateral negotiations at the end of the month, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is lobbying against their September Record of Understanding — a clear sign that co-ordinating agreements at various bilateral talks will not be easy. As Van Zyl Slabbert said recently: "Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy."

"Codesa 3" will be shorn of the cumbersome working groups and committees that made last year's negotiations so laborious.

# The trigger fingers are twitching — will we make their day?

W/m out  
8/1-14/1/93

*The options are clearcut: either the negotiators reach a speedy truce, or they give sway to militants and irreversible chaos.*

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**



Van Zyl Slabbert



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Says National Party constitutional expert advocate Chris Fisser: "From a managerial point of view, having five different committees dealing with overlapping issues and having different people dealing with the same issues in different meetings made it difficult to co-ordinate the process."

**T**he reconvened forum will have smaller delegations. By all accounts, the forum will do little more than rubber-stamp existing bilateral deals.

Says ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa: "When we get to Codesa, the various

parties will have processed things already at bilaterals. Hopefully, in one or two sessions we can work it out."

He predicts that multiparty agreements could be ratified in a matter of weeks and that transitional executive councils, managing the first phase of interim government leading up to elections, could be in place early next year.

Moosa holds the view, accepted by most parties, "that if multilateral discussions are to succeed, they have to be concluded in a reasonable time and not go on aimlessly as Codesa did. We cannot disappoint the nation with another series of deadlocks."

Many obstacles still stand in the way: three important parties (Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party) are still out of talks and political violence continues, as does squabbling over guarantees for regional powers.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recalcitrance and rejection of pre-existing Codesa agreements continues. As the cabinet fights over how to deal with Inkatha, with Natal NP leaders vehemently against dropping the alliance with the IFP, Buthelezi is showing signs of discomfort with his new home of predominantly confederalist allies in Cosag.

The two-day meeting between Cosag and the government starting today may bring a lukewarm commitment from the latter on guaranteed regional powers and boundaries before an elected constituent assembly sits.

Inkatha, the major player in the group, is likely to distance itself more from its current allies — Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the CP — and move closer to the NP.

**B**ilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha this month, paving the way for a meeting between their respective leaders, may go some way towards bringing the three major players into a more amicable triangle and containing the ANC/IFP violence.

Still hotly contended is the question of reincorporation of the homelands and — for the ANC — the lack of free political activity, particularly in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Commenting on the thwarting of negotiations by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: "President de Klerk should be cutting off their water. He has the power to do so."

He, like many other politicians, expresses cautious optimism about the success of the next Codesa meeting, noting a sincerity among most players for the speedy establishment of a government of national unity.

# End to white rule this year — ANC

STAR 9/11/93

11A

ANC 9/11/93

ESTHER WAUGH  
Political Reporter

● FROM PAGE 1.

**THE leadership of the African National Congress yesterday committed itself to concluding a negotiated agreement leading to a government of national unity this year.**

Mapping out a conciliatory vision of political progress for the year ahead, the ANC said 1993 should usher the country into a new era — with the first all-in elections ending white minority rule.

It is clear from the optimistic statement that the ANC has decided that this year will be a decisive one in the transition process.

The ANC national executive committee's statement, marking the organisation's 81st anniversary, was delivered yesterday in Johannesburg by ANC-president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela told that although the ANC wanted the negotiations process to be as inclusive as possible, it would not allow transition to be held hostage. "The elections cannot be delayed beyond 1993," Mandela said. In reply to a later question, he amended this to say elections could be delayed until early next year because of "unforeseen circumstances".

Mandela said the ANC would not change from a liberation movement to a political party before a fully democratic government had been installed. It was premature to talk of the ANC changing from a liberation movement until liberation had taken place, he said.

### Negotiations

Observers noted that this gave clear notice that the ANC intends contesting the elections as a front with its allies. As a liberation movement, it will also continue receiving foreign funding.

The ANC said the key steps to be taken this year were:

- Resumption of multi-party negotiations in Co-desa.
- Ensuring a climate of free political activity.
- The establishment of a transitional executive council.

● TO PAGE 2.

- Elections for a constituent assembly.
- The reincorporation of the homelands.

Speed in the negotiations process was essential because the transition to democracy was the key to resolving the country's economic and social problems, Mandela said.

"Today all South Africans realise that we need to move forward decisively and with the utmost speed. Each day that passes is a day of deprivation, of hunger, of rising unemployment, of violence, increasing crime and insecurity for all," he said.

### Apartheid

But the ANC was under no illusion that the transition process would be plain sailing.

In a clear reference to the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), Mandela said: "There are those political formations which fear change and are totally opposed to democratic elections. They are products of apartheid thinking. They fear the will of the people. They cling to ethnic fiefdoms and racism.

"Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party-political and personal agendas they will confine themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly."

Although the ANC said in its statement that elections could not be delayed beyond 1993, Mandela said in answer to questions from the press that his organisation was not "dogmatic and rigid" on the issue.

While the ANC felt there was an urgent need for elections, unforeseen developments could mean that these took place only early next year.

Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied that the ANC was conceding too much to the Government in negotiations, following such claims this week by Winnie Mandela.

Speaking at Helen Joseph's burial on Thursday, Mrs Mandela said negotiations would not deliver democracy because they were being conducted between the "elite of the oppressed and the oppressor".

Ramaphosa said the ANC was confident that negotiations would lead to a fundamental transformation of the current political system and finally deliver freedom and democracy to all.

"We do not believe the ANC is conceding too much," he said.

Without mentioning his estranged wife by name, Mandela said: "The issue of whether the people of South Africa, especially the oppressed people, support negotiations should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, whoever they are."

### Endorsed

The issue should be determined with reference to decisions of "organised and disciplined members".

Mandela said negotiations had been unanimously endorsed at several ANC conferences.

"We have not given too much to anybody, least of all the National Party. What we have done, we have done in the interests of the entire nation," he said.



1 left to right behind, are owner Simonis and Martin Voogdt.

### elements

are Wizard, a local Simonis 54; Morning Glory, the hi-tech imported boat which won Rothmans Week in Cape Town; and Cavalier, a J44. For line honours he tips Broomstick, Parker Pens Ltd and Namsea Challenger, with IGI Sea Rescue a dark horse.

"If you really want to know what the weather is doing, ask the router on Morning Glory, Jean-Yves Bernot, who did my routing for me. He's one of the top two in the world," Martin said.

On the Sunday Star, the weath-

● TO PAGE 2.



MANDELA: Transition process cannot be held hostage.

## SA arms 'used in Irish killings'

STAR 9/11/93

ANTHONY GARVEY

LONDON — South African arms have allegedly been used to kill more than 160 people in Northern Ireland in the past five years — and are still being used.

According to a dossier sent to the Irish, British and European parliaments, an arms deal was negotiated with South Africa by Belfast loyalist turned British agent Brian Nelson, and was condoned by British intelligence.

The dossier was compiled by Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA. It challenges Britain's Northern Ireland Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew to deny Nelson was working for Military Intelligence when he travelled to South

# 'Spiritual soldier' fights to keep his children at home



**HOME CLASSROOM:** Andre and Bokkie Meintjies help their children Roy, Charmaine and Johan with their homework. ● Picture: COLIN DAVIS

FORMER SADF Sergeant-Major Andre Meintjies is waging war against the authorities to keep his children out of school. Undeterred by threats of jail, the self-appointed spiritual soldier says he answers to no one but God.

He and his wife Bokkie could face three years in jail if they don't register their children at a legitimate school — but Meintjies has no intention of following orders.

"It's a question of who is going to win the hearts and minds of our kids," he says.

His duties as a believer demand that he prepare his children for salvation and the second coming of Christ — concerns, he says, which are brushed aside by the Transvaal Education Department.

The intricacies of algebra offer scant protection against the onslaught of Armageddon, according to Meintjies, who has chosen to pioneer a path for like-minded parents who wish to protect their children from the perils of the current education system.

"Today's schools are a mess. Few consider the emotional, spiritual and physical needs of children. Instead, pupils are

## CAROLINE HURRY

indoctrinated with irrelevant academia and grow up ill-equipped to deal with adulthood.

"The most important thing a child needs to learn is obedience. Salvation is founded on obedience. The entire divine concept rests on obedience," he says.

He, after all, has obeyed God's instructions to the letter: for the past six years he has sat at home cracking cosmic codes while his father supports the clan.

## Spirituality

Bokkie recently took a job with an estate agency to boost the family finances. Prophecy, admits Meintjies, is not always profitable, but the Lord provides. And, of course, his parents...

"Andre knows what he is doing. The Lord has called him," says his mother Joey. It was God, after all, who persuaded Meintjies to resign from the SADF in 1986 and move from Bethlehem into his parents' home in Vanderbijlpark.

As Meintjies understands it, God instructed him to remove his children from school and teach them the funda-

mentals of honesty, integrity and spirituality — subjects he sees as sadly lacking in the TED syllabus.

For two years he has taught Johan (14), Charmaine (14) and Roy (11) at home. He chooses their library books, selects what he believes they need to know from educational guides and monitors their progress.

"Putting my children into school where peer pressure could overwhelm them would be like throwing them to the wolves. They would be forced to conform to the mould of the masses.

"It's a parent's responsibility to protect offspring from harmful external influences. With children at school up to 10 hours a day, how are parents supposed to keep control over them?"

The atmosphere in the Meintjies' home is welcoming. The smell of freshly baked bread wafts tantalisingly from the kitchen where the children assist their *ouma* with lunch preparations.

They seem well-adjusted and delighted not have to endure the agonies of school. But unless they are registered in a school by January 19, they could find themselves orphans of our legal system.

Azapo (11A)  
IFP make  
peace in  
Bekkersdal  
STAN 9/1/93  
PETER DAVIES

LEADERS of the feuding Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) last night agreed to halt hostilities and end the violence that has racked the West Rand township of Bekkersdal.

The meeting, held at the Carlton Centre offices of United Nations observer mission yesterday afternoon, was also attended by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. It saw the parties reaffirm their commitment to a 1991 Bekkersdal peace pact.

Azapo and the IFP will also meet within five days to resolve differences. Should either party renege on this meeting, the aggrieved party will have recourse to the Bekkersdal monitoring committee.

## Tensions

Last Sunday two township residents were hacked to death at the local taxi rank.

ANC officials said the victims were residents of Mandela Park, an ANC stronghold, who had been indiscriminately attacked by men wearing IFP T-shirts. Four others were hurt.

A local IFP official said Inkatha supporters had launched the attack to draw attention to their problems with Azapo members.

Azapo and ANC supporters this week blamed IFP supporters for the violence. The IFP blamed "thugs" from Azapo.

# Anatomy of a fallen hero

51 AM 9/11/93.

11A

**A YOUNG man, once the gun-toting hero of Sebokeng youths, died in disgrace when he was gunned down by a former comrade last Sunday. People danced and ululated. What went wrong in his life? JOE LOUW reports.**

**S**OON after the body of the "Commander" hit the dust, felled by bullets fired by a supposed "comrade" late last Sunday afternoon, ululations broke out from the fast-gathering crowd of township women.

The word spread throughout Sebokeng that "the dog is dead" and soon there was dancing up and down the streets.

Somewhere along the line in the life of the 24-year-old "Commander" — one-time hero of the people of Zone 12 — something had gone drastically wrong.

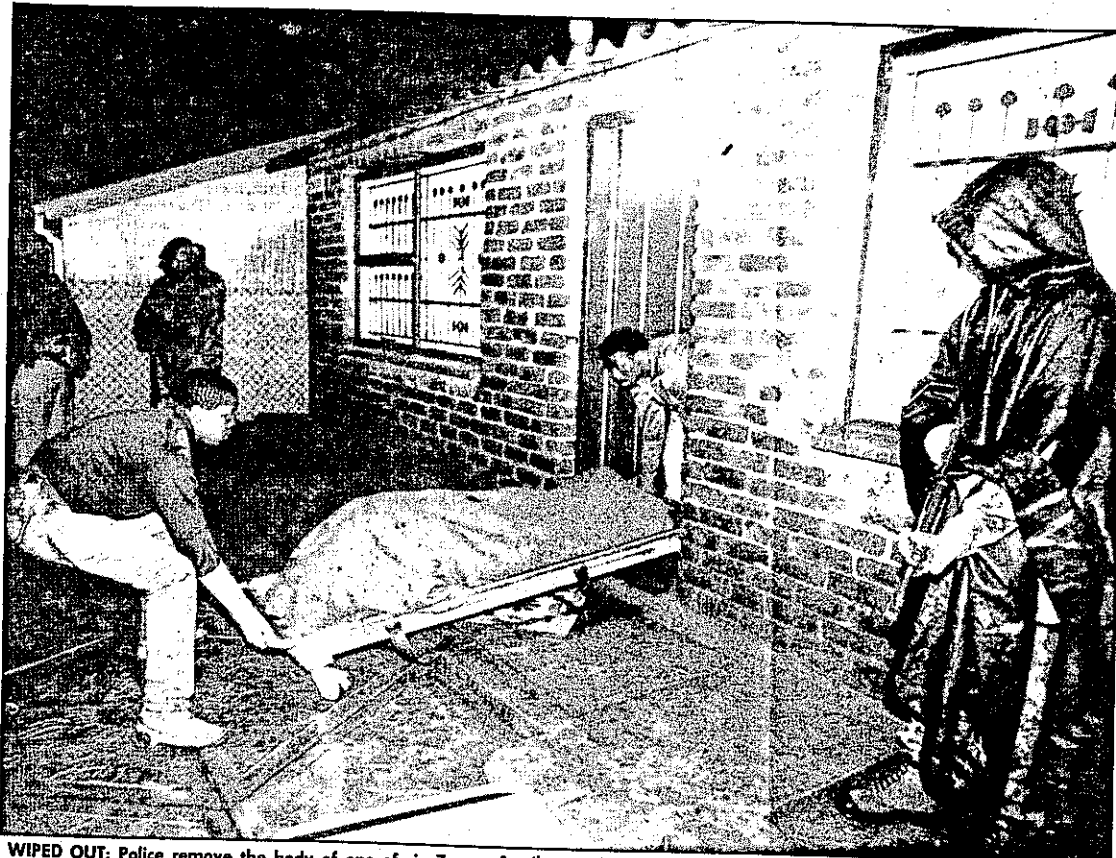
By the next morning at 9 am, people from as far away as Ewaton and Small Farms had gathered at the intersection opposite the Culture Club, the Commander's favourite tavern, to celebrate.

Nobody seemed even to remember his real name, or his much-lauded "heroism" of even a few months back when he flashed his ever-present AK-47 in the notorious Zone 12 and engaged in man-to-man shootouts with the much-hated and dreaded SAP.

The "Commander" was Siphon Dhlamini, also known as Basie as a boy growing up in the township but lately known by his *nom de guerre*, Skosana.

**F**ROM the beginning of 1992 until he died, according to one resident of Zone 12, people in the township were even afraid of saying his name in public for fear of incrimination and subsequent accusation.

In the kangaroo courts set up



**WIPED OUT:** Police remove the body of one of six Zwane family members, who were shot dead late last year, from a house in Sebokeng. "Skasana", also known as "Commander", was wanted for questioning by the police in connection with the murders.

by him and his self-defence unit (SDU) "comrades" he was judge, jury and executioner — alleged to brook no nonsense with pleas of innocence should he have deemed an accused guilty.

Today people speak freely of his alleged misdeeds — the abductions he carried out; the people he was supposed to have shot; the extortion of businessmen; the random punishment of township "wrongdoers"; the alleged arbitrary shootings. A few months ago, no one would have breathed a word.

"Skosana was supposed to be ANC," a comrade of his confided in me, "but really he was answerable to no one. The power structures in Sebokeng and the whole

of the Vaal were terrified of him. People took complaints about him to the various committees, to the Vaal Council of Churches, but nothing happened. They were all scared of the guy."

So who was Skosana? And what happened that he should have dive-bombed from supposed hero of the block to being ignominiously gunned down by his own former comrades. Witnesses testify that he died particularly horribly — even for the horror-struck Vaal Triangle, scene of so many massacres and atrocities.

After being shot, and half dead, he was loaded (according to witnesses) into a van, taken to his mother's home where he was mutilated and his head crushed with

a huge stone. He was finally set alight in the house, which now stands partially destroyed.

His mother is now in hiding for fear of her life and not much is known about his father. He grew up in the house, which has no number — a protective township device to avoid identification by hitmen who once prowled the townships, randomly killing residents.

**H**E attended the Mtholuzi Primary School across the road from his home. According to his teachers he was a fairly bright boy but he never went far, quit-

ting after Std 7.

One thing everyone remembers about him was his courage and bravery, better described as "pluck" in township lingo. Physically he wasn't all that impressive — built small with broad shoulders, developed by the time he died at 23 or 24.

Somewhere along the line he acquired a taste for politics, but no one can remember exactly when. A close friend told me: "He started out Azapo but was recruited by local SDUs and he became ANC."

Local ANC chairman Watch Mthibeli acknowledges that Skosana was an ANC supporter and sympathiser but denies he was "a card-carrying member".

According to one source close to the ANC, Skosana and several other youths from Sebokeng and other Vaal townships requested to be sent for training some time after the "Vigil Massacre" of 1991 in which 45 mourners were gunned down at a funeral wake.

They were to be sent to Transkei for training but the trip never materialised. Instead, the story goes, Skosana ended up going to Lesotho, returning six months later having acquired a thorough familiarity with guns and gun-handling, toting an AK-47 everywhere he went.

He had also developed his formidable "pluck" and was soon engaged in several shootouts with policemen and hitmen. "Skos" soon acquired the reputation of a latter-day Billy the Kid and was hero-worshipped by his comrades and township youths.

He was appointed commander of a self-defence unit in Zone 12.

"For a while, people admired the guy," a former comrade told me, "but then early last year things began going wrong. People began to fear him: the beatings, extortions and shootings happened. He became a hired gun."

**S**HEBEEENERS who had a quarrel with each other would hire him to settle their scores and he became universally feared, the former comrade said.

Late last year Skosana's name was connected with the brutal murder of six members of the Zwane family in Zone 12.

Two gunmen fled the scene and a member of the family, who died later, was said to have mentioned the name of one of the attackers. Police later said they were looking for a "Skosana" who "might assist" their investigation.

Last Sunday Skosana was relaxing at the Culture Club when he was called outside by "a friend" who apparently wanted to discuss something private with him. Once outside, and for once without his AK-47 at his side, the "friend" pulled out an AK-47 and gunned Skosana down.

"He was my best friend," one youth told me, "handsome, always smiling, soft-spoken. He was a Christian, sometimes. He was brave. He never feared, not even the police."

# Sowing the seeds of love amid hatred in divided Alexandra

Star 9/11/93.

CHARLES WEBSTER

**O**N THE wall of Patience Pashe's office is a short prayer by St Francis of Assisi that bears continual silent testimony to the nature of the person toiling below: "Where there is hatred, let me sow love."

A product of a father who was a teacher, and a mother who was a nurse, Pashe dreamt of becoming a doctor. She later decided to be a social worker, and eventually became a teacher. Now she struggles, at the head of Women for Peace (WFP), based in Alexandra, to establish more understanding between the interest groups and political organisations in that divided community.

WFP is surrounded by violence — literally. On the hill behind the WFP building (which, with its burglar bars and fencing, looks more like Auschwitz) is the infamous Nobuhle hostel, while the road in front is continually patrolled by the SADF.

Growing up in Pimville, Soweto, Pashe was involved in school committees from an early age. "I was always a people person," she said. "I have always loved reading, and like helping others to read."

Running a women's organisation has its difficulties, especially within the traditional black society.

Pashe said that some of the traditional family values, or "ubuntu", that black society had lost



**PEOPLE PERSON:** Patience Pashe loves helping others. ● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

through westernisation needed to be restored. She said she would like to see a time when even strangers greeted each other in the streets.

As far as women's rights go, the biggest problem, she said, was that women don't know what their rights are.

## Trust

"The fact that the black population has been underprivileged in terms of education has caused menfolk to establish themselves as kings

in their own homes, and therefore they treat women as second-rate citizens."

The Interim Crisis Committee, with which Pashe is also involved and which was formed under the auspices of the National Peace Accord, has started to gain the trust of the people of Alexandra by means of its communication task group.

"People need to talk," Pashe told the Saturday Star, "but not just the leaders — we need grass-roots discussion."

ESTHER WAUGH  
Political Reporter  
S122 9/1/93

# Negotiations '93 Kick

# Off

THE first test of South Africa's negotiating prospects for 1993 got under way in Pretoria yesterday, as the Government faced the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in a bid to woo its members into multi-party talks.

The Government-Cosag boss-beraad — the first in a series of bilateral meetings between major parties scheduled for this month — is being seen by negotiators as a litmus test of how quickly the Codesa process can be reconvened, and whether hopes of interim government by June are realistic.

Cosag's members are keeping at arm's length from the negotiating process, and are united in their opposition to what they describe as unilateral deals being struck by the Government and ANC.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — jointly planned its strategy on Thursday afternoon.

## Inclusive

The agenda for the two-day session was hammered out yesterday in a meeting of all participants at the Presidensie in Pretoria.

AVU member Andries Beyers told Saturday Star he was hopeful that the meeting could lead to a resumption of multiparty talks which would be more inclusive than what had gone before.

But observers would only express "cautious optimism" about the possible outcome of the meeting. They pointed out it was unlikely that the talks could lead to the immediate resumption of multiparty negotiations as the meeting would not be attended personally by the political principals — President F W de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

It was likely that the delegates would first discuss any decisions reached at the meeting with their principals before any final agreement could be reached.

A Government source said the Government's negotiators would concentrate on the resumption of multiparty negotiations and the issues of regionalism and federalism.

The negotiators would seek to determine the IFP's view on the status of agreements reached at Codesa which were not ratified at the failed Codesa 2.

# Stop it, ANC orders Apla

THE ANC has called on Apla and left-wing dissidents to give up "violence and subversion", calling it a "hopeless project".

In its 1993 policy statement released on Friday, the ANC's national executive committee appealed "to those of our compatriots who fear the prospect of democratic change. What they should fear is the absence of change".

"Those who entertain the delusion that the process of change can be stopped or postponed through violence and subversion should abandon this hopeless project."

However, it was clear that fears of economic collapse — fuelled by violence and political uncertainty — formed a stronger concern.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said that "any political arrangements enabling democratic rule will be nullified if we do not ensure a stable and growing economy".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in an exclusive interview with the Sunday Times, emphasised that the economy could not survive further political uncertainty, and said that if Codesa was not reconvened it would set a political settlement back by two years.

## Reinforcing

Mr Joe Slovo, senior ANC and SA Communist Party leader, reinforcing ANC concern about the economy, said SA would have to ensure investor security. "The old bogey of nationalisation has been wiped out," he said, and the sooner elections were held the better for the economy. This view, he said, was shared by the government.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC hoped for multi-party talks by March, a transitional executive council by April — which would give the ANC and other parties a say in the running of the government — and elections in September.

Its policy statement was the "first salvo of the election campaign, which we believe has to be a nation-building campaign".

By CHARLENE SMITH

Mr Ramaphosa revealed that the team that helped US President-elect Bill Clinton win the American election was due here soon to help the ANC hone its election strategy.

The ANC had budgeted R10 a voter — or R300-million — to fight the election and by the end of this month would put 107 campaign managers into the field to set up election branches.

Numerous ANC executives had already travelled abroad to collect funds for the campaign.

Mr Ramaphosa said he realised there was "a sense of disillusionment creeping in (because of the slowed political process), but this is the year we must have fundamental changes".

However, he said, the ANC did not regret withdrawing from negotiations in May last year.

"It helped bring the government to its senses. It was going through the motions at Codesa 2 and was not prepared to settle unless on its terms.

"Our withdrawal helped focus attention on the importance of the process and got the public discussing negotiations again and even marching in support of them."

Mr Ramaphosa said that, though the Record of Understanding had led to conservative parties withdrawing from negotiations and banding together, it had also given these parties the opportunity to articulate grievances and more closely examine their commitment to the negotiations process.



By SEKOLA SELLO

SA's deepening economic problems can only be resolved with the holding of democratic general elections before the end of the year.

Expressing concern at the country's worsening economic climate, ANC president Nelson Mandela said economic problems could only be resolved after elections and the installation of a democratic government.

Mandela was speaking at a press conference marking the 81st anniversary of the ANC in Johannesburg on Friday

# Elections this year, says Mandela

morning.

The ANC leader said: "We have constantly expressed grave concern about the state of the economy. We have gone out of our way to take specific measures to ensure this question is addressed."

He went on to say that the problems of the economy could not be addressed without the cooperation of business. He said he recently had a briefing with the presi-

dent of the South African Chamber of Business, Spencer Stirling, which had left him "hugely optimistic about the economy".

However, Mandela cautioned against expectations that the solution to the problems of "unemployment, landlessness, homelessness, hunger, diseases of poverty, of a disastrous educational system ... can be found overnight".

He further stated that

"any political arrangements enabling democratic rule will be nullified if we do not ensure a stable and growing economy. Both the workers and business ... have a crucial and decisive role to play".

ANC NEC member Joe Slovo said the government also shared the view that elections must be held soon in order to address the economic problem. "One Cabinet

minister even suggested jokingly that they must be held within two months," stated Slovo.

Although the ANC wants elections to be held this year, Mandela said they were not taking a rigid position on this and depending on circumstances, they might be held early next year.

As the organisation braced itself for possible elections, Mandela announced five key steps

that had to be taken this year.

These were

- Resumption of multi-lateral talks in Codesa;
- Ensuring a climate of free political activity in all parts of the country;
- The establishment of the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-structures as well as an Independent Elections Commission and Independent Media Commission so as to ensure free and fair elections;

- Elections for a Constituent Assembly; and
- An interim government of national unity before the end of 1993 and the reincorporation of the so-called independent bantustans.

Mandela said as soon as a Constituent Assembly was elected, it would start work on drafting and adopting a new constitution whose "critical element ... must be an entrenched and enforceable Bill of Rights which

would protect fundamental human rights and limit the power of any parliament to take away these rights".

To ensure that government was as close to the people as possible, the ANC also envisaged a strong, meaningful and representative regional and local government expressing the will of the people.

The ANC president said the current process of change could not be stopped or postponed through violence and subversion and those who harboured such thoughts must abandon them.

# Mandelas in public fight

STIMES  
By CHARLENE SMITH

10/11/93

NELSON and Winnie Mandela have had their first public spat since their separation early last year, after Mrs Mandela attacked the ANC's negotiations strategy this week as a "short-cut to parliament for a few individuals".

Speaking at the funeral of anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph in Soweto on Thursday, Mrs Mandela — ousted from her positions in the ANC last year following reports of corruption — said the present negotiations would not bring democracy to South Africa as they were being conducted between "the elite of the oppressed and the

oppressors".

11A  
Asked about his wife's comments at a press conference to present the ANC's policy direction for 1993 the next day, Mr Mandela said "the issue of whether the oppressed people support negotiations should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, no matter who they are. It should be judged according to what disciplined members of the organisation say".

"We have had no less than three conferences and many meetings of the national executive committee. They have all — usually unanimously — endorsed the tactic of negotiations," he added.



**ALLEGES 'DEALS' ...**  
Winnie Mandela

# Mandela brushes off Winnie's criticism

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday brushed aside comments by his estranged wife Winnie, who accused ANC leaders of cutting deals to share power with the government.

"ANC policies are not going to be judged by the expression of individuals no matter who they are," Mr Mandela told reporters without mentioning his wife by name.

CT 9/1/93  
"The ANC leadership takes decisions collectively following the wishes of its disciplined members. We are not cutting deals with the government," he said in reply to a question at a news conference marking the 81st anniversary of the ANC.

Mr Mandela said his movement was not conceding any of its principles.

Speaking on Thursday at the burial

of anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph, Mrs Mandela said negotiations would not bring democracy to South Africa as they were being conducted between the "the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors".

"Death may have favoured Mama (Joseph) by sparing her from the looming disaster in this country which will result from the distortion of a noble goal in favour of a short-cut

route to Parliament by a handful of individuals," she said.

"A leader is a person who has leadership qualities," Mrs Mandela added. "These qualities unfortunately have nothing to do with how many times you were detained, how many decades you spent in prison or how many years you spent in exile." — Sapa-Reuter

...reckless youngsters seems to be the more the merrier... down as temperatures  
Pic: MIKE MZILENI

# Great divide threatens ANC

By S'BU MNGADI

THE ANC faces an unprecedented rebellion in two of its three Natal regions.

To date this long-simmering tension between the militant Natal midlands and northern Natal regions and the National Executive Committee (NEC) has been kept secret.

A flurry of strongly worded letters have been flying to and from Maritzburg, Empangeni and Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg.

Yesterday ANC assistant general secretary Jacob Zuma led a high-powered delegation to Empangeni in northern Natal to try to suppress the rebellion. They were received without enthusiasm.

However, Zuma and other senior

ANC officials were this week still reluctant to lift the veil of secrecy surrounding the issue. "The issue has not yet been discussed openly in our ranks," said Zuma.

At the centre of the rebellion is the proposed summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The long-awaited one-on-one meeting is widely regarded as the only hope of stemming the spiral of political killing and mayhem in the country.

Not so, say the two war-ravaged Natal regions.

City Press can now reveal that Harry Gwala's Natal midlands and northern Natal regions, headed by University of Zululand lecturer Dr Aaron Ndloyi, defied a recent

NEC resolution and boycotted two high-powered, bilateral Inkatha-ANC meetings last month.

The meetings, which resume on January 15, were headed by Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

In this defiance, the two regions have been supported by the Natal region of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance.

The ANC's first NEC meeting, held at the University of Durban-Westville from November 23 to 25, included a six-member sub-committee to prepare for the meeting between Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart and their head committees.

The resolution stated the sub-committee would be joined by a delegate from each of the ANC's

three Natal regions.

The southern Natal region subsequently nominated its regional chairman, Jeff Radebe, to join the sub-committee.

But the regional conferences of the Natal midlands and northern Natal still opposed the NEC resolution and declined to nominate their delegates to sit on the sub-committee, City Press learnt this week.

No sooner had Zuma's sub-committee begun arranging the first round of talks, than Inkatha and the Natal tripartite alliance met and decided to revoke the NEC resolution.

Senior Natal ANC sources confirmed that the tripartite alliance wrote a strongly worded letter to the National Working Committee - the organisation's shadow cabinet -

■ To Page 2

## ANC regions oppose the NEC

From Page 1  
the tripartite alliance which decided to revoke the NEC resolution was "unrepresentative" and had no mandate.

In a bid to save the bilateral talks, Zuma's sub-committee met the Natal tripartite alliance on December 8, according to northern Natal secretary Senzo Mchunu.

Mchunu said it became apparent the meeting of

the tripartite alliance which decided to revoke the NEC resolution was "unrepresentative" and had no mandate.

But Natal midlands and northern Natal were still unshaken in their opposition to the proposed bilateral talks.

"Northern Natal decided not to join the bilateral talks until we had fully canvassed the posi-

tion with our constituency," the regional secretary said.

Mchunu's region yesterday held a consultative regional conference to which Zuma's sub-committee was invited.

The non-participation of the two regions meant the five sub-committees, set up at the Inkatha-ANC meeting on December 29, would be dominat-

ed entirely by the southern Natal region when they meet on January 15.

Realising that all was not well in the ANC camp at the last meeting, the Inkatha delegation put on record their concerns about the conspicuous absence of delegates of the two ANC regions. But the ANC swept the issue under the carpet.

# ANC spells out goals for year

ARG 11A  
9/11/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's top leadership yesterday committed itself to concluding a negotiated agreement that would lead to a government of national unity this year.

Mapping out a conciliatory vision of political progress for the year ahead, the ANC said 1993 should usher the country into a new era — with the first all-in elections ending white minority rule.

The ANC national executive committee's statement to mark the organisation's 81st anniversary was delivered yesterday in Johannesburg by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela said that although the ANC wanted the negotiations process to be as inclusive as possible, it would not allow the transition to be held hostage. "The elections cannot be delayed beyond 1993," he said. However, in reply to a question he said elections could be delayed until early next year if "unforeseen circumstances" developed.

An ANC anniversary statement says 1993 should herald a new era.

**ESTHER WAUGH, Weekend Argus Correspondent**

The ANC would not transform from a liberation movement to a political party before a fully democratic government has been installed. It was premature to talk of the ANC changing from a liberation movement until liberation had taken place, he said.

Observers noted that this statement was a clear notice that the ANC intended to contest the elections as a front with its allies. It also continued to allow the ANC to receive foreign funding.

The key steps to be undertaken this year were:

- The resumption of multi-party negotiations in Codesa.
- Ensuring a climate of free political activity.
- The establishment of the Transitional Executive Council.
- Elections for a constituent assembly.

■ Re-incorporation of the homelands.

Speed in the negotiations process was essential because the transition to democracy was the key to resolving the country's economic and social problems, he said.

In a clear reference to the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), Mr Mandela said: "There are those political formations which fear change and are totally opposed to democratic elections. They are products of apartheid thinking. They cling to ethnic fiefdoms and racism. Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party political and personal agendas they will confine themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly."

Mr Mandela and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa denied that the ANC was

conceding too much to the government in negotiations.

"We have not given too much to anybody, least of all the National Party. What we have done, we have done in the interest of the entire nation." Mr Mandela said.

He accused the National Party of using taxpayers' money to promote its own interests, and said it was due to the ANC's initiatives that foreign funding "exceeding R11 billion" had been donated to groups in the country to place resources before the majority of the population — which had not been done by the government.

Mr Mandela said a meeting three days ago with South African Chamber of Business president Mr Spencer Smith had left him "feeling optimistic about the economy".

■ Mr Mandela yesterday repeated an ANC announcement that the organisation had appointed an independent three-man commission to investigate torture in ANC camps. Its findings would be made public.

ARC 11/11/93

# Swedes lift the lid on (11A) ANC funding

**The Argus Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Swedish embassy has given details of its previously secret funding of the African National Congress. It amounts to about R50 million for the 12 months ending in June this year.

As with all Swedish aid programmes in South Africa for this period — R110 million in total — the focus was on assisting the democratic process, and development and education for the victims of apartheid, an embassy spokesman said in Pretoria.

In particular, Sweden is assisting ANC efforts in the negotiation process and ANC educational projects, the spokesman said.

Over the next two years Sweden's total South African aid package will be trimmed because of financial constraints.

Also, some aspects of ANC support are already being phased down, said the spokesman. These include bursaries and support for students abroad who are due to return home, and students finishing studies inside South Africa.

The total international project aid package for South Africa last year was R1 billion.

# ANC lauds talks decision

THE ANC yesterday welcomed the Concerned South Africans Group's decision to enter negotiations, saying Codesa talks were back on track.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group reached an agreement on Saturday to start convening a multiparty preparatory meeting to set up multilateral constitutional negotiations.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said his organisation welcomed the group's decision, but pointed out that some of its member parties had held back, saying they would have to refer the agreement back to their principals.

"Overall, the indications are that parties are prepared to enter negotiations and that is a good sign," he said.

11A BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

A senior government source said it was an extremely positive meeting. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said on Saturday "negotiations are back on track" and he hoped the preparatory meeting would take place next month.

With Inkatha eager to rejoin the process, the three major negotiating partners seem on track to getting the process moving, and Codesa-type negotiations could resume by March — the date set by government and endorsed by the ANC.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group agreed that all Codesa parties would meet to discuss the resumption

□ To Page 2

## Talks

of multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said there was an urgent need to hold elections as soon as possible.

Inkatha also announced it would be holding bilateral discussions with government soon. While no meetings had been scheduled, these talks would deal with Inkatha's specific problems and centre on the issue of federalism and regionalism.

CP spokesman Tom Langley said the Concerned South Africans Group's decision would be referred back to his principals.

Although government and the ANC have rejected a multiparty conference to review all Codesa agreements — a key Inkatha demand — both acknowledged a new Codesa could not be convened as some multilateral discussions had to take place to formulate the agenda.

It is understood that at the multiparty preparatory meeting, Codesa agreements will be placed on the table so parties can assess common ground.

Although Mdlalose said Inkatha was not bound by Codesa agreements, government sources believed Inkatha would find it difficult to maintain this position at multiparty talks.

"Deals get struck all the time in negotiations. That is what negotiations are all about. Inkatha made deals during Codesa II and they will probably make deals again in another multiparty forum," one government source said.

Valli Moosa said the ANC wanted to see multiparty negotiations resumed soon. The ANC did not want too many intermediary steps delaying the process. He said the bilateral discussions were aimed in part at working out the form and content of multiparty negotiations, and the ANC would be opposed to lengthy multilateral talks about the same issues.

He stressed that the parties entering the process for the first time would have to accept that negotiations could not start again from scratch.

From Page 1

11A BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

BIDAM 11/11/93

# Mandela replies to Winnie

B/DMY 11/1/93  
BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC had not conceded too much in negotiations with government and was on track in its objective of achieving a transition to democracy, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

Ramaphosa was responding to criticism from Winnie Mandela that the negotiation process could not deliver democracy as it was being conducted between "the elite of the oppressed and of the oppressor".

Ramaphosa said the ANC was confident it was on track to achieve the aims of the nation — the transformation of SA to freedom and democracy, and the organisation was doing only what was necessary to deliver true democracy.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, having stayed out of the fray initially, decided to comment on his estranged wife's statements, smacking her down publicly.

He said the issue of whether the oppressed people supported negotiations "should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, no matter who they are. It should be judged according to what disciplined members of the organisation say".

Mandela said there had been three national conferences and many national executive committee meetings where the disciplined members had endorsed — usually unanimously — the ANC's actions in negotiations.

"We have given nothing away to anyone. We have done only what we consider to be

in the interest of SA as a whole," he said, adding that he believed the NP and government also had not conceded too much in negotiations.

"It was said that government capitulated by signing the record of understanding. I do not think this is true. President F W de Klerk and the NP had the interest of the nation at heart and were doing what was best for the nation," Mandela said.

On a conciliatory note, he said the ANC was flexible on the date of elections, despite the NEC's statement insisting on elections this year.

Referring to the Concerned SA Group, he said there were those who feared change and were opposed to democratic elections. "They are products of apartheid thinking, fear the will of the people and so cling to ethnic fiefdoms.

"Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party political and personal agendas, they will confine themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly."

He indicated also that he had held talks with Sabac president Spencer Sterling on Wednesday and said that he was encouraged by the outcome and the confidence of Sabac that economic growth could be salvaged. "He gave me a very optimistic view," Mandela said.

## Sabax denies allegations

GAVIN DU VENAGE

SABAX yesterday denied allegations by a former employee that inadequate controls were applied in one of its manufacturing units.

US-trained pharmaceutical technician Di Parker, who spent about six years at Sabax, has claimed sub-standard techniques were used in the company's admix unit.

Parker's allegations followed the deaths of eight babies last September and were submitted in an affidavit to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres in November.

Parker said that intravenous link-bag solutions were returned from Coronation Hospital with complaints of a contamination growth in the drip bags.

These complaints were not investigated and the bags were thrown out instead of being examined, said Parker.

Sabax CE Ian Strachan said the company had, since 1988, "fully documented procedures" to deal with complaints; procedures which had been fully examined by the courts.

FOR  
AVA  
R

Market scans. Competitor analyses. Identifying channels. Finding partners for joint ventures. information. Procurement notices. Investigating opportunities. In fact all the information you you're planning offshore operations or exports. E



# MI accused of misleading world over bases in Transkei

Own Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM — South Africa's Military Intelligence (MI) is either mischievous or deliberately misleading the world by linking the Azanian People's Liberation Army to Transkei, says Apla chief Sabelo Phama.

In an interview at the weekend, Phama dismissed as "absolute nonsense" claims that Apla

had bases in Transkei and planned to infiltrate 500 fighters into the homeland defence force.

Phama said about Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa: "He is innocent. The Boers have a problem with him and want to implicate him. We have no influence over Holomisa's decision to arm the PAC leadership with pistols and we have no contact with him."

He said the SA Government

was mounting a propaganda campaign as an excuse to conduct a raid into Tanzania in pursuit of Apla cadres in order to appease whites. "But I warn De Klerk that his men will not return unscathed."

On the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into Apla activities, Phama said: "We will not go to Goldstone and we will not invite them to our camps."

Phama said Archbishop Des-

mond Tutu was misrepresenting Apla by saying the armed wing of the PAC was untrue to the principles of Africanism and PAC founder Robert Sobukwe.

"Tutu was never close to Prof (Sobukwe) nor is he in the Africanist camp to understand why he (Sobukwe) said at the time that we were not ready to kill. He was calling for a peaceful campaign against the pass laws.

"Sobukwe said that as the

struggle developed we would get purer ... and would be able to go into other areas of the struggle. There was never a time when Sobukwe could imagine a situation in which he could watch his people die."

Phama said Apla forces were in pursuit of specific "enemy agents" when they attacked partygoers at the King William's Town golf club on December 8.

# Talks break through - interim rule soon

Sowetan

11/11/93

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

■ **MULTI-PARTY TALKS** Negotiations

to press on within weeks:



**M**ULTIPARTY negotiations that will resume within weeks and elections for an interim government later this year have become a distinct possibility after a breakthrough during talks at the weekend.

The Government concluded successful talks on Saturday with the Inkatha Freedom Party-led Concerned South Africans Group and on Friday the African National Congress delivered its most conciliatory statement since negotiations collapsed last year.

White minority rule will effectively be ended towards the end of the year when, it is envisaged, elections for a constituent assembly are held and a new parliament came into being early next year, Mr Mohammed Valli

Moosa of the ANC's negotiations team said at the weekend.

And in a separate interview yesterday Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said he was confident that a planning meeting for the resumption of multiparty negotiations would take place "within a month".

Meyer was also optimistic that the inclusion of the administrations of the self-governing territories in the planning meeting could resolve the issue of the possible inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus in negotiations - a matter which caused Codesa much grief last year.

After Saturday's meeting IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose was cagey, but confirmed that his party was ready for a planning meeting for

the relaunch of Codesa.

Mr Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government, which together with the leaders of Ciskei, the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and IFP make up Cosag, said his administration was also prepared to meet for the planning of multiparty negotiations.

He emphasised, however, that Bophuthatswana was not a signatory of Codesa's Declaration of Intent and was, therefore, not bound to any decisions or agreements that had been reached at the convention.

Meyer and Moosa yesterday acknowledged that a new urgency had emerged over the past days in spite of reticence from certain quarters and vacillation from others.

## ■ HUNGER STRIKER

### Will scupper negotiations:

By Mokgadi Pela

Soweto

**T**HE Azanian Youth Organisation has just emerged from its congress in QwaQwa with a new president who believes that politics and the gun are inseparable.

Mr George Biya (27) of Phiri, Soweto, is makes no apology for this view. He says: "Azania was taken on the battlefield and we will certainly not get it at the negotiating table."

He does not mince words when speaking about his unflinching support for socialism, anti-collaboration stance and "engaging the system at all levels".

His involvement in politics dates back to 1983 when he joined the Azanian Student Movement. He left the country in May 1985 to join the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army.

Biya succeeded Mr Thami Mcerwa as president of the five-year-old organisation. Mcerwa, who is studying abroad, has survived many attempts on his life and has been detained several times.

Biya came back into the country as a unit commander of Azania and was arrested on June 21 at Ramatlabama, Bophuthatswana, after a skirmish with the security forces.

"When we were 10km into Bop comrade Mcoseli Mzwandile and I walked right into an ambush of the security forces and a skirmish erupted. Comrade Mcoseli was shot dead and I was captured."

"I was subjected to rigorous interrogation and kept in solitary confinement for 11 months at Rooigrond Prison. I was later sentenced to three years for possession of arms and ammunition," Biya said.

While serving the three-year sentence Biya was charged with robbery, attempted murder and murder.

"They convicted me of robbery after claiming we had robbed a Bop irrigation farm of two vehicles. Consequently, I had an additional 10-year sentence slapped on me."

While in prison Biya and other prisoners embarked on a historic hunger strike to force the authorities to release them. His co-hunger striker, Bushy Molefe, spent more than 60 days without food while Biya did not eat for 56 days. The hunger strikers were later freed.

On his release Biya organised for Azapo and Azayo and was appointed regional chairman of Azayo in Soweto.

## Biya File

Name George Biya

Age 27

Education Matric

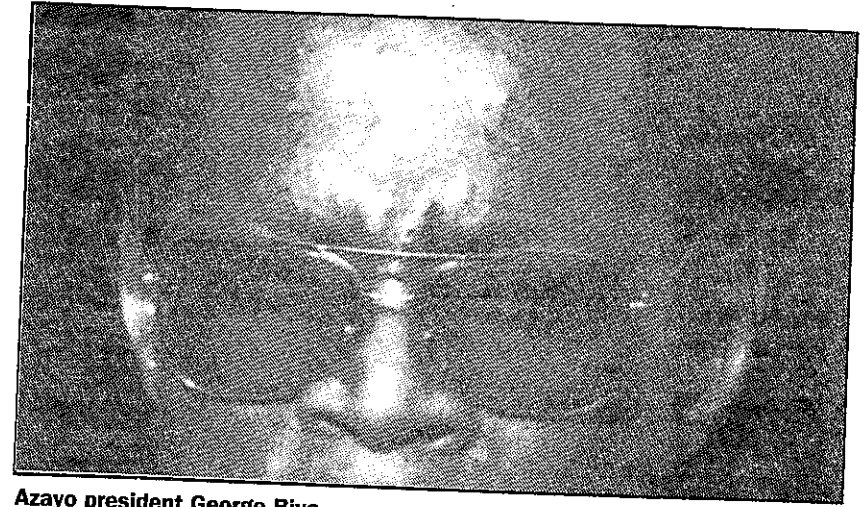
Favourite food Vegetable and fruit

Hobby: Scrabble, soccer and reading

In line with the congress theme *Organise and defend Chimurenga*, Biya said his organisation would do everything to "frustrate a Muzorewa option in Azania by employing any means necessary".

Azayo will also campaign strongly against the use of drugs and alcohol by youths.

Other members of the executive are deputy president Stanley Sigotyana, secretary-general Ludo Mashiloane, publicity secretary Thami Mkhwanazi and national organiser Tshehlo Mokiri.



Azayo president George Biya

# 'No PAC bases in Zimbabwe'

By Robin Drew  
Star Africa Service

HARARE — Zimbabwe last night categorically denied allegations that any PAC military bases existed on its soil.

Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said charges like that were groundless. Zimbabwe trained its own militia at Bindura and Gwanda, he said, and no training of liberation movements took place there.

He said the South African Government had made these accusations as an excuse for cross-border raids which could be timed to coincide with SA support, directly and indirectly, for Unita in Angola.

Zimbabwe favoured peaceful and positive developments in South Africa and deplored the violence, Shamuyarira said.

But the time had not come for a meeting between Presi-

dent Robert Mugabe and President FW de Klerk because the political situation had not changed despite positive moves.

He said Zimbabwe wanted to see the ANC, the PAC and IFP form a common front in the negotiations with De Klerk.

Suggestions in South Africa that Zimbabwe was not helping the peace process indicated confusion on the part of those who said this, he added.

# Gqozo promises to tell of Apla actions

EAST LONDON — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had new details of Apla activities in Transkei "which have implications" on negotiations, the ruling Ciskei Council of State said at the weekend.

The council said Gqozo would reveal details of Apla work in Transkei at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

"Confirmed intelligence reports have provided evidence of Apla linkage and collusion with other major players in southern Africa. He believes that, owing to the implications which they hold for the negotiation process, they should be announced to all concerned individuals," the statement said.

It is unclear whether Gqozo's impending revelations are related to the arrest of a group of PAC youths who allegedly attempted to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting near Dimbaza on Friday.

The youths were allegedly armed with homemade and automatic weapons.

SAP regional spokesman Captain Gary Maclaren said the weapons — R-1 and R-5 rifles — would be handed over to the SAP to investigate whether they were those used by Apla in its



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo . . . new details of Apla activities in Transkei.

attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown in November.

The seven youths are expected to appear in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court today.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata has disputed the claim that the youths were PAC members, saying he suspected they were members of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, was not available for comment yesterday. — Elnews.

# Govt-Cosag talks remove obstacle

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

A further hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been cleared in a crucial meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Government and Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria at the weekend to convene a planning conference.

The planning conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible route to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence on a conference of review — a precondition he has set to returning to the negotiating forum.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conference as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-Government meeting before commenting.

However, the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of talks.

In a brief joint statement after the Cosag-Government

meeting on Saturday, they said the planning conference should "assess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiation", and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a multiparty negotiating forum, the instalment of a transitional executive authority and elections for a constitution-making body.

The significance of the weekend's summit was that it facilitated contact between the Government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the Government and ANC reached a Record of Understanding in September.

Observers said the meeting also managed to bring the CP into some form of discussion and would get the party at least to discuss the pros and cons of multiparty talks.

The leader of the Bophuthatswana government delegation, Rowan Cronje, said after the meeting that "serious differences" still existed between Cosag and the Government.

The issues would be addressed at another meeting, for which a date was still to be set. These issues were bilateral agreements between the Government and ANC, the need for a transitional government, regionalism, and the status of decisions reached at Codesa.

# Sweden gives details of aid to ANC

STAR  
11/11/93

By Peter Wellman

The Swedish embassy has furnished details of its previously secret funding to the ANC, which totals about R50 million for the year ending in June this year.

As with all Swedish aid programmes in South Africa for this period (R110 million in total), the focus was on assisting the democratic process as well as development and education for the victims of apartheid, said an embassy spokesman in Pretoria on Friday.

In particular, Sweden was assisting ANC efforts in the negotiations process as well as ANC educational projects, the spokesman said.

In the next two years Sweden's total South African aid package would be trimmed because of financial constraints.

Also, some aspects of ANC support were already being phased down, the spokesman said. This included bursaries and support for students abroad who were due to return home, and students finishing studies inside South Africa.

There would be bigger cuts in aid to the ANC once the democratic process had produced elections or a new constitution, the spokesman said.

The total international project aid package for South Africa last year was R1 billion, said a UN Development Programme report, the first of its kind on SA.

The biggest chunk (R328 million) went to education.

And the biggest single donor was the European Community with R302 million, followed by the US (R224 million), Sweden (R159 million), Britain (R76 million) and Germany (R50 million).

A spokesman for the Australian embassy, which provided R15 million in project aid, said reports that R88 000 went for outright aid to the PAC were not correct.

As with most countries, aid was commonly channelled through non-governmental organisations, he said.

PAC members were among the beneficiaries.

Some were members nominated by the PAC, but aid was given purely for humanitarian and developmentally sound projects.

The embassy rejected violence, whether it came from the PAC's armed wing, Apla, or any other side, and favoured peaceful resolution of conflict, the spokesman said.

The most curious item in the UN report is R680 000 from the German embassy, in small grants, to support "the black arts and black media development".

The black arts usually means the dirtier side of espionage: extortion, blackmail, and murder, known as mailfist operations.

Some people also refer to Satanism as the black art — but the grants are for art and culture projects in black communities.

Patrick Laurence focuses on factors which could affect SA's first non-racial election

# Why ANC might not triumph

STAR 11/1/93.

11A (circled) ~~11A~~ (circled)

**T**HE countdown to South Africa's first national nonracial election has begun. So, too, have predictions on how the various political parties and organisations will fare.

With the election likely to take place by April 1994 at the latest, Nelson Mandela's ANC-led alliance is favoured by most political pundits to win — at the very least — a plurality of votes.

The ANC is seen as a South African equivalent of Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF or Sam Nujoma's Swapo; like them, it led the resistance which broke the old colonial or racial order.

As Zanu-PF was victorious in Zimbabwe's 1980 independence election and Swapo in Namibia's 1989 independence election, so, it is expected, the ANC will triumph in South Africa.

But an occasional dissenting voice has been raised, cautioning against equating the contemporary South African situation with those that pertained in Zimbabwe and Namibia.

RW Johnson, the South African-born Oxford lecturer, has done so eloquently. So, too, more recently, has Andrew Reynolds, who is doing research on South Africa at the University of California in the United States.

Reynolds is the author of an article entitled "A shock in the mak-

ing", which challenges the assumption of an ANC win.

Reynolds concludes that FW de Klerk's ruling National Party (NP) "will do much better than people have presumed" and that it may, with its allies, hold a majority of seats in the envisaged constituent assembly.

In his analysis — which assumes that the election will be held on the proportional representation or PR list system, with a five percent threshold — Reynolds predicts that the ANC will capture roughly 46 percent of the vote.

Of the rival contenders for power, only the NP, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), and a Conservative Party-Afrikaner Volksunie axis will obtain enough votes to cross the threshold and qualify for representation in the constituent assembly.

According to Reynolds, their percentage of the vote will be as follows: NP — 34 percent; IFP — 13 percent; CP-AV alliance — 6.5 percent. Collectively they represent a majority. Reynolds anticipates that they will form an alliance under De Klerk's leadership to exclude the ANC.

His analysis rests essentially on two pillars: first that De Klerk will capture a decisive majority of votes in the three minority communities, white, coloured and



In their footsteps . . . will Nelson Mandela (centre) succeed like Robert Mugabe (right) and Sam Nujoma?

Indian; second, that for a variety of reasons the ANC's strength in the black community — where it is easily the predominant force — will not translate into a commensurate number of seats in the constituent assembly.

Reynolds says several factors will combine to reduce the influence of the black vote generally and its potential to carry the ANC to power.

One is demography. The black community accounts for roughly 75 percent of the population. But, because nearly half of the blacks are under the voting age of 18, the proportion who will qualify as voters is 68 percent.

Another factor is the relatively small proportion of blacks who have identity books, 72 percent against nearly 100 percent for the

three minority communities. Assuming that identity books are used to identify voters and it is difficult to see how else polling officers will be able to distinguish South African citizens from cross-border migrants — that will also devalue the potential black vote.

Reynolds identifies further factors which may impact adversely on the ANC: the domination of the media by the white establishment and inhibitions which may cause black voters to stay away.

Reynolds identifies three groups of black voters who may not exercise their right to vote:

- Illiterate blacks. He quotes a Development Bank calculation that 55 percent of blacks are illiterate. Attempts to make ballot papers "illiterate friendly" will

not guarantee a high turnout.

"Illiterate people turn out in far fewer numbers through fear of the (voting) process."

- Blacks, including many ANC supporters, who anticipate an ANC victory and therefore will not bother to vote. Even if their numbers are small, they "could be influential".

- Blacks who will stay away from the polls if they anticipate that voting will trigger fresh violence or fuel existing violence. He quotes research which found that 16 percent of blacks will refrain from voting rather than risk their safety.

Unlike Zanu-PF and Swapo, the ANC may be deprived of the advantage of a leader still shrouded in the mystique of "the struggle".

Zanu-PF and Swapo fought elections within months of the return from exile of Mugabe and Nujoma; the ANC will go into an election some four years after the release of Mandela. Zanu-PF and Swapo were the beneficiaries of the unblemished heroic status of their leaders; after four years Mandela, while a formidable leader, is no longer a demigod.

The problem in assessing the chances of the various contenders for power in the pending elections are the imponderables, factors which may be decisive but which cannot easily be quantified.

One is last September's rap-

prochement between De Klerk and Mandela and their de facto agreement to a form of power-sharing in the new order. Will it commend or condemn them in the eyes of the electorate and, more particularly, their constituencies?

Will it render De Klerk vulnerable to the white right wing and Mandela to the radical Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)?

Another imponderable is the rise of Apla and the publicity which its attacks on whites gained for it and the PAC. Will it help or hinder the PAC in realising its potential as a force to be reckoned with?

A third unknown variable is the political import of growing inequality within the black community, where inequality is now not much lower than it is for South Africa as a whole. Does it create opportunities for the PAC or even the NP which, with its greater resources, may be able to buy votes?

With all these fluctuating factors to ponder, political strategists and psephologists are in for a hard time.

Let me, however, put my neck out with a prediction, guided as much by my viscera as my brain: the ANC, as the premier force of resistance to apartheid, will emerge from the first nonracial election with an overall majority rather than a mere plurality. □



## Academics to contest deportation

B12/193  
DIRK HARTFORD

THREE University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) academics — deported from the homeland on Friday for their alleged "radical" activities — will challenge their deportation orders in the Supreme Court in Mmabatho on Thursday.

None of the three — Roy Williams, Charl Williams and Jaya Ruthman — will be able to attend the court hearing because of their deportation orders.

Roy Williams — Unibo's communications department head until his deportation — said they would have to apply for visas and were unlikely to obtain these in time.

He said the Bophuthatswana government had alleged they were involved in a sustained plot to disrupt education in the region and that staff, students, parents and the university's management wanted them out.

However, he believed he was deported because of his membership of the ANC.

He believed he and his colleagues had "a lot of support" at the university and their deportation would cause further disruption on the troubled campus.

He had a "very positive" testimonial from a senior person in university management which he believed reflected the opinion of staff on the campus.

The deportation was a case of victimisation for political reasons, said Williams.

# SA on alert as cholera rages through region

B10/193  
12/1/93

THE Department of Health has stepped up measures to prevent a local outbreak of the cholera epidemic which has already claimed hundreds of lives in neighbouring countries.

The department said it was concerned that the epidemic could spread to SA, but there was no cause for alarm at present.

A department spokesman said there were presently only 11 "imported" cases of cholera. The infected people were either mine workers from neighbouring countries or people who had visited Mozambique shortly before falling ill, he said, adding that the cases had all responded well to treatment.

But, to be prepared, the department had alerted health authorities to the possibility of an outbreak and had launched cholera awareness campaigns at a local level, informing people of preventative measures such as boiling or chlorinating water.

It had also increased surveillance of sewage effluent with regular tests, and by increased monitoring of rivers and dams.

Although cholera could be spread through contaminated food, most epidemics occurred from contaminated drinking water. The people most at risk were those who did not have access to chlorinated and filtered tap water, the spokesman said.

He added that cholera germs had recently been detected in the sewerage system in

KATHRYN STRACHAN

western Transvaal mine hostels, but no cholera cases had been reported in the area.

This was not surprising as most people who were infected did not become ill even though they were excreting cholera germs, he said.

As the water supply and sanitation of these hostels was reticulated, major problems were not expected.

The germs had been found at these mine hostels during previous epidemics in the country without outbreaks in the hostels, he said.

Sapa reports that the Zambian government has postponed the opening of all schools in Lusaka for the first term because of the epidemic which had claimed 200 lives since November.

Zimbabwe had requested Z\$7m from the international donor community to deal with its cholera outbreak which had claimed 105 lives so far, Ziana national news agency reported yesterday.

Acting World Health Organisation representative to Zimbabwe Dr Nicholas Chimba said the WHO supported Zimbabwe's request and had agreed to provide the country with "emergency materials worth Z\$150 000.

## Inkatha and Azapo end feud

PEACE prospects in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal were improved yesterday when feuding organisations Inkatha and Azapo resolved to bury their differences.

The organisations told journalists in Johannesburg they had identified reasons for their feud, which had claimed at least five lives this year. These included:

- A lack of political tolerance among members;
- Declaration, by members, of certain areas as strongholds; and
- The involvement of a third party in the conflict.

WILSON ZWANE

The organisations said they had agreed on steps to restore peace in the township. These included ensuring that everyone had free access to public facilities, encouraging interaction where the two organisations co-existed and creating a forum at which political debates would be held.

The organisations also resolved to "expose" the involvement of a third party in their feud. Inkatha Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza and Azapo deputy national organiser

Monwabisi Duna would not say who the suspected "third party" was.

A peace rally would be held at the weekend.

Last week Inkatha, Azapo, the PAC and the ANC formed a joint committee to monitor the return of pupils to schools.

□ Sapa reports that the Goldstone commission in Port Shepstone heard yesterday that there had been a dramatic decrease in political violence in the area since a peace initiative was facilitated by a Commonwealth observer last month.

93

## Insurers tighten claims control

KATHRYN STRACHAN

WITH the AIDS pandemic and the recession causing a dramatic increase in ill-health and disability claims, the insurance industry has tightened claims control.

A new organisation, the Association of Insurance Medical Officers of SA (Aimosa), affiliated to the Medical Association of SA, has been formed to ensure medical evidence required by the insurance industry conforms to stringent standards.

"The need for such a body has become particularly acute in the face of recent developments in the health profile of the country," association chairman Dr Len Myers said.

"Of great concern is the escalating incidence of HIV infections, the increase in TB and a worsening economy, which has driven up claims on ill-health and disability.

"Claims have also been affected by less obvious considerations such as an increase in policy sales among the relatively more affluent, but higher HIV-risk population and the influx of some questionably qualified doctors from eastern Europe and Africa, whose services have been used for medical evidence."

Another spokesman, Dr Jack van Niftrik, said the recession and consequent retrenchments had resulted in a large number of fraudulent disability and even death claims.

"It is a lot easier for a company to persuade an employee that he is too disabled to continue working than it is to retrench him," he said.

# Black teachers threaten to strike

BIDM 12/1/93

KATHRYN STRACHAN

BLACK schools, which reopened yesterday, could be in for a repeat of last year's disruptions with teachers affiliated to the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) threatening possible strike action.

Sadtu assistant general secretary Thulas Nxesi said yesterday his union would protest against plans by the Department of Education and Culture to retrench about 3 200 teachers at 40 coloured schools.

But teachers would not strike before consulting all parties concerned, including pupils and parents.

Plans to retrench the teachers were suspended late last year when Sadtu teachers threatened to disrupt exams. But negotiations with the department failed to extract a guarantee that teachers would not be retrenched in the new year.

Black schools were desperately short of teachers, said Nxesi, and rather than retrenching teachers government should transfer them to schools where they were needed.

All the problems which triggered last year's "chalkdowns" still existed, he said. Teachers were still victimised for participating in union activities, despite the union being officially recognised, and the poor conditions at schools continued.

Nxesi said the most important task for the year ahead was to revive a

culture of learning and to develop a code of conduct.

Meanwhile, Judge Richard Goldstone yesterday announced that his commission was considering investigating violence and intimidation in schools, and requested people to submit any relevant information.

"In recent months the commission has received disturbing information concerning a number of incidents of violence and intimidation committed against members of the teaching profession and even in some instances on scholars," he said.

Sapa reports from Pietersburg that Azapo northern Transvaal spokesman Mautle Phasha yesterday called for an end to the disruption of education through teacher chalkdowns and the involvement of pupils in campaigns during school hours.

Department of Education and Training (DET) director-general Bernhard Louw said textbooks and prescribed books valued at more than R80m had been provided to black schools this year.

He said on the first day of the new school year, 2 374 public schools and 5 648 farm schools had registered with the DET, and more than 2.5-million pupils would enroll in public and state-aided schools.



DP leader Zach de Beer signs an autograph for Soweto member Domic Moyo at yesterday's opening of a new DP office in Kerk Street, Johannesburg. De Beer said the office was an early step on the road to massive voter contact by the DP. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

## Govt, ANC wash their hands of exiles

GOVERNMENT and the ANC yesterday denied responsibility for non-ANC exiles in Zambia who had been declared illegal immigrants by the Zambian government.

Both were responding to reports that 700 SA exiles had been declared illegal immigrants after failing to meet a UN High Commissioner for Refugees deadline to leave Zambia.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said there were "at most" between 150 and 200 ANC staff in Zambia, either because they were legitimately winding up ANC business in Lusaka or awaiting clarification of their indemnity status. Others were students.

"Our chief representative in Zambia is dealing with the Zambian government and

LLOYD COUTTS (11/1)

pending the outcome of that, (the matter) will be taken up by the ANC head office."

Asked about the non-ANC South Africans in Zambia, Niehaus said: "In that instance it is something for the government to deal with."

However, Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said his department had not been approached for assistance, and that the matter was between the ANC and the Zambian government.

"How can the state be involved if the people don't want to come back?" he asked.

The reluctant exiles said they feared township violence in SA.

# Cop informer fears for his life

*Sowetan* 12/11/93  
By Abbey Makoe

MR Chris Coetzee, the former police informer who this week made allegations about corruption by police at John Vorster Square, said yesterday he had received threatening telephone calls and feared for his life.

He said what had shocked him most was the fact that the telephone number at his present residence was not known to the police or many people.

Coetzee said the first call came from a man who identified himself only as Kelvin. The man told him: "I want to have your neck" and then hung off.

## Threats made after Coetzee makes allegations:

He said the second came from a Captain Du Plooy, whom he knew as commander of the Narcotics Bureau at John Vorster Square.

Du Plooy wanted to meet him "at the earliest possible time", Coetzee said.

Yesterday afternoon another policeman phoned. This time it was a Sergeant Meintjies, who said he was from the Narcotics Bureau. Coetzee said he asked his live-in partner to say he was not there.

Coetzee told *Sowetan* yesterday that he was still willing to testify in court

about the allegations of police corruption at John Vorster Square.

In startling disclosures published in *Sowetan* yesterday, Coetzee - who said he was a police informer since 1983 - claimed informers were being armed illegally with pistols, allowed to raid the homes of suspects and sometimes took part in interrogations of suspects.

In an affidavit Coetzee implicated several members of the SA Narcotics Bureau and the Langlaagte Dog Unit. *Sowetan* has forwarded the names of the implicated officers to the police.

# PAC says no to Goldstone

*Sowetan* 12/11/93  
By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress will not participate in the Goldstone Commission special inquiry into its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, as it did not see any need to do so.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said yesterday the decision was submitted to the commission on Friday after it received an invitation from the commission to testify at the committee hearing chaired by Mr Gert Steyn in Port Elizabeth.

"We have been asked by the commission to extend the invitation to Apla in Dar es Salaam. The commission informed us that it will consider travelling

## Apla will reply to invitation by commission itself:

to a neutral external venue should Apla make such a request," Seroke said.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg Seroke said Apla, which had also been asked by the commission to participate, would reply on its own behalf "if it so wished".

However, Apla chief commander Mr Sabeto Phama told *Sowetan* in an interview in Dar es Salaam that the commission was irrelevant as Apla cadres were being arrested, put on trial and sentenced and they would not co-operate with the commission.

Seroke said the commission had made available to the PAC, South African Police and South African Defence Force submissions to the committee

hearing.

"These included alleged locations of Apla bases in the Transkei; 201 pseudonyms of alleged Apla trainee graduates who are about to be infiltrated into the country from Uganda; names of the alleged commander and his deputy in the Apla high command and the alleged relationship between the PAC and Apla leadership.

"In our response to the commission we said we were already discussing the matter with its principal, the regime and have agreed with it in Botswana to continue with talks on armed struggle in the broader context of a political solution," Seroke said.

LLOYD COUTTS

## PAC refuses role in probe of Apla

THE PAC yesterday refused to take part in a Goldstone committee investigation into the activities of its armed wing Apla, saying it saw no need to do so.

The organisation told a news conference it had received an invitation to participate in the hearing in Port Elizabeth yesterday and had been asked to extend the invitation to Apla at its Dar es Salaam headquarters.

The PAC said, however, that during a bilateral meeting with government in Botswana last year, it had agreed to continue talks on the armed struggle "in the broader context of a political solution". The matter had been on the agenda in bilateral talks "and we do not see the need to present ourselves to this commission", said PAC

secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke.

Seroke said while there were no current talks with government, channels of communication remained open.

The Apla command would reply to the commission's request for its participation if it were deemed necessary. He said the

commission had informed the PAC it would consider travelling to a neutral venue should Apla make such a request.

He said the commission should not act as an inquisition into PAC affairs.

Sapa reports the Goldstone committee hearing preliminary evidence on Apla will sit next on January 18 in Pretoria.

# Apla chief spells out miss 'The liberation of Azania'

A-20  
12/1/93  
11A

Argus Correspondent THEMBA MOLEFE conducts a face-to-face interview with Sabelo Victor Phama, the Azanian People's Liberation Army's chief commander and Pan Africanist Congress secretary for defence, in Dar es Salaam.

**QUESTION:** As PAC secretary for defence, a political position which you hold, explain Apla's activities, plans and programme in the wake of the King William's Town killings of whites.

**ANSWER:** Firstly, let me correct you. We do not regard our struggle in black or white terms.

Apla is continuing with armed struggle, the objectives of the organisation of the Azanian masses as the PAC decided in 1961.

In other words, the strategic objectives of national liberation and self-determination have not been realised and so Apla is still having a mission to liberate Azania as we say the situation there is settler colonialism and we haven't shifted from that position.

Secondly, we know that our people are hardest hit at the moment and we are still being the last bastion of colonialism in the continent of Africa. So we have a very, very important mission of liberating Azania.

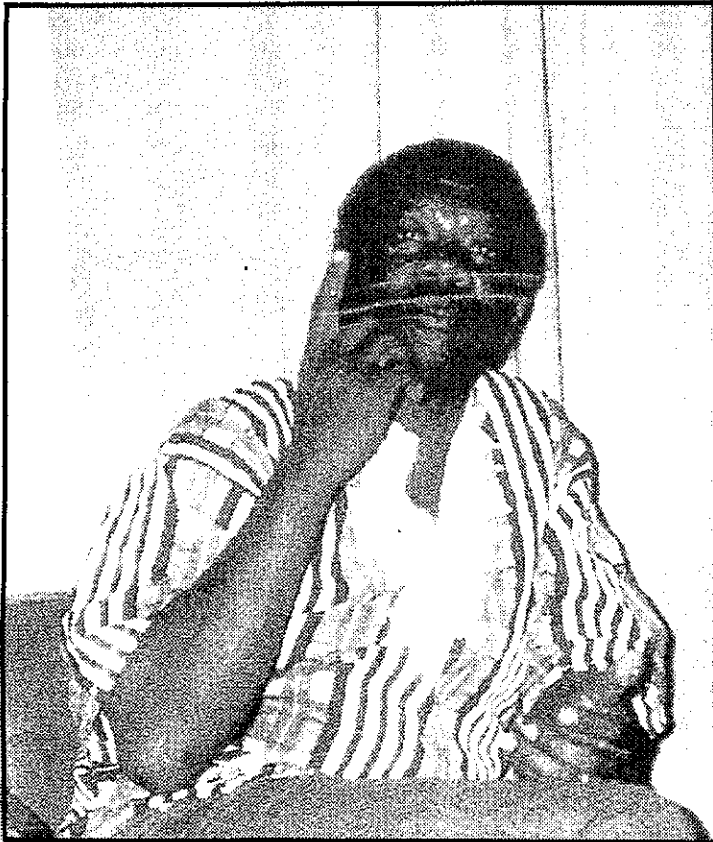
**Q:** A view is gaining ground that Apla is undermining the leadership of the PAC; it is a rampant loose cannon — the tail wagging the dog and is defying its political leadership.

**A:** I am the military spokesman of the PAC and it is unfair for the liberal Press to say Apla is defiant, a loose cannon and anti-white terrorist group. There are clear lines of communication between Apla cadres and the PAC leadership.

Importantly, the PAC is a political arm of the oppressed people whose leadership decided in a series of congresses after the banning of the organisation (in April 1960) that armed struggle must obtain and it formed an organ called Apla.

**Q:** Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha has accused Apla of being a "criminal hit squad". Is it perhaps because the PAC refuses to acknowledge collaboration with Apla and is thus "disowning" it?

**A:** At no time did the PAC tell Apla to do this or that. The only time the PAC leadership did that was to say the programme of liberation should continue.



**APLA CHIEF:** Commander Sabelo Phama ... "unfair to say Apla is defiant, a loose cannon and an anti-white terrorist group".

I must say that Pik Botha is trying unnecessarily to put the blame on the political leadership of the PAC by saying it should control Apla. The PAC is equally committed to a peaceful resolution of our crisis and did not indicate anything to the contrary.

We are not just bloodthirsty. We want the conflict to be resolved and that's our preference as a peaceful solution can be to the advantage of all of us.

But how do you continue waving the olive branch to an enemy that is bent on assassinating innocent people?

Violence is escalating in that country and the victims of that reactionary violence are the oppressed people.

Therefore Apla's offensive at the moment is essentially defensive when you look at the problem nationally.

**Q:** Was Apla responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack in which five whites were killed on December 8. If so, why did it choose that specific target?

**A:** Yes. Apla forces were in pursuit of enemy agents that were in the party in King William's Town. Secondly, that was not a wine-tasting party. There were lots of elements that attracted Apla there.

There were security forces who were equally responsible for repression and the monitoring of violent activities in that region. It is a fact that ex-servicemen and Selous Scouts in former Rhodesia were there in that party, perhaps even celebrating successes over Apla and the liberation movement in general.

Once again, the so-called civilian element in South Africa has a very thin line because all of them are armed with weapons of mass destruction. It would be understandable if a person is armed with weapons to protect himself, but not with offensive equipment which is supplied through licences provided by the racist regime.

We are not dealing with a purely civilian social force but a para-militarised civil

ian force — a militarised society.

**Q:** Is there any explanation as to Apla's timing? Why do you intensify your offensive when the PAC is talking to the government? For instance, the timing of Apla's attacks in the Eastern Cape is seen as a deliberate act to undermine the PAC leadership.

**A:** No, there is no plan to make the attacks coincide with the talks. Apla is continuing with its programme really and the King William's Town issue is being blown out of proportion.

We have no plans to sabotage those talks. Our intention is the liberation of Azania. Not talks-about-talks because these achieve nothing.

**Q:** Are you working in collaboration with the PAC leadership?

**A:** That's one part I wouldn't want to talk about because PAC operations are above-board party political activities while Apla's are underground operations. We haven't surfaced nor reached a stage where we can announce our plans.

**Q:** Is Apla now focusing on "soft targets" — white women, children, black policemen ...? How do you explain "target"?

**A:** Targets to Apla are security forces who are the pillars of the political arm of the minority regime. Secondly, all the instruments of power, including its economic base are targets. Thirdly, all the auxiliary forces that are supporting the regime, like Koevoet which is an extension of the South African Defence Force.

However, I have a problem with the term "soft target" because even children are taught in school to shoot and that there is a need to be armed in South Africa. In other words, immediately you teach a person to handle a firearm the issue of being a civilian is subject to debate.

For instance, in the countryside we have farmers who organise themselves into commando units, a machinery of repression. The rightwing element, AWB and Conservative Party,

**'We are not just bloodthirsty. We want the conflict to be resolved and that's our preference as a peaceful solution can be to the advantage of all of us. But how do you continue waving the olive branch to an enemy that is bent on assassinating innocent people?'**

□ □ □ □

**'I have a problem with the term "soft target" because even children are taught in school to shoot and that there is a need to be armed in South Africa. In other words, immediately you teach a person to handle a firearm the issue of being a civilian is subject to debate.'**

have made their own paramilitary arrangements because they have lost confidence in the South African Police.

And the target of that particular service is our people who are already suppressed and are without protection.

South Africa is highly militarised and most whites are trained to shoot and they belong to the citizen force. They can be called to take up arms at any time.

Interestingly, it is said Apla targeted a child of 14 or 15 years in Ficksburg. I ask whether that child was the target or caught in the crossfire or was she armed herself because we are told that they are taught firing at that level.

So, there is a need for thorough investigation relating to every civilian case. But Apla continues with its main targets, the pillars of the racist regime and its support structures.

**Q:** Are you saying all targets are the same to Apla, that there is no "soft target"?

**A:** No, I am saying that in the South African context the issue of soft or hard targets is a controversial one. We look at particular targets, the Askaris for instance, Koevoet, Battalion 32 and forces bent on destroying the masses.

Also, there is no difference between a black and a white policeman as they perform the same duties and carry out the same in-

structions, especially against the liberation movements in general.

**Q:** A special committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Port Elizabeth is investigating Apla's activities. What is your response?

**A:** The Goldstone Commission was appointed by De Klerk in terms of the National Peace Accord which we do not recognise. For us to be pushed into that commission is not fair because De Klerk continues to take us to court, anyway. He is doing it efficiently because if Apla cadres are arrested they are taken to court and sentenced. So why bring in the Goldstone Commission.

We will not go to Goldstone and we will not invite them to our camps.

**Q:** Where are Apla bases?

**A:** Apla is in Azania and Africa. I will not explain that, but the notion that the main force of Apla is outside Azania is not true.

Definitely, Apla cadres are inside the country. You see, when you are engaged in guerrilla warfare you do not need bases because we are engaged in a people's war.

**Q:** What do you say to the claims that you have bases in Transkei and your cadres are being trained there.

**A:** Let me clear this: we do not have bases in Transkei or any region in Azania.

But let me explain the General Holomisa factor. He is innocent and the Boers have a problem with him and want to implicate

erations from Transkei or with Holomisa. He does not supply us with arms.

South Africa's military intelligence is either playing a trick of misinforming the world or is really ignorant if it can feed the international community with such stories.

It is absolute nonsense and mischievous to push a line that Apla has a plan of absorbing 500 fighters into the Transkei Defence Force.

Also, we have no influence over Holomisa's decision to arm the PAC leadership with 9 mm pistols as reported and we have no contact with him.

Surely, he is doing that because of the state of violence in the country and not because he is pushing our line and he has said he will do that with anyone, including the ANC.

We are also aware that in order to appease whites the South African government is mounting a propaganda campaign which could lead to a full-scale cross-border raid into Tanzania.

"But I warn De Klerk that his men will not return unscathed."

**Q:** What do you mean by saying 1993 is the "Year of the Storm"?

**A:** It is nothing extraordinary as it means we will be increasing our activities and continue with our programme on all fronts.

**Q:** Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu says Apla is being untrue to the principles of Africanism and PAC founder Robert Sobukwe. Is this true?

**A:** No. He is misrepresenting Africanism and Prof (Sobukwe). Tutu was never close to Prof, nor is he in the Africanist camp to understand why he said at that stage that we were not ready to kill. He was calling for a peaceful campaign against the pass laws at the time.

He said as the struggle develops we get purer and purer and are able to go into other areas of struggle.

In other words, there was never a time when Sobukwe could imagine a situation in which he could really watch his people die. He would not support Tutu's utterances today.

# A mission to liberate the masses



Sowetan 12/1/93

Face-to-face interview with **Sabelo Victor Phama,**

*Apla chief commander and Pan Africanist Congress*

*secretary for defence:*

**EXCLUSIVE By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

**Q: As PAC secretary for defence, a political position which you hold, explain Apla's activities, plans and programme in the wake of the King William's Town killings of whites.**

**A:** Firstly, let me correct you. We do not regard our struggle in black or white terms.

Apla is continuing with armed struggle and the organisation of the Azanian masses as the PAC decided in 1961.

In other words, the strategic objectives of national liberation and self-determination have not been realised and so Apla is still having a mission to liberate Azania as we say the situation there is settler colonialism and we haven't shifted from that position.

Secondly, we know that our people are hardest hit at the moment. We are the last bastion of colonialism in the continent of Africa. So we have a very, very important mission of liberating Azania.

**A view is gaining ground that Apla is undermining the leadership of the PAC; it is a rampant loose cannon - the tail wagging the dog, defying its political leadership.**

I am the military spokesman of the PAC and it is unfair for the liberal Press to say Apla is defiant, a loose cannon and anti-white terrorist group. There are clear lines of communication between Apla cadres and the PAC leadership. Importantly, the PAC is a political arm of the oppressed people whose leadership decided in a series of congresses after the banning of the organisation (in April 1960) that armed struggle must obtain and it formed an organ called Apla.

**Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha has accused Apla of being a "criminal hit squad". Is it perhaps because the PAC refuses to acknowledge collaboration with Apla and thus "disowning" it?**

At no time did the PAC tell Apla to do this or that. The only time the PAC leadership did that was to say the programme of liberation should continue.

**Was Apla responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack in which five whites were killed on December 8? If so, why did it choose that specific target?**

Yes. Apla forces were in pursuit of enemy agents that were in the party in King William's Town. Secondly, that was not a wine-tasting party. There were lots of elements that attracted Apla there.

There were security forces who were equally responsible for repression and the monitoring of violent activities in that region. It is a fact that ex-servicemen and Selous Scouts in former Rhodesia were at that party, perhaps even celebrating successes over Apla and the liberation movement in general.

Once again, the so-called civilian element in South Africa has a very thin line because all of them are armed with weapons of mass destruction. It would be understandable if a person is armed with weapons to protect himself but not with offensive equipment which is supplied through licences provided by the racist regime.

We are not dealing with a purely civilian social force but a para-militarised civilian force - a militarised society.  
**Is there any explanation as to Apla's timing? Why do you intensify your offensive when the PAC is talking to the Government? For instance, the timing of Apla's attacks in the Eastern Cape is seen as a deliberate act to undermine the PAC leadership.**

No, there is no plan to make the attacks coincide with the talks. Apla is continuing with its programme, really, and the King William's Town issue is being blown out of proportion.

We have no plans to sabotage those talks. Our intention is the liberation of Azania. Not talks about talks because these achieve nothing.

**Are you working in collaboration with the PAC**

**Apla is continuing with the armed struggle and the organisation of the masses as the PAC decided in 1961**

**leadership?**

That's one part I wouldn't want to talk about because PAC operations are above-board party political activities while Apla's are underground operations. We haven't surfaced or reached a stage where we can announce our plans.

**Is Apla now focusing on "soft targets" - white women, children, black policemen . . . ? How do you explain target?**

Targets to Apla are security forces who are the pillars of the political arm of the minority regime. Secondly, all the instruments of power, including its economic base are targets. Thirdly, all the auxiliary forces that are supporting the regime, like Koevoet which is an extension of the South African Defence Force.

However, I have a problem with the term 'soft target' because even children are taught in school to shoot and that there is a need to be armed in South Africa. In other words, immediately you teach a person to handle a firearm the issue of being a civilian is subject to debate.

For instance, in the countryside we have farmers who organise themselves into commando units, a machinery of repression. The rightwing element, AWB and Conservative Party, have made their own para-military arrangements because they have lost confidence in the South African Police.

And the target of that particular service is our people who are already suppressed and are without protection. South Africa is highly militarised and most whites are trained to shoot and they belong to the citizen force. They can be called to take up arms at any time.

Interestingly, it is said Apla targeted a child of 14 or 15 years in Ficksburg. I asked whether that child was the target or caught in the crossfire or was she armed herself because we are told that they are taught shooting at that level.

So, there is a need for thorough investigation relating to every civilian case. But Apla continues with its main targets, the pillars of the racist regime and its support structures.

**Are you saying all targets are the same to Apla, that there is no 'soft target'?**

No, I am saying that in the South African context the issue of soft or hard targets is a controversial one. We look at particular targets, the askaris for instance, Koevoet, Battalion 32 and forces bent on destroying the masses. It is aluta continua.

Also, there is no difference between a black and a white policeman as they perform the same duties and carry out the same instructions, especially against the liberation movements in general.

**A special committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry in Port Elizabeth is presently investigating Apla's activities. What is your response?**

The Goldstone Commission was appointed by De Klerk in terms of the National Peace Accord which we do not recognise.

**Where are Apla bases?**

Apla is in Azania and Africa. I will not explain that but the main force of Apla is not outside Azania.

Definitely, Apla cadres are inside the country. You see, when you are engaged in guerilla warfare you do not need bases because we are engaged in a people's war.

**What do you say to the claims that you have bases in Transkei and your cadres are being trained there.**

**A:** Let me clear this: we do not have bases in Transkei or any region in Azania.

LLOYD COUTTS

## PAC refuses role in probe of Apla

THE PAC yesterday refused to take part in a Goldstone committee investigation into the activities of its armed wing Apla, saying it saw no need to do so.

The organisation told a news conference it had received an invitation to participate in the hearing in Port Elizabeth yesterday and had been asked to extend the invitation to Apla at its Dar es Salaam headquarters.

The PAC said, however, that during a bilateral meeting with government in Botswana last year, it had agreed to continue talks on the armed struggle "in the broader context of a political solution". The matter had been on the agenda in bilateral talks "and we do not see the need to present ourselves to this commission", said PAC

secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke.

Seroke said while there were no current talks with government, channels of communication remained open.

The Apla command would reply to the commission's request for its participation if it were deemed necessary. He said the

commission had informed the PAC it would consider travelling to a neutral venue should Apla make such a request.

He said the commission should not act as an inquisition into PAC affairs.

Sapa reports the Goldstone committee hearing preliminary evidence on Apla will sit next on January 18 in Pretoria.



# Decision on Apla subpoenas delayed

By Helen Grange (2/2) (11A)

try from Uganda. 12/11/93.

The Goldstone Commission will decide on Monday whether to subpoena members of the PAC and Azanian People's Liberation Army, following their refusal to appear before a hearing into Apla activities yesterday.

Explaining the PAC's absence, the organisation's political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said at a press conference in Johannesburg that the PAC was discussing the matter with the Goldstone Commission's "principal, namely the regime", and therefore saw no need to attend the inquiry.

The Apla commander would respond on behalf of Apla should he think it necessary, Seroke said.

He said the Goldstone Commission had supplied the PAC with a copy of the police submissions concerning the organisation.

The submissions had outlined, among other things, the alleged locations of Apla bases in Transkei and 201 pseudonyms of alleged Apla trainee graduates about to be infiltrated into the coun-

The Star's Own Correspondent reports that during yesterday's Goldstone committee hearings in Port Elizabeth, SADF counsel Danie Pretorius said the PAC and Apla should be subpoenaed, but if no one came forward to give evidence, the committee should make a finding based on the information before it.

Counsel for the SAP also asked the committee to subpoena the witnesses. The police had a list of PAC and Apla members which it could make available.

● Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last night said the police would not testify before Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa's proposed commission of inquiry into Apla as the SAP had already testified on the matter before the existing Goldstone Commission.

Interviewed on TV1's *Agenda* programme, he said he was willing to accede to a request from Holomisa for access to the SAP's evidence given to the Goldstone Commission in Port Elizabeth last week.



sets 2001 rises 0550  
rises 2347 sets 1224

# Sweden defends ANC funds

DURBAN. — The Swedish government has defended its decision to fund the African National Congress in spite of criticisms from a string of other South African political parties.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has joined other South African political parties in criticising the Swedish government for announcing it will provide financial support to the ANC.

Sweden said last week it would

provide money openly for the first time to the ANC.

Sweden's political secretary Mr Frederik Jorgensen said it was no secret that Sweden had for years supported the ANC, saying every donor nation favoured one organisation or another.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a statement yesterday the party was not surprised at Sweden's decision to continue supporting the ANC in

the period leading up to South Africa's first democratic elections (IA) 07131193

Dr Mdlalose said Sweden's assistance would greatly benefit the ANC as money was a key to successfully contesting elections.

"But," he added, "irrespective of such logistical support, the future shape of South Africa will be determined by South Africans, including ourselves." — Sapa-AFP

... sweet upheld

B1077  
13/1/93

**ANC to lead** (114)

ANC members were free to join KwaNdebele's ruling party In-tando Ye Sizwe (IYP), provided the IYP accepted the ANC's leadership in the forthcoming elections, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

BENNY ALEXANDER

# Leader of the PAC

*FW 11/12/92*

The absurdity of suddenly turning to outright terrorism while negotiating with government is lost on Pan African Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander — a former Baptist deacon and regular church-goer.

His "only regret" about the King William's Town killings, recently carried out by the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), is that "lives of innocent people have to be used as an example to demonstrate a truth that affects the lives of the vast majority of the country." He says the slogan "one settler, one bullet," is "part of Apla's psychological warfare."

He says he simply wouldn't know if Apla was responsible for the attacks. He considers it racist that people can fathom independence between the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Fein, while failing to see a similar relationship between the PAC and Apla.

Alexander (37) is a dogged exponent of the PAC, which he joined in 1983. These days he denies any PAC ambivalence about taking part in talks, though not long ago he predicted their failure because "there is no way negotiations could be regarded as a panacea for all our social malaise."

He sees negotiations and armed struggle as "two legs of one strategy." He explains: "The likelihood is that we will not agree, and if those things were rightfully mine from the beginning and I want them returned, then I might have to consider using some force alongside my kind persuasions."

He believes that his early support of workers' rights put him in the leadership role. "I do not have the normal qualifications — decades of involvement in the struggle, exile, the taking up of arms — to hold a senior post in the liberation movement. I came in via the working class, who wanted someone from their own ranks in the leadership."

Born in Florianville, Kimberley, Alexander moved to Johannesburg after matriculating. He is a bachelor and lives in the (formerly) coloured area of Ennerdale.



Alexander ... negotiations and force are "two legs of one strategy"

From 1975 to 1981 he worked for the Department of Manpower, dealing with worker complaints. In 1982 he went to work full-time for the Baptist church as a leader in its youth ministry. He is a committed Christian ("very much so") and served as a deacon until he became "too involved in politics."

The first union he helped to form was the Black Health & Allied Workers' Union of SA. In 1986 he joined the SA Black Municipal & Allied Workers' Union, "which was responsible for a string of municipalities collapsing." He also made a controversial move that year when he began organising the hated Blackjacks (municipal police) in the Vaal Triangle into a union and "turning them around" politically. He says fear of reprisals by government led him to leave the unions.

From there, he began work in the underground structures of the PAC. Early on he had been profoundly influenced by "the great Robert Sobukwe." The PAC founder had been banished to Kimberley after his release from Robben Island in 1969.

"I sometimes took my cases to him. He was a lawyer. He was extremely articulate, loved by the masses and he was a most feared man. I always used to say when I was a little boy that one day I will be like Sobukwe." ■

## LEWIS FOLB

### Finding reasons to smile

Lewis Folb remains unperturbed by the massive shake-out in the computer industry. The SPL Group MD is still smiling because he has seen the computer software and services company he runs grow steadily since it was listed seven years ago.

After a slump in earnings in financial 1991, SPL bounced back with a 28% increase in turnover to R51m for the half-year to end-August. Though many computer companies are retrenching staff, SPL has increased its staff complement by almost 20% to 500 in the past year.

Folb (47) grew up on a farm near Standerton in the south-eastern Transvaal. His lawyer father had turned to farming, rather unsuccessfully, after World War 2. But he remembers a happy childhood despite the lack of money and electricity.

He first encountered city life when boarding at Jeppe Preparatory, going on to Jeppe High School in Johannesburg. He qualified as a math teacher from the Johannesburg College of Education, but in 1968, after teaching for two years in Vereeniging, he decided to move into business.

"I figured the only thing a teacher could

do was sell. Selling and teaching mean you have to put a point across that your audience does not necessarily want to hear."

After responding to five newspaper ads, he landed a sales job with Computer Bureau (now MCS in Cape Town). "The computing industry was still in its infancy and I knew little about selling and even less about com-



Folb ... "I chose a wonderful industry"

puting. But in spite of my random choice, I chose a wonderful industry."

It did not take him long to set up his own software company, which he merged in 1972 with SPL. He established a division for the newly launched ranges of minicomputers and became involved in broader marketing and sales activities. In 1984 he was appointed MD and the following year he listed SPL. With the listing, Folb was named MD of the SPL Group, which comprises Systems Programming, Computerised Personnel Systems and Computer Personnel. In 1990, the Computer Society of SA named him Computer Personality of the Year.

He says the software industry has given him the opportunity to be involved with innovative and intellectually stimulating people. And he values the fact that, being relatively young, the industry is not burdened by traditional business attitudes toward women. Of the 10 directors on SPL's board, four are women. And his two youngest sons attended the company's on-site creche in Rivonia.

Folb, who has a daughter in the US and a son in computing in Cape Town, still yearns for the farm life. He and his wife, Lorraine, live on a 2,5 ha property outside Johannesburg, but he needs to get out to the bush as often as possible. A favourite getaway is their holiday home near Nelspruit overlooking the Crocodile River.

Though he denies having unfulfilled ambitions, he says he would love to have been an experienced lawyer in the new SA. ■

C-IFP rivalry, will sit in Empani today to hear preliminary submissions from people on the north coast. The committee, chaired by Malcolm Wallis, sat in Port Shepstone on Monday.

## Attack on wilderness slammed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Conservationist Ian Player said yesterday Richards Bay Minerals was insulting several religions by attacking the wilderness concept.

Player, founder of the Wilderness Leadership School, was commenting on a 15-page sponsored survey on RBM in Leadership magazine.

In the survey, RBM's public relations head Barry Clements was quoted as saying: "This talk of saving St Lucia by preventing mining is one of the biggest hoaxes in the annals of SA conservation."

"The anti-(mining) lobby would sacrifice massive benefits to the people of SA on the altar of a white elitist spiritual yearning for a wilderness experience..."

Player said: "To mock any of the spiritual aspects of wilderness is to mock every major religion in the world; both Mohammed and Christ spent time in the wilderness as did many of the Hindu prophets."

He challenged RBM to disclose how much it was spending on its PR campaign. "If we had one-tenth of their PR money we would be able to tell the full story."

RBM spokesman Norman Clements said the cost of the articles had been offset by supporting adverts from other companies, and the final cost to RBM had not been calculated.

Bay of Quendale yesterday. Salvage experts believe the ship is broken in at least four pieces

# CP 'prepared to talk to SACP and ANC'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE CP had tacitly shifted its negotiation policy and was prepared to bargain a future with the SACP and the ANC, a senior CP source said yesterday.

He said the CP had consistently rejected "supping with the devil incarnate", and the fact that President F W de Klerk had chosen to negotiate with the SACP had been a major thrust of the CP's campaign to discredit him over the past two years.

"But now we are prepared to enter into discussions with these groups. It is a clear implication of our decision to participate in a multiparty planning conference agreed to with government at the weekend," he said.

He said CP leader Andries Treurnicht's statement on Monday had not contradicted this decision. All parties of the Concerned South Africans Group had rejected Codesa and the planning conference would decide what kind of negotiating forum would be set up. It could be exactly the same as Codesa, he said.

He also said the CP, though insisting that self-determination was non-negotiable, would be prepared to put this on the table when the chips were down. "We will cross that bridge when we come to it."

He said a careful look at Treurnicht's

statement would show that while the leader said self-determination was non-negotiable, "his later point on regions or states deciding on functions to be retained or given to central government informs on his first point".

He said Treurnicht clearly acknowledged a central government but insisted on it not having the determining role of functions and duties to be devolved to regions.

"Like (Inkatha leader) Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's new constitution, we want a bottom-up method, not a top-down one," he said.

He denied allegations that the Concerned South Africans Group was in the process of splintering, saying it had won large concessions in the two-day talks with government "and is the hope of the nation to bring fairness and sense into the negotiations process".

He said there were clear acknowledged differences within the group, but the parties were bound together by a common rejection of a unitary state, and opposition to government and the ANC making decisions for the country without consultation.

## Peace accord steps up efforts

WILSON ZWANE

THE national peace committee will step up efforts this year to make the national peace accord felt at grassroots level.

The committee's executive will meet in Johannesburg tomorrow. Spokesman Val Pauquet said yesterday the meeting would evaluate the organisation's progress and special attention would be given to "socio-economic" strategies to rebuild violence-ravaged communities.

Pauquet said it was committee chairman John Hall's feeling that the peace accord would have an impact only if it filtered down to grassroots level. That could be done by undertaking socio-economic reconstruction projects.

Tomorrow's meeting would also continue with its attempts to convene a meeting of the signatories to the accord, Pauquet said.

The signatories' meeting was to have taken place tomorrow, but Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would not

attend it before a meeting between himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela has said repeatedly peace interests would be served better by a signatories' meeting than a one-on-one meeting between himself and Buthelezi.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the meeting of the two leaders was still on the cards.

Working groups, set up last year to deal with the leaders' preconditions for their meeting, were still meeting.

It is understood that tomorrow's meeting will consider also a request by the National People's Party to join the peace accord.

Pauquet said the committee would hold discussions with various organisations, including the PAC, with a view to getting them to sign the peace accord.

and the DP cost to RBM had not been calculated.

taken place tomorrow, but Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would not

cluding the PAC, with a view to getting them to sign the peace accord.

# Discipline culprits who disrupted township meeting, DP demands

THE DP yesterday accused the ANC, Azapo and the PAC of an inability to control their grassroots supporters, following Monday night's disrupted meeting in the Cape Town township of Guguletu.

The ANC, however, denied it had any part in starting the chaos that erupted at the DP meeting, and said it was nonsense to suggest a split between the "moderate leadership" and "militant membership" in the organisation. *BLOOM 13/11/93*

ANC western Cape spokesman Willie Hofmeyr admitted ANC supporters had chanted slogans during the fracas, but said the eight regional executive committee members present had calmed ANC supporters down, and had successfully advised them to leave the meeting.

DP MP Robin Carlisle said ANC regional executive committee member Tony Yengeni had set the scene for the disruption by whipping up anti-DP sentiment in an "inflammatory" statement last week which claimed DP support for massacres of ANC cadres.

Hofmeyr denied this. "It was quite muted criticism of the DP seen in relation to the type of criticism they made of the ANC over the past few months."

## LLOYD COUTTS

An ANC investigation into the disruption of a DP meeting in December would be discussed next week, he said.

DP western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh demanded that "at the very least" the organisations should take disciplinary action against guilty individuals.

The DP would initiate discussions with the ANC, PAC, Azapo and other organisations involved "concerning the intimidation of our supporters and the freedom of all parties to organise in all communities".

Azapo and the PAC were not available for comment. *(111)*

Sapa reports from Cape Town that the NP has condemned the disruption of the DP meeting.

Public Enterprises Minister and Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers said it was unacceptable that the right of political parties to freely express their views without intimidation be marred in such a way.

The NP demanded clarification from the ANC, PAC and Azapo leaderships on their stance regarding the actions of "their rowdy supporters".

# Koevoet in crime fight

STEPHEN COPLAN

FORMER members of Koevoet, the controversial police counter-insurgency unit, were chalking up successes as trackers in hunting down stock thieves, drug pedlars and poachers, Law and Order spokesman Gen Leon Mellet confirmed yesterday. *BLOOM*

Most of the former front-line fighters were Namibians deployed in the crime investigations support unit, a police spokesman said.

Koevoet was officially disbanded last August.

The men had done "outstanding work" and were regarded as the best trackers in the world.

Their unit, not entirely comprised of former Koevoet members, had recovered several million rands of dagga and had taken part in other successful investigations, including the apprehension of murderers, a police statement said.

The unit had recovered 7 150 stolen cattle, 2 531 sheep and 2 593 goats.

It had also recovered household goods to the value of R2m, as well as making 437 arrests for house-breaking and theft, 315 for possession of dagga, 41 for murder, 44 for attempted murder and 779 for cattle theft, police said. *13/11/93*

# Carel Boshoff nominated for peace prize

*BLOOM 13/11/93*  
LONDON — Right-wing SA theologian Prof Carel Boshoff has been nominated for the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize by Belgian neo-fascist group Vlaams Blok.

The organisation, which has 18 members in the Belgian parliament, has written to the Nobel Peace Prize committee in Oslo

## VICTORIA HOLDSWORTH

praising the 65-year-old academic for establishing Orania, the whites-only Afrikaner "Volkstaat".

"Prof Boshoff's idea will help the peace in SA in a non-violent way," a Vlaams Blok spokesman explained.

The nationalist group,

which was set up in 1978, is closely linked to the resurgence of nationalism in Europe, including Jean-Marie le Pen's National Front in France and the German neo-Nazi Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD).

The organisation has an openly racist agenda.

New understanding must be sold to followers, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

# At last, a shared NP-ANC goal

STAN 13/1/93

11A

11A

IT is now clear that the fresh energy which has infused the negotiations process was provided by the extraordinary Government/ANC *bosberaad* in the northern Transvaal in early December last year. In an historic piece of good timing, these two key political players met in private in an identical mood.

Gone was the penchant for pointscoreing, replaced by a shared desire — and a desperate one at that — to move the stalled transition to its next phase. It was broadly agreed that all other matters should, until that goal is achieved, be relegated to secondary status. Both sides agreed that they bore joint responsibility for ensuring that the process moves forward.

It is on this joint resolve, personified by leaders De Klerk and Mandela, that hopes for tangible progress in 1993 largely rest. Therefore, aside from the important issue of whether other significant players can be drawn into full participation, the major political question facing South Africa is whether the informal De Klerk/Mandela concord is hardy enough to weather the inevitable

storms between now and the day that interim government begins.

The question can be put in another way: is there any opposition within the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee to the path the two leaders have chosen — and if so, is this sufficient to pose dangers to the concord itself? A further crucial question, beyond the scope of this argument, is the kind of mood the National Party's and the ANC's "masses" are in, and are De Klerk and Mandela on solid ground in the eyes of their lieutenants?

Settlement-oriented leaders are undoubtedly in charge at both the Union Buildings and Shell House at the moment. The proto-purge of the security forces, the convergence of transition timetables, the quiet decline of mass action, and the soft tone of Mandela's January 8 statement are but some indicators, among many, that the disastrous, destructive events of last year have considerably strengthened the hands of the conciliators on both sides.

The situation is of course fluid enough to change quickly, but for the moment the hardliners are in the minority.

This is not to say that they are silent, or inactive. If Chief Buthelezi and others are wary of the meeting of the minds between the "big two", they are not alone: there are those in both the Government and the ANC who have an almost physical revulsion for each other, and who distrust deeply even the limited agreement which has been reached.

It is precisely those conciliatory moves on either side which have created the constructive current mood that most irks the settlement-sceptics. Thus we have the extraordinary — and still unexplained — situation in which De Klerk acts decisively against rogue officers (even conceding that anti-negotiators could have killed people), and his Minister of Defence promptly gives the important officers among those named a clean bill of health.

This followed an earlier chorus of outrage from security force Ministers and generals in response to Mr Justice Goldstone's "dirty tricks" revelations. The chorus was noticeably out of step with De Klerk's own measured statement.

On the ANC side, surface disci-

pline in the NEC has been better maintained, and it has been left to Mandela's estranged wife Winnie to articulate militant opposition to the conciliatory turn that negotiations have taken.

Mrs Mandela's power is indeterminate — certainly, she cannot in formal terms be equated with Gene Louw — but neither is she irrelevant. There is a constituency, though we do not know its size, which is receptive to the rhetoric of "sell-outs" and "secret deals".

Thus both De Klerk and Mandela need to keep a weather eye on the settlement-sceptics within their own corridors of power, at the same time as forging ahead to a preliminary deal on shared power which is as inclusive as possible. It is a very tricky balance to strike: inclusivity requires compromise; compromise excites the unremitting militants.

Much depends on the way in which the leadership sells to its colleagues and camp-followers the notion of the "deal". Some commentators — including the London-based journal *Africa Confidential*, place a heavy conspiratorial gloss on what took place at the December *bosberaad*.

They see in outline preparations for a power carve-up, a kind of latter-day "Scramble for South Africa". The assumption is that the two bullies in the political playground have recognised that they have sufficient power between them to take the spoils without giving the smaller kids a cut. This infuriates those who are allegedly to be excluded, of course, but it also confirms the worst fears of Cabinet and NEC diehards.

Privately, ANC and Government negotiators insist on a different construction. They have recognised, they say, that the process needs a jump-start — and that it will not happen unless they provide it themselves. Smaller parties would otherwise stall indefinitely. Implicit in this agreement is that it is aimed at only one goal: moving the transition on to a higher plane.

Beyond that, they say, there is no plot to grab all the power, and nor is there agreement on the crucial political issues which will arise after interim government. The two sides remain implacable political opponents, and are free to form new alliances with any-

body once the stage has been set for elections.

Says a senior ANC source: "It is wrong to characterise this as a 'secret deal'. It is simply that the two major players have recognised their special responsibility to the process. It will take place more smoothly if there are broad common understandings."

Both sides insist they are not looking to "tramp on other people's toes", and argue that once the next vital step in taken in the transition, it will be easier for other parties to place the national interest above sectional concerns.

Both recognise the enormous amount of work that is still to be done in promoting the notion of national unity as a viable one. Both would prefer the "transitional executive council" to be fully representative, but no longer consider that a necessary condition for its installation.

That, in broad strokes, is our delicate position in this crucial month of bilateral meetings. The coming weeks will tell whether the benign or the malign interpretation of what the Nationalists and the ANC are doing, wins out. □

# Mandela to attend Clinton's big day

A PEOPLE was felt in diplomatic circles yesterday when it was announced that ANC president Nelson Mandela had been invited to attend Bill Clinton's presidential inauguration. In line with US protocol, President FW de Klerk has not been invited.

ANC international affairs spokesman Yusuf Saloojee insisted yesterday that the invitation had come from Clinton's office as well as from the Congressional Black Caucus. An earlier ANC statement in Johannesburg had said only that Mandela would attend the ceremony on January 20.

SIMON BARBER and BILLY PADDOCK

An ANC official in Washington rushed to smooth the troubled waters, emphatically denying the invitation had come from Clinton. "They may wish it was so," said M. M. M. Hlatshwayo of his colleagues back home, "but it doesn't work like that here."

The invitation was issued by the Congressional Black Caucus's new chairman, Maryland representative Kwame Mfume. said caucus spokesman, Amelia Parker.

To Page 2

## Mandela *BIDAM 13/1/93*

"Mr Mandela will be his personal guest at the swearing in."

She added that Mandelawould be hosted by other African-American groups at functions during the week-long festivities.

She was at pains to stress that Clinton was not involved in the invitation, indicating that there may have been some unease among his advisers about Mandela's presence and its possible diplomatic implications. Hearing of Saloojee's comments, she immediately called the ANC's office in Washington to clarify the position.

Inauguration organisers notified ambassadors last month that no heads of government or other foreign delegations would be officially invited to attend. Congressmen and others, may, however, make their own arrangements.

A spokesman for De Klerk's office said he had not been invited. "According to our

information the traditional protocol is that heads of state are not invited but that the ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, would represent the president," he said.

A Bush administration official said De Klerk was wise not to make an issue out of Mandela's visit. "He correctly sees that it's not a big deal." The SA leader was not a pariah figure, the official added, and could have obtained an invitation from a senator had he wanted one.

It was unclear whether Clinton or his secretary of state-designate would see Mandela during his visit. Some analysts said that if Clinton did agree to see the ANC leader, he might feel under some obligation to have an early meeting with De Klerk, or risk being seen as breaking with the even-handed policy of his predecessor and the UN Security Council.

See Page 4

From Page 1

Sweden

will not

SPARL 13/1/93

sponsor

ANC in

election

Amid mounting disapproval of Swedish funding of the ANC, a Swedish official in Pretoria denied yesterday that Sweden would subsidise the ANC's future election campaign.

Reacting to reports that Sweden had last week openly disclosed its preferential funding of the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday that Sweden was promoting the party it wanted to see in power in South Africa rather than supporting democracy.

"Since democracy means freedom to choose, Sweden's action is in reality far less beneficial to democracy than it could be," IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said.

But Sweden's political secretary Frederik Jorgensen said it was no secret that Sweden had for years supported the ANC, saying every donor nation favoured one organisation or another.

"Our policy is in no way unique, this is what every country does.

"No country gives aid over the whole political spectrum," Jorgensen said.

Swedish law allowed aid only to "liberation movements" and ruled out helping political parties, he said.

The ANC has so far resisted pressures to become a political party.

Jorgensen said: "I would assume that as soon as a date for elections has been announced, we would have to say that the campaign for the election has started, and then we would have to take another look at funding."

Sweden's aid to South Africa for 1992-93 amounted to about R114 million of which R45 million went to the ANC for specific projects, he said.

The money was handed over in stages, and each time the ANC had to make a detailed application, he said, adding that Sweden did not fund the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. — Sapa-AFP.



## IFP 'ready to resume negotiations'

The IFP is ready to resume talks with the Government because, the party says, it secured three key promises at last weekend's "bosberaad".

The IFP threw the negotiations process into disarray in September when it pulled out of talks with the Government.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday the Government had agreed:

- Not to hold bilateral meetings that affected other parties.
- To support a multiparty conference of review.
- To support the participation of the KwaZulu government and the governments of other self-governing territories in the negotiations process. — Political Reporter.

## ANC and Inkatha set up meeting

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) are to meet this week to assess progress made in preparations for a summit between the two organisations, ANC national executive committee member and deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad has confirmed.

The meeting is scheduled to take place in Durban on Friday.

Pahad said both parties insisted on thorough preparations before the summit — which may include leaders Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela — took place, and neither side was insisting on setting a date yet.

tanker's bow was jutting out of the sea while the mid-section, which contained the bulk of the oil, was submerged.

tions director, said the vessel had broken into at least three pieces.

He said, however, there was "no evidence

day morning.

Koffeman said the stern of the ship had rolled 30 degrees towards shore and the deck

STAR 13/1/93

# 'Criminals, radicals attack SAP'

By Michael Sparks

Attacks on police were committed mainly by radical black youths as well as criminals, a committee of the Goldstone Commission heard in Pretoria yesterday.

Brigadier Stefanus Abrie of the SA Police told the committee investigating attacks on policemen that while in the past police might have blamed the ANC or PAC for the attacks, it was now apparent that criminals, as well as youths who opposed a negotiated political settlement, were involved in the attacks.

But Abrie added that statements made by ANC-SACP-Cosatu leaders such as Chris Hani, which aimed at discrediting the police, stimulated violence against the security forces.

# Bomb found in my car, says ANC man

STAR 13/1/93

By Jacques Pauw

ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj yesterday testified that a bomb had been found in his car after his release from detention in connection with Operation Vula.

Giving evidence before a Goldstone committee investigating "third force" activities alleged by Mozambican citizen Joao Cuna, Maharaj said he had always been of "great interest" to the security forces. His phone was tapped and he was under constant surveillance.

He gave no further details of the bomb.

Maharaj denied he had ever met Cuna, who yesterday identified him as the man whom he claimed had told him to fabricate a report about police hit-squad activities. Vrye Weekblad pub-

lished the report.

Goldstone Commission investigating officer Major Frank Dutton testified that in spite of further checking of SAP and SA Defence Force records, he had still not found a description of the massacre Cuna had described to the newspaper. He had also checked the records of the Human Rights Commission and monitoring committees.

Dutton, however, conceded it was possible the incident could not be traced due to the sheer volume of AK-47 attacks.

Dutton caused a stir when he showed the commission a 1,5 m long list of incidents that had taken place in Natal between April 1991 and April 1992.

Advocate Rob Wise ruled that further evidence from Cuna be heard in camera.

11A

# Black Caucus asks Mandela to attend Clinton ceremony

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau



STAR 13/1/93.

WASHINGTON — ANC president Nelson Mandela has accepted an invitation from the new chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Congressman Kweisi Mfume, to be his personal guest at the swearing in of Bill Clinton as president next week, after the official inaugural committee decided that no foreign guests or heads of state would be invited to the ceremony.

Earlier, the Black Caucus had pressed for an official invitation to be issued to Mandela, but the inauguration organisers ar-

gued that the rules of protocol and the huge number of distinguished foreigners who would have to be invited if an official invitation were issued to Mandela precluded any official guests at the event.

At a meeting of the Black Caucus, members offered to forfeit some of their own allocated seats to accommodate Mandela, and Mfume formally invited the ANC leader to be his guest at the swearing in ceremony outside the Capitol building on January 20. Other members of the caucus will host Mandela at various functions. Mandela will arrive in Washington on Sunday.

During his visit he is expected to meet Clinton, but only socially.

Sources in the Clinton transi-

tion team say the new president has no plans for formal meetings with foreign visitors, although he would be meeting many who will be in Washington as the guests of members of Congress and who will be attending the whirl of social functions at which Clinton will be guest of honour.

Clinton has met Mandela before, during the Democratic Party's 1992 national convention in New York, which coincided with the UN Security Council debate on the Boipatong massacre, and has spoken to him, and to President de Klerk, by telephone.

South African sources in Washington say there are no plans for De Klerk to be in Washington during the inauguration. He is expected to be

close to the meetings due to be held in South Africa between the Government and the ANC on January 20, the day of Clinton's inauguration.

The Black Caucus decision to invite Mandela privately to the inauguration demonstrates the huge influence which Mandela and the ANC will have in the new Congress and the influence the caucus is likely to have on South Africa policy.

But much of the enthusiasm centres on the magnetism and mystique of Mandela himself. Only one new member of the caucus was willing to serve on the House of Representatives Africa subcommittee, which had a strong influence on South Africa policy in the previous Congress, and there was a proposal to disband the subcommittee altogether.

# 'Litany of unbridled, sustained horror'

11A12G14/192

## Political Staff

AT least 70 African National Congress officials and members — including Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Joe Modise and Mr Jacob Zuma — have been implicated in a "litany of unbridled and sustained horror" by a commission of inquiry into human rights violations in the organisation's Angolan camps.

The inquiry — headed by Durban advocate Mr Bob Douglas at the request of the International Freedom Foundation — said the "saga of the ANC and the SA Communist Party in exile is one of tyranny, terror, brutality, forced labour in concentration camps and mass murder".

Mr Hani said in reaction yesterday that it would be a mockery to call the Douglas Commission an independent one and it was "compiled by a rightwing organisation which was ideologically hostile to the ANC".

"Beyond that I will not dignify the report with a response," he said.

In his report Mr Douglas recommended that the Goldstone Commission be expanded to investigate human rights abuses by the ANC and the SACP in exile.

Such an investigation should identify those responsible as well as the victims. He further recommended that the Goldstone Commission recommend to parliament the enactment of legislation to punish the guilty and to compensate the victims.

Mr Douglas said yesterday that he hoped a statesman, "like Nelson Mandela" would flush the implicated members out of the organisation.

The report, a mixture of statements and interpretive political comment, listed several camp guards and commanders as having been directly responsible for

the killings and torture in the camps.

Released in Johannesburg yesterday, the report also lists the names of 14 senior leaders — some members of the ANC's national executive committee — as being "directly or indirectly responsible and thus accountable for what happened".

But, in response to a question, Mr Douglas said camp guards were responsible for the acts of physical abuse.

Mr Douglas identified Mr Hani as "a leading figure in the reign of terror".

"His complicity in human rights abuses is established conclusively. On the evidence he did nothing whatsoever to alleviate the plight of hundreds of his comrades," said the report.

Answering questions from newsmen, Mr Douglas said Mr Hani was not directly implicated in assaults, except by one witness, and his accountability arose out of his leadership position.

Mr Douglas said Mr Joe Slovo was responsible and accountable for crimes committed by Mbokodo (the ANC's security department).

He was also alleged to have visited Quatro and "he saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it".

Mr Slovo yesterday denied ever visiting Quatro.

Mr Tambo was responsible for the crimes of the security department because it reported directly to him.

Others listed are Mr Piliso Mzwai, Mr Modise, Mr Joe Nhlamhla, Mr Sizakele Sigxashe, Mr Andrew Masedo, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr John Redi Mazimbu, Mr Peter Baroko, Mr Jackie Mabusu and Mr Alfred Nzo.

The ANC released the findings of its internal investigation last year and a second investigation with independent members will begin its work within weeks.

# Mandela briefs

11A

# Taiwan Minister

STAT 14/1/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday met Taiwanese Foreign Minister Fredrick Chien whom he briefed on the latest political developments in the country.

Mandela said he had used the hour-long meeting, which took place at the ANC's Shell House head office in Johannesburg, to tell Chien of his January 20 meeting with the Government.

Chien said he was looking forward to receiving Mandela when he visited Taiwan later this year. — Political Reporter.

# ANC rejects new report on torture

STAR 14/1/93

11A7  
Political Staff

The ANC has rejected as misleading and propagandistic an "independent" report on human rights violations in ANC detention camps which implicates 70 members of the organisation, some of them senior officials.

The one-man Douglas Commission report was motivated and funded in July last year by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation.

A "litany of unbridled and sustained horror" is what Durban advocate Bob Douglas, who addressed a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, reported from evidence from about 100 individuals and representatives, of whom 40 were survivors of ANC camps in Angola.

He named 14 ANC and SACP leaders, among them members of the ANC's national executive committee, as "directly or indirectly accountable".

Those implicated included Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Joe Modise, Jacob Zuma, Alfred Nzo and Joe Slovo.

Yesterday, Douglas defended his conviction that the accounts of alleged torture he had heard from the 40 survivors were truthful: "When you've heard that (accounts of various torture methods) 10, 15 times, it's got to be true. What I heard wasn't rehearsed."

The ANC said the Douglas report added nothing to the ANC's own internal investigation which would enter a second phase under three independent commissioners shortly.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the original ANC investigation reported last year had also

produced a list of names but it had been decided not to reveal identities until further investigation and until the individuals had been given an opportunity to present their accounts.

The ANC report identified methods of torture similar to those about which Douglas heard and the advocate said that a number of his interviewees had probably given their accounts to the ANC investigation, too.

Executive director of the IFF in southern Africa, Russell Crystal, said it was the naming of individuals which was the strength of the Douglas report as this aspect addressed the demand for accountability.

Crystal came under attack at the press conference when it was alleged by one journalist that he had worked in the South African intelligence community. He denied this saying he was a member of the National Party.

The IFF itself has been widely characterised as a conservative lobby group but Douglas said he had been able to proceed quite independently and he did not believe his anti-communist position had clouded his judgment.

Douglas also recommended that the mandate of the Goldstone Commission be expanded to address human rights abuses by the ANC/SACP in exile.

The advocate concluded that "the saga of the ANC/SACP in exile is one of tyranny, brutality, forced labour in concentration camps and mass murder".

He said the security system of the organisation was the creation of the SACP using methods learnt "from its comrades in the KGB".

The crushing of a mutiny at a camp outside Luanda in 1984 was a "typical KGB one".

# Leaders 'must shoulder blame for camp abuses'

RAY HARTLEY

SENIOR ANC and SACP officials, including Chris Hani, Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo, had to accept responsibility for atrocities committed in ANC camps, even though they were not directly involved in the abuses, advocate Bob Douglas said yesterday.

Speaking at the release of an International Freedom Foundation-commissioned report on the ANC abuses, Douglas said the "Nuremburg principle", which dictated that those in command had to take responsibility for the actions of subordinates, applied in the ANC's case.

His 64-page report said the SACP, helped by the KGB, had established the ANC security department known as Mbokodo and had continued to control it during the ANC's years in exile.

Douglas said an ANC internal commission and an Amnesty International inquiry into the abuses "did a good job" within the confines of its terms of reference, but both had failed to say who was to blame for the atrocities.

He had interviewed 40 returned exiles about their experiences in ANC camps and had found their accounts corroborated each other and were credible.

The ANC dismissed the report as an "attempt to undermine and sow division within the ranks of the ANC and its allies, and to create a totally misleading perception of the ANC in exile.

"Besides its heavy propaganda slant, reflected in the anti-communist slander, vitriolic attacks on selected ANC leaders and blatant fabrications, the report does not add anything new to what the ANC's own commission... established," the ANC said in a statement.

IFF executive director and NP member Russel Crystal said his organisation stood by Douglas's claim to impartiality.

He said Douglas had chaired an inquiry into the Natal violence at the request of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders.

Commenting on his personal political views, Douglas said he was anti-communist and opposed "non-liberal sources of ideology", but this had not made him biased against the SACP.

"I'm not a missionary. I simply did a job which was something different from (my normal work of) litigation," he added.

## Chiefs and security forces come under fire

EMPANGENI — The ANC's northern Natal region alleged yesterday that tribal chiefs in the area had received instructions from Ulundi not to tolerate ANC activity within their areas.

In a preliminary submission to a Goldstone commission subcommittee inquiring into violence other than ANC-IFP political rivalry around Empangeni, the ANC's Northern Natal deputy secretary Khulekane Mhlongo said ANC supporters in rural areas were frequently the target of attacks, often led by tribal chiefs.

Mhlongo said the order to drive ANC supporters from tribal areas had come from the KwaZulu government and Inkatha.

He asked the committee to investigate the role of the KwaZulu and SA police in violence.

The abuse of power by KwaZulu and SA government officials in the region also required investigation.

In his preliminary submission Cosatu regional executive member Michael Mabuyakhulu asked the committee, led by Durban

advocate Malcolm Wallis, to inquire into the lack of police protection for Cosatu members in the region.

He alleged security forces were involved in violence, including victimisation of Cosatu members.

Unrest monitor and anthropologist Mary de Haas asked the committee to look urgently into the behaviour of the security forces, particularly the KwaZulu police and SAP, in contributing to violence.

Representatives of the SAP and SADF told the committee they would present submissions when it reconvened in Empangeni on January 27.

The IFP apologised for missing yesterday's hearing of the committee.

Michael Friedman, for the KwaZulu government, said he would respond to the allegations made against traditional leaders at the next sitting.

□ The Goldstone commission into violence and intimidation will inquire into the importation of illegal weapons into SA and has asked for submissions from interested parties.



## Trying to peace pact

WILSON ZWANE

ers. organisations, which had been series of meetings in an attempt ud, said they would hold a joint on Sunday. Inkatha had agreed to a condi- by Azapo — that "traditional" and not be banned at the rally.

# ANC accused of trying to wreck Bekkersdal peace pact

INKATHA and Azapo accused the ANC yesterday of attempting to shatter a peace pact between them in Bekkersdal.

Inkatha Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza told a news conference in Johannesburg that members of the ANC Bekkersdal branch had sent a memorandum to a multiparty committee, monitoring the situation in the West Rand township, in which it complained about the peace pact between Inkatha and Azapo.

Azapo deputy national organiser Monwabisi Duna said ANC supporters in the township had threatened to "come down heavily on us" should Azapo and Inkatha reach an agreement on ceasing hostilities.

However, a peace pact, signed by the ANC and Azapo in November 1991 after heavy fighting between supporters, precluded him from telling the media who the ANC members in question were, he said.

Khoza said it was known the ANC was behind the Inkatha-Azapo feud, which had claimed five lives this year.

Khoza and Duna said the allegations of the ANC's involvement in the feud would be discussed with the Bekkersdal monitoring committee, of which the ANC and PAC

WILSON ZWANE

were members. The two organisations, which had been holding a series of meetings in an attempt to end the feud, said they would hold a joint peace rally on Sunday.

Duna said Inkatha had agreed to a condition — set by Azapo — that "traditional" weapons should not be carried at the rally, which was held to "ensure lasting peace in Bekkersdal".

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa dismissed the allegations as false. He said the ANC was the first to call for a peace meeting between the organisations.

It was unfortunate that some organisations wished to use the peace process in Bekkersdal, which was the outcome of multilateral deliberations involving the ANC, the PAC, Inkatha and Azapo "for narrow party political interests".

Sapa reports that the ANC also rejected a claim during bilateral talks earlier yesterday that ANC Youth League members had said they would "come down heavily" on Azapo if it held talks with Inkatha.

tribal areas now come from the KwaZulu government and Inkatha.

He asked the committee to investigate the role of the KwaZulu and SA police in violence.

The abuse of power by KwaZulu and SA government officials in the region also required investigation.

In his preliminary submission Cosatu regional executive member Michael Mabuyakhulu asked the committee, led by Durban

## Local gov't forum set up

WILSON ZWANE

PROGRESS towards non-racial local government structures was made yesterday when government and township civic organisations agreed to set up a local government forum.

Agreements reached at this forum, in which government and civic organisations would be represented, would be binding on all parties.

After their meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, Local Government Minister Tertius Delpert and the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) said a working group had been established to formulate the forum's terms of reference.

A Sanco spokesman said recently an interim agreement between his organisation and government was necessary as a host of issues, including the resolution of rent and services boycotts, hinged on it.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso also said recently the time was not ripe for his organisation to advise its members to suspend the boycotts.

One condition he set for boycotts to be lifted was "sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government" at local and national levels.

## Nine people killed in Natal violence

DURBAN — At least nine people were killed and two injured in violence in Natal on Tuesday, KwaZulu and SA police reported yesterday.

Six of the victims were killed in a faction fight between Pondo and Zulu tribes in Inanda, near Durban.

Meanwhile, a wave of violent attacks on the SAP is continuing, with eight policemen slain since the beginning of the year.

In the latest killings, an off-duty policeman was stabbed in the head near Germiston and a constable was gunned down by

three men in police uniform while guarding a suspect in an East Rand hospital.

Soweto policemen fired birdshot and teargas after allegedly being attacked by a crowd at Inhlazane station on Tuesday.

Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said 226 policemen were killed during 1992. Many were killed off duty, when they were most vulnerable.

Despite the killings there was no shortage of recruits, and 2 300 new policemen would be trained by July. — Sapa-Reuter.

## PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz





# ANC, Govt prepare for vital meeting

11A  
Start 14/1/93  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

Preparations for the next phase in the crucial series of ANC-Government meetings get under way at a secret venue today.

Today's discussion is the first follow-up meeting between the Government and ANC since their bosberaad last month.

The one-day meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will formulate plans for the next five-day meeting between the two negotiating partners.

The extended bilateral meeting is scheduled to take place in Cape Town from January 20.

Since the December bosberaad several meetings have been held between the Government and ANC to discuss constitutional matters, election-

related issues, the creation of a climate for free political activity and the removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The planning meeting is likely to focus on the resumption of multiparty talks and will deal with aspects of the transition such as a transitional executive council, a constitution-making body, elections, and the creation of a climate for free political activity.

These issues are likely to feature at the bosberaad as well. It is not yet certain whether the extended bilateral meeting will be attended by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Since the resumption of bilateral meetings between the ANC and Government in September, both parties have been holding talks with their allies.

The extent to which the ANC and Government could carry their allies into a multiparty negotiating forum is likely to be assessed at the bosberaad.

# IFF defends choice of advocate

11A  
ST 107 14/11/93  
By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

The Durban advocate who yesterday released a report criticising the ANC's treatment of people in its prison camps in exile delivered a verdict "much favourable to the ANC" in another commission of inquiry three years ago, the International Freedom Foundation said yesterday.

Bob Douglas, SC, who was commissioned by the conservative IFF to conduct an inquiry into human rights abuses in the ANC's camps in exile, was employed by the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa in 1990 to investigate the causes of violence in the Natal Midlands.

IFF southern African branch director Russel Crystal — who is a National Party member of the President's Council — said that in that investigation Douglas had found that "for the specific period he was commissioned to study", the Inkatha Freedom Party was to blame for the violence.

Asked why the IFF had chosen Douglas to head its one-man commission, a senior IFF source who asked not to be named mentioned two reasons: Douglas's experience in conducting commissions of inquiry, and the fact that he was known to be "totally impartial and politically neutral".

A member of the Democratic Party, Douglas once stood — and lost — as a parliamentary candidate in Pinetown for the Progressive Federal Party.

According to the IFF source, Douglas, who admitted he was opposed to communism, has been a lawyer for about 30 years.

Although the source said the commission's terms of reference guaranteed Douglas independence and impartiality, the Durban-based advocate would not say how much he had been paid to conduct the inquiry.

He is married with two children.

# Political cake must be shared

STAR 14/1/93.

11A ~~11A~~

**T**HE AFRICAN National Congress has often complained bitterly — and with justification — about the manifest lack of free political activity in certain parts of the country, especially in some of the homelands.

The organisation has pointed accusing fingers at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana, claiming its members there cannot hold meetings openly and organise freely.

It was for this reason that the ANC targeted these homelands during its "unprecedented rolling mass action" last year, and planned marches on their capitals. This campaign was put on hold after the savage shooting of unarmed marchers by the Ciskei Defence Force on September 7, but the motivating principle behind the campaign still holds true in ANC circles.

The ANC was correct to insist on its right to be able to organise and canvass for support anywhere in South Africa. It makes little

sense to talk of a possible free and fair election when some political bullies have declared parts of the country no-go areas for their opponents. But is the ANC's position wholly consistent, in the light of the break-up of a Democratic Party meeting in a Peninsula township this week?

The question of free political activity is of paramount importance now in the run-up to the first all-in general election — probably early next year — which will finally close the curtain on the old South Africa and usher in a truly new South Africa.

If that election is to reflect the will of the people, then surely no political organisation can be allowed to regard any area in the country as its private fiefdom. Every square inch of the country has to be open to all political organisations to contest in peace.

This makes the position of the ANC a difficult one — for it can be accused of engaging in the same sorts of practice for which it criticises the homeland regimes.

This week, ANC supporters joined followers of the PAC and

Azapo in disrupting a DP meeting in a Cape Town township. Previously, various National Party (NP) events — including a safari into Mitchell's Plain by President de Klerk to canvass for support in the coloured township — were disrupted.

The ANC's response has been confusing. Some spokesmen at national level have unequivocally condemned the disruptions, but others at branch and regional levels have tried unconvincingly to justify them, saying parties like the DP have to understand the "deep hostility" prevalent in the townships against "parties operating within the tricameral parliamentary system".

After the disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha in mid-December, ANC western Cape regional executive committee member Nomatyala Hangana said while the party had the right to speak in the township, it had to first "settle the white areas".

This prompted DP national chairman Ken Andrew to retort: "Perhaps she (Hangana) is sorry the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed so that po-

litical parties are not required to be racially exclusive."

After the disruption of a DP Youth meeting in Guguletu at the weekend by alleged members of the ANC, the PAC and the Azapo, DP western Cape regional chairman Jasper Walsh said the sad event's wider implication was that "there can be little hope of free and fair elections in the future". To dismiss his statement merely as a sign of desperation would be irresponsible.

Political intolerance has been displayed on all sides, and this gives cause for concern. After Mitchell's Plain last year there was Boipatong, where De Klerk was prevented from expressing his condolences to families of the victims of the June 17 massacre in that Vaal Triangle township.

Granted, there was groundswell anger in Boipatong directed at De Klerk, whose security forces were alleged to be in cahoots with the alleged murderers. It is also true that had De Klerk been able to pay such a high-profile visit to the strife-torn township in the glare of the local and international media he would have scored a major

propaganda coup.

Nevertheless, the ANC's post-Boipatong strategy — to portray De Klerk as a murderer and even sentence him and his Cabinet Ministers to "death" during a mock trial in Cape Town — was ill-considered in this era of negotiations.

The odd logic behind the disruption of other parties' meetings seems to be that predominantly white parties such as the DP and the NP are not supposed to sell their policies to people in the townships. They are, as Hangana suggested, to "first settle the white areas" and leave the townships to the ANC and its allies.

This kind of thinking is as dangerous for the country as it is for democracy. Until all organisations accept that their rivals have a right not only to exist but also to compete with them for support *anywhere* in the country, we may as well forget about democracy and free and fair elections.

For the underlying tenet of democracy is that people — and organisations — have a right to exist and to hold and express views as long as in exercising that right they do not harm others or

interfere with their rights.

If the ANC makes some parts of the country no-go areas for the NP and the DP, then it must accept that others — like the IFP in KwaZulu and Gqozo's African Democratic Movement in Ciskei — will make their areas no-go zones for it. To stretch this logic, there will similarly be PAC/Azapo areas, NP/DP areas, and even Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging/Wit Wolwe zones which will be out of bounds to others.

The irony is that the DP is a relatively small party which poses no real threat to the ANC-led tripartite alliance. For years it has spoken against apartheid, and has called for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of political organisations. DP leaders — and, indeed, South Africans of all hues — could be forgiven for saying they deserve better.

The ANC and all other organisations and parties have to learn that the rights they want for themselves have also to be extended to their opponents if the democracy we all yearn for is to have any meaning. □

# ANC camp 'horrors' slammed

CT 14/1/93 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The one-man Douglas Commission yesterday alleged that several ANC/SACP leaders were implicated in torture and murder in ANC detention camps, including Messrs Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo and Jacob Zuma.

Advocate Mr Bob Douglas, whose commission was appointed

by the rightist, US-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF), said evidence by 100 witnesses amounted to "a litany of unbridled and sustained horror".

The ANC yesterday criticised the report as an attempt to divide the ANC and its allies.

"Besides its heavy propaganda slant ... the report does not add

anything new to what the ANC's own commission of inquiry established," an ANC statement said.

Mr Douglas said at a press conference yesterday that those guilty of offences should be punished and their victims rehabilitated and compensated.

His report said witnesses revealed brutality, deprivation and

torture to extract confessions from innocent people and murder by the ANC security arm.

The report named about 60 other ANC officials who allegedly knew of crimes.

Mr Douglas said the ANC had not replied to his request that it participate in his inquiry. — Sapa

# 'ANC not responsible for attacks on police'

111P

ST 197 14/11/93

By Michael Sparks

Legal counsel for the ANC yesterday rejected the claims of three policemen who gave evidence to the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria that attacks on police had been planned and carried out by members of the organisation.

Azhar Cachalia, for the ANC, said there was no evidence to substantiate the claims of the policemen, and that they had assumed that because there had been attacks on the police, they must have been by ANC members.

Earlier in the day, committee chairman Gert Steyn had warned journalists that many of the statements to the commission were still unproven allegations and should not be accepted as being correct.

Captain Christo Schilling, from Kroonstad, said informers had told police of a meeting in Mohakeng township in April 1991 where it was decided to attack policemen and steal their weapons as they were an easy target.

Cachalia asked why the first attack resulting in a policeman's death had taken place only in November — nearly seven months after the meeting — if such a decision had been taken.

Schilling said that although the first policeman was killed

in November, there had been earlier attacks, although Schilling could not provide evidence yesterday.

Schilling added that information provided by paid informers at the April meeting was the only evidence of the plan to attack policemen.

Yesterday morning committee delegates privately debated the format of the committee, which has investigated a large number of unrest incidents.

Certain members of the committee were in favour of looking in detail at a few incidents which could then be used to make recommendations on how to prevent attacks on policemen.

The alternative would be to continue, at length, before coming to any conclusions.

● In a separate committee investigating "third force" activities, Captain Johannes Meyer said that during interrogation of the Mozambican Joao Cuna, he had denied in principle involvement in any killings.

The Vrye Weekblad newspaper had published an article quoting Cuna on activities of police hit-squads.

The hearing adjourned at 11 am.

Both hearings continue today.

# ANC 'torturers' named

Sowetan  
14/11/93

■ Brutality and commission's findings come under fire:

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

11A

AFRICAN National Congress detention camps and new allegations of murder and torture against some of its high-ranking leaders came under the spotlight in yet another commission of inquiry report yesterday.

The International Freedom Foundation yesterday released the report of the one-man Douglas Commission which completed its findings this month after hearing evidence from 100 people since July 1992.

Prominent senior leaders of the ANC and South African Communist Party, notably Mr Chris Hani, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Jacob Zuma, are mentioned and implicated in torture and murder in ANC camps in Angola, Mozambique and Uganda.

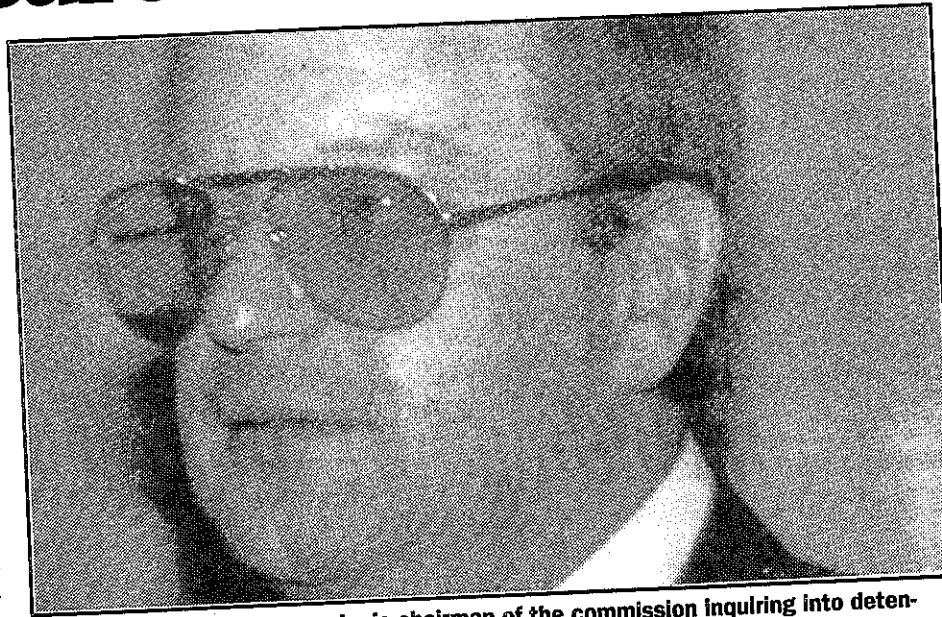
The commission was headed by advocate Mr Robert Douglas and heard evidence from the 100 witnesses - "including 40 survivors" - in South Africa, Lesotho, the United Kingdom, Germany and Holland.

Douglas recommended that those guilty of such offences be punished and that their victims be rehabilitated and compensated.

He said the Goldstone Commission could be expanded to investigate human rights abuses by the ANC-SACP alliance in exile.

The report uncovered evidence of "appalling brutality, deprivation and torture to extract confessions from innocent people, and murder" committed by the ANC's security arm, Mbokodo, which it said meant "the boulder that crushes".

Other ANC-SACP leaders who also serve on



Advocate Robert Douglas, who is chairman of the commission inquiring into detention centres which were run by the African National Congress in several African countries, at the Press conference yesterday.

the ANC national executive committee are Mr Joe Modise, Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Mr Andrew Masondo, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Alfred Nzo and Mr Thomas Nkobi, who "knew" about the crimes.

The Douglas Commission findings followed an Amnesty International report and the ANC's own internal investigation, which however found evidence of abuses but did not reveal names.

\* The IFF report was put on trial by journalists when it was released to the media yesterday.

Journalists closely questioned Douglas' motive and also cast doubt on the political purpose which made him take the IFF's appointment.

Douglas admitted to being anti-communist, thus drawing a remark from a questioner as to his impartiality.

Journalists also said it would be difficult for the IFF's report to be taken seriously as it was discredited internationally as a "right-wing" group.

IFF Southern African branch executive director Mr Russel Crystal came under personal fire, with journalists questioning his links with the security police. He denied such a connection.

Journalists also wanted to know when the IFF was going to look into the Government's own abuse of human rights.

# Bilateral meetings to plot talks path

11/17  
BLOOM 15/1/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THREE vital bilateral meetings in the next 10 days between the three key political players are set to prepare the groundwork for a multiparty planning conference leading to a resumption of constitutional talks.

Government and ANC delegations met each other in Cape Town yesterday to prepare for the five-day extended secret bilateral meeting starting on Wednesday.

Neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President F W de Klerk will attend Wednesday's meeting.

It is understood the teams discussed the progress of the joint committee set up at the last bilateral meeting in December to fine-tune proposals put to that meeting.

Since the December meeting there have been several meetings between the two sides to discuss constitutional issues; levelling the playing fields for elections; creating a climate for free political activity; armed formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apla; and removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The bilateral meeting next week is a continuation of the one in December.

It is likely to evaluate how the two sides can bring their allies into the process and how to accommodate members of the Concerned South Africans Group, especially Inkatha which is to meet both parties soon.

The ANC meets Inkatha today in Durban in the hope of finalising a date for a summit of their respective leaders and their organisations' executives.

Today's meeting, led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, follows two previous rounds of talks by leaders of the organisations in an attempt to lay the foundation for a successful summit meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus warned

yesterday that it was wrong to pre-empt the meeting and assume that a date would be set.

However, the two earlier meetings had made good progress and the four committees set up at the previous meeting had made progress.

The committees were expected to prepare proposals on free political activity, militarisation of politics, implementation of peace accord structures and reconstruction of communities ravaged by violence.

Meanwhile, the executive of the national peace committee met last night in routine session to consider the agenda of a meeting of the peace accord. The meeting of signatories had been scheduled for yesterday but was cancelled after Buthelezi said he had not yet met Mandela.

And in another development, government and Inkatha are to meet in a two-day bilateral for the first time since Inkatha broke off talks with government in September. This is expected to be in Durban on Monday and Tuesday.

It is understood Inkatha is loosening its ties with the Concerned South Africans Group and wants to negotiate with government on its own. An Inkatha spokesman indicated also that the party would negotiate independently at the multiparty planning conference, expected to take place next month.

The meeting between government and Inkatha is expected to revolve around the same issues of Codesa agreements, and transitional arrangements including a two-phased transitional approach — an interim government and constitution leading to elections for a constitution-making body.

**Leaders 'sobered'**

IN ADVANCE of a possible meeting with President-elect Bill Clinton next week, ANC president Nelson Mandela has given the Washington Post an upbeat assessment of the state of constitutional negotiations. (SIA)

He and other political leaders had been "sobered up" by events of the past year and by the state of SA's economy, he said.

He indicated he would urge the ANC national executive to call for the lifting of remaining economic sanctions once a date for interim government elections had been set and a multiparty transitional authority had been established.

BIDAY 15/1/93



(11/19) (11/19)  
**ANC and IFP to meet  
to set summit date**

*Sowetan 15/1/93*  
SENIOR ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party members meet in Durban today in an attempt to finalise a date for a summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting follows two previous rounds of talks by leaders of the organisations in an attempt to facilitate a widely called for summit between their leaders. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday it was "speculation" at this stage to assume a date would be set at today's meeting.

"It would be wrong to assume that tomorrow's meeting is going to set a date," he said, adding: "We must not pre-empt such a thing".

# The ANC 'told me to kill police'



CT15/1/93

PRETORIA. — Top-level ANC involvement in armed struggle — possibly during Codesa proceedings — and evidence of Apla bases in Transkei was alleged at a Goldstone hearing here yesterday.

The Goldstone committee, inquiring into attacks on policemen, heard evidence from two men who said they had been involved with the military wings of the ANC and PAC.

Brendan Samson, a self-proclaimed member of uMkhonto weSizwe, said Mr Joe Nhlanhla, an ANC national executive committee member whom he thought was negotiating at Codesa at the time, had instructed them to gather information on three policemen allegedly harassing ANC members in Piet Retief.

He and two colleagues had collected pistols and an AK-47 rifle and ammunition from Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters.

He alleged that Mr Nhlanhla had instructed him to kill any policemen who hindered their reconnaissance mission, in June last year. He was to report back to Mr Nhlanhla at Shell House, where plans would be made to "execute" these policemen.

Samson was arrested soon after he arrived in Piet Retief and is serving a prison sentence for possession of arms and ammunition.

During questioning, Samson admitted he was not a paid-up card-carrying member of the ANC, but said he had joined the organisation before membership cards were introduced.

In later evidence, Apla member Mr X, who did not want to be named, reported the high commander of the PAC's military wing, Mr Sabelo Phama, as saying policemen in uniform had to be attacked.

Mr X said he had received military training in Tanzania and Kenya between 1989 and 1991. Later, he had been ordered to return to "observe police activities" in South Africa.

He had been stationed in Transkei, where, he claimed, there were four Apla military training bases. — Sapa

SUF  
race ge  
rival

Jo-Anne Collinge perceives 'a lurid anti-communist gloss' to findings

# Gaps in third report on ANC camps

STYL 15/11/93

THE DOUGLAS Commission report on abuses in ANC camps is an uneven mixture of detailed first-person evidence of torture and killing, on the one hand, and political analysis which relies on much less stringent hearsay information, on the other.

On the question of establishing abuse, the study — sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation — corroborates and substantially expands the evidence set out in the ANC's own preliminary inquiry undertaken last year and in a more recent Amnesty International report.

To some extent the corroboration reinforces the veracity of all three reports, although it must be borne in mind that the coincidence of evidence is owed partly to the fact that some witnesses testified for all three inquiries.

Douglas's efforts to establish the thesis that the camps were the brainchild of the South African Communist Party and were but an instance of "the SACP taking con-

trol of the ANC in exile and using it for its own purposes" rest on far more shaky foundations. The only direct evidence of the SACP's role is the reference by witnesses to the actions of leading ANC communists at the camps and in the ANC security structures.

Commissioner Robert Douglas depends to a large extent on the views of Stephen Ellis, co-author of *Comrades against Apartheid*, because he is "satisfied that his (Ellis's) information on the role of the SACP in exile is about as accurate as one is likely to get".

The report, however, suggests that Douglas's political acumen does not equal his diligent legal application in gathering evidence of torture. For instance, he makes such obvious errors as referring to the student protest march of June 16 1976 as the culmination of the Soweto uprising rather than its starting point.

In chapter two of the report, Douglas concludes — without

11A

first-hand back-up evidence — that the ANC's security arm, the notorious Mbokodo, was set up by the SACP "under the tutelage of the KGB".

In chapter 8, he states: "... the idea, so I heard, to create Quatro (an ANC camp in Angola) came from none other than (Khmer Rouge leader) Pol Pot who, so it is claimed, murdered some three million of his fellow Cambodians."

In contrast to the strong evidence of torture, there is not a single witness's statement presented to back this assertion.

Statements such as these lend to the report a lurid anti-communist gloss, at odds with its legalistic methodology.

The Douglas Commission differs from both the ANC and the Amnesty reports in that it names those it concludes are responsible for abuses in the camps. Only in the case of 11 leading ANC and SACP figures does the report marshal the case against them:

The other 50-odd people are

11B

11C

simply listed. While the majority are mentioned in the published statements of witnesses, only a few are referred to by several witnesses. Douglas was unable to explain what level of corroboration of evidence was required in order for an alleged torturer's name to appear on the list.

Douglas said the IFF had allowed him to pursue his brief with professional independence. He admitted he was an anti-communist but said this had not interfered with his job as sole commissioner.

The IFF's southern African director, Russel Crystal, this week described his organisation, which has its headquarters in Washington, as "libertarian". At its launch in the region in 1986, the IFF professed support for rebel groups such as Renamo and Unita, and during the state of emergency actively opposed the United Democratic Front campaign for the ANC's unbanning. □

# DP, ANC join hands

*Sowetan* 15/11/93  
■ Group will work to promote democracy:

**Sowetan Correspondent**

A REGIONAL working group will be established by the Democratic Party and the African National Congress to monitor Western Cape politics and promote political tolerance, the parties said in a joint statement.

The working group will be set up by the parties' regional executives.

The parties' regional leaders met yesterday, following the violent disruption of a DP meeting in Gugulethu on Monday.

# Hani denies torture, killing

87142 15/11/93

Political Staff



SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani yesterday denied he had tortured or executed detainees in ANC camps or that such occurrences ever took place in his presence.

He was reacting to allegations in Durban advocate Bob Douglas's report which identified him as the "leading figure in the reign of terror".

The Douglas inquiry into human rights abuses in ANC camps was a "mixture of truths and lies" intended to discredit the organisation, said Hani.

Discussing individually the allegations made in the report, he admitted to a leading role in suppressing the 1984 mutiny in Angola. He said he stepped in to stop the disintegration of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and saw his task as restoring authority through "persuasive discussions and not the use of force".

The report linked him specifically to the execution of four ANC members. Hani said a tribunal sentenced several members to death after the mutiny. After "some" were executed, Hani said, he and ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope asked the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) to halt the executions.

He said he witnessed no executions while he was in exile.

Hani admitted to visiting the notorious Quatro detention camp and interviewing some of the detainees for written reports to the leadership.

He said he visited Quatro several times as the then MK commissar and later chief of staff. Since his first visit to the camp he had requested the upgrading of conditions.

Some of the detainees told him of "gruesome torture" which he reported to the NEC.

However, he denied any personal involvement or giving orders for anyone to be tortured or executed.



Chris Hani . . . says he asked for an end to execution of mutineers.

The report directly implicated camp guards for the violation of human rights. Hani said they were appointed and controlled by the ANC department of security and he was never part of the specific department.

The Douglas report said Hani was "most pleased" with the death of senior MK commander Thami Zulu.

Hani yesterday described

Zulu as having been "a close friend" with whom he shared confidences. He had visited him twice while Zulu was detained by the ANC and also when he was released.

● Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said the report vindicated the CP's refusal to negotiate with the ANC.

The CP found it inexplicable that the Government could enter into binding bilateral agreements with such an organisation or that it could consider the ANC as the co-builder of a constitutional dispensation for South Africa, Treurnicht said.

"The CP attaches no value to ANC talk about democracy and tolerance for our cultural and religious heritage," he said.

● Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday that the report made "grim reading" and confirmed the findings of both the ANC-appointed and the Amnesty International commis-

sions of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC prison camps in exile, released in September.

However, Leon also said it was "procedurally unfair" for the Douglas Commission to have published serious allegations against named ANC leaders without allowing them the opportunity to refute the allegations against them.

● The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday condemned the ANC for its "predictable and hollow response" to the Douglas Commission's report, saying it demonstrated the organisation's "unwillingness to come clean on the issue of human rights abuses".

IFF Southern Africa executive director Russel Crystal — who is an NP member of the President's Council — said the ANC's response was consistent with what the Douglas report described as the organisation's "antagonism to democratic procedures".

● Gaps in report — Page 8

# Crisis prompts sanctions rethink

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau *11A*

WASHINGTON — Because of South Africa's massive unemployment, ANC president Nelson Mandela is considering a call for all remaining sanctions to be lifted as soon as a date for non-racial elections has been set and a multiparty committee established to monitor them, according to The Washington Post.

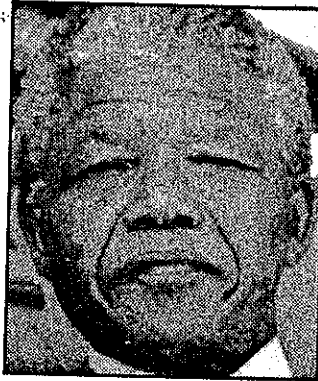
In an interview with the newspaper's South African correspondent Paul Taylor, Mandela is quoted as saying he and other political leaders had been "sobered up" by the derailment of negotiations in recent months.

The interview includes a prediction by Mandela that non-racial elections will be held some time this year.

Taylor noted that official ANC policy on sanctions was to retain them until an elected democratic interim government was in place. But he reported that Mandela had said that once a date for a non-racial election had been set, and once multiparty authorities had been established to ensure the fairness of such an election, he would consider asking the ANC to call for an end to sanctions.

Taylor said both those steps were expected to occur within a few months.

Mandela told the newspaper he did not expect to serve in the interim government creat-



Nelson Mandela ... concern about high unemployment.

*STAR 15/11/93*

ed by such elections, but would seek the country's highest elective office after a new constitution had been drawn up.

Referring to the resumption of negotiations between the Government and the ANC, Mandela said: "All of us made mistakes in the past. But I think there is a realisation that the international community, the business community, academics and church groups are getting fed up with politicians.

"We can't afford to call each other names, point fingers, say that I am virtuous and so-and-so is wrong. Nobody is prepared to put up with that today."

The interview quotes Mandela as saying the condition of the economy had injected a

sense of urgency to the political process.

"One cannot overemphasise the importance of a very quick solution so that we can have investments from the international community," he told the newspaper.

Mandela said he envisaged a series of bilateral discussions between the ANC, the Government and other political groups over the next several months, coinciding with a resumption of the multiparty negotiating forum that was suspended six months ago when the ANC withdrew from Codesa.

Commenting on an outburst from his estranged wife, Winnie, at last week's funeral of civil rights activist Helen Joseph, at which Mrs Mandela denounced negotiations as a pact between "the elite of the oppressed and the oppressor", Mandela said: "Where in the world do you not have extremists? The important thing is to keep your head cool and to be sure your organisation is disciplined."

He was quoted as saying that although he had been frustrated by the slow pace of change, a beneficial side effect may have been the lowering of inflated expectations.

"One of these things that worried me when I was in jail was the tendency to make one a demigod, a messiah. I am very happy to be seen now as an ordinary human being."

## Call to wait for St Lucia dunes study

*STAR 15/11/93*

South Africans should await the outcome of an environmental impact assessment (EIA) on mining northern Natal's unique St Lucia dunes before judging the situation, mining company Richards Bay Minerals (RBM) said yesterday.

The company was reacting to the Campaign for St Lucia's (CSL) relaunch of its anti-mining lobby last week.

RBM, whose majority shareholder is the Canadian-based mining giant Rio Tinto Zinc, said it was dismayed by CSL's view that mining could radically affect delicate ecosystems, destroy pristine dune forests, flood wetlands and cause erosion.

According to the company's statement, the campaign's views were propaganda, and RBM referred to "the most extensive and comprehensive EIA ever undertaken".

A review panel would test public opinion at public meetings and add their comments to the report before submitting it to the Cabinet, the mining company said.

The EIA findings are due for release on March 18. — Sapa.

● RBM mum on finances

— Page 9

NEGOTIATIONS FM 15/1/93

11A  
2001A  
11B

# Not many chances left

**Negotiations** kicked quickly into gear after the Christmas break, with last Saturday's encouraging meeting between government and the so-called Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag). This is an unorthodox alliance of confederal homeland parties and the white Right, dominated by the KwaZulu leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who now appears to be on the brink of rejoining the train.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer declared after the indaba that "negotiations are back on track." Agreement was reached to set up a multiparty "preparatory" meeting next month as a prelude to resuming full-scale constitutional negotiations, which are expected to start by the end of February or, more likely, in March.

However, an area of contention at the preparatory meeting, which could present a new delay, may lie in whether Cosag and Inkatha in particular will honour the various agreements reached at Codesa 2 before it was derailed last May. Government and the ANC are strongly in favour, not least because time is critical. Inkatha are at best ambivalent, if not opposed to the idea of abiding by earlier agreements.

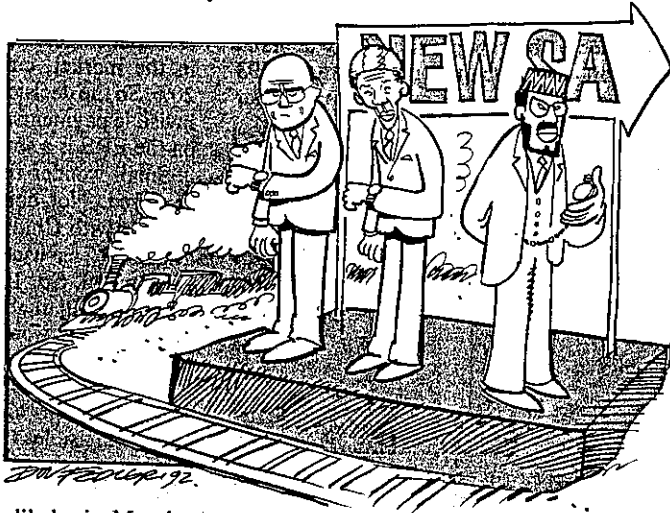
Greater clarity on this score, as well as on the issue of regional powers, could emerge after this week's scheduled meeting between Inkatha and government, to be followed by one between government and the ANC on January 20.

Word in political circles is that the main actors — government and the ANC — view 1993 as the year of "do or die." Both have sunk all their political and moral capital into the quest for a negotiated settlement and realise, says UCT's David Welsh, that if a solution is not found soon, our steady descent into irrevocable violence and economic malaise will continue. Certainly the ANC believe that "speedy progress is absolutely essential, especially to address economic problems," says spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Another compelling reason to get on with it is growing dissent and division in the ranks of the main parties, with elements in the ANC suspecting a "sell-out" (a charge voiced recently by Winnie Mandela) and growing unease in the National Party caucus about the direction the country is headed in. Their common cause, however, is that there is no alternative to a negotiated solution. It is

thought that their *bosberaad* towards the end of last year served as something of clearing-house for just about all past differences.

Parties will move with "astonishing speed" once they are back at the negotiating



table, according to Welsh, an adviser to the DP on constitutional matters. He expects that by May we will see the first phase of interim government in place in the shape of a Transitional Executive Council. Further, that a draft interim constitution drawn up by Codesa 3 (or whatever the new forum is called) will be ready by July or August.

There is no inherent reason why elections for a constitution-making body, which will double as legislature, should not be held towards the end of this year or early 1994, says Welsh. As well as being crucial now to test party support, which could improve the chances of stability, the country could not afford more of the dangerous and destructive political limbo it was in for most of last year.

Buthelezi remains perhaps the biggest potential spoiler. Yet his implied threats of going it alone in KwaZulu/Natal have been downscaled and are seen more as a strategy to maximise the chances of a strong federal arrangement being built into a new constitution. The ANC, however, says, publicly at least, that this matter will have to be resolved in the constituent assembly.

Welsh notes that the whole question of regional or federal powers has now entered what he calls "the zone of bargainability" in which a compromise can be reached. It is perfectly conceivable, he argues, to have a unitary state with regional government. A solution is called for which is flexible enough to accommodate a push from the regions for greater powers. This regional mobilisation for more power was a phenomenon seen elsewhere — for example, Spain, Belgium,

Canada and, increasingly, in Italy. The mechanism would be to have powers exercised "concurrently" by the central and regional governments.

Buthelezi's Cosag associate, the Conservative Party (CP), flexed its attenuated muscles this week by issuing its own demands and saying it would not participate in a Codesa 3. But CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg did not shut the door on joining multilateral talks when he issued the CP's preconditions. These include: self-determination for "nations"; rejection of a constituent assembly that would also serve as parliament; rejection of Codesa agreements which, in principle, favour a unitary state; and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, MK.

Significantly, Hartzenberg said that these conditions did not necessarily have to be met in full before the CP joined in — a marked departure in tone and substance.

That other potential newcomer to multilateral talks, the PAC, has restated its demand for a completely new negotiating forum, divorced from Codesa and chaired by a neutral international figure. But the PAC's main problem is to decide whether talking or bombing civilians is its preferred approach. ■

## RUGBY POLITICS

### Amateur spirit

**Administrators and businessmen** out to exploit rugby might just meet fierce resistance from SA's new rugby boss Ebrahim Patel. "As executive chairman of the SA Rugby Football Union (Sarfu), I hold myself and the executive responsible as servants of every rugby player in the country... rather than their bosses." Patel told the *FM* in his first interview after the death and funeral of rugby supremo Danie Craven (*see People*).

Patel says he is aware that there are rugby officials who criticise the newly formed Sarfu for not being in touch with the grass roots in the various unions (*Current Affairs* January 8). "Those people who are now complaining were never part of the painful unification process of the former SA Rugby Board and the SA Rugby Union. Where were they when Doc Craven was rebuked by F W de Klerk and I was questioned by the security police on our return from talks with the ANC in Harare?"

Patel says this criticism looks opportunistic. "It took a Craven and his delegation and Saru to unify rugby."

The new rugby chief is also not worried that he now enters the "sacred white territories of rugby." As a former president of Transvaal rugby in the Saru era, he was

# Winnie hits out at ANC leadership

Guardian | W in  
By David Beresford

in Johannesburg

W/M 15/1-21/1/93

THE prospect of a power struggle between Nelson Mandela and his wife has become an alarming possibility for the African National Congress, with speculation that Winnie Mandela may be preparing for a political comeback.

Mr Mandela tried to shrug off an extraordinary attack on the ANC leadership by his wife, in which she denounced the present negotiating process as a "disastrous" attempt by a black elite to satisfy personal ambitions.

The ANC president, clearly embarrassed by Mrs Mandela's remarks, said that the leadership made its policy decisions on a collective basis, following the wishes of its membership. "ANC policies are not going to be judged by the expression of individuals, no matter who they are," Mr Mandela said.

Mrs Mandela's attack came at the funeral of the anti-apartheid crusader, Helen Joseph. She said the negotiating process was being conducted between "the elite of the oppressed and the oppressors", and that death "may have favoured" Mrs Joseph "by sparing her from the looming disaster in this country which will result from the distortion of a noble goal in favour of a short-cut route to parliament by a handful of individuals."

Mrs Mandela was thought to have been politically destroyed by her trial on kidnap and assault-related charges and Mr Mandela's subsequent announcement of a formal separation. She was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for her part in the abduction and torture of four youths.

But some senior lawyers believe she has a strong chance of overturning her conviction.



## Azapo to act on DP row

By ~~AYESHATSMAIL~~ <sup>11A</sup> Cape Town

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has pledged to discipline any members guilty of political intolerance in the wake of this week's violent disruption of a Democratic Party meeting in Guguletu.

Azapo acting regional chairman Jimmy Yekiso said his organisation had not yet established whether members were involved in disrupting the DP meeting. If they had, he said, it was not as a result of a directive from the leadership of Azapo.

"Azapo believes that free political activity is a cornerstone of democracy. However, this principle of democracy can only be applied in a situation of normality," Yekiso said. Azapo did not condone the disruption of political meetings and believed in freedom of speech and free political activity.

The DP will hold meetings with the ANC, PAC and Azapo on the issue this week and also to discuss future DP meetings in the townships. w/mcml 15/11-21/11/92

# ANCYL, SAUJS off to Israel

W/Mail 1511-21/1/93

11A 159

By JACQUIE GOLDING

JEWISH students and African National Congress Youth League (Saujs) members leave on a joint tour of Israel tomorrow in a bid to strengthen ties between the ANC and the South African Jewish community and Israel.

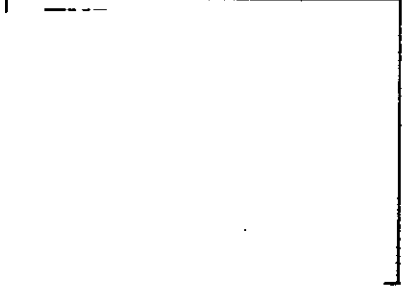
The South African Union of Jewish Students (Saujs) proposed the tour — the first of its kind — to the ANCYL six months ago and the trip is being funded by Jewish organisations. "Saujs and the Jewish community have invested large amounts of

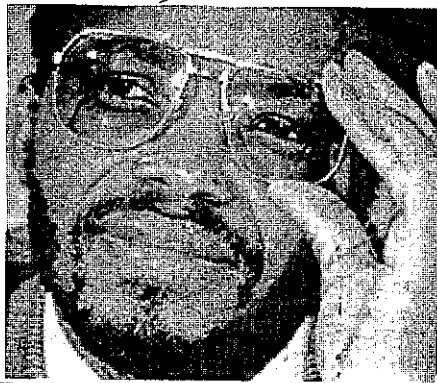
resources to ensure the success of this mission," said tour committee political consultant Howard Sackstein.

It appears that pro-Israel organisations financing the tour have turned a blind eye to the ANC's support of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). "We are hoping they will support the Israeli government in the future and not only focus on the negative side," said Zionist Federation executive director Ronnie Silbermann.

ANCYL secretary of information Parks Mankahlane said that accepting the invitation did not lessen the league's support for the PLO. However, "we do not want to get involved in Israel's internal conflict", he said.

"We invited them to see and interact with a broader spectrum of leaders — Jewish and Palestinian — and give them a chance to see what's happening on the ground," said Sackstein.





Brigadier  
Oupa  
Gqozo

# PAC linked to 'Gqozo's Inkatha'

W/Mail 15/11-21/11/93

11A ~~105-21/11/93~~

By CLAIRE KEETON

EVIDENCE is mounting of links between the Pan Africanist Congress and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's "Inkatha" — the African Democratic Movement (ADM) — in the Border region. This has muddied the waters around last year's attack on the King William's Town golf club, whose sophistication led to doubts about Apla involvement.

The evidence of PAC-ADM ties also raises questions about Gqozo's claims this week that the PAC is plotting with the African National Congress and the Transkei government to topple him.

The PAC has maintained notably more cordial relations with the Ciskei Council of State than the ANC, and many Ciskei villagers are believed to hold both ADM and PAC membership.

ADM general secretary Thamsanqa Linda told a rally in King William's Town last Saturday that loyal ADM members, including some chiefs, had taken on PAC membership "to get protection from ANC radicalism".

He later claimed to have instructed ADM members to drop their PAC membership because of Apla violence, according to the Independent Monitoring Network (IMN).

A PAC information and recruitment drive in Ciskei late last year saw the PAC specifically invite ADM members to attend. As part of the campaign last August, PAC president Clarence Makwethu addressed Ciskei chiefs, many of them ADM members, at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

PAC publicity secretary Waters Toboti said at the time it is the "PAC's programme to win every African to our side".

Given the ANC's conflict with the Ciskei, this convergence of membership may mean the PAC is being drawn into the violence.

The ADM, a Ciskei government organ, has easy access to weapons, and may serve as a conduit for arms to Apla. When former police commissioner General Jan Viktor suddenly left the Ciskei last year, he expressed concern about the way in which firearms were being handed out to headmen, who often have ADM ties.

An incident days before Gqozo made his claims dramatised the murky politics at play. Ciskei Police announced they had arrested seven PAC members last Friday for possession of illegal weapons — R1 and R5 rifles, and Scorpion machine pistols — alleging the seven planned to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting (ANCYL). The ANC immediately claimed

the seven were in fact ADM members masquerading as PAC.

ANCYL Border president Themba Kinana said he was sure the youths got their sophisticated firearms from ADM headmen.

Residents of Bhele, where tensions have been rising for months, told the IMN many local PAC supporters had previously been ADM members. The PAC identified the seven as members, but could not exclude the possibility they had previously belonged to the ADM.

The Ciskei also said it would pass the arms on to the South African Police for ballistic tests to determine any link with the King William's Town attack. The SAP's Captain Nina Barkhuizen said no weapons had yet been received.

Evidence of links between the ADM and the PAC follows other highly expedient alliances between different anti-ANC elements in the Border, an ANC stronghold.

In past years, township councillors in towns like Komga and Cathcart emerged as PAC supporters, despite some PAC embarrassment.

Asked about the links with the ADM, PAC secretary general Bennie Alexander said "the PAC recruits for its own party in any territory" and "talks to anybody at any time at any place". He said he did not know about dual membership, but agreed that while Gqozo was hostile to the PAC when he first took over, he later adopted "a neutral attitude".

Feeding directly into the current paranoia about the PAC and Apla, Gqozo's ANC-PAC-Transkei plot claims may serve to distance him from the PAC, and perhaps to strengthen his conservative reputation in the Concerned South Africans Group. — Ecna



**T**HE African National Congress is in broad agreement with much of the Kassier committee report on the Marketing Act, but is demanding negotiations on future changes to agricultural policy.

These views were expressed by the ANC's agricultural spokesman, Derek Hanekom. Hanekom said he had not read the full report, but on the basis of press accounts "welcomed the recommendations and in general would agree with many of the points in the report, in particular the primary point that agriculture should move towards a non-compulsory, more voluntary marketing system".

Hanekom said the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) — which has objected to many of the committee's findings — had never been representative of all producers and that there was no justification for the SAAU's compulsory levies on farmers.

He echoed the remarks of committee chairman Professor WE Kassier that small farmers — particularly black farmers — had been excluded from all aspects of agriculture.

Hanekom said the ANC was concerned with the implementation of the recommendations. To date, there had been no representation on the issue by the ANC.

Both Kassier and the government have proposed boards out of which it is likely policy proposals would arise, and Hanekom warned that this should not become another case of unilateral restructuring. "Even if consumer interests are bet-

# ANC wants farm policy negotiated

Wtm ail 15/1-21/1/93 11A

*The ANC has welcomed many of the recommendations of the Kassier*

*committee but believes that agricultural policy decisions*

*should be part of political negotiations. By PAT SIDLEY*

ter represented, agricultural policy decisions should be part of political negotiations as well," he said.

Responding to fears that if the statutory control boards disappeared, the large monopolies would have a free hand in controlling agriculture, both Hanekom and Kassier agreed that this was the province of laws designed to deal with such issues. This would mean either the introduction of effective anti-trust laws or the beefing up of the present Competition Board. The Marketing Act, both said, should not be the instrument to ensure competition.

Neither the ANC nor Kassier himself argue for an immediate dropping of all controls.

Hanekom said that while the ANC considered voluntary marketing boards the ideal, it also believed that some statutory control, or even a form of single-channel marketing, might be needed in respect of strategic agricultural produce such as basic foods (meat and maize) and certain export products.

Kassier cautioned against the notion that the free market was a panacea for all the ills of past decades and drew attention to the difficulties former communist countries were now experiencing in trying to convert to free market economies.

The government had a role to play. "It should act to ensure that there is a level playing field with due consideration of the legacies of past policies," he commented in his report.

Questioned on this yesterday, Kassier noted that agricultural co-operatives, which existed under the force of law, and which had always excluded black farmers, remained a problem.

The Co-operative Act would come under the spotlight this year he said. Although he believed co-operatives were essentially voluntary organisations and could restrict their membership, he believed it would not be possible for them to "do anything other than throw open their doors to all members".

Many co-operatives acted in terms of the Marketing Act as agents of the control boards and therefore acted with statutory power. "In those cases they would certainly have to throw their doors open to everybody," Kassier said. Co-operatives were so entrenched in the area of agricultural inputs as well as in agriculturing marketing, they would have to open their doors.

The Kassier report is a glaring indictment of how the marketing arm of the agricultural system in its present form has acted to exclude farmers — black farmers because they were black, and others who were outmanoeuvred.

At the end of the report, Kassier quotes Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu as saying that "it is absurd to imagine that — after many years of restricted choices in education, careers, job opportunities and places of residence — the people of South Africa will settle for an economic system that offers fewer choices than the present system".

# ANC warns against optimism over summit with Inkatha

STAR 15/1/93.

11A  
11B

By Kaizer Nyatsumba  
Political Reporter

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party will meet in Durban today to assess progress made in preparations for a summit involving the two organisations' leaders.

The meeting follows two previous rounds of talks by the "contact group" appointed to liaise between the organisations.

It is expected to be held at a beachfront hotel this morning.

The delegations will be led by ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, neither of whom could be reached for comment yesterday.

Mdlalose was said to be at-

tending a meeting in Ulundi and Zuma was reported to be in Cape Town to attend his organisation's meeting with the Government.

However, ANC national executive committee member and deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad this week cautioned against optimism.

Today's meeting, he said, was scheduled to assess progress made in preparations for a summit between the two organisations, and not to set a date for the summit.

Pahad said four joint subcommittees elected at the last meeting between the two organisations were charged with the responsibility to prepare the groundwork for a summit between the ANC and the IFP.

The last such meeting, held in Durban on January 29 last year, did not yield any concrete results.

According to Pahad, both organisations wanted thorough preparations to be made before the summit took place, and neither side was insisting on setting a date for such a meeting at this stage.

The four subcommittees whose work will be assessed at today's meeting were asked to look at:

- ⊗ The creation of a climate for free political activity.
- ⊗ The strengthening of National Peace Accord structures.
- ⊗ The militarisation of politics in the country.
- ⊗ The reconstruction and development of violence-affected areas.

**SLOW AHEAD:** *Power will change hands by increments, leaving a baffled, frustrated black majority waiting until beyond 2000*

# Four rites of passage

STARZ 16/1/93.

~~STARZ~~ 11A

**T**HE liberation process in South Africa will be both phased and diluted. I can count at least three likely rites of passage.

First, by mid-1993, a transitional executive council with sub-councils will be formed. This is where the experiment in formal power-sharing will begin. It's worth a celebration.

Second, by April 1994, there will be one man, one vote elections for a single-chamber constitution-making body/interim parliament to adopt a constitution and administer the country. That will mark the inauguration of a transitional government of national unity to continue the experiment in shared power. It, too, would be worth a celebration.

The third rite of passage will be the adoption of the new constitution, which will provide for shared power in a multiparty executive — with majority rule still beyond black reach.

If President de Klerk has his way, this period of executive power-sharing will last forever. Even if the ANC has its way, power-sharing will last at least until the turn of the century. Only then can there be a fourth and final rite of passage, and by that time liberation will have lost its gloss.

There will have been so many rites that the usual single, cathartic transition will never occur.

What this will do to the black psyche can only be imagined. Apartheid has been such a horrendous experience in black lives that only if it is exorcised in a single, all-encompassing, all-cleansing ritual will the psyche be satisfied. This is what burials are for. To



liberation will have lost its gloss.

There will have been so many rites that the usual single, cathartic transition will never occur.

What this will do to the black psyche can only be imagined. Apartheid has been such a horrendous experience in black lives that only if it is exorcised in a single, all-encompassing, all-cleansing ritual will the psyche be satisfied. This is what burials are for. To confirm the finality, so that the souls of the living can be at rest. For years, the souls of South Africa's blacks — certainly of the radicals — will not be at rest.

It is necessary, nevertheless, to talk about a "new South Africa", because it gives moral purpose and political and economic direction to negotiations. But in fact the new South Africa has already happened. It is to be found in the now virtually complete dismantling of statutory race barriers, leaving only some conventional apartheid in place. A main rite of passage has taken place without a single ceremony to celebrate it.

The most the ANC can do, therefore, as the process unfolds, will be to fix a moment (or moments) of liberation, and commission Saatchi and Saatchi to stage festivals on each occasion that looks like final fulfilment of the freedom struggle, even if they are not.

**P**RESIDENT FW de Klerk noted all this in his address to the South Africa Club in London (November 13): "Perhaps the greatest challenge which will confront us in the new South Africa will be the degree to which a new government of national unity will be able to manage the enormous expectations of the newly enfranchised voters," he said. "The problem is that sufficient wealth for this purpose does not yet exist, and the gratification of some demands will have to be deferred until economic growth has generated the necessary wealth."

Well, he would say this, wouldn't he, but then ANC president Nelson Mandela said the same thing even more bluntly. When a questioner asked him at a meeting in Vryburg (December 12) when redistribution of wealth would begin, he replied: "After liberation, when we have regained political power, you are still going to continue to live in poverty — without houses, without medical facilities, without adequate education ... because we must (first) properly organise the grassroots to ensure that you have good jobs, de-

cent houses, good education."

Mandela was telling blacks to scale down their expectations.

What both leaders understand is that they can accomplish the immense task of post-apartheid reconstruction only if working together.


This is where the lines cross: where rivalry merges into partnership, creating internal dissent in the ANC and NP, yet offering South Africa salvation. Consider, for example, one man, one vote elections. Professor Lawrence Schlemmer suggests that the role of elections should be reversed — instead of determining which policy should prevail, the elections should confirm agreements already reached.

This may sound bizarre, but the whole South African compromise will be bizarre. Elections, says Schlemmer, must be the result of settlements rather than an attempt to impose them. "I don't believe we should risk an election," he says, "unless we have a contract between parties about some form of joint action after the election. And pacting should take place right down to local level."

How will the ANC handle the fundamental contradiction of being both champion of the black cause and partner of the present Government? Given that the two sides now swim or sink together, there can be little doubt that the partnership will grow, but this will place unbearable strains on ANC unity.

One day the organisation will have to choose between breaking away from the coalition (for that is what shared power will be) or accepting, first, that the new state cannot function without the goodwill and co-operation of the white civil service, security establishment and captains of commerce and industry and, second, that the litmus test foreign governments and investors will apply to whether South Africa is stable will be the degree to which whites and blacks are seen to be working together.

Joe Slovo spelt this out in his seminal article in the African Com-



**MAJOR PLAYERS:** De Klerk and Mandela know they can accomplish reconstruction only if they work together. But will the concept of power-sharing for at least several years be swallowed by the ANC's radical followers? The ability to carry them along could be the difference between a stable and unstable future.



**LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER:** Elections must be the result of settlements, not a way of imposing them.



**JOE SLOVO:** The ANC is not dealing with a defeated enemy, hence the suggested "sunset clause".

**WHEN colonial Africa became independent, there was always a simple rite of passage. The foreign power's flag would be run down and the new, liberation flag run up. It will not be like this in South Africa. There will be no single, triumphant ceremony at which power will be transferred, while trumpets sound and cymbals clash. STANLEY UYS outlines a likely scenario.**

munist: "The ANC is not dealing with a defeated enemy; an early revolutionary seizure of power is not realistic; the capacity of the white civil service, army and police to destabilise a newly born democracy is enormous; and a 'sunset' clause should be inserted in the new constitution to provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years..."

The essence of this document has been approved by both the ANC's working committee and its national executive committee (after a heated debate), so the ANC can be said to have made its choice: it stands or falls now by white-black collaboration.

However, can the ANC carry its constituency with it? With some luck, yes, at least until the elections are held, because the prospect of power is a powerful centripetal force in liberation politics.

But then things will start to fall apart.

The dissenters are already there — it is just that they have not yet been mobilised: exiles who have returned without a welcome or a job; Umkhonto cadres who have turned rogue; self-defence units that have become a law unto themselves; civics with their own agendas; a nucleus of rebels, under the Hanis, Winnies, Gwalas, Mokabas, and others, who are biding their time; and, on

the periphery, sundry PAC, Apla, Azapo members and others.

The dissenters will claim to represent "the masses" who have been betrayed by an elite. The only way in which the ANC can really meet the challenge then is if, speedily, jobs are created and houses built — even before the ANC gets its hands on real power. Therefore, this will be the Government's immediate responsibility.

The crux of the dispute between the ANC leadership and the dissenters will be power-sharing.

Already, the Government has made major concessions: it has dismantled apartheid, surrendered white supremacy and changed the balance of forces between whites and blacks forever. The ANC has made matching concessions by abandoning the armed struggle and crossing the Rubicon of shared power.

Now there will have to be more give and take: the Government on federalism and the ANC on the time limit for shared power.

Federalism's principles are impeccable. In 1992 there were 17 formal federal systems in the world, 40 percent of the world's population lived within federal polities and a further 33 percent lived in polities that utilise federal arrangements in some way.

Inevitably, federalism in one form or another will be introduced in the new South Africa. The question is whether the federalists will overplay their hand. If they confine federal powers to socio-cultural interests, well and good, but if they insist on political-economic powers that override the central government's powers — which surely must be the locus of real power — the country will find itself without an organic centre, and if the centre does not hold (as Yeats reminds us), things fall apart.

Either all sides must place their trust in the power-sharing Cabinet, and make sure it works, or they might as well not start it in the first place. If whites plan to erect

second and third lines of fortifications for minority interests — a senate and a federal system — capable of paralysing the multiparty executive, the executive will be stillborn. The senate and the federal system will have to mesh in with the multiparty executive, or none of the trinity will work.

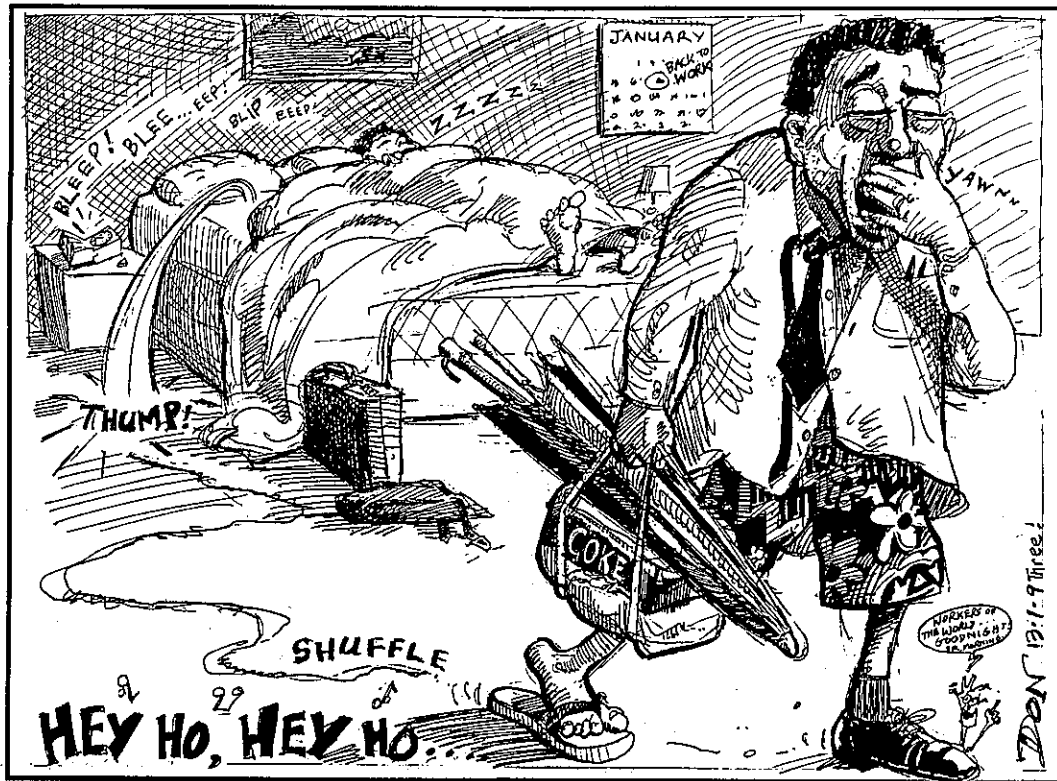
The ANC is prepared to experiment with a power-sharing executive only for five or 10 years. Hence the name "sunset" clause. In the circumstances, whites have looked beyond the deadline, and come up with the senate and federalism for longer-term protection.

But it will not work. To add to shared executive power a fully fledged federal structure, plus a House of regions, would create an impossibly complicated structure, studded with self-destruct buttons.

A power-sharing Cabinet is not a sophisticated idea — it is pretty crude, in fact. But no better idea has been offered so far. If the minds in a shared executive are convergent — if only because everyone has peered into the same abyss — it could work.

**N**O MATTER which way one looks at the new South Africa, it will need a strong centre, and only a power-sharing Cabinet can provide that centre, which must be made to hold at all costs. Federalism and a senate representing regions cannot be allowed to paralyse it.

The country will need strong central government to deal not only with foreign affairs, defence, immigration and the other familiar central government portfolios, but also with political violence, crime, economic recovery, maladministration, corruption, etc. A Cabinet based on shared power, but commanding only residual powers left over from the provinces, would be little more than a Tower of Babel.



## MY VIEW

**Rory Riordan** Director of the Human Rights Trust and an ANC member

SOUTH 16/1 - 20/1/93

THE issue set to dominate 1993 is the pending universal franchise election for all South African adults.

This election will end 350 years of white control of South Africa's political life and will be, to say the least, a watershed in our history.

- When will this election be?
- Who will vote in it?
- For what will these voters be voting?
- What system of election will be used?
- What will the election issues be?
- Who will win this election?

### When will this election be?

It is difficult to say now, but the National Party wants it to be in early 1994 and the ANC in late 1993.

My guess is that it will be later rather than sooner because of the detail the parties have to agree on and because of the enormously complicated logistics involved.

### Who will vote in it?

It has been generally agreed that all adult South Africans, regardless of race, will vote in this election.

The only points of difficulty surround the issue of the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, and the participation of the people of these statelets in the election.

The NP says it is impossible to have "foreign nationals" voting in a South African election. The ANC demands participation of all adults of greater South Africa.

The regimes of the Transkei and Venda have agreed to reincorporation, while those of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are dragging their heels.

Time — and probably a bit of mass action — will tell here, but my money is on the whole population voting.

### For what will we be voting?

As it appears now, we will be voting to elect a chamber of political people who will be charged with two functions: to draft a new constitution for South Africa and to perform some functions of interim government (for example, control over the nation's purse, or what's left of it; and control over the SABC's television and radio empire.)

### What system of election will be used?

On this issue we have little clarity, but it would appear that it will be a proportional

*As we get closer to the mother of all elections, it is predictable that we will see more so-called black-on-black violence'*



representation election. Because most of our people have never voted and many are illiterate, great care will have to be taken to keep the system as simple and "user-friendly" as possible.

It will probably be like the Namibian election, an election of a simple party preference, with the composition of the chamber coming from lists submitted by the parties.

### What will the issues be?

There will be the normal elections mud-slinging, with the NP trying to project the ANC as a bunch of blood-soaked, communist revolutionaries, "incapable-of-answering-the-phonetic-alone-governing-a-country". The ANC in turn will project the National Party as a pack of Verwoerdian fascists, broeders-in-brown-shirts, who have built up massive privilege for themselves on the back of black suffering.

The real issue promises to be straight-forward: "Do you, Mr and Ms Voter, wish for power to remain with Mr De Klerk and his allies, or do you want it to go to Mr Mandela and his allies?"

### Who will win the election?

That would be telling wouldn't it?

Actually, while all market research points to the ANC having somewhere between twice or three times the support level of the next biggest movement, the NP, it is still much too early to predict how this unspecified election will work out.

To whom will Inkatha be allied? Where will the smaller parties — the Democratic Party,

the SA Communist Party, the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, even Labour — be perceived as standing? Time, the issues, the state of all alliances, will tell.

That will be the big issue of 1993, providing we escape unpredicted disasters such as assassinations and massacres.

The constitutional debate looks like settling down on two issues in early 1993.

The first is the debate on power-sharing — or minority protection.

The NP's best option is a constitution that allows a minority party (like the NP) to be part of the drafting of all legislation. A second, weaker, option is to have veto provisions available to minority parties.

The ANC has rejected both of these options, but is in turn talking of "sunset-clauses" and "governments of national unity".

The ANC offers are seen by the NP as akin to the Zimbabwean arrangement of 20 percent of parliament's seats being reserved for whites for 10 years — a worthless gesture.

The second constitutional debate is that of federalism-regionalism.

Here, only the ANC and Inkatha have released detailed proposals. The Inkatha proposals amount to the secession of Natal.

The issue is again one of political power.

Ulundi is a Hollywood prop-town, a parade, a fiction. But it is a fiction that has allowed an elite to exercise political power over some territory. The ANC's constitutional proposals threaten to rip down this facade and take this, albeit mock, power.

As for the rest, it will probably be more of the usual — more undercover attempts to destabilise the ANC, more corruption, crookery by the NP and its civil service, more unpredictable behaviour from Chief Buthelezi, more brave and remarkable work from Mr Justice Goldstone and his team.

There will be more spending of state resources to help the NP buy black support.

As we get closer to the mother of all elections, it is predictable that we will see more "black-on-black" violence as the security establishment and its bosses step up destabilising campaigns in ANC communities.

The tiny wedge that can be driven into our society to prevent this from happening is Judge Goldstone and his team, and the United Nations and its team.



# DP will get more of the same — Azapo members

SOUTH 16/1 - 20/1/93

11A ~~20/1/93~~

By Quentin Wilson

THE Democratic Party ventured into Guguletu this week hoping their past endeavours as an exclusively white parliamentary grouping would not prejudice them with local residents.

After the first five minutes, they received a shrill awakening that this would not happen as their second public meeting in a Cape township was forced into chaotic closure.

ANC officials were caught in the middle of a fracas which took on a racist overtone.

Azapo members at the meeting warned that they would continue their spoiling tactics at future DP township meetings.

An Azapo member told SOUTH amid the pandemonium at the Uluntu Complex that the DP and other organisations "representing the European community will never be allowed to organise among the oppressed and exploited people of Azania".

"Azapo's position is that the DP is not a liberation movement for blacks in this country," he said.

"It has always been, and still is, a political party for whites who give legitimacy to the racist tricameral parliament by their presence there."

Graffiti outside the meeting read: "We shall never forget cross-border raids supported by the PFP/DP. Our killers are now asking for our votes. What an irony."

In 1986, PFP chairperson Mr Colin Eglin said the party would only talk to the ANC if it aban-



**'GO BACK TO SEA-POINT!' Tempers flare at Monday's raucous meeting.**  
Pic: Fanie Jason

doned its armed struggle.

At the time, members of the mass democratic movement saw this as hypocritical, considering that the PFP talked to the NP all through its efforts to violently suppress opposition to apartheid.

The next year, when a contingent of white South Africans, including PFP MPs, met the exiled ANC in Dakar, Mr Harry Schwarz, a PFP MP, publicly repudiated these talks, saying he could never "negotiate with someone who has an AK-47 on the table".

Of Monday's disruption, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said: "I understand the strong rejection by many people of the DP's participation in a racist parliament, but in a democracy we have to be firm in defending the right to speak of those whose views we find unacceptable."

At a press conference, Mr

Jasper Walsh, DP Western Cape chairperson, lumped the blame on Azapo, ANC and PAC, singling out Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC general secretary, as "personally responsible" for inciting the disruption.

Walsh was referring to a statement made by Yengeni the previous week which, although stressing that the ANC would not tolerate any acts of intimidation by its members against the DP, also criticised the DP for its role in implicitly supporting "apartheid violence".

In his comments, Yengeni charged the DP with "supporting the regime's hot pursuit of the ANC, attacks on frontline states and even massacres."

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, denied his allegations, saying the DP/PFP "had always condemned these actions in the strongest possible terms".

.....

## Keeping tabs on the news

*Press 17/1/93*  
**ANC/Inkatha meeting on track**

A MEETING between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi has almost been finalised with a summit date expected to be announced next month, according to the organisations in Durban this week.

This emerged after the third round of talks between a joint ANC-Inkatha committee.

According to a joint statement read by Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, the committee had not completed its work but had made progress and would probably announce the date for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit at their next meeting in February.

Earlier on Friday a threatened hitch to the summit was smoothed over by ANC deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma who, in response to a call by two Natal ANC regions for the suspension of talks with Inkatha, said: "We are going ahead with preparations."

# ANC links Ciskei govt to club killings

C Press  
17/11/93  
VIA

BORDER ANC regional president Smuts Ngonyama has alleged that weapons used in the King William's Town Golf Club attack last year belonged to the Ciskei government.

Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday, Ngonyama linked the attack to weapons confiscated from a group of African Democratic Movement (ADM) members arrested near Dimbaza last Friday.

The youths, armed with homemade and automatic weapons and allegedly wearing PAC T-shirts, were arrested while attempting to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting in Bhele village.

"An investigation should be immediately launched to establish the link between these armed ADM members and the attacks at the King William's Town Golf Club," Ngonyama said.

He called on police to clean up the Border/Ciskei region.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said that headmen in Ciskei, mostly ADM members, wore PAC clothing to create the impression there is in-fighting between the ANC and the PAC in the region.

Bata said the real fight was with the Ciskei government as people rejected Brig Gqozo's headmen system. — Elnews

# Tempers flare as DP is chased out of Gugulethu

CP Correspondent

CP Press 17/11/93  
(275) (11A)

THE ANC and the Democratic Party have agreed to co-operate in launching a working group in the western Cape after fighting broke out at a DP meeting at the Uluntu Centre in Gugulethu this week.

This was the DP's second attempt at holding a meeting in a black township. Their first in Khayelitsha two weeks ago also ended in chaos.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said in Cape Town that Azapo believed the break-up of the meeting in Gugulethu was justified because as long as black people remained without power there would be no love lost between Azapo and whites.

Although the ANC condemned the break-up of the meeting and blamed the PAC and Azapo for most of the trouble, ANC supporters were also among those disrupting the meeting.

## Stormed stage

Several prominent politicians were among those jostled or assaulted as the meeting was about to be addressed by the first DP speaker, Siyathemba Malgas, also the DP's eastern Cape youth co-ordinator.

Just as he said "the time for fighting is over", a large section of the audience shouted slogans and flung DP pamphlets in the air and stormed the stage.

ANC executive member Prof Kader Asmal, Jan van Eck, Reg September and Johnny de Lange appealed to the crowd to "cool it", but the angry audience refused to listen. DP posters and banners were ripped off the wall while tables were overturned and chairs thrown at the speakers.

The ANC's western Cape secretary, Tony Yengeni, who had been involved in a war of words with the DP prior to the meeting, said afterwards: "There should not be any no-go areas when it comes to freedom of expression.

"The DP is not our enemy. The real enemy is the apartheid regime. We must defend the right of the ANC and the DP to hold meetings wherever they like."

# New laws for new future

STrinda 17/11/93.

**THE ANC and the government meet this week to discuss draft laws that could pave the way for interim government and scrap the homelands.**

The laws set the basis for a transitional constitution, the integration of homelands and the removal of racist statutes and certain security laws.

However, key sources in the government and the ANC have made it clear that any new laws will be subject to ultimate approval by a multiparty forum like Codessa.

The proposed laws have developed from intense discussions between both groups at committee level and the release late last year of the ANC's draft "Transition to Democracy Act".

## Focus

That act, the ANC proposes, would abolish the tricameral parliament, as well as the laws that gave independence to the TBVC states, and the constitutions of the self-governing territories. It is designed to concentrate on the creation of a constitution-making body, such as a constituent assembly.

It would make provision for a single house of parliament of 400 representatives voted in by an electoral system based on proportional representation.

By CHARLENE SMITH

While the ANC has approved this act, the other draft laws still have to be approved by the cabinet or the ANC's national working committee, which meets tomorrow.

The draft legislation will form the focus of an intensive six-and-a-half-day bosberaad beginning on Wednesday.

The bosberaad, which will see two teams led by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, will have 20 members on each side. Agreement at those talks and in meetings with other parties in the near future could see a transitional

executive council in place by June.

Such a multiparty council will be responsible for government and pave the way for interim government and national elections.

The government meets with Inkatha next week and is hoping for further talks with the Concerned South Africans Group soon. The ANC met again with Inkatha in Durban on Friday to facilitate a meeting in the near future between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP presi-

dent Mangosuthu Buthe.

The planning committee will meet again on February 11.

This week's bosberaad will attempt to set dates for South Africa's first one-person, one-vote national elections, and time frames leading up to those elections.

Critical to this is a suggested ombudsman law, similar to that found in Namibia before elections. This would render laws or by-laws that discriminate on the basis of race or gender invalid.

The removal of certain security legislation including the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act will again be on the agenda.

The bosberaad will discuss a national electoral commission and its composition, the structure and members of a media commission - including the members of the new SABC Board which has to be elected by the end of March, ways of integrating the armed forces and the dissolution of the TBVC states.

At Codessa, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda agreed to such dissolution. However, Ciskei has taken a different stance in recent times and Bophuthatswana remains opposed to reincorporation.

Sources say the government believes citizenship should be restored to the citizens of independent states at the same time as those states are reincorporated into SA, probably after elections. However, the ANC is believed to be demanding that those citizens be given

dual citizenship at the same time as the transitional executive council comes into being. This would enable them to vote in SA elections.

But Bophuthatswana is a sticking point. The ANC is loathe to serve on the council while SA gives de facto recognition to Bophuthatswana.

## Safeguards

The issue of regions will again come under the spotlight. While the ANC wants central government to have concurrent powers with regions, and the ability to withdraw delegated powers from regions, the government is opposed to this.

The ANC says the withdrawal of powers could, as an example, arise when health services break down and a region lacks the resources to restore them. But the government wants safeguards against central government usurping powers from the regions. The ANC also wants to convince the government that power sharing should not form part of any future constitution.

C/Press 11/1/93  
(UK)

# 'Get smart!' ANC tells local youths

By STAN MHLONGO

UMKHONTO weSizwe Chief of Staff Sphiwe Nyanda this week called on the ANC to start mobilising for the forthcoming elections and not be lured into a false sense of security by the popular slogan: "Victory is certain."

Nyanda was among a host of speakers who attended the commemoration service of 40 people killed in a violent attack at ANC member Chris Nangelimbe's funeral on January 12 1990.

The commemoration service was held at Residensia Hall in Sebokeng.

About 5 000 people filled the hall to capacity

leaving no standing room for scores of people who had to follow the proceedings from outside.

Nyanda, in a note overflowing with sarcasm, told the masses to "forget Mickey Mouse armies who were only emerging now" and advised people not to sit on the fence but to support the ANC in its campaign to be the new government.

ANC NEC member John Nkadimeng, called for the youth to stop burning houses and necklacing people.

Nkadimeng said the youth should abandon the senseless killing of black people.

"Blacks must unite

against the enemy and should not get involved in senseless killings where you find youths acting as judges and deciding the fate of young and old instead of being in the classrooms," he added.

"The youths are the leaders of the future and should concentrate on educating themselves," concluded Nkadimeng.

A surprise inclusion among the list of speakers was Andries Masondo, an MK commander from Uganda, while the surprise omission was ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu who, despite his inclusion in the list of speakers, was conspicuous by his absence.

# 'They hanged me from a tree and then burnt my feet with candles'

THE Douglas commission on ANC prison camps is a grim litany of the evil perpetrated by Mbokodo — the ANC/SACP security apparatus which means the "Boulder Which Crushes".

Released this week, it culls from affidavits the stories of anonymous and terrified people like Alice, kidnapped with her boyfriend while holidaying in Botswana in 1987. The two were marched into Zambia, then separated. She hasn't seen him since.

At an ANC camp in Zambia she was tortured in order to expose her boyfriend as a double agent. Thereafter she was imprisoned and raped. She believed the experience would "drive me mad".

But Mbokodo's paranoia and criminal spite did not typically target bystanders like Alice. Rather it weeded out "infiltrators" and "spies", processing and re-educating them in primitive camps scattered throughout southern Africa.

The first camps were founded in secret in the late 70s under the aegis of the SACP and the tutelage of the KGB.

A day in the life of a prisoner there was sheer hell.

## Screams

Four women at Angola's notorious Quatro camp went insane after being incessantly beaten and sexually abused. "Eventually", a witness recalls, "they were all executed because it was impossible for them to be released."

Today former camp commanders, commissars and guards walk free.

When they wanted to drown out the screams from all-night torture sessions, they turned up their radios full blast.

The names of those who visited the camps and saw nothing wrong include Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Alfred Nzo, Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Slovo and Jacob Zuma.

There was plenty for them to see and investigate. The probe by Bob Douglas, a Durban advocate, involved interviews with some 40 camp survivors and about 100 witnesses. It was commissioned by the Washington-based International Freedom Foundation and has had a frosty reception from the ANC.

By BILL KRIGE

were incarcerated because they asked questions or read the wrong books or criticised leaders. One man was detained because he and an Mbokodo guard loved the same woman.

When the liberation movements — near death until the 1976 influx — were unbanned in 1990, prison camps existed in Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Mozambique and Angola.

"I saw boiling water being poured on the head of an inmate," recalls a former Quatro detainee. "On another occasion I saw an inmate being compelled to walk on burning coals."

"We were housed in tiny cells where we were crammed like sardines. In 1987 Oliver Tambo visited Quatro and we had the opportunity to tell him our story," recalled the man, a trained cadre named Frederick. "He did nothing to alleviate our position."

The commission highlights, as have earlier investigations, a sadistic regimen of lies and deceit and violence on an intolerable scale.

## Fractures

"They hanged me from a tree and burnt the soles of my feet with candles and beat me on the back," recalls a former SAP constable and Quatro inmate who claimed he was lured to Zambia under false pretences.

Another survivor claimed the Quatro guards were cronies of current SACP boss Chris Hani. "I actually witnessed the death of one of my comrades due to exhaustion, anaemia, dehydration and the result of numerous beatings," he said.

A nursing sister at Pango camp in Angola recollected treating ANC cadres who had been convicted of smoking dagga. "The punishment", she said, "was so severe some of them later died of their injuries." They had skin burns, bone fractures and suffered internal bleeding after people jumped on their stomachs.

At Bokolota, in Uganda, starving Mbokodo prisoners stayed alive by eating dogs and snakes.

On December 18 1990, long after the ANC was unbanned, inmates at Quatro were approached by top ANC security official Joe Nhlamhla.

"He apologised for what had happened to us," an inmate recalled drily. "He said that the wrong the ANC had done must now be forgotten."

## Sewage

The ANC/SACP prison system was founded on the need to impose discipline on the thousands of defiant and angry exiles from the 1976 uprising. Most wanted to be trained to fight the hated apartheid government, but for many their noble ideals were extinguished in blood and violence, in "confessions" extracted under torture or in years of detention in disgusting cells.

At Quatro the cells were windowless. At nearby Nova Instalacao — an Angolan state prison — raw sewage overflowed on to bare concrete floors from permanently blocked toilets.

Often the sins of dissidents were trivial, echoing the grim arbitrariness of the Soviet Gulag. People

# THE DOUGLAS COMMISSION

**A FASCINATING court case will ensue if SACP member Ronnie Kasrils carries out a threat to sue the International Freedom Foundation and advocate Bob Douglas for defamation.**

Mr Kasrils said a "tissue of lies" had been woven about him in the Douglas commission report into ANC death camps released this week by the anti-communist IFF.

He said there were "scores" of people who could refute allegations in the report that he was responsible for having 14 Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres held in a concrete basement in Quibaxe camp (in Angola) where a diesel engine nearby flooded the basement with noxious fumes.

Mr Kasrils, who yesterday consulted lawyers on the report, believed those who would defend him include 11 of the 14 (the other three died over the years) who were still alive and now live in SA. All had remained ANC members and some were active in ANC structures.

If Mr Kasrils goes ahead the case will attract wide attention and could open past activities of top SACP and ANC members to scrutiny. It could also set new ground rules for defamation actions against political figures.

"One has to ask on what information Mr Douglas based his findings, or sought to check information put before him. He never asked me to testify," said Mr Kasrils yesterday.

But would he have testified given that the ANC rejected the commission which began its inquiries soon after its own had ended? "I don't operate as an individual. I am under discipline from my organis-

# Red Ronnie Kasrils threatens to sue over 'tissue of lies' about his role in ANC's death camps

By CHARLENE SMITH

ST *Times* 17/1/93.

Mr Kasrils was camp commissar and political instructor at Quibaxe from September 1977 to January 1978, when he left.

Interviewed in his small office at ANC headquarters this week, where he is head of the ANC campaigns committee, Mr Kasrils sketched a very different picture of the December 1977 event to that of the Douglas commission.

The 14 men allegedly held imprisoned had received basic military training at Novo Catequie camp, 90km south of Ben-

guela, but rebelled when they were not immediately sent on missions to South Africa.

They were brought to Quibaxe, about 400km north of Luanda. A former coffee plantation, it was one of the smallest and poorest ANC camps. Surrounded by scrub land, ravines, villages and banana plantations, its old abandoned buildings were usually not used by ANC cadres. They slept in tents and, in later years, dugouts as protection against air strikes.

Mr Kasrils said all slept on bedding on concrete floors "whether command-

ers or trainees". A former MK soldier said the camp was infested with mosquitoes and it was not a place he would have liked to stay in long. Until 1986 — when it became a training camp — it was used as a transit camp for newly trained ANC guerrillas who were sent there prior to postings or missions elsewhere.

Mr Kasrils said the 14 arrived at Quibaxe "angry and unco-operative". They were told they would have to assist with such camp chores as cooking, gathering firewood and construction.

They refused and were given the option other military commanders might give: "Abide by our terms or get locked up."

The men persisted and were put in a storage basement. Mr Kasrils said their door was left open for ventilation and they were allowed into a fenced-in open area off the basement.

During that time, Mr Kasrils said the men climbed on top of two diesel drums, used for storing water, in an attempt to go

through a trap-door into the doctor's surgery. They fell off the drums, which in turn saturated their bedding. They were given fresh bedding.

After three days, he said, he asked them to join the camp's morning exercises. Within a month, Mr Kasrils said, they were all integrated into MK and removed from the basement.

## Scathing

Torture in ANC camps, in particular the notorious Quatro — far to the east of Quibaxe — had come under the spotlight since the ANC published results of its own commission in October last year.

Headed by a non-ANC member, advocate Gilbert Marcus, that report concurred with a witness who called Quatro a "concentration camp".

However, Mr Kasrils was not mentioned as a torturer, or an accessory to abuse in either that report or a scathing Amnesty International report released late last year.

In another dramatic section, the Douglas commission said: "There is also evidence that a top-level delegation headed by Oli-



**NO JOKE . . . Ronnie Kasrils, who is angry he wasn't asked to give evidence**

ver Tambo, which included Joe Slovo, Joe Mchise, Cassius Maki and Ronnie Kasrils, visited Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in 1978.

"The idea, so I heard, to create Quatro, came from some other than Pol Pot vho, so it is claimed, murdered some three million fellow Cambodians."

Mr Kasrils disputed the charge. "That's absolute rubbish. There was a trip to Vietnam in 1978 to study their military techniques, but no one went to Laos or Cambodia. I was not part of that trip.

"Quatro began because the Angolians made it clear they did not have sufficient facilities in their prisons for our people. Quatro began as a rehabilitation camp, essentially a prison, but also a place where we would try to turn confessed South African spies."





# Two beasts slouching towards kleptocracy

SI Times  
17/11/93

(11A)  
~~2021A~~

**A**S FOUR year lies behind us, an uncertain year ahead. The national dilemma can be succinctly stated: if we take the time we need to thrash out a sound constitution continuing violence may drag us into a Balkan nightmare; but if we rush into a jerry-built interim government of Nats and ANC, we put ourselves at the mercy of two sets of political gangsters, and may never see democracy.

Underlying this dilemma are some harsh truths: the National Party cannot govern without the acquiescence of the black population which it has been losing, irretrievably, since 1976; the ANC cannot govern unless it secures the acquiescence of important constituencies of whites.

This is the true impetus behind the drive, evident now in both the ANC and the government, to establish an interim government. The hope is that the interim government will have sufficient legitimacy to restore order in the streets, to revive local business confidence, and to lure foreign investment.

The government, its ability to govern eroding steadily as Afrikaners defect from the National Party and as the recent English support flags, is showing signs of desperation: if no interim government ensues to check the violence and rebuild confidence, can the descent into chaos be avoided?

The ANC, on the other hand, shows signs of grasping, at last, the daunting task which awaits the next government. Its constituency, too, is eroding, with new challenges from Mrs Winnie Mandela, Apla, and the nasty class of township youngsters joining the older challenges of the PAC and Inkatha.

The ANC will surely win the first election of the new South Africa; it is the second election that worries its leaders. They have realised they have no hope of satisfying the soaring aspirations of the townships without the help — the dedicated help — of the white civil servants, the local business class, and the overseas capitalists.

Some of them have developed a touching faith in the ability of Finance Minister Derek Keys to work financial miracles, and there has been talk of including him in the first ANC cabinet. Like the Nationalists, they see econom-

ic growth, violence and lack of business confidence as a vicious cycle, and like the Nationalists, they are turning to market remedies.

For both sides, as for many liberals, the answers lie in the rapid formation of an interim government. For both sides it is a way of avoiding the disruptions and conflicts that would follow an abrupt transfer of power. Neither party can govern alone; perhaps together they may do so.

That, at least, is the theory, and it has attracted the support of many people beyond the ranks of the main parties. Political analysts see it as a means of strengthening "the centre" against increasingly violent pressures from both the left and the right.

The cost of the deal, of course, is that South Africa will be governed under another defective constitution — worse, in some ways, than the 1910 constitution — while the two governing parties, neither of them democratic, will have every incentive to cut new deals to keep themselves in power.

Chief Buthelezi has seen the danger, so he is trying to secure a separate power base in a federal/confederal system before it is too late. To this end he has allied himself with a motley crew of bantustan leaders and rightwingers, all of whom, by their opposition, confer respectability on an NP-ANC deal.

**T**HE one party that has the credibility, and the sophistication, to see the dangers of government — even interim government — without constitutional certainty or democratic safeguards is the Democratic Party; that, I suspect, is why the DP has come under renewed attack from the left, which would rather deal with oppressors than compete with democrats.

But the DP is once again in one of its moods of peace at any price. The party's middle-class decency, its abhorrence of force or even of conflict, is its strength and its weakness. Its leaders, one guesses, will support the deal but try to nudge it in the direction of democracy. It's a race against time.

Hardly anybody, it seems to me, is asking the hard questions: can an ANC-NP coalition govern without the acquiescence of the Inkatha Freedom

Party? Is it better to compromise now with the IFP, or to suppress a Zululand-based rebellion afterwards? Would the SADF, demoralised and suspicious, be willing to perform the role performed in Zimbabwe by the North Koreans — the role of putting down the post-liberation challengers to the ruling party?

There is another problem, perhaps more difficult. The National Party government has, over time, become essentially a huge patronage machine, dispensing money and privilege among its members and to its allies. Ex-President Botha smelled the corruption as early as 1978, but his efforts to curb it proved vain and his promises empty.

**N**OW President de Klerk is trying, at immense political risk to himself, to bring under control a machine that spews public money through bureaucracies, agricultural control boards, advisory groups, tender arrangements, military suppliers, government contractors, bantustans, educational establishments, town councils, and practically every institution in the country.

President de Klerk's latest attempt to dismantle the patronage machine that feeds the parasitic agricultural community demonstrates the difficulties of reforming a government that exists not primarily to govern, but to fill its own troughs. It shows why the government has once again overshot its budgets.

The truly frightening prospect — it seems to frighten even Albie Sachs — is that the immense appetites of the ANC and the corrupt machinery of patronage of the National Party will simply be combined in an interim government. The ensuing corruption would be spectacular, and ruinous.

The question to ask now, and I hope it is asked repeatedly when Parliament convenes, is what the chances will be, under such an interim government, of restoring order, or confidence, or prosperity, or of achieving a later transition to democracy. I think we might very soon end up under our own Papa Doc, with his own — probably white — *Tontons Macoutes*.

**KEN OWEN**

# Recognition for the indigenous peoples

Sowetan 18/1/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ GLOBAL EVENT *More than 300 -m*

*people, from 70 countries, to be honoured:*

**T**HE INTERNATIONAL community has finally woken up to the fact that indigenous peoples have something worthwhile to offer the world.

The result is 1993 has been declared the International Year for the World's Indigenous People.

The United Nations General Assembly - which launched this event in New York on Human Rights Day, 10 December last year - is hoping to focus the attention of the international community on "one of the planet's most neglected and vulnerable groups of people" as the UN co-ordinator for the year, Mr Antoine Blanca, puts it.

The UN defines indigenous peoples as "descendants of the original inhabitants of many lands, strikingly diverse in their cultures, religions and patterns of social and economic organisation".

Indigenous people include Australia's Aborigines, Africans, the native Americans (known by the derogatory term of Red Indians), the Bontoc in the Phillipines, the Karen in Thailand, the Saami in Finland, the Aymara in Bo-

livia, and the Khoi Khoi and San people in Southern Africa.

Many events and activities are being held internationally to celebrate the Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples.

These include the International Day of Solidarity With The Struggling People of South Africa on June 16, The International Day of Solidarity with The Struggling Women of South Africa on August 9 and the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on October 11.

Ironically, South Africans are not

even aware of these forthcoming events.

A snap survey among community workers to find what activities were planned drew a blank. None of the leaders interviewed were even aware of the Year of the World's Indigenous People.

An estimated 300 million indigenous people live in more than 70 countries, from the Arctic regions to the Amazon and Australia.

Today indigenous peoples are among the most disadvantaged groups on earth.

## Aborigines

The *Sowetan* will be running a series of articles on the Aboriginal people of Australia in keeping with the International Year for the World's Indigenous People.

Senior reporter Ruth Bhengu, who has just returned from a two-month stay in Australia where she travelled through five states

including Western Australia, The Northern Territory Outback, South Australia, Queensland and North South Wales, spoke to Aborigines from different walks of life about various aspects of their lives.

The story of the Aborigines is the first in a series of articles about the indigenous peoples of the world.

**A** NUMBER OF THINGS HAVE HAPPENED recently which predict that homelands will become the major focus of political activity and tension in the months to come.

Notably, in the wake of the Mandela/De Klerk summit meeting on 26 September, three beleaguered homeland leaders - Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope - met "white homelander", the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie, in Johannesburg on October 6.

Various observer groupings, including representatives of the Gazankulu homeland, the South African Chamber of Business and the National Peace Secretariat, also attended.

The outcome of the meeting was a joint statement calling for the scrapping of Codesa and the creation of a new negotiating forum in its place. Or, not to put too fine a point on it, participants set themselves up on a semi-official basis as spoilers in relation to the negotiations process as presently constituted.

The so-called Conference of Concerned South Africans also reiterated, jointly, their rejection of decisions taken at the September 26 Mandela/De Klerk summit.

Decisions included the release of remaining political prisoners, the banning of dangerous so-called "cultural" weapons and the isolation of violent hostels from their surrounding communities.

Little of this is particularly significant in practical terms of course. Only the issue of dangerous weapons - KwaZulu having its own legislation legalising so-called traditional or cultural weapons among Inkatha members, which will have to be separately addressed if the ban is to hold good throughout the country - is likely to be directly affected by the rancour of the homelander.

And indeed Inkatha shows few signs of abiding by the decision, even outside KwaZulu. Nor has the Government yet seen fit to enforce it.

What was far more important in practical terms, though unexpected, was the rejection by the conference of two recent double steps by the authorities on the question of mass action.

While the government has long paid faint lip service to the democratic right of the ANC and other groupings to engage in protest through mass action, its real and effective position on the subject, as reflected in reactions by key spokesmen, has been markedly less sanguine.

Mass action, its representatives and its media have shrilly insisted - often in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary - is inextricably bound up with promoting violence; it constitutes an illegitimate intervention in the process of negotiations; it serves to obstruct the

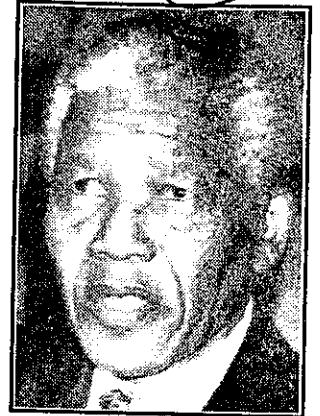
## Brigadier Gqozo, Chief Buthelezi and President Mangope are unhappy with decisions of ANC/Government summit and becoming spoilers in present negotiations



FW de Klerk



Oupa Gqozo



Nelson Mandela

attainment of peaceful solutions.

But despite this basic distaste, with the Government backed up against the wall at the recent summit, the ANC was able to extract as part of the Record of Agreement, a strong admission of the legitimacy of mass action as a democratic right, as long as it was guided by the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

Since then of course, Government spokesmen have backtracked with various speakers at the recent Cape Congress of the National Party lapsing into the old equivalences of mass action and violence. But such sabre rattling is to be expected at party congress and should be seen against the backdrop of concern over key ally Buthelezi's alienation from the National Party.

More important in the long term was the report released by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Bisho massacre on September 7.

Two of the eight recommendations contained in the report are of special significance.

One insists: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

And the second says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

And in the body of the report Judge Goldstone notes: "Public protest has become the order of the day... This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised."

Now what this amounts to is a sharp rap over the knuckles for homeland governments continuing to deny the ANC's right of political freedom and political demonstration within their territories.

But, and this is the crucial point, to allow the ANC to operate in those territories is tantamount to handing over power. Hence the dilemma which the more ambitious of the homeland leaders are attempting to solve by means of such stratagems as the Conference of Concerned South Africans. The bottom line here is of course holding power, the *sine qua non* is an avoidance of direct democratic confrontation with the massively more powerful ANC; and the means to the end is the strongly regional or federal constitution which the government also is wanting to put in place.

Failing this the "problem homelands", Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, as they have each sparely threatened, and jointly hinted, are holding in reserve the threat of outright secession.

Bop has of course considered the possibility from the outset, as its refusal to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent as well as its continued and shrill insistence on sovereignty makes clear.

But even in the case of Bop, the possibility of secession will be employed only as a last resort. More seemingly viable and more seriously considered is the notion of creating a strongly regionally empowered federal constitution, coming as close as possible to the constellation of states originally envisaged by the architects of grand apartheid.

This article is reproduced with permission from *The VryeWeekblad - Sowetan State of the Nation* report.

# Emulate King - US envoy

## ■ Birthday of slain civil rights leader celebrated:

AS South Africans gain victory over apartheid, their leaders will need to become "pillars of fire on behalf of non violence" like the late Dr Martin Luther King.

This is the message of US Ambassador to South Africa Mr Princeton Lyman as Americans today round off celebrations to mark the 64th birthday of the late civil rights leader.

King was born on January 15 1929. He was assassinated on April 4 1968.

Lyman spoke at a reception in Soweto - the first of its kind in the country - attended by South Africans and US dignitaries at the weekend.

He drew parallels between the American civil rights movements of the 1960s and the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

"In South Africa we are crossing into that land which is less bounded by race and the people can justifiably savour the victory over apartheid for which they struggled so long and sacrificed so much," Lyman said. (11A) (Soweto)

"They will nevertheless face new and even greater challenges.

"Not only are the economic challenges daunting, violence risks undermining this victory and keeping the nation from the next step.

"Like Martin Luther King, whose commitment to non-violence never wavered, not in the deepest moments of despair, South African leaders will need to keep going, to become - on behalf of violence, economic upliftment and democracy - pillars of fire," Lyman said.

# Negotiations get a kick-start

11A  
Sowetan 18/11/93  
■ Govt to hold separate talks with ANC, IFP:

## **Sowetan Correspondent**

THE resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week when the Government holds two separate meetings with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The meetings will, it is hoped, mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with the Government today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations could be resumed soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday said the party would meet its Concerned

South Africans Group allies in Pretoria today before beginning its talks with the Government.

The IFP suspended contact with Pretoria after President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted with allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag - now including rightwing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie - was born.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and IFP last week, will hold a week-long "bosberaad" with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

NEWS Proposed tax increase slammed

# Makwetu salutes women's role

*Sowetan 18/1/93*

*11A*  
*[scribble]*

By Josia Charle

■ TAKE NOTE PAC chief cautions

**T**HE PRESIDENT OF THE Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Clarence Makwetu, has stressed the important role being played by women in the liberation struggle and said they should not be underestimated.

Makwetu was speaking at the launching of the Central Transvaal African Women's Organisation in Mamelodi, Pretoria, on Saturday.

"We must consider the fact that women constitute the majority of our people.

"No liberation movement can succeed without their full participation. We, therefore, cannot afford to have them relegated to the background, in terms of their ordinary input as members and as leaders," Makwetu said.

He urged women to take a more

aggressive stance and actively debate the issues that affect national liberation constructively.

aggressive stance and actively debate the issues that affect national liberation constructively.

"Women must also infuse the ideas of liberation in their children from a very early age and they must persist in being exemplary in their individual roles as patriotic Africans. Only then can we guarantee a bright future for Africanism," he said.

He said it was imperative that women be encouraged to realise their potential as well as the critical role they have continued to play within African societies.

"This realisation will give women the necessary will and confidence to take their rightful role in the new

thrust to build a more democratic Africa," he said.

Speaking about conditions in South Africa, Makwetu said although blacks had lived for 300 years side-by-side with whites, the whites could still not be trusted.

He said from past experiences the whites had continuously betrayed blacks and it was high time blacks realised this fact.

"The way they have tricked our people of their land and cattle should be a lesson to all of us and we should ask ourselves whether it will be of any benefit to blacks to sit with them at a forum such as Codesa," said Makwetu.

# Tax hike would be immoral - PAC

*Sowetan*  
**Sowetan Reporter and Sapa**

*18/11/93*  
**■ Liberation groups furious over tax proposal:**

SOUTH Africans, already reeling under an economic recession, would not be able to afford yet another tax increase, said Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae in a statement yesterday.

He was commenting on State President FW de Klerk's announcement on Friday that tax increases could be expected this year.

PAC's secretary-general, Mr Bennie Alexander, said the regime had no moral right to increase taxes as it was riddled with corruption scandals and had grossly overspent on its budget.

"The PAC of Azania will not tolerate any tax increases. The unemployment, homelessness, escalated medical costs and increased education fees together begs for a policy of interim relief for the people rather than in-

creased taxation," Alexander said.

Mokae said rather than contemplate a tax increase, the Government should "transform" the health services and "unify" the education system, or they should resign so that a popularly-elected majority government could come into being.

He added that after its 11th national congress held in Port Elizabeth in December last year, Azapo had experienced a "phenomenal surge" in membership.

"We will not hesitate to mobilise this membership against any tax increase."

Alexander said the PAC was "shocked and outraged at the dictatorial decision by De Klerk" to increase taxes during this year and to give civil servants only 5 percent salary increases.

**1992/3 BOOKINGS NOW OPEN**

# Major boost on cards for multiparty talks

STAR 18/1193.

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

11A

September 26 last year.

The resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week following two separate meetings the Government will hold with its main negotiating partners, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The meetings, which are believed to mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume, will see President de Klerk's Government locked in talks for more than a week.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with Pretoria today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations, which broke down in May, could resume soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos told The Star yesterday that her party would meet its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies this morning.

A one-time ally of the Government, the IFP angrily suspended contact with Pretoria after De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on

September 26 last year. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag — now including right-wing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie — was born.

Although the IFP has since met the Government as part of a Cosag delegation, this is believed to be the first time since the signing of the Record of Understanding that the party will hold direct bilateral talks with the Government.

After its meeting with the Government in Pretoria two weeks ago, Cosag expressed satisfaction with the talks, and came out in favour of an early resumption of inclusive multiparty negotiations.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and the IFP in Cape Town and Durban respectively late last week, will start a week-long bosberaad with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

The bosberaad, which will begin on Wednesday, is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, according to well-placed ANC sources.



THE SANDTON TOWN COUNCIL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE RESIGNED YESTERDAY WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT AND A NEW COMMITTEE WILL BE ELECTED ON MONDAY NEXT WEEK.

# Sandton management committee resigns

**GAVIN DU VENAGE**

*BIDM 19/11/93*  
THE Sandton Town Council management committee resigned yesterday with immediate effect and a new committee will be elected on Monday next week.

Chairman Willem Hefer said yesterday that it was a "straightforward" step that had its basis in a "gentleman's agreement" made when the present council was voted into office in 1988.

An informal agreement was made that the management committee would be re-elected on a yearly basis, although the council ordinance allowed it to stay in place for a full five-year term.

Hefer said the agreement had been honoured each year, but this had not happened in 1992 as no call for a re-election had been made until late last year.

However, several council members accused the management committee of calling the re-election before their support base was eroded by the resignations of two of their supporters and the impending resignation of another.

Councillor Liz Clogg said yesterday that

the loss of councillors Ernie Sacks and David Anderson, whose resignations take effect only next month, would leave the management committee badly exposed.

She said the councillors had formed part of the "cabal" supporting the management committee, and their loss — together with the loss of Peter Jardine who is said to be emigrating — would mean their power base would be eroded.

Councillor Frederick Eylers said candidates standing for the vacant seats, who supported the management committee, would probably lose. But anyone running against them would win the by-elections. By calling for a management committee election before the by-elections, Hefer was avoiding the risk of losing his position.

Hefer rejected the accusations as "nonsense" and said there was nothing sinister in calling for the management committee elections now. "Certain councillors see conspiracies everywhere," he said.

# Kasrils seeks legal advice on 'lies'

**LLOYD COUTTS**

ANC official Ronnie Kasrils confirmed yesterday that he was seeking legal advice on claims of his involvement in alleged ANC camp torture by the International Freedom Foundation-sponsored Douglas commission.

"The question is being discussed with my lawyers and the matter is being considered," Kasrils, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said yesterday. *BIDM 19/11/93*

He said at the weekend he had not been asked to testify before the Douglas commission and described claims of his involvement in ANC torture as a "tissue of lies". *(IJA)*

Meanwhile, the Returned Exiles' Co-ordinating Committee said advocate Bob Douglas's report — a litany of alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps — was an accurate reflection of the history of the ANC internal security department's reign of terror, torture and killings in exile.

the committee, which described itself as a collection of survivors of "the so-called

excesses by the ANC security department" appealed to ANC leader Nelson Mandela to ensure that compensation be paid to victims of Mbokodo.

"Many of us are permanently disabled, both physically and mentally. Some are running up huge medical bills, but most are destitute and cannot afford the medical treatment they need. Most of us will never be able to earn a living again," the organisation said in a statement.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Bisho that Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said the Douglas commission report was shocking testimony of disregard for human life.

"The report's testimonies confirm a terrible intolerance on the part of the leaders of the ANC and South African Communist Party, which corresponds to the harshest levels of intimidation experienced by communities in the Ciskei, Natal and the PWV area," Gqozo said.

# Former leaders to see FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit". *BIDAY 19/1/93*

The group, headed by former British prime minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Gen Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa.

Meanwhile, OAU observer team head, secretary-general and Botswana ambassador to the UN Legwaila J M Legwaila

visited Transkei yesterday.

Legwaila met Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Transkei government officials on the political situation in SA.

Holomisa said the deployment of UN armed forces in SA was long overdue. He called for tough timeframes for SA's transition to democracy, saying these should be binding on "white South Africa" and enforceable by the UN Security Council.

This was the only way to allay black fears of possible backtracking by the NP government, he said.

International observers had been rendered "toothless and ineffective in curbing violence" by the watering down of the OAU's resolutions, Holomisa said.

He questioned why the international community "allows itself to be seen as a paper tiger by SA blacks when it acts swiftly and decisively against leaders and countries viewed as threats to Western national interests".

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga on Monday called on SA liberation movements to revive the patriotic front and approach negotiations as one.

Africa could not accept the division of "democratic forces", he said.

Mwaanga met PAC president Clarence Makwetu in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mwaanga said he would meet Mandela before travelling to Namibia. — Sapa.

# Mandela and police hold frank talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior officers of the SAP and Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel on Saturday to discuss force attitudes that needed to change in a new SA, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said it was an informal meeting to discuss a wide array of topics, with combating of violence being the major focus.

The meeting, at the request of Kriel, was apparently very frank. Mandela was accompanied by MK chief Joe Modise and national executive member Joe Ntshala. *BIDAY*

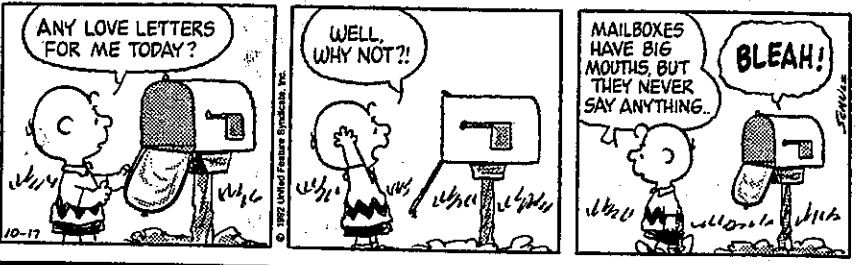
According to Niehaus the discussion centred on trying to improve the understanding between the police and the ANC. *19/1/93*

"Mandela discussed the changing situation in SA and the attitude changes that will have to come on the part of the police to win the trust of the whole community in their ability and will to do their job," he said.

Both sides discussed the problems they had with each other, with Kriel expressing concern over the number of violent incidents in which the ANC was involved. In response the ANC expressed its concern at police methods of combating violence and crime.

## PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



rate 'still

# A visit to sexy South Africa

## is a nice junket

AS the country emerges from its long enforced hibernation, there is a tendency by our leadership to want to hug everybody and everything in sight. We're hungry for friends. Pik Botha loves to refer to his "fellow Africans" on every platform. He was at it again in Paris last week.

The priority now seems to be to make peace with the United Nations. That is as it should be. To tell the UN to "go to hell", as Pik Botha apparently gave his diplomats liberty to do so a few years ago, was one of the most stupid things done by this government.

The Nigerian chief, Emeka Anyaoku, is busily elbowing his way to a position of some prominence in South African affairs with the hope, obviously, that should things work out well here, the reward for his energies would be South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth.

As the international furore over the Boipatong massacre raged in June last year, Anyaoku met the ANC and PAC at the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, and beseeched them to pour out their grievances to him as he was catching the next plane to South Africa to see President de Klerk. He made the trip, but nothing came out of his visit. I sometimes wonder whether it wouldn't be worth his while to turn some of his attention to his homeland, which is in a much sorerrier state politically than we are.

One senses though that taking the country back to the Commonwealth is being seriously considered by some organisations here. In my humble opinion Commonwealth membership would be of no value at all to this country. The Commonwealth is a fossil, a leftover, from a very unhappy past for a lot of people. It is a body that frankly should have died with colonialism. Why should, for instance, a leader of any self-respecting country bend a knee in front of a foreign woman unable to even control her own brood?

All English-speaking African countries, it is true, are members of the club, and Namibia, although never a colony of imperial Britain, is a new addition. The Mozambicans are also polishing their English. They can't wait to take tea with the Queen.

You can therefore argue that

### Out of Africa

BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI



African countries, after attaining their independence, had decided on their own volition to stick with or maintain some kind of concrete relationship with the Mother country. But the less said about Africa's independence the better. Flag independence has only been good to the African elite. They wine and dine at summits every four years, and a private audience with the Queen is the cherry on top.

South African politicians, I'm sure, would want to get in on the action. Like all politicians, they like to fill their stomachs before they could think of yours and mine. When Verwoerd decided to pull the country out of the Commonwealth, he put the matter to a referendum. Likewise those who want us back in should take their case to the country.

The body for us to join is, of course, the OAU. That will be the final seal of approval. It would be an indication that we have been purged of all sins. That yesterday's leper is now welcomed in the community of nations.

But save for this symbolid value, the OAU is a wretched little circus undeserving to be dignified by membership of any country with serious business at hand. The sores of this continent — Somalia, Liberia — have been left to foreign treatment. Even Boutros-Ghali and George Bush have been to Somalia. Where is Salim Ahmed Salim, I ask? Sitting in his air-conditioned office in Addis Ababa, I'm sure, Salim can hear the wail of the hungry across the border in Mogadishu.

A few OAU observers have joined the tourists from the UN and the Commonwealth on their all-expenses-paid stay in SA. But SA is a "sexy" subject and therefore hogs the headlines. That is the lure. It's also a nice junket.

What the continent needs are small regional organisations promoting trade and economic development. SA can go in there and say: We will join but only if certain conditions are fulfilled. □

1109 (10/13)

# Criticism of commission withdrawn

STAR 19/1/93

Democratic Party (DP) justice spokesman Tony Leon yesterday withdrew his earlier criticism of the Douglas Commission, saying it had now come to his attention that advocate Bob Douglas had invited the ANC's national executive committee to respond to allegations against the organisation.

Leon, who last week said it was "procedurally unfair" for the Douglas Commission to have published serious allegations against named ANC leaders without allowing them the opportunity to refute the evidence presented against them, said it was now clear the ANC had been given this opportunity.

However, Leon expressed concern at the report's anti-communist rhetoric.

"The DP is also of the view that while the Douglas Commission was correctly concerned with grave human rights abuses, the report was hardly the occasion and place for vitriolic anti-communist rhetoric, regardless of its validity or otherwise," he said.

# Whither negotiations, ask traditional leaders

STAR 19/11/93.  
By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

President F W de Klerk will have to explain when he meets the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) in Pretoria today where negotiations are heading, Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa said yesterday.

The meeting, which will be held immediately after the Government's two-day talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party, is one of a series of bilateral meetings scheduled by at least three organisations with the Government this week.

This last round of bilaterals is expected to be a precursor to the resumption of full-scale multiparty negotiations in the near future.

Before its first direct meeting with the Government since President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding agreement on

11A  
10P  
300P  
September 26 last year, the IFP delegation held talks with its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies in Pretoria yesterday. They will continue today.

Contralesa leader Holomisa said the direction in which negotiations were heading would be one of the issues on the agenda of his organisation's meeting with the Government today. Also on the agenda would be violence and land issues, on which Contralesa now wanted to be consulted before any action was taken.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said his party had been shocked by reports that the Government and the ANC were negotiating an interim constitution and the reincorporation of homelands.

Referring to the week-long "bosberaad" the Government will hold with the ANC from tomorrow, Treurnicht said it was intolerable that

while the planning committee for multiparty talks agreed to by Pretoria and Cosag in their meeting two weeks ago had not yet materialised. De Klerk was preparing totally unacceptable legislation with the ANC.

A member of the IFP-led Cosag, the CP has also tentatively given its nod to multiparty negotiations — a move which some political observers believe could precipitate a split in a party which has so far refused to talk to the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The ANC holds its "bosberaad" with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue tomorrow.

The "bosberaad", which is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, comes after a similar bush indaba between the two major players last month.

Both the ANC and Pretoria hailed the meeting as having been a success.

# the nation in brief

*Sowetan 20/11/93*

## Hendrickse backs dissolution

THE leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, will call for the dissolution of the tricameral parliament and the creation of an elected constituent assembly supervised by the United Nations when parliament resumes. ~~25/11~~ (11A) ~~20/11~~

Hendrickse said yesterday he would make this proposal in his motion of no confidence in the Ministers Council of the HoR. The motion would also express no confidence in the Ministers Council.

# ANC, Govt

11A  
~~20/11/93~~

Sowetan 20/11/93

# caucus in bush

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress and the Government hold a week-long meeting in a bush retreat from today in what are seen as last-found discussions leading to the resumption of Codesa-style talks.

The talks, to be held at an undisclosed venue, would be a continuation of a "bush caucus" held before Christmas and would focus on security, constitutional guidelines and the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Yesterday both parties conceded they would have to address - and perhaps reach agreement on - the establishment of a planning or preparatory conference as insisted upon by the disgruntled Inkatha/KwaZulu and their allies Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation saw the resumption of Codesa-style talks as a matter of urgency. Agreements reached between the ANC and the Government would not be "rammed down the throats" of other parties but would be tabled as proposals either at a preparatory conference or at a multiparty forum.

A Government spokesman yesterday said the bush summit would also focus on ways to bring more parties into the negotiations. "The

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

more, the merrier," he said.

According to the spokesman, there was no indication that talks with the Pan Africanist Congress would resume after relations between the two were soured by the alleged Apla attacks in December. "Contact is being maintained, however," he said.

The IFP and Government yesterday ended a two-day meeting whose aim was to restore relations between the two parties. The IFP pulled out of negotiations after the Government signed the Record of Understanding with the ANC on September 26 last year.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused the ANC and the Government of entering into deals which excluded other parties in the negotiation process.

Following this, the alliance of KwaZulu/IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, known as the Concerned South Africans Group, is demanding a conference of review before multiparty talks resume. The ANC's team at the bush summit will be led by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa while Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will represent the Government.

# ANC may call off sanctions

Sowetan 21/1/93.

11A 

**W**ASHINGTON - ANC president Nelson Mandela would call for the lifting of sanctions if business strived to increase employment and agreement was reached on holding nonracial elections by the year end.

Organised business reacted cautiously to Mandela's statement and spokesmen said even

## ■ Mandela offer on sanctions in exchange for job creation:

if sanctions were lifted immediately, unemployment levels were unlikely to change dramatically.

Mandela said on Tuesday: "If I could get an assurance from business that they would be able to make a contribution to cutting unemploy-

ment and freezing retrenchments, and if we had a date fixed for an interim government and elections, then I have said I would be prepared to go to my organisation and urge that we call for a complete lifting of remaining sanctions."

Mandela, who is here for Bill Clinton's inauguration as US president, said he was deeply concerned about high levels of unemployment and the state of the economy.



# Lawyers berate Broeders

A SERVING Supreme Court judge's membership of a secret organisation such as the Afrikaner Broederbond was improper and incompatible with the proper administration of justice, the Johannesburg Bar Council said yesterday. *B/DAM 2/1/93*

The council, in a statement, expressed concern about recent media reports that a Natal judge was on the executive council of the Broederbond. "The Broederbond is a secret society which pursues objectives essentially political in nature. Accordingly, membership thereof by a serving judge is improper and incompatible with the proper administration of justice," council chairman Wim Trengove SC said.

He said it was fundamental to the administration of justice that judicial officers not only be impartial, but that



STEPHANE BOTHMA

they be perceived by the public to be impartial.

"Any derogation from an unqualified public perception of impartiality will undermine confidence in the judiciary and will ultimately undermine the administration of justice itself," Trengove said.

It had long been recognised that the holding of judicial office was incompatible with membership of a political party or any other organisation with essentially political objectives.

The public would inevitably, rightly or wrongly, perceive a judicial officer who was a member of such an organisation, as committed to the furtherance of the objectives of the organisation to the detriment of his judicial duty of impartiality, Trengove said.

## DP to focus on domestic workers

THE DP has set out to inform domestic workers in Johannesburg's north-eastern suburbs of their civil, political and employment rights.

DP MP Tony Leon said yesterday the Houghton branch was holding a meeting for domestic workers on Saturday. He said organisers also sought to prepare domestics for the coming elections. *B/DAM 2/1/93*

"We have arranged for a voter education play to be staged, which is highly professional and entertaining drama staged by the Matla Trust ex-

LLOYD COUTTS

plaining how to vote and the importance of tolerance and peace.

"We will also provide a summary of the new legislation which is intended to bring domestic workers under the protection of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. It is necessary to reconcile employer and employee needs and demands without causing job losses," Leon said.

The meeting will be held at the Norwood Primary School at 3pm.

## Council settles hostel dispute

CONFRONTATION between hostel residents from Thokoza, on the East Rand, and the local town council was averted this week when agreement on the occupation of the newly renovated Thokoza 1 hostel was reached. *B/DAM 2/1/93*

The hostel recently underwent a R4m upgrade, Sapa reports.

The agreement was reached on Tuesday by the TPA, the council and the hostel residents' committee.

In terms of the agreement, those who had vacated the hostel during its upgrading should reoccupy it and undertake to bear its running costs.

In a joint statement the parties said a joint management committee — comprising representatives of the hostel residents, the council and the TPA

WILSON ZWANE

— had been formed to manage the hostel's finances.

The committee would manage the hostel independently of the council and the TPA. It will decide on the date for reoccupation of the hostels and on new rentals.

Tensions between the hostel residents and the municipality arose recently when the council barred residents from occupying the hostel until they had undertaken — in writing — to pay a 300% increase in rent.

Residents, who had paid R15 a month before they vacated the hostel, refused and threatened to gain entry to the hostel by force.

## ANC's election campaign shifts into first gear

LLOYD COUTTS

THE ANC's election campaign moved into first gear yesterday when its Witwatersrand regional executive committee announced plans to adopt a three-phase programme of action for a "mass-driven" election campaign. *B/DAM 2/1/93*

ANC PWV region secretary-general Paul Mashatile said the campaign would be discussed and adopted at a general council in Mayfair, Johannesburg, on Saturday and Sunday. The first phase would include the motivation of campaigners and consolidation of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, the mass democratic movement and the patriotic front, said Mashatile.

Phase two would include door-to-door campaigning, marches and house meetings aimed at recruitment and at disseminating information on ANC policy.

The third phase would mark the transition from the preparatory stage to a "Votes for All" campaign, encompassing subregional and regional conferences, rallies and public meetings focusing on unemployment, education, housing and health.

Throughout the phases the ANC PWV would redouble its efforts to create and consolidate peace initiatives in the region.

"Central to these meetings will be the issue of the climate of free political activity, political tolerance and peaceful coexistence of different organisations," said Mashatile.

"The successful adoption and implementation of this programme should ensure the broadest possible support for democratic forces led by the ANC and its allies to bring an end to more than 300 years of minority rule and usher in an everlasting peace and democracy for all South Africans," he said.

Thirty-three outstanding resolutions from an annual regional conference last year, including resolutions on the Peace Accord, socio-economic issues, self-defence units, VAT and food prices, the restructuring of the SABC, affirmative action relating to women and education would also be discussed, Mashatile said.

# Ombudsman tackles 2 000 complaints in his first year

PRETORIA — SA's ombudsman, after a year in office, has opened up more than 2 000 files on specific complaints.

According to the Association of Law Societies journal De Rebus, Judge P J van der Walt's office receives 30 to 40 phone calls a day from complainants.

Complaints range from rezoning and ecological matters to the state of roads, financial wrangles — including complaints from married women about not receiving housing subsidies — to workmen's compensation cases and political detainees.

De Rebus says, however, that there are still several shortcomings in the Act governing the ombudsman. These include limitations on the types of matters he can investigate and his appointment by the President and not by Parliament.

There was a need to separate the ombudsman's office from the public service.

In terms of the Ombudsman Act of 1991, Van der Walt's title was changed from advocate-general to ombudsman and his

GERALD REILLY

powers and functions extended.

The society believes government departments, public servants and others were learning valuable lessons on accountability and the fact that they could be called to account for their actions.

De Rebus is concerned that a section in the Act which empowers individuals to voice grievances still requires that such complaints should result from someone being unlawfully enriched or advantaged.

This probably resulted from the institution's painstakingly slow evolution from an advocate-general's office, which was established to deal with issues such as the Information scandal.

De Rebus says there is no shortage of such issues in SA and the disclosures about fraud and maladministration in the homelands were good examples. But there should also be scope for complaints about other issues.

## ANC-DP joint working group put on hold

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and the DP failed yesterday to reach agreement on launching a joint working group to promote free and fair elections in the western Cape.

At a meeting yesterday the ANC backed off, for the time being at least, from an earlier commitment to set up a formal structure with

Political Staff

the DP to monitor the volatile political situation in the region and promote a culture of tolerance.

Yesterday's meeting between delegations led by ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni and DP regional chairman Jasper

Walsh was arranged to discuss the proposed joint working group.

However, the ANC said the idea would first have to be canvassed with its rank-and-file membership and use should be made of peace accord structures to deal with crises as they arose.

## Renamo weapons dispute resolved

MAPUTO — Renamo, government and the UN had "amicably resolved" a dispute over a list of weapons Renamo had to give UN peacekeepers, a UN spokesman said yesterday.

The row flared up at a joint Ceasefire Commission meeting on Monday, where Renamo claimed it was unable to supply a detailed list of the weapons and ammunition its units would take to 20 assembly points where its fighters are to be garrisoned prior to demobilisation.

The reluctance to provide lists fed suspicion that Renamo might try to cache arms

ready for use should the rebels dispute future general election results.

It was agreed on Tuesday that Renamo would provide aggregate lists of all weaponry it possessed, without breaking the list down for each assembly point.

UN supervisors would check all weapons arriving at the assembly points against Renamo's total tally.

The peace accord's implementation is three months behind and it seems impossible to maintain the scheduled October 1993 date for Mozambique's first multiparty elections. — Sapa-AFP.

# Mandela's offer fails to inspire excitement

BUSINESS analysts have raised doubts about Nelson Mandela's proposal to endorse an end to sanctions in return for early elections and job security.

They said business and all but extreme groups would welcome progress towards a nonracial democracy.

But business, trapped in the country's worst recession since 1908, could find it difficult to make an acceptable deal on jobs. "Decisions on those are taken in the light of economic circumstances," said Barlow Rand spokesman Ken Ironside.

Mandela said in Washington high unemployment, a stagnant economy, endemic violence and the threat of further layoffs meant the ANC should reconsider the sanctions issue.

He said if he could get assurances from businesses on job creation and security he would urge the dropping of sanctions.

Sacob president Spencer Sterling welcomed the offer, but cast doubts on a trade-off between job creation and sanctions.

Sterling said his organisation shared Mandela's concern about unemployment, but believed the possibilities of job creation lay in better overall economic prog-

pects beyond sanctions.

"Although sanctions originally had a negative impact on SA's poor growth performance, sanctions are today a far less important element in the economic scenario." *BIDM 21/1/93*

A reduction in violence and a show of political progress and stability were important to bolster confidence and growth.

The PAC opposed the lifting of sanctions, saying the move would be contrary to UN and OAU resolutions. Azapo said lifting sanctions before the end of minority rule would be premature.

SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane also opposed Mandela's call, urging US President Bill Clinton to order US banks to stop handling monetary transactions from SA.

"We believe that this is a vital step that will help to ensure necessary purpose of action from major role players in the current negotiations. South Africa needs a speedy and smooth transition," Chikane said in a letter congratulating Clinton on his inauguration. — Sapa-Reuter.

● Comment: Page 5

# Optimism 57A2 2/11/93, over latest

## bosberaad

*IFP* *ANC* *202A*  
By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC have expressed guarded optimism that their six-day bosberaad, which began at a secret venue in the Transvaal yesterday, would be successful.

It is the second meeting between the two major players in about a month. Both parties hailed their first bosberaad in December as a success.

The latest bosberaad follows two days of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Although the IFP and the Conservative Party have expressed grave reservations about agreements to be reached in the ANC-Government meeting, ANC sources said they had agreed with Pretoria that whatever agreements they arrived at would be binding.

However, these agreements would still have to go through a multiparty negotiations forum.

Following the lack of progress in the Government's two-day meeting with the IFP, hopes for an early resumption of multilateral negotiations took a nosedive yesterday. Political observers said the onus was on the Government and the ANC to rescue the negotiations process.

Instead of being able to focus on dates for the transition, they would first have to devote time to the IFP.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday said the Government was still viewed with "a lot of suspicion" by the IFP.

IFP sources in Durban said there were differences over the degree of political autonomy to be enjoyed by a future KwaZulu-Natal state.

# Whites seen as Azapo's 'problem'

KARIN SCHIMKE  
Staff Reporter

AUG 22 11 43  
AZAPO will never condone violence although it understands it, says Professor Itumeleng Mosala, the group's president.

Addressing international Anglican Church leaders at the University of the Western Cape last night, he said the Black Consciousness Movement recognised the central role of the spiritual dimension in the struggle for national liberation.

"Christianity and violence can never be reconciled. At times I can understand violence, but I will never condone it," he said — only months after pledging that Azapo would start a militant programme of action to ensure "the liberation of our people".

He said the struggle for liberation had been commercialised and its leaders transformed into celebrities. He accused the church of colluding with this.

Any response to the South African problem that began with the fears, concerns and interests of the white people was "despicable" because white people were Azapo's problem and not its starting point.

Professor Mosala — who came to South Africa from Cambridge, where he is teaching, to take part in the forum — said white people were simply "accommodating" blacks and not initiating true change.

There would be no compromise on black freedom and white people would simply have to live with that.

Some of the criteria necessary for South Africa to achieve "a more human face" were a genuine patriotic front of "liberation forces", a constituent assembly — which was the only place where Azapo would be prepared to negotiate — and a general election supervised by a transitional authority.

# ANC slams illegal arms

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC said yesterday the carrying of illegal arms and ammunition by its members was contrary to its code of conduct which prescribed disciplined behaviour.

The organisation was responding to the conviction this week of its northern Natal administrator Bongani Msoni for the possession of illegal arms and ammunition.

The ANC said in a statement it did not condone such acts by its members.

"Our code of conduct specifies that our members should be disciplined and must not bring the name of the ANC into disrepute," the organisation said adding that no arms had been issued to members (since the armed struggle was suspended in 1990).

It stressed that before its members were condemned for possessing weapons illegally, their circumstances should be known. Empangeni was "notorious for the killings and harrassment of ANC members".

The ANC however encouraged its members, who felt their lives were in danger, to apply for licences to carry firearms. "Since discretion in such matters is in the hands of the police, there have been few positive responses."

The proliferation of arms, however, was of concern and needed to be combated, the ANC said.

# DP calls for judge to quit

SUSAN RUSSELL

NATAL Judge WH Booysen should resign either his judicial office or his executive position in the Afrikaner Broederbond, if his membership of the organisation was confirmed, DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday.

Leon was reacting to recent reports that Booysen was a serving member of the Broederbond.

The Johannesburg Bar Council said in a statement on Wednesday that a serving Supreme Court judge's membership of a secret organisation such as the Broederbond was improper and incompatible with the administration of justice.

The Bar Council statement did not identify the judge referred to, but Booysen has been named in news reports.

Leon said Booysen should be allowed to clarify his position. "Should his executive membership of the Broederbond be confirmed, the interests of justice suggest he should resign either his executive position and active membership of the Broederbond, or his judicial office."

● Comment: Page 10



31 December 1992

Director), E H J Stoyell  
T M de Villiers, R I du Preez  
R A Lee (British), M M Nel,  
Wilkinson.

shares of 35 cents each, fully

shares for the quarter ended

Quarter ended	Financial year ended
31/12/91	30/09/92 (Audited)
1 067 199	4 303 270
139 961	295 295
64	272
(R'000)	(R'000)
7 403	31 295
5 809	19 281
1 594	7 264
—	4 750
1 241	9 972
2 497	9 724

8810, it was not the only...

## Ratanda 'tense' after more attacks

GAVIN DU VENAGE ~~275~~

THE ANC feared another major outbreak of violence in Ratanda township near Heidelberg following several attacks on residents in the past few days, the organisation's PWV region spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday. *BIDM*

Mamoepa said early yesterday morning three men wearing balaclavas attacked a minibus taxi before opening fire on residents walking to work. *22/1/93*

He said several similar incidents had been reported since Saturday, when a 17-year-old boy was killed by masked gunmen after an ANC rally.

He said schooling had "ground to a halt" and the mood in the township was tense.

Police spokesman Emmie du Preez said a man with an AK-47 opened fire early yesterday on a taxi full of Inkatha supporters before fleeing into the township.

Shortly afterwards a man was killed by a pistol shot, and police chased a suspect who disappeared into a nearby hostel.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Durban that the Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee yesterday strongly objected to the unilateral declaration of Mooi River and Estcourt as unrest areas and asked the Law and Order Minister why the committee was not consulted.

The minister had undertaken to consult affected communities.

## De Klerk loses white support

*BIDM 22/1/93*  
LLOYD COUTTS

WHILE the ANC was maintaining its popularity among blacks, President F W de Klerk and the NP were steadily losing the support of black and white South Africans, according to a recent Markinor poll.

Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said yesterday results of a November poll on socio-political and economic trends showed that although the NP remained the most accepted party by whites, there was a drop from 75% to only 58% of those who would definitely or perhaps vote for the party. Black support declined from 52% to 28%.

Inkatha remained a popular party with whites. Although only 3% said they would definitely vote for the party, 19% would perhaps do so and a further 29% felt good about the party.

Among blacks however 71% of the sample rejected the organisation, 23% more than those who spurned the CP.

The ANC remained a clear favourite with blacks, with an overwhelming majority (66%)

who would definitely vote for it. ~~275~~

The SACP was included in the survey for the first time, and found strong support. While only 8% of blacks would vote for the party, 31% said they would perhaps vote for it, and 14% felt good about it.

The overwhelming majority of whites (85%) rejected the party.

Woessner said there had been a sharp drop in positive attitudes to De Klerk's leadership.

"De Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey and more. Results indicate the lowest vote of confidence (by blacks and whites) since he became president.

"In fact, among whites, it is the lowest score obtained by any president since the survey commenced in 1976," she said.

The poll was conducted among a sample of 800 whites and 1 300 blacks in metropolitan areas throughout SA.

## 'Electoral commission needed urgently'

*BIDM 22/1/93*  
TIM COHEN ~~275~~

CAPE TOWN — An independent electoral commission to help negotiate an election code of conduct was an urgent priority, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday. ~~275~~

She was reacting to "disappointment" expressed by DP leaders after an inconclusive meeting with ANC leaders about the disruption of two DP meetings near Cape Town.

The DP's Jasper Walsh said the ANC's sug-

gestion of using peace accord structures was inadequate because these were not proactive. The DP's James Selfe said many peace accord agreements should be augmented by bilateral deals. Marcus said it was impractical for all political groups to have agreements with each other. An electoral commission was essential.

AFEX CORPORATION  
SOCIETE ANONYME

(Incorporated in Luxembourg) (RC No. R19600)

DUIKER EXPLORATIO



# Mandela raises \$300 000 during US trip

WASHINGTON — ANC President Nelson Mandela heads back to SA today having raised at least \$300 000 for the movement during his four-day visit to attend US President Bill Clinton's inauguration.

Apple Computer chairman John Sculley, who met Mandela on Wednesday to discuss his firm's return to SA after a six-year absence, contributed \$10 000.

ANC international department deputy director Aziz Pahad said "actual cheques" had been donated, rather than breakable pledges.

Much of the money was contribut-

**SIMON BARBER**

ed at a welcoming lunch for Mandela at Washington's Metropolitan Baptist Church on Tuesday after the Rev Jesse Jackson announced he was soliciting donations for the ANC.

Mandela, who kept a low profile during his stay, met Clinton briefly at an inaugural ball on Wednesday night. He was scheduled to see newly confirmed Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday.

Sculley, who has played a key role in rallying Republican-leaning cor-

porate chiefs around Clinton, appeared anxious to see Mandela.

Apple has been seeking the ANC's blessing to return to SA without breaking US state and local sanctions. It is anxious to salvage market share from manufacturers of IBM-compatible equipment and software.

Pahad said Mandela was meeting a number of US corporate representatives and was using his stay in the US less to conduct official business than to drum up future investment in SA and material support for the ANC's election drive.



# Mandela returning with nearly R1m

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela returns home today having raised at least \$300 000 (about R900 000) for the organisation during his four-day visit to attend President Bill Clinton's inauguration. (NA)

Altogether \$10 000 (about R30 000) was contributed by Mr John Sculley, chairman of Apple Computer, who met Mr Mandela

CF 22/1/93  
on Wednesday to discuss his firm's return to South Africa after a six-year absence.

Apple has been seeking the ANC's blessing to return without falling foul of US state and local sanctions. The firm is anxious to salvage market share from manufacturers of IBM-compatible equipment and software.

Much of the money was donated at a welcoming lunch for Mr Mandela at the Metropolitan

Baptist Church here on Tuesday after the Rev Jesse Jackson announced he was soliciting donations of \$5 000 (about R15 000) or more for the ANC.

Mr Mandela met Mr Clinton briefly at an inaugural ball on Wednesday night. He was due to meet Secretary of State Mr Warren Christopher yesterday.

He was also scheduled to meet Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr Hank Cohen.

(11A) 05/22/1993

## Zambian govt asked to probe ANC abuses

JOHANNESBURG. — The Returned Exile Co-ordinating Committee has asked the Zambian government to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate ANC human rights abuses in that country.

Recoc said in a statement yesterday it had made the request on behalf of victims of ANC atrocities.

● The International Freedom Foundation has asked President F W de Klerk to expand the Goldstone Commission to enable it to probe ANC human rights abuses committed in exile. — Sapa

TORTURE

**Growing chorus**

8877 IIA FM 22/1/93

The trouble with the report of the Douglas Commission of Inquiry into ANC detention camps in exile, says the ANC, is that its author — Durban advocate Bob Douglas — was acting for an organisation with “a very clear rightwing bias.” The reference is to the International Freedom Foundation (IFF), which commissioned the report.

The IFF describes itself as a registered educational body headquartered in Washington, promoting democratic institutions and the free market system. It has also earned something of a reputation for reds-under-the-bed paranoia. There is a whiff of this in the Douglas report, with its excursions into rather intemperate anti-communist tirades that seem out of place in a report of this kind.

Aside from naming those in the ANC who are allegedly implicated in the litany of awful torture and brutality by ANC cadres in exile, Douglas adds little to the findings of two earlier reports on the matter: the ANC-appointed Marcus Commission and that by Amnesty International (*Current Affairs*, October 23 and December 4 1992). The fact that extreme physical abuse of individuals took place is common cause.

In spite of being tainted because it was appointed by the ANC, the Marcus report “strongly recommended that urgent and immediate attention be given to identifying and dealing with those responsible for maltreatment of detainees.” It was clear, said the Marcus report, that several people against whom serious allegations of brutality had been made are currently employed by the ANC’s security department. Nobody guilty of the atrocities should ever again be allowed to assume positions of responsibility, it said.

Names were not divulged, though a list was given to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, with the recommendation that an independent inquiry be appointed to bring them to account.

A second commission was appointed by

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

FM 22/1/93

the ANC and has begun its work under the chairmanship of former Nafcoc chief Sam Motsuenyane, assisted by a former US judge and president of the US Black Lawyers Association, Margaret Burnham, and a former chairman of the Zimbabwe parliament’s judicial committee, David Zamshiya.

Countering charges of heel-dragging by the ANC, spokesman Carl Niehaus says: “We have taken the correct legal route to further investigate those implicated and to give them an opportunity to state their case. We are concerned that the Douglas Commission is an attempt to pre-empt this process and to make propaganda.” Niehaus adds that the “total control of the IFF over the Douglas report reflects poorly on it.”

The recommendations of the second ANC-appointed commission “will be acted upon,” he adds. “We are dealing with this matter more openly and appropriately than the government is over its skeletons.”

That remains to be seen. Among the figures named by Douglas as having blood on their hands are several very senior ANC/SA Communist Party men: Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo, Joe Modise, Jacob Zuma, Ronnie Kasrils (who describes the report as a tissue of lies and is taking legal advice), Mzwai Piliso, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Joe Nhlanhla, Sizakele Sigxashe and 57 others.

The IFF and Douglas say that if the ANC truly wished to ascertain which of its members were implicated in the abuses, its own records would supply all the details. They point out that the principle of individual accountability and responsibility for the crimes is established in international law (following the Nuremberg trials).

Douglas, pointing out that investigations by the ANC’s own commissions will “never be effective for the reason that most people will believe that this is just another cover-up,” makes two recommendations: “The guilty have to be punished and their victims rehabilitated and compensated.” (The earlier commissions made similar recommendations).

The best way to carry out his recommendations, Douglas adds, is for the Goldstone Commission to investigate human rights abuses by the ANC/SACP in exile. ■

# Govt, civics edge closer to local negotiating forum

B1207 22/1193

LOCAL government Minister Tertius Delport and the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) are edging closer to launching a local government negotiating forum.

The Minister and Sanco met for more than three hours in Pretoria yesterday to discuss a document outlining the structure and objectives of the forum. The document was drawn up by a working group of the Local Government Negotiating Committee (LGNC) last year.

The LGNC comprises representatives from the three levels of government and Sanco.

In a statement last night the parties said an agreement on the document was reached.

## WILSON ZWANE

The parties would, however, meet again in Cape Town early next month to finalise the document, which would then be submitted to the parties' principals for ratification.

"Once adopted, the document will be made available to all interested parties," the statement said.

Delport and Sanco have agreed that the forum — which would include representatives from the three levels of government and Sanco — should be established to negotiate local government issues.

This week Sanco said it was preparing itself for a key role in negotiations

aimed at formulating new policies on a wide range of issues, such as the economy, health care, education and local government.

Sanco's executive was meeting this weekend to plan for increases in the township representation at negotiations.

The PAC and Azapo would be invited to local government negotiations, Sanco's Thozamile Botha said yesterday, Sapa reports.

He said everyone, irrespective of political ideology, should be involved in issues affecting the community.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti said his organisation was awaiting the invitation, and Azapo could not be reached for comment.

Mining has been said, it was not the only country

# AN ACTIVIST ARGUES THE CASE FOR INTOLERANCE Interview by PAUL STOBER

PEACE or power: many political activists see this as the stark choice they have to make when opposition parties move in on their territory.

Fatima September (not her real name) is an African National Congress supporter who researches political trends. She is not a township militant and describes herself as a democrat. She does not believe her support for the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation members who disrupted Democratic Party meetings in Cape Town last week brings her commitment to democracy into question.

Said September: "For years the Democratic Party represented exploitative interests. Despite their statements to the contrary, both the DP and the National Party represent white interests. The perception on the ground is: 'They are white, what do they want in our areas?'"

She was reluctant to accept that condoning the disruption of meetings justified political intolerance. *W/Mar 22/1-28/1/93*

"I would not like to say I'm justifying political intolerance. I would ask: What is available to people on the ground opposing these forces?"

For September, the dice which will be rolled in South Africa's first election is loaded against the ANC.

She said that parties such as the NP and DP had traditionally had easy access to the newspapers and

the SABC, while organisations in the democratic movement had struggled to make themselves heard.

Most of the statistics about potential voters which the ANC would need to run an effective election campaign were in the exclusive possession of government departments, she said. "Civil servants who are racist and bureaucrats are not going to release that information voluntarily," she said. And, she added, the same people controlled access to meeting halls, sound systems and other resources essential to an election campaign.

"These small things will hinder our ability to get to people. We can even win the campaign and lose the election because we do not own buses which will transport people to the polling station," she said. "It is in these conditions that political tolerance must be looked at in relation to an election."

September accepts that using disruptive tactics to deny other political parties access to black communities may not necessary even the odds, but believes the stakes justify it.

"We are talking about opposition and the stakes are power. The DP can go into Mitchell's Plain, but they must expect opposition and that can take various forms. Disruptive tactics do not mean breaking up meetings in a violent way, but we know how posters get torn off. A little elbowing is not going to hurt anybody."

Does she believe such tactics can be used in Natal, where close to 1 500 people have died in factional violence in the past year? *(11A) (22B)*

"The notion of free and fair elections in Natal is a myth in the present circumstances," she answers. "Monitoring groups have not been able to get to a situation where at least the ANC and Inkatha can operate in one area. There the debate is different."

September believes the campaign for free political activity in the homelands is a campaign all political parties should identify with, not only the ANC.

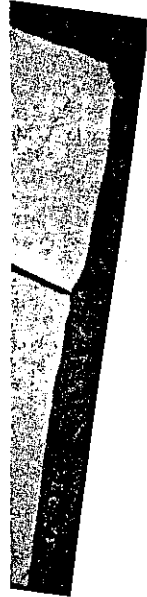
"The campaign is seen as the ANC wanting to march on Ulundi, but everyone knows how difficult it is to organise in kwaZulu," she said.

She acknowledges the dangers this subtle acceptance of political intolerance holds for the future of democracy in South Africa. But, she insists: "We must separate the election process from the processes of reconstruction. There is no way this election is not going to be dirty."

If the election is going to be dirty, will the outcome be accepted? "That's a loaded question — but it depends on the manner in which it is run. There is a lot of concern in the ANC that the elections should be seen as legitimate. You should be asking the IFP, because what is happening in Angola is telling them they can legitimately not bind themselves to the outcome."



Caroline Cullinan T-shirt, with the theme 'Save the African Animals' illustrated below. Also on offer is a delightful children's T-shirt (left) on the theme Environment 2000, from Dezign Inc in Zimbabwe



NO STAMP NEEDED IN RSA

scription order)

hirt.

approx 8 yrs old)

approximate)

Price Code  
Sort Code 12

kly

**F**ORGET the Queensbury rules — negotiation politics is moving up two or three gears and it's "kick the man when he's down" time.

The series of bilateral discussions involving the African National Congress, the government, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) which began, or ended, this week signals the start of a new phase in the bargaining process, a phase in which progress will be measured in centimetres.

Cosag started the ball rolling last weekend by telling the government that it was not opposed to a resumption of multi-party discussions, provided they led to a settlement in which the ANC played little or no part. And this meeting was regarded as a success.

Inkatha followed by apparently demanding that the Record of Understanding put together last year by the government and the ANC be renegotiated as a condition for Inkatha agreeing to join new multilateral discussions.

The ANC and the government are locked in yet another of the week's bilateral discussion forums, wrestling with issues such as political violence, security legislation and the mechanics of a transitional authority, not

to mention the reincorporation of the bantustans, federalism and joint control of state resources (including power).

Looking back, it may be hard to accept that the last two years have been the easy part, but it is a fact. As the negotiation process moves from the preliminary phase to a substantive one, the obstacles which must now be overcome will move from the peripheral to the central.

This week's bilateral discussion revealed — by what was omitted from formal statements, rather than what was included — that the competition for political power in a "new" South Africa is under way in earnest. They saw most parties accept the need for a new multilateral forum, while insisting this be on their terms. And this is just the first step.

The parties fall into two distinct groups — those who know they will be marginalised by a free and fair one-person-one-vote election, and those who believe they have nothing to fear from such a poll.

Only the ANC has any real confidence that it can count on substantial electoral support. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) cannot, dare not, put their faith in the electoral process and thus have two options. The first, a short-term tactic, is to delay the judgement day for as long as possible, while the second, a long-term strategy, is to ensure that whatever the election outcome, the IFP and its leaders have a guaranteed place in the sun.

Central to the latter strategy is the concept of federalism. Buthelezi and Inkatha feel confident enough about their support base in Natal/kwaZulu to use it as a path to power, but the approach only works if the new constitution goes the federal route.

Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and the vested interests which prop up his regime stand to lose just about everything unless they can somehow keep the bantustan intact in a loose confederal system. The same applies to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in the

Ciskei.

The task of persuading Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo and others to become involved in a constitutional process which will not guarantee their political and economic future is enormous.

The National Party government has put forward a federal constitution which so dilutes the power of a central government as to make it meaningless.

The NP is also pushing for certain constitutionally entrenched rights which will guarantee a major role for it in a "new" South Africa irrespective of the wishes of the electorate.

The ANC, confident of its election prospects, wants no truck with constitutional mechanisms designed for the most part to retain the status quo and perpetuate political and economic inequalities. The movement also believes that issues such as political violence and economic restructuring/upliftment can only begin to be addressed once a transitional authority is in place. Few of the other parties agree.

If these obstacles were not daunting enough, there are a few parties — the Pan Africanist Congress, for one — which clearly hold that the rewards of remaining detached from the process outweigh the benefits of becoming involved.

The current round of bilateral talks must begin to address the detail of issues such as the "reincorporation of the bantustans". How is this to be done, given that political and economic elites in these apartheid creations must agree to give up the benefits of power?

The bilaterals must find enough common ground on constitutional issues to at least agree to proceed to the next stage.

The evidence to date suggests that this will prove far more difficult than at first anticipated. If the ANC is seen to move from its proposal of a unitary state with strong regional and local government, the organisation may as well hand out the PAC membership forms. It has not yet comprehensively sold the "Strategic Perspectives" option to its rank and file, and further concessions could be fatal.

Yet Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei — the least of the problems, as Gqozo is almost wholly dependent on South African government support — the Conservative Party and others cannot accept a unitary state without committing political suicide. Compromise will be difficult to find, and will come about only through a combination of arm-twisting and payoffs.

The government has made it clear that it will not allow "filibustering" by any party aimed at delaying the process, but Inkatha, in particular, has demonstrated its ability to take such delaying tactics to new and horrific lengths.

None of this implies that negotiations are doomed to failure: a solution will be found simply because the combination of forces pushing South Africa in that direction are greater than the forces resisting it. The temptation to expect continuous and decisive progress, however, must be resisted if we are to avoid a repeat of the 1992 "balloon burst" syndrome.

**Gary van Staden is a political analyst at Kaplan and Stewart Inc. Stockbrokers and a senior researcher (PhD) in the department of politics, University of Leicester, England.**

# Now for the hard part

*The slow and sometimes stalled negotiations process is moving into an even tougher, more difficult phase, writes GARY VAN STADEN*

W/ Mac 22/11-28/11/93

# Support for FW down - survey

57 Apr 22/1993

(114)

Political Staff

2054

cent of whites and 47 percent of blacks.

President De Klerk's popularity has plummeted since the post-referendum euphoria of mid-1992. In a November poll he got a lower vote of confidence among whites than any other State President since 1976, when Markinor began its political surveys.

Woessner said the November survey showed a general disenchantment with politicians, when compared to the May results, which reflected the position just before the breakdown of Codesa.

"President de Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey and more," Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner commented yesterday.

Among 1 300 black respondents in five metropolitan areas, 70 percent said that they would vote for the ANC and 65 percent saw Mandela as the national leader.

The new poll also found that - in the eyes of black South Africans - the SA Communist Party (SACP) is certainly not an albatross around the ANC's neck

Among 800 whites polled countrywide, De Klerk was seen as national leader by 52 percent and the NP as the party to vote for by 49 percent.

In November, only 25 percent of whites and a mere 8 percent of blacks thought De Klerk was leading the country "very well" - a 20 percent drop on his mid-year rating. When these figures were augmented by those who considered De Klerk was performing "fairly well", the positive vote stood at 69 per-

While the ANC and Mandela had experienced a drop of 5 and 3 percent respectively since May, the declining support for De Klerk and the NP was of the order of 20 percent.

Black and white respondents were divided on the SACP. Whereas 59 percent of whites viewed the alliance between the SACP and the ANC as detrimental to the ANC, only 14 percent of blacks thought similarly.

Soweto 2/1/93

### Clinton welcomes Mandela 11A

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was warmly welcomed by new US President Bill Clinton at a dinner in Washington where he attended the presidential inauguration ceremony on Wednesday night. Mandela is due to meet Secretary of State Warren Christopher today.



# Pow-wow is dogged by differences

SOUTH 23/1-27/1/93

~~23/1~~ 11A

By Quentin Wilson

**U**NFINISHED business is dogging the six day NP/ANC pow-wow that started on Wednesday to cement foundations for further multi-lateral negotiations.

Of particular concern in ANC quarters is the continued incarceration of political prisoners promised freedom on November 15.

This deadline was part of the Record of Understanding agreement between the same two political parties in September last year.

According to the ANC's Mr Matthew Phosa, there are "roughly about 20 prisoners" who qualify for release in terms of the agreement, but have not been set free.

"This arrangement threatens to severely dampen the transition process," says Phosa.

"We have been insisting and will continue to insist on their immediate release during our meeting with the NP this week."

Phosa said the release process had been running smoothly until the government set up a national indemnity board in terms of the Further Indemnity Bill passed late last year.

He alleges that the board is making the decisions on who should be released, contrary to the ANC's agreement with the NP that a joint committee of representatives from the ANC, the Department of Correctional Services and the Department of Justice, do the job.

According to Captain Bert Slabbert of the government's Department of Correctional Services, the roles of the two committees are different.

The joint committee, he says, gathers information on disputed cases and its proposals are forwarded to the national indemnity board.

"When the board comes to a decision on an individual case, it

makes its final recommendation to the state president who has the final say," Slabbert said.

But according to ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus, the diverging opinions will not threaten talks.

"It is a problem," says Niehaus, "but there is no point in getting dogmatic about it."

"It should not be allowed to endanger the negotiation process, although we will certainly pursue the matter with the NP in the coming week."

Although the exact agenda of the ANC/NP meeting has not been released, it is understood that future control of the security forces will be discussed as well as the basic principles of constitution-making.

The meeting is intended as a precursor to a Codesa-type forum which will resume multi-party negotiations for a national political settlement.

Other current bilateral meetings include:

- IFP/NP talks on Monday and Tuesday. No consensus on the status of old Codesa agreements was achieved.

The IFP wanted these agreements to be reviewed as well as discussion on its proposal of a separate Kwazulu/ Natal state.

- ANC/DP representatives in the Western Cape met on Wednesday. They set up a joint structure to promote free and fair electioneering in the region.

- Members from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa met President FW de Klerk on Tuesday to express their views on their participation in the negotiation process, the future position of traditional leaders and on violence.

- ANC/IFP talks are planned for February 11. They will discuss each other's role in negotiations as well as ways to stop ongoing political violence.

# Visit vengeance for the camps ... on those proven guilty

**T**HE stories which have emerged from the ANC detention camps are horrible. For months now, we have heard tale after chilling tale of arbitrary degradation, mindless cruelty and murder. That the ANC's security wing was guilty of these despicable acts is a matter of unchallenged historical record.

Like Swapo's "internal security" ghoul deep in the African bush, the men of Mbokodo became paranoid and crazed — hundreds of tinpot Colonel Kurtzes playing roles in their own versions of *Apocalypse Now*, able and willing at a whim to visit unimaginable horrors on their victims.

Now that the magnitude of the crime is known, there are really only three questions to be answered. Will the perpetrators be punished? Will the victims be compensated? Will steps be taken to ensure that the Mbokodo can never re-surface, in any form?

The ANC says that the second of its commissions of inquiry into the tragedy of the detainees will deal with these issues once and for all. South Africans, black and white, demand that outcome without further delay.

But there is a wild element to the recriminations which have followed the revelations, and it is dangerous. In the report of the Douglas Commission — and much of the commentary it has inspired — unqualified, direct blame is attached to a variety of prominent individuals. This cloud will hang over them in the coming elections; the blight could even follow them to their graves. It is our duty to ask whether this public "sentencing" is just, for our society cannot exorcise itself of the shame of the camps by aping the arbitrary approach of the Colonel Kurtzes and executing the innocent along with the guilty.

I have looked very carefully into just one case: that of Joe Slovo. Advocate Douglas is un-

STAR  
23/1/93

UNDERCURRENT  
AFFAIRS

SHAUN  
Johnson



**THE report of the Douglas Commission convicts Joe Slovo of the most heinous crime, but fails to provide the evidence. It is our duty to ask whether this public 'sentencing' is just.**

equivocal on this subject: "I come to the conclusion," he writes, "that Joe Slovo, on the evidence, was responsible and accountable for the crimes committed by Mbokodo. He was the most powerful communist in the movement at the time. He was seen visiting the camps, including Quatro. He saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it."

One would expect that such a damning statement would be made only on the strength of irrefutable evidence. I have searched the 64-page report in vain for such evidence.

Douglas tells us he interviewed about 100 witnesses. In his report he quotes from the heart-rending stories of 25 of them. Of those, two mention Joe Slovo.

Witness 22 says: "Joe Slovo visited Quatro, to my knowledge, during 1984. He visited the prison at night so that inmates would not recognise

him. I might add that we had always had the highest regard for Joe Slovo, who was head of special operations. The fact that he could associate himself with the brutality of our imprisonment came as a great shock to me. I was told by the warders of his visit and recall their boasting of his being in their company."

Witness 23, who refused to swear an affidavit, says: "In my opinion all the top leadership of the NEC knew about the abuse of human rights that took place, especially Slovo, Tambo, Kasrils and Hani."

Nowhere else in the reams of evidence does Slovo's name appear. It does not require legal training for one to conclude that the case against him rests on hearsay evidence from an Mbokodo warder, who would have had an obvious interest in making such a boast, and the speculation of one other witness. Nevertheless Douglas states flatly that Slovo was *seen visiting the camps* (the plural is particularly gratuitous), therefore "saw what was going on" and "clearly, must have approved of it". Suffice to say that I, as an ordinary citizen, would feel deeply aggrieved were I to be convicted of anything at all based on such leaps of logic.

Slovo swears that he never, ever visited an ANC detention camp. He has challenged anyone to come forward and testify that he was seen at one. On the principle of the assumption of innocence in the absence of proof of guilt, then, he surely has reason to question the findings against him.

You may or may not like Joe Slovo and what he stands for. That is irrelevant.

Everyone is entitled to a fair trial. And if justice is to be done to the wretched victims of the camps, then the right culprits must be properly identified. The Douglas report convicts Slovo of the most heinous crime. It fails to provide the evidence.

## Expect no compensation

VICTIMS of ANC detention camps will receive no compensation, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said on Friday.

Referring to Bob Douglas' inquiry into atrocities at these camps, Mokaba said the advocate was "simply daydreaming and hallucinating" when suggesting that apartheid agents be compensated for the dirty work they had conducted against the liberation movement. *CIPen 24/1/93*

"They got caught and received their punishment . . . How on earth can any straight-thinking person suggest that the victims must compensate their aggressors?" he asked in a statement.

# Rough times rumoured at bumpy bosberaad

City Press 24/11/93

11A  
~~11A~~

By S'BU MNGADI

THE extended talks between the government and the ANC which continue tomorrow and Tuesday are said to be going through tough times.

Both parties have placed a complete embargo on the way the talks are going, but it is reliably learnt that no dramatic breakthroughs are expected.

The talks which began on Wednesday were adjourned on Friday after the ANC had tabled its position on ways of combating violence, the integration of the armed

forces and their joint control.

It is believed that there was little debate on these issues apart from the government's insistence that Umkhonto weSizwe must disband. It also listed a number of alleged breaches of agreements by the ANC.

One source said the government merely listened to the ANC positions and did not engage the organisation in any serious debate. He said it appeared that the government strategy was simply to listen and pick up their thinking.

The discussions contin-

ue tomorrow and Tuesday when the government delegation, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, is expected to table its positions. It is only after this that the way forward will be thrashed out.

A leading member of the ANC-led alliance, who requested that he should not be identified, said it was premature at this stage to speculate whether the talks were proceeding well or not.

Such is the secrecy of the talks that even top ANC and SACP officials in the Transvaal and Natal spoken to by City

Press yesterday not yet been informed about the latest developments.

Attempts by City Press to establish what transpired at the bosberaad, which ended on Friday, drew a blank.

Most Natal ANC leaders blamed this on "slow communication" with the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg.

However, a senior ANC official said there was "no dramatic development" at the bilateral talks.

The official said there was "very little debate" on Wednesday and Thurs-

day which had been set aside to discuss security matters during the transitional stage.

"It appears the government's strategy was to listen to what we had to say and read our minds. Other than that they said nothing."

Friday was set aside to discuss such issues as the composition and powers of the proposed transitional executive council.

Unconfirmed reports say the inconclusive discussions between the government and Inkatha had a negative impact on the bosberaad.

# ANC media man takes up new job

By CAS St LEGER

8/11/93 24/1/93  
HIGH-profile African National Congress media spokesman Saki Macozoma has quit his ANC job to head a rural development foundation.

Mr Macozoma resigned from the ANC in December and took up the post of executive director of the Pula Foundation in Johannesburg in January.

He retains his membership of the ANC national executive committee, to which he was elected in July 1991.

"There is no work similar to being in the limelight, as I was," said Mr Macozoma. "I had been looking for some time for a post in the non-government sector."

11A  
He sees his new job as an extension of his work with the ANC. "It is important to strengthen society. There is a continuity for me. The function of the ANC is to open spaces for people to grow."

Pula's task is to train members of non-government organisations, from civic associations to church groups, how to manage themselves and their money.

Launched with money from IBM and the American National Centre for Neighbourhood Enterprise, Pula is now "scratching to survive" because of a lack of funds. "I'm not too sure I'll have a salary at the end of the month," said Mr Macozoma.

ANC is  
SUNDAY TIMES 24/1/92  
selling  
out (11A)  
Winnie

Sunday Times Reporter

WINNIE Mandela has launched a bitter attack on the leadership of the ANC — accusing it of being intent on getting into bed with the National Party to enjoy new-found luxury.

The estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who has been stripped of all official positions in the organisation, expands in an article carried exclusively in the Sunday Times this week on her recent attack on the ANC leadership made at the funeral of veteran activist Helen Joseph.

Mrs Mandela castigates the ANC "elite" who she claims are sacrificing the interests of the vast majority of black South Africans in their haste to secure quick-fix solutions.

But she rejects suggestions that she plans to set up her own political movement.

● See Page 21

# A case built on quicksand (1/A)

Z PALLO JORDAN says the Douglas commission was one more lurid chapter in the Cold War

S/Times

24/1/93

ADVOCATE Douglas and his one-man inquiry added nothing new to our knowledge of human rights violations in ANC detention centres.

The evidence led before him did not differ substantially from that placed before the ANC's inquiry. What Douglas brought to his inquiry was a particularly virulent animosity against communism.

The editor of the Sunday Times, who appears to share Douglas's zeal, claims that this is an attribute of all civilised persons. (Whom does the learned scribe include in such "civilised" company? Senator Joe McCarthy? BJ Vorster? General Pinochet?)

After reading Douglas's report, it became clear to me that anti-communism had tempted him into gross exaggerations, hyperbole and the acceptance of outright lies. (The alleged ANC delegation to Kampuchea in 1978 is a case in point.)

Since the age of Homer it has been standard practice for states or armies engaged in war to attempt to penetrate the defences of their opponents by guile, deceit or any other means, fair or foul.

In our own indigenous literary tradition, in Thomas Mofolo's novel, *Chaka*, we encounter the character

Ndlebe, an extremely efficient spymaster.

Douglas is over the top in suggesting that the ANC leadership required the Soviet KGB and the SACP to make it aware of SA government penetration and infiltration. If indeed the ANC was not that vigilant, it was very ably alerted by Pretoria's intelligence services who boasted about their successes.

The SA public only recently became aware of the violent deeds of the likes of Ferdi Barnard. But those at the receiving end know what they are capable of. Opponents of the apartheid regime have been the victims of poisonings, letter-bombings, aerial bombardments, shootings and much worse.

Infiltrated agents were crucial to the success of these attacks. The hit squads operated not only inside SA but beyond its borders. And the squad that almost "took out" Albie Sachs, was applauded by Mr Ken Owen, then editor of *Business Day*.\*

Any responsible liberation movement would create a specialised organ to defend its cause and membership against such assault.

Any form of torture or third-degree interrogation methods are morally repre-

hensible and should be unequivocally opposed. Such abuses should be rejected on principle — whether perpetrated in the name of God, as Torquemada of the Spanish Inquisition claimed; in the name of the proletariat, as Stalin and his followers claimed; or in defence of the "free world", as the US military claimed in Vietnam.

The same strictures apply to those in the ANC who, motivated by whatever lofty reason, saw fit to employ such measures.

But Douglas's purpose, it would appear, was not merely to expose the sins of the ANC. He was determined to pin responsibility for them specifically on the communists.

Douglas charges Joe Slovo with co-responsibility for the violations, going so far as to claim that he encouraged them. But Slovo is mentioned by only one witness in the report.

To substantiate a case built on quicksand, Douglas had recourse to a story that tests one's credulity. In evidence placed before the commission, a former inmate of Quatro claims that Slovo visited the camp incognito. This former inmate, it transpires, did not see Slovo but heard of this

"visit" from the guards.

Chris Hani, fingered by Douglas as one of the principal villains in the councils of the ANC, was one of the sternest critics of the security organs.

Ronnie Kasrils has become the favourite whipping boy of the South African media since Bisho. It appears that the Douglas commission could not resist taking a swipe at him as well. He has offered his own account of the events surrounding the accusations against him. I have no reason to doubt his veracity.

How many others have been the victims of Douglas's anti-communist zeal?

The Douglas commission, sponsored by an international body whose sole purpose is waging the Cold War, had a very special axe to grind. Those who had hoped that it could assist in getting to the root of the illness that afflicted the ANC security organs have been ill-served by this commission.

□ Z Pallo Jordan is the ANC's secretary of information, but this article is written in his personal capacity.

\* *Business Day* did not applaud the attack on Mr Sachs which it described in a comment written by Ken Owen as the moral equivalent of necklacing.

# Mandela

## backs stand

### on curbs

C/press 24/1/93

2800

LIA

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was aware of opposition to his suggested conditional lifting of sanctions.

A tired-looking Mandela returned to SA yesterday after a six-day visit to the US where he attended the inauguration of President Bill Clinton.

"My views on the sanctions issue are well known, and if organisations such as the PAC, Azapo and others are opposed to my views, in a democratic society they are free to state their point."

Mandela said it was clear that the ANC was recognised in the US as the "key to the establish-

ment of a democracy in SA".

"The support the peace process in SA enjoys in the US is very encouraging," he said.

Besides shaking hands and appearing at a photo session with Clinton, Mandela met new Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

He also met Republican and Democratic Party officials.

The ANC leader was invited to attend Clinton's inauguration by the Black Congressional Caucus of the US.

On his way back, Mandela made a brief stopover in the Bahamas where he met that country's leader. - Sapa



**L**OVE her or hate her, you simply cannot ignore Winnie.

Nomzamo Mandela, the fiery and controversial ANC activist.

Just when we thought she was about to be written off, the estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela surprised all and sundry and bounced back into the limelight.

As one observer noted: "When Nomzamo sneezes, the whole country catches a cold."

Far from the truth you may say, but the beautiful one-time "mother of the nation" has the guts to make people sit up and listen whenever she opens her mouth.

She was gagged by the Mass Democratic Movement after the Stompie affair but she refused to keep silent. She ignored Nelson when he ordered her to stay away from Falati, her co-accused in the Stompie case, after she kicked her out of her house in Soweto.

Many thought it was the end of her political career when she fell out with Nelson and was later forced to resign from the

**MY WAY**  
With Khulu Sibiya

*C/Pres 24/11/93*

**You cannot ignore her**

*IIA*



ANC NEC and as senior executive member of the Women's League.

At Helen Joseph's funeral recently, Winnie's speech ruffled many feathers, including those of her husband and senior members of the ANC, when she spoke of an elitist clique that wants a short cut to parliament.

"I was quoted out of context," she maintained, when I spoke to her yesterday.

"If you look at the full text of my speech you will realise that it was intended to open up a constructive debate on crucial issues facing us at this point," she said.

What she meant, she emphasised, was the

avoidance of quick-fix solutions which would benefit a few and backfire on the country as a whole.

She said there was a strong need for the continuous involvement of the masses in the negotiation process, "rather than confining it to the exclusive influence and the eventual benefit of only a select group of individuals".

What about strong rumours that she wants to start her own political organisation?

Winnie replied: "I am reliably informed that the general pandemonium and panic caused by my speech at Helen's funeral owes to the notion that I am out to win support or to

prepare for the formation of my own party, divorced totally from the ANC.

"This is elevated from pure and unfounded speculation to the level of fact, despite numerous rejections of this by myself and the ANC itself.

"But I am quite prepared to live with this, particularly if it will serve to frighten people into correcting the truths I point out, whether for their own sake or to deny Winnie and the radicals the opportunity of winning support.

"My speech at Helen's funeral should not go down in history as a prophesy of doom or a support-Winnie trick, but as a genuine warning based on the

feelings and anxieties of the people on the ground - a warning that is not too late to heed."

She added that no number of 'bosberade' at leadership level would solve SA's problems "if popular parties do not bother to get fresh mandates on such crucial issues as a fundamental shift from the accepted notion of a transfer of power from a racist minority to a non-racial majority, to power sharing at the leadership level".

The shadow of Winnie looms large over the ANC leadership.

She may not be holding a leadership position within the movement, but she acts like a leader. People still flock to her for advice on any problem they may have.

According to reliable sources, her support on the ground is growing by leaps and bounds, to the embarrassment of some ANC members.

Come election time, many will be surprised at Winnie's following. As I said before, you simply cannot ignore her.

Clint Eastwood arrives at the 50th annual Golden Globe Awards in Beverly Hills on Saturday with Unforgiven co-star Frances Fisher.

Picture: AP

star; Tim Robbins, who received a Globe for best actor in a musical or comedy. Pacino, after accepting his award, told reporters: "The role I played was what we

nominee, took awards for the Best Original Score and the Best Original Song, for Alan Menken and Tim Rice's singalong A Whole New World. — Sapa-Reuter.

## ANC, govt mum on talks

WILSON ZWANE

TALKS between government and the ANC, which began in Pretoria last Wednesday, will continue in Cape Town today and tomorrow. *BIDM 25/1/93.*

No comments could be obtained from either party yesterday on the direction the talks were taking. Senior ANC officials said an undertaking had been made by both sides not to comment until the talks were concluded.

A source close to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a statement on the talks would be made either tomorrow or on Wednesday.

However, substantial progress on the future control of security forces has reportedly been made.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that government and ANC negotiators discussed a package which would establish a multiparty transitional executive council to control all armed forces. It is envisaged to be in place by July.

Also discussed were mass action, statements inciting violence and the peace accord.

## Warning over unilateral change to education

STEPHANE BOTHMA

UNILATERAL action by government on restructuring the education system into a single department could alienate a large portion of the population, the ANC warned at the weekend.

The organisation was reacting to reports last week that education would be brought under a single non-racial ministry and department within months. It is expected the new department will be restructured on regional rather than ethnic lines and reports said the changes could be announced as early as this week.

ANC education department head John Samuel said while the organisation was clearly encouraging a shift to a single non-discriminatory educa-

tion system, reports that an official announcement in this regard would be made without consultation with other parties was of great concern.

Samuel said the ANC had not been involved in the negotiations, and he criticised government's "automatic assumption" concerning the regionalisation of education.

The envisaged changes were confirmed by the House of Representatives Ministers' Council chairman Jac Rabie last week, Sapa reports.

Thus far the government plans were being handled with utmost confidentiality in order to avoid confrontation, Rabie said.

He said education ministers of the three houses of parliament had been working together for some time to establish the single department.

Sources close to the Pretoria talks confirmed that there were plans for a single education system and said the move was necessitated by the dire financial straits facing education.

Extreme economic pressure on the state coffers has left government no option but to continue with the rationalisation in the House of Representatives' department, which had been abandoned after extensive teacher union opposition last year. This was only a part of the rationalisation options which government was considering, sources said.

de tevelment

rather than via local authorities.

WIE OF CIERYMANN SOLOMON NAB

WIE OF CIERYMANN SOLOMON NAB

(49) (3) ven

# ANC 'not feathering its own nest'

Staff Reporter (11A)

The ANC yesterday denied Winnie Mandela's accusation that the ANC leadership was interested only in feathering its own nest.

In reports in the Sunday press, Mandela — who was separated from her husband, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, last year — accused the NP and the ANC of political elitism.

"The NP is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken sheets, and the leadership elite in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxury," she said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus retorted: "The ANC is struggling to achieve one person, one vote in South Africa. The question has to be asked: 'How can anyone say it is only in the interests of the elite?'"

Marcus said the national executive committee of the ANC — of which Winnie Mandela is a member — would meet early next month. The committee might then decide to debate whether its members could make personal statements about the organisation.

In any case, Mandela was entitled to her views, said Marcus.

She added that the ANC's main preoccupation was to set a date for elections. It was definitely not acting only in the interests of the elite.

# ANC unveils plan to woo 5-m voters

Staff Reporter

Optimism for the transitional process was underlined by the ANC PWV region's plan for a mass recruitment drive for voters, which was announced at the weekend.

The three-phase campaign, which is aimed at about 5 million potential voters in the region, kicks off today with the mobilisation of all ANC activists.

The first phase prepares the organisation for elections, and activists have been called upon to consolidate structures and rebuild street and block committees.

According to a press statement, the second phase begins in mid-March with a mass recruitment drive and a campaign to educate voters about ANC policies and fund-raising.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other sympathetic organisations will establish election structures during this phase.

The final phase is to begin in May with a "Votes for All Campaign". Activities include house meetings, public meetings and debates, and visits to voters by regional and national ANC leaders.

Peace will be a recurring theme throughout the campaign and peace summits are to be organised in all regions. "There can be no free and fair elections unless peace prevails," the statement says.

# Apla attacks suspended - Kriel

By Peter Fabricius (SAA)

KNYSNA — The high command of Apla — army of the Pan Africanist Congress — decided on January 4 on a temporary and tactical scaling down of its terror campaign against whites, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said.

Speaking at a weekend briefing, Kriel said Apla's decision had been forced on it by effective action against it by police, the SA Defence Force and civilians.

But he believed the Apla move was aimed at lulling police into a false sense of security and that terror acts

11/A  
would increase again once the heat was off.

Kriel rejected PAC claims that it was not responsible for Apla actions and said PAC president Clarence Makwetu was also a member of Apla's high command.

He said the PAC was not moving to separate the PAC and Apla leaderships to distance itself from Apla.

Kriel disclosed that, apart from Transkei and Zimbabwe, Apla was also receiving military training in Tanzania, Uganda, Libya, Egypt, Guinea and Iran.

Asked whether the SAP would conduct hot-pursuit raids into these countries, he

STAR 25/1/93  
said it would follow Apla tracks wherever they led.

Kriel said although Transkei was being used as a training base and launching pad for attacks inside South Africa, Apla had decided recently to launch attacks from inside SA to protect its Transkei "hosts" against cross-border operations by Pretoria.

Asked why SA had not conducted hot-pursuit raids into Transkei, Kriel said the training bases were small and mobile and that Apla cadres had always moved by the time information of their presence reached the SA security forces.

**NEWS** Azapo to review its non-violent stance ● New turn in 10-year-old girl's ordeal

# 'Keep SABC board above politics'

By Ike Motsapi

Sowetan 25/1/93  
 ■ Trade unions urged to fight for representation on the board:

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has called for the restructuring of the South African Broadcasting Corporation but warned that it should not fall under any political party.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said: "It is the prerogative of the nation that is supposed to be served by such public corporations to ensure that fair representation is effected in the appointment of the new board.

"This will give them a chance to decide how they are represented in the mooted new board of the corporation."

Azapo also encouraged trade unions to fight for the right of their members who are employed by the SABC to be represented on the new board.

Mosala also announced that Azapo is to hold an urgent consultative conference within six weeks to rethink its non-violent approach in pursuance of the liberation of blacks.

The leadership of Azapo said the need to hold such a conference will be to determine "what we have benefited from this approach".

Mosala said the organisation had been non-violent for too long.

He said: "We were forced to review our non-violent stance with regard to the liberation of our people because the Government is betraying their interests."

Asked whether this might mean taking up arms to topple the present Gov-

ernment, Mosala said the conference would decide that.

"I do not want to pre-empt the decisions that might be taken by the conference," Mosala said.

He said the central committee of Azapo, which met in Johannesburg for three days starting last Friday, rejected the employment of white teachers in black schools.

He said reasons for this were:

The practice cannot be allowed to go on while apartheid educational structures still remained;

The disturbing incidence of unemployment among black teachers;

The deliberate under-training of black teachers, or even "no training at

all", which still continued; and

That the fundamental aspirations of black people remain frustrated by the neo-colonial reformist practices of the present Government.

Mosala said Azapo nevertheless encourages black students to refrain from disruptive methods of opposition to the white teachers.

He said: "We expect students to behave like those who fought their battle in 1976.

"They must continue with their studies while at the same time fighting for the eradication of problems facing them.

"Students politics should remain student politics and nothing else," Mosala said.

He said education must continue alongside the struggle against unfair practices.



# Negotiations heading for decisive week

STAR 25/1/93

11A  
11A  
11A  
Staff Reporter

The negotiation process enters a crucial stage this week, with the immediate future of multiparty talks depending on the Government's meetings with the ANC and Inkatha.

The future of multiparty discussions hangs on the outcome of three separate events — the ANC-Government bosberaad, the second round of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and President F W de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

The bosberaad, which started in Pretoria last week, is expected to end in Cape Town tomorrow. According to sources, the ANC and the Government were to discuss constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of the TBVC states and a draft electoral Bill.

The second round of IFP-Government talks is to resume on Wednesday after the collapse of discussions last week, when a flurry of acrimonious and accusatory memoranda changed hands.

De Klerk's speech will set the

tone for the forthcoming legislative session — probably the last under the present dispensation. The talks with the ANC will be critical in this regard, and the Government is confident the discussions will be concluded successfully.

If all goes well, legislation easing the way for transition will be passed. This includes the creation of transitional executive councils, legislation to facilitate a transition, and the passing of an interim constitution effectively ending the present dispensation.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday: "This is a fairly decisive week. The whole function of Parliament is to introduce legislation to facilitate the transition process. This legislation should be drawn up according to the agreements reached with other parties, and hinges on the talks with the ANC."

● Sapa reports that the IFP yesterday demanded "open disclosure" by the Government of transitional and constitutional discussions between itself and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance. It was reacting to the Government's angry response to an IFP document submitted to it last week.

# Elections date to be set today

Sowetan 26/1/93.

■ **BUSH CAUCUS** Sources believe decision on polls taken during their five-day meeting:

By **Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

119

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS Government "bush caucus" which ends today is to finalise the date for general elections, to be formally announced in June, sources say.

This "agreement" would be put forth as a proposal at bilateral meetings with political parties involved in the negotiations process.

It is widely believed in Government and ANC circles that multiparty negotiations - with at least the Inkatha Freedom Party returning to

the table - will resume in March.

These disclosures coincided with the ANC PWV region's announcement of a recruitment campaign for voters in 1993.

The ANC and the Government are expected to issue a statement today after meeting for five days at a secret venue.

The ANC campaign - and perhaps its overall strategy for 1993 - was hinted at by its national executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils when he addressed the ANC's PWV regional general council in Johannesburg: "Possibilities exist that by June a date for the elections can be announced. "The election date might be in November or February 1994."



# Buthelezi calls for Natal peace drive

RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued an emotional appeal to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in addressing a series of meetings in strife-torn areas of Natal to spark "a massive movement for peace".

Buthelezi's appeal came as figures showed Natal was experiencing its bloodiest January since President F W de Klerk's February 1990 speech, with at least 80 people dying violently in the province so far this year. *Blom 26/1/93*

The figure is significantly higher than the 54 deaths recorded for the same period last year and the 62 people who died in the first 25 days of 1991, according to Human Rights Commission statistics.

Buthelezi said he and Mandela could "do something great for SA" by addressing meetings that would start up a mass peace movement. He repeated he was prepared to meet Mandela "tomorrow".

Meanwhile police, ANC and Inkatha witnesses continued to disagree about the causes of violence in the province before a Goldstone committee hearing in Port Shepstone, Sapa reports.

Divergent claims that police, criminals and traditional leaders fuelled violence were laid before the chairman of the inquiry into causes of violence in Port Shepstone, other than political rivalry between the ANC and Inkatha.

Police told the commission much of the killing was criminally motivated, but ended up playing a political role, while the ANC blamed security forces for prompting violence in the area.

Yesterday Inkatha Natal regional organiser Senzo Mfayela singled out the anti-

To Page 2

# Buthelezi

*Blom 26/1/93*     
talks stance of the ANC's Natal Midlands region as a major factor in violence there.

"The open opposition of the ANC's Natal Midlands leadership to regional and national peace initiatives and talks between Inkatha and the ANC has had a negative impact on stability in the Midlands and resulted in continued attacks.

"Inkatha would like to see a similar peace initiative to that in the Natal south coast being set up in the Natal Midlands."

Massacres of Inkatha supporters by masked gunmen wearing security force

uniforms had ceased since security forces stepped up patrols along the province's border with Transkei, he added.

Inkatha claimed last year that the attacks were being carried out by ANC members operating from Transkei.

HRC national director Safoora Sadek said the latest figures confirmed a shift in violence from the PWV to Natal.

Police said at least 14 people lost their lives in Natal at the weekend, reports Sapa.

From Page 1

B/D/M, 26/1/193

### ANC team in Israel

A VISITING ANC Youth League delegation in Tel Aviv yesterday issued a list of conditions for deepening ties with Israel, including an Israeli agreement to negotiate with the PLO and set up a Palestinian state. (11) (14)

The group said official relations between Israel and the ANC were "a remote possibility" and it would not recommend that ANC leader Nelson Mandela accept Israel's invitation to visit.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Delegations to Davos

GOVERNMENT and ANC leaders will again make presentations at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, this weekend.

The government delegation includes Finance Minister Derek

Keys and the ANC is also expected to send a senior delegation.

Last year, the forum was addressed by President F W de

Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

BIDM 26/1/93

(114)

# Is ANC using bully-boy tactics to gain support?

**A**NC "COMRADES" ordered a penniless, illiterate woman in the Phola Park squatter camp near Johannesburg to destroy her garden in order to leave a visiting foreign community leader with "a suitably negative impression" of how the Pretoria regime treats blacks, a British Sunday newspaper claims.

According to the London Sunday Times's southern Africa correspondent, Richard Ellis, the woman — identified only as Irene — is just one of the black South Africans who are now being terrorised by "a new group of bully-boys, the 'black boers' of the ANC".

Ellis claims that "anyone" who refuses to join the ANC, or follow orders from the "comrades", is "open to harassment, threats, physical assault, even death".

He adds: "Stalinist tactics, once used by ANC leaders in exile to stifle any dissent among its guerilla army, are now being used to cement the movement's political hold on the people, particularly as it faces growing criticism about its plan to share power with the ruling white Nationalists".

Ellis says victims are afraid to speak out or have their names published, but claims his newspaper has spoken to and documented "a large number" of similar cases.

They include a former ANC official who was threatened with death because he wanted to leave the organisation to become a church minister, a Soweto priest who refused to hand out ANC leaflets to his congregation, and a mother who fled her squatter-camp home after being beaten up for declining to join the ANC.

STAR 26/1/93

11A

**A British correspondent claims that Stalinist tactics, once used by ANC leaders in exile, are now being used to cement the movement's political hold on South Africans. GARNER THOMSON of The Star Bureau in London reports.**

But Ellis claims the tactics are not confined to the ANC. Its political opponents, such as Inkatha and the PAC, allegedly use similar tactics in the areas they control.

He writes: "In a country where brutality and intolerance are ingrained in blacks and whites, where township children grow up routinely witnessing violence and murder, it would be too much to expect the coming elections to be an exercise in peace and harmony".

In his response yesterday, ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan wrote:

"Quoting anonymous infor-

mants in order to protect them against possible reprisals is accepted journalistic practice which no one can argue with.

"Richard Ellis, the South African correspondent of the London Sunday Times, filed a story on January 24 1993 claiming that the ANC is 'terrorising' township residents. His allegations, unsubstantiated by any corroborative evidence, have been repeated by The Star's London correspondent using Ellis as authority.

"We consequently have a story, based on a story, based on the stories of unknown persons.

The word 'hearsay' fails to convey the true texture of the case in hand," Jordan said.

"There might well be zealots in the ANC who sometimes use bully-boy tactics to enforce compliance with the movement's wishes. It is clear that there are toughs who misuse the ANC's name for their own purpose. The Goldstone Commission's raid on the covert collection facility of the DMI (Department of Military Intelligence) demonstrated beyond doubt that many such thugs are part of a conspiracy to discredit the ANC. That salient fact finds no place in Ellis's story!

"It must have been difficult for frightened people to verify the real identities of those who intimidated them. It was probably sufficient that the villains wore ANC T-shirts or other insignia to identify them as ANC.

"That of course might have

been the purpose of the instigators; to use such instances as a brush with which to tarnish the movement's image and make out the lurid case Ellis and The Star's derivative story are pursuing is mischievous.

"Ellis's approach places the ANC in a position where it cannot respond to the charges since the circumstances, dates and names have been changed to conceal the identity of our accusers. Unable to muster a point-by-point refutation, any statement of general principle sounds like special pleading on our part.

"We can do no better than direct the attention of both Ellis and The Star's correspondent to the results of a survey, published in the Saturday Star of January 23, that demonstrate that the ANC scores very high on political tolerance, exceeded only by the Democratic Party." □

For everyone's sake, boost the economy, argues Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatsumba

# Disarm sanctions weapon now

STAR 26/1/93

**F**OR some months there have been indications of a feeling in a powerful section of the African National Congress that South Africa's economy will continue to go to the dogs unless a political settlement, leading to stability, is reached quickly.

It is this realisation, which both big business and the Government worked hard to promote, that is largely responsible for the new resolve in the ANC to get multiparty negotiations resumed and to speed up the transition to democracy.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, more than any of his colleagues in the leadership, has in recent months shown an appreciation of the country's parlous economic state and has repeatedly urged that a political settlement will have to be reached expeditiously so that the economy can start to grow.

In Washington last week, he also said he would be willing to call for the lifting of the remaining sanctions if business strove to increase employment and if

agreement was reached on the need for elections for a constituent assembly to be held before the end of this year.

While one can understand the ANC's wish to use sanctions as a bargaining chip to keep Pretoria moving towards an interim government and elections, South Africans can, in fact, no longer afford the luxury of arguing about whether or not sanctions should go. Millions of our fellow citizens, mostly blacks, are unemployed and do not know from where their next meal will come.

Sanctions, once a powerful weapon used effectively to bring Pretoria face to face with the consequences of the lunacy of apartheid, are as anachronistic today as are the Azanian People's Liberation Army's attacks on whites.

*Sanctions must go now* — and reasons for this are legion.

South Africa is experiencing one of the worst economic meltdowns in its history.

More people are being entrenched by the day. With no hope

of getting jobs, some returning exiles — that is, those who were brave enough to come back — turn to crime for survival.

The crime rate has soared to the extent that felony is now almost a national pastime — and more criminals are spewed out of jails which, we are told, are bursting at the seams. The police, discredited and overworked, no longer have any motivation for making arrests, because they know the people they apprehend today are likely to be out on the streets tomorrow, plying their trades again.

As more and more people retire to bed on empty stomachs and feel they have no stake in the much-vaunted "new South Africa", they become susceptible to accepting cash — anything from R200 to R1 000 appears to be the going rate — in exchange for committing murder. The violence spirals.

The rand, once stronger than the US dollar, continues to shrink,

white collar crime proliferates and corruption in the public sector becomes the order of the day.

Financial sanctions must go, and go now, before South Africa becomes "a typical African country" and slides at supersonic speed towards mob rule — thus becoming ripe for *coups d'etat* African-style. What the country needs desperately is immediate access to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and massive investment to create jobs.

The lifting of sanctions alone, of course, will not be a panacea. The initial benefit of such a move will be more psychological than material, both in South Africa and abroad.

More important than the lifting of sanctions will be the reaching of a political settlement and the creation of stability in the country to engender investor confidence — but the end of sanctions is an important step on this path.

All political players need to realise that the political and the ec-

onomic situations are inextricably linked.

The sooner a political settlement is reached and stability attained, the sooner the economy will begin to turn around as investment starts to pour in.

That, however, does not mean that preparations for that economic turnaround should not be made now, with the lifting of remaining sanctions being the first move.

The problem with some people in the ANC leadership is that, unlike their followers on the ground, they live in luxury in formerly white suburbs and are assured of ANC cheques at the end of the month from foreign governments favourably disposed to the organisation.

The South African Council of Churches, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation argue that the lifting of sanctions now would be premature, with Azapo and the PAC saying it is widespread corruption and mismanagement — not sanc-

tions — which has so ruined our economy.

A white minority government, they say, is still comfortably in power and apartheid remains intact. Until these two are gone, they contend, sanctions remain a necessity.

But it is now increasingly probable that elections for a constituent assembly will be held within the next 18 months, and that some form of new government will be in office before the end of 1994. To say preparations for economic growth should begin when that happens seems shortsighted to this writer.

But then Azapo and the PAC have been opposed to just about anything else that has happened so far — the relaxation of the cultural boycott and the subsequent visits to South Africa by foreign musicians, suspension of the armed struggle by the ANC and Codesa-style negotiations, etc.

The lifting of remaining sanctions will have to take place despite their vociferous objections. □

# Buthelezi calls Mandela to peace rallies

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

Inkatha Freedom Party leader and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to address joint rallies with him in strife-torn areas.

In a speech in Stanger on Sunday evening, Buthelezi said the time was long overdue for the IFP and the ANC to show South Africa they were "joining

forces to eradicate violence".

Buthelezi said if Mandela went with him from one strife-torn area to another to talk peace together from the same platform, a movement for peace would arise from their actions and "shame violence out of existence". *SPM 26/1/93*

"The time has come for doing away with the posturing, the skirmishing and the manoeuvring for peace. I say let there now be peace so that negotia-

tions for democracy can commence in time for us to meet the 1994 deadline for a final constitutional dispensation. We can still do it."

In his response, ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan said preparations for an ANC-IFP summit were proceeding and Buthelezi's suggestion that Mandela address joint rallies with him "could well find a place on the agenda of such a meeting".

# Govt in race to win accord

GOVERNMENT negotiators, involved in two crucial bilateral meetings this week, are racing against time to get the major parties to agree to draft legislation ushering in a transitional executive council and power-sharing.

They also want agreement with the ANC and Inkatha in the next few days on the resumption of multiparty talks.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk is intent on pressing ahead with his schedule of transition and wants to announce in his opening address to Parliament government's intention to pass the legislation. He also wants to be in a position to announce that multiparty talks will be under way by March, leading to non-racial elections within a year.

"The schedule is tough and the task a tall order," a government source said yesterday, adding there was no certainty deals could be finalised in time for Friday's opening of Parliament.

Should agreement on the council not be reached, De Klerk was expected to announce that "enabling legislation would be tabled to be passed by Parliament for the council which includes the reincorporation

**BILLY PADDOCK**

of homelands and some form of power-sharing with joint committees overseeing different areas of government".

The source said it appeared negotiations between government and the ANC, due to end today, were progressing well but that there was a lot of anxiety about tomorrow's meeting in Cape Town with Inkatha.

However, the chances of government and Inkatha patching up their differences received a boost yesterday when Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he wanted a new constitutional dispensation by next year and that he accepted De Klerk's transitional schedule deadline.

"I say let there now be peace so that negotiations for democracy can commence in time for us to meet the 1994 deadline for a final constitutional dispensation," he said.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said he was optimistic that government and Inkatha delegates "would find one another" at the meeting tomorrow.

Inkatha was still demanding open disclosure

□ **To Page 2**

## Accord

sure of the discussions between government and the ANC and insisting that these not be binding on other parties. Both the ANC and government tried to allay Inkatha's fears by saying any agreements between them would be binding only on each other and would have to be negotiated with others.

The government source also said Inkatha had won its demand for a multiparty planning conference, and its demand for

disclosure would be met when all agreements were scrutinised at this conference by all participants.

It seems another Inkatha demand may be partly met by the provisional agreement between government and the ANC that all armed formations, including Umkhonto we Sizwe, come under joint political control under the transitional executive council.

● **Comment: Page 6**

cost estimates, Randburg Act  
tee spokesman Harry Forman  
A request by the committee  
of engaging in  
"The ANC looks forward to further  
identifying and discussing  
"The ANC looks forward to further  
discussions with the IFP so all measures  
possible can be taken to address the violence

# Election turnout could be low

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — Fear, cynicism and confusion could lead to a disappointingly low black turnout in SA's first nonracial election, soon to be published research sponsored by the Matla Trust shows.

"It would be a mistake to believe that voter turnout will be high," Craig Charney, the Wits sociologist who is running the study, told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday.

The finding, based on interviews with 24 focus groups throughout SA last November, appeared to reinforce ANC president Nelson Mandela's appeal for electoral assistance during his visit here last week.

Key factors included "widespread fear of retribution", Charney said. Interviewees "were afraid of violence if they do vote, if they don't vote, or if they vote for the wrong people".

The researcher quoted as typical a

woman in the Free State who said: "I would be afraid to vote because I am afraid to die."

There was widespread cynicism, not only about the fairness of the process and the secrecy of ballots, but about the capabilities of the resulting black government.

There was also confusion about what voting entailed, indicating the need for a massive voter education programme.

For many interviewees, the costs of voting seemed to outweigh the perceived benefits, a situation those with an interest in a low turnout would seek to exploit.

Foreign governments, the UN and private groups could play an important part in supporting voter education, mediating disputes on electoral codes and rules, and in providing monitoring and security.

BIDM 27/1/93

Call for change...



# ANC 'no' to Inkatha peace rallies proposal

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC yesterday rejected an appeal by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the two organisations short-circuit preparatory talks in favour of high-profile peace rallies in conflict areas of Natal.

The ANC said in a statement it had no objection in principle to ANC president Nelson Mandela jointly addressing rallies with Buthelezi, but added that "such events should be part of a comprehensive approach currently under discussion".

Buthelezi said earlier he and Mandela urgently needed to address meetings jointly, which would result in a "massive movement for peace", instead of engaging in "posturing, skirmishing and manoeuvring for peace".

The ANC said discussions were aimed at "resolving differences and laying the basis for a successful meeting between the lead-

ership of both organisations ...

"The ANC and the IFP have, over recent weeks, held a series of bilateral meetings with one objective: to address, in a comprehensive manner, all issues relating to ongoing violence and ensure the creation of a climate for free political activity and tolerance," the ANC said.

Delegations headed by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose had identified and discussed issues.

"The ANC looks forward to further discussions with the IFP so all measures possible can be taken to address the violence and improve relations between the two organisations, both at leadership and membership level," it said in a statement.

## Three plead not guilty to 22 charges

SUSAN RUSSELL

THREE men claiming to be ANC members, who allegedly murdered two security guards and a traffic officer during two armed robberies in which they stole almost R1m, pleaded not guilty to 22 charges in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Minqanqeni Solomon Simphiwe, 33, Makhosi William Phuthumile, 28, both of Phola Park, Alberton, and Motaung Daniel Sihema, 35, of Katlehong pleaded not guilty to three counts of murder, six attempted murder charges, three counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances, house-breaking and nine counts of unlawful possession of a machine gun and ammunition.

The three were allegedly part of a gang which stole R571 280 from Standard Bank's

Southdale branch on May 29.

They were also allegedly part of the same gang which killed two security guards and attempted to murder four others during an armed robbery at Corobrik near Nigel on November 25 1991.

Security guards Daniel Johannes Jacobus Verster and Hermanus Stephanus Lombard were murdered by the gang after their Fidelity Guards van was ambushed. The gang escaped with R401 880.

It is alleged the three also shot dead traffic officer Jacobus van der Merwe after he stopped them for speeding on March 27 last year. The trial continues.

The report of the Douglas Commission into human rights abuses in ANC detention camps has caused a furore in political circles, especially insofar as it attaches blame for these abuses to prominent leaders. The publication of the report, sponsored by the International Freedom Foundation, led to claims and counter-claims.

Believing that the debate is of great importance for all South Africans, The Star invited Joe Slovo — one of the leaders named in the report — to set out his reasons for rejecting Advocate Bob Douglas's findings. Douglas was then invited to respond to Slovo's charges. The arguments appear here — giving readers an opportunity to make up their own minds.

# ANC camps: rivals square up

STAR 27/1/93



By JOE SLOVO

**Y**OU could wish for nothing more reassuring than the words used by Russell Crystal, supreme of the SA branch of the hysterically anti-communist IFF, to introduce his client's report on ANC detention centres. "Advocate Douglas," he said, "has applied strict legal criteria in pursuit of the truth, and has maintained a consistently high standard throughout — the result of which is indisputable".

Indeed, that is the least one would have expected from a senior counsel who has been at it for 30 years. I last wore a barrister's gown when Mr Douglas was still at law school, and I have no doubt that, as in my case, the same rubrics of law and natural justice must have been drummed into his head.

Among these are: You never reach a conclusion without attempting to hear the other side. You judge on the evidence, not on preconceptions and prejudice. You base a finding on what witnesses have themselves witnessed, not hearsay.

If these be fundamental legal criteria in pursuit of truth then I cannot be blamed for concluding that whatever or whoever he was pursuing in his commission, it was certainly not the truth. For this claim I need not go outside his own report which demonstrably condemns itself as little more than a hatchet job against political enemies. You merely have to examine the evidence on which he bases his conclusion about me to cast a dark pall over the integrity of this IFF venture.

In the first place, since the SACP and its leaders are considered by Douglas and his client to be among the main culprits, why did he not see fit, at the very least, to give the party or those of its fingered leaders an opportunity to answer?

## Smear by hearsay

What is Douglas's conclusion about my complicity in crime as the No 2 culprit?

"I come to the conclusion that Joe Slovo, on the evidence (my emphasis) was responsible and accountable for the crimes committed by Mbokodo. He was the most powerful communist in the movement at the time. He was seen visiting the camps including Quatro. He saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it."

Now, Joe Slovo was, according to the report, one of the most prominent figures. No one could have overlooked his presence, or involvement and approval of the atrocities alleged. Did it not cross Douglas's legal mind that it was extremely odd that of over 100 witnesses he claims to have interviewed under oath, only a single one attests to my complicity and in his case, as I will show, his evidence would be laughed out of court? That witness said:

"Joe Slovo visited Quatro, to my knowledge, during 1984. He visited the prison at night so that inmates would not recognise him. I might add that we had always had the highest regard for Joe Slovo who was head of special operations. The fact that he could associate himself with the brutality of our imprisonment at Quatro came as a great shock to me. I was told by the warders of his visit and recall their boasting of his being in their company."

By what tortured reasoning can any person, even without legal training, use this bit of hearsay pantomime to ground Douglas's conclusion that Joe Slovo "saw for himself what was going on and clearly must have approved of it"? But what



Joe Slovo . . . laws of natural justice must apply.

is more disturbing is that Douglas for good measure, and without the benefit of a single strand of even hearsay evidence placed before him, concludes that Slovo was seen visiting the prison camps other than Quatro.

What then is left of Douglas's conclusion "in pursuit of truth"? It is that I was "the most powerful communist in the movement at the time". He places considerable reliance on a book he read and some chats with the author. The book is "Comrades against Apartheid" by Stephen Ellis and Sechaba.

Douglas regards Stephen Ellis as a most reliable and knowledgeable expert on our exile history. It is common cause that Ellis had little, if

any, personal knowledge of the evils he describes and relies largely on his co-author who remains anonymous. There is no single identifiable source quoted in the book that (as Douglas avers) the ANC's security arm was operated by the SACP.

Also, why the selective quotes from Ellis's book which Douglas studied "very carefully"? Was it a printer's error that the following quote from Ellis's book was omitted from the report?

In the chapter dealing with allegations about the prison camps, Ellis has this to say: "Joe Slovo, for example, although known to be a communist, remained popular with the rank and file of the ANC and

Umkhonto we Sizwe throughout these difficult times. No one questioned his commitment and no one doubted his personal integrity."

To cap it all, listen to this gem: "There is also evidence that a top level delegation headed by Oliver Tambo which included Joe Slovo, Joe Modise, Cassius Make and Ronnie Kasrils visited Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam in 1978. The idea, so I heard, to create Quatro came from none other than Pol Pot who, so it is claimed, murdered some three million of his fellow Cambodians."

The visit to Cambodia and Laos never took place. When we went to Vietnam (Kasrils was not there), it was in a state of war with Pol Pot. The dirty underwear of the commission is nowhere more visible than the way it throws in the smear about Pol Pot with words "so I heard". It is public knowledge that the ANC was the first to engage in an inquiry into whatever crimes may have been committed in its prison camps.

There is no precedent anywhere in the world for a liberation movement to so openly unclothe itself. Unfortunately not only Douglas but also some sectors of the media have complained that those responsible have not been identified, well knowing that a commission has been launched by the ANC to do this. In its first commission those mentioned had not had an opportunity to respond.

By what standard of fairness can the ANC be criticised for doing something which goes to the very root of our common law? The doctrine of *audi alteram partem*, to protect individual liberty by providing a fair hearing, was scandalously evaded by Douglas and the ANC's attempt to take the route of natural justice is, to boot, also rubbished by his commission. □

## Rules apply to all

By BOB DOUGLAS

**M**R Slovo's emotionally charged attack on my integrity does him no credit. Rather he should have explained why the ANC built a prison camp like Quatro in which it beat and tortured young recruits to death.

He should also have explained why he is still committed to Marxist principles when all reasonable people know that the application of such principles brings about utter devastation.

Slovo was invited to deal with the allegations against him. On October 1 1992, I wrote to the National Executive Committee of the ANC (Slovo is a member) stating inter alia: "I am fully prepared to make details of all the allegations as well as the members of your organisation who stand accused available and to give you every opportunity you may require of dealing with them."

"If you contact me I shall make myself available at your convenience to meet at any venue which is suitable to you."

In the circumstances it is incomprehensible to me that Slovo can now claim that the *audi alteram partem* rule was not applied.

Slovo misses the point about his responsibility and accountability for the crimes of the ANC's security arm (Mbokodo) in exile. The following facts are indisputable:

- The ANC in exile had a security arm known as Mbokodo (the boulder which crushes).
- Mbokodo committed the most appalling crimes against Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres in exile (see the Amnesty Report and the ANC's own report).



Bob Douglas . . . no hint of apology has been shown.

● Mbokodo was established and controlled by the South African Communist Party.

● Slovo was Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff and a leading member of the SACP at the time.

In the light of the above, is Slovo really trying to say he did not know what Mbokodo was doing? What does Slovo say about President de Klerk's responsibility and accountability for the crimes of the South African security forces? He says De Klerk is to blame. All I have done is apply the same rule of collective responsibility to him.

Why does the ANC need another commission to identify those responsible for crimes? The ANC knows exactly who they are and dozens of them have already been identified in

the press (Weekly Mail). The ANC should boot the lot out and the sooner the better.

In vain one searches Slovo's statement for one hint of regret of what happened, for one hint of compassion for the shattered lives of the former inmates. It goes without saying that he hasn't bothered with my recommendation that they be compensated and evildoers punished.

I feel sorry for Joe Slovo. His life's work lies in ruins. Communism is dead. He just does not have the moral courage to say: "My God, we were wrong, I'm sorry."

● Douglas was invited to write a response to the same length as that of Slovo's article, but decided he could make his points in a shorter piece. □

First crucial obstacle cleared

# Talks: now for the next hurdle

11A 11B 11C

STAR 27/1/93

## Political Staff

The first hurdle has been cleared in one of the most crucial negotiating weeks since South Africa's reform process started, and the second will be faced today.

Yesterday, Government and ANC negotiators completed a successful — although not conclusive — five-day *bosberaad*, agreeing to consult their principals with a view to further talks soon on the transition.

Today, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party delegates gather in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town for a two-day meeting aimed at salvaging their tattered relationship.

Political observers describe the two high-level bilateral meetings as crucial in determining whether President de Klerk will be able to deliver a clear message of optimism in his opening address to Parliament on Friday.

## Hope

It is understood he will hold back until the last minute before finalising his speech — and its tenor will depend largely on whether a rapprochement is achieved with the IFP.

Sources in both the Government and the ANC say privately they still hope De Klerk will be able to announce that this session of Parliament might see the tabling of legislation paving the way for transitional government. If this is achieved, they say, the broadly agreed timetable providing for elections within a year to 18 months will be realistic.

At a meeting last week, Government and IFP negotiators exchanged acrimonious memoranda. Both sides have since tempered their rhetoric, stressing their commitment to the resumption of multiparty talks — an essential precursor to transitional power-sharing.

The negotiations process is finely poised: the fact that no detailed breakthroughs were announced after the Government-ANC talks, coupled with uncertainty about how the IFP talks will go, suggest that De Klerk may have to adopt a cautious approach on Friday.

Sources close to the Government-ANC talks, which ended at a secret western Cape venue, said they would meet again for another plenary session early in February to try to resolve remaining differences.

Delegations led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for three days in Pretoria last week and then for two days in the



Trend-setter . . . Maud Molefe (31) of Orange Farm squatter camp speaks to a 158 squatters in the area have had telephones installed and 18 000 have been c

## Talks: now for next hurdle

● From Page <sup>11A 11B</sup> ~~11C~~

western Cape to discuss transitional arrangements.

They talked about power-sharing in the transitional period and beyond and about measures to level the political playing field before elections, including restructuring the SABC, new electoral laws and joint control of the security forces.

Sources said the two delegations had returned with some tentative agreements but had failed to agree on others.

They had perhaps been "a bit ambitious" in trying to resolve all differences, one negotiator said.

Among the thornier problems were power-sharing beyond the

phase of interim government and the powers of regional government. STAR 27/1/93.

Some observers suggest that both sides may have underplayed the extent of agreement to avoid fuelling the suspicion that they were cutting far-reaching "deals" alone.

This would especially be so in the light of today's meeting between the Government and the IFP.

The Government has demanded that the IFP withdraw its highly critical memorandum presented last week, but IFP leaders have indicated they intend to stand firm.

Much will depend on the atmosphere in which the meeting is conducted, even if differences persist.

# Nats, ANC 'reach crucial agreements'

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

■ Results of the talks could form basis for FW's speech in Parliament:

THE Government emerged cautiously from its crucial "bush caucus" with the ANC yesterday on the eve of an even more critical meeting today with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators from both sides could not be reached last night but a bland statement issued earlier in the day suggested that serious but tentative agreements had been reached between them.

The agreements included steps which would result in the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations.

If all goes well at the IFP-Government meeting today, agreements reached at both meetings could form the nucleus of President FW de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech on Friday, sources close to the centre of talks speculated last night.

The meeting between the ANC and Government discussed issues surrounding power-shar-

ing in the transitional period, new electoral laws, joint control of the security forces and measures aimed levelling the political playing field before elections, including the re-structuring of the SABC.

They gave no formal indication of progress, although Government sources said the meeting had gone well.

It is understood that Government had approached "the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe in a tolerant and understanding manner".

# Elitist deal-cutting actually SA's best way

forward

A STRANGE assortment of critics, from Winnie Mandela to the Sunday Times, have begun criticising the bilateral negotiations between the ANC and the National Party as elitist deal-cutting to share the spoils of power while the underprivileged masses are forgotten.

In Mrs Mandela's harsh phrase, "the NP elite is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken sheets, and the leadership elite in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxury".

The implication is that the form the negotiations has taken is essentially undemocratic and will produce a backlash from the disillusioned masses whose interests are being abandoned in the rush for the gravy train.

It is a criticism the political leaders should heed, to the extent that it is a warning of how careful they must be not to give the impression of fat-catting once they are part of an interim government. But in itself the criticism is a serious misinterpretation of the process taking place.

What is happening is the negotiating of a series of pacts between the major political organi-



Allister Sparks

sations, which is the classical form for a transition to democracy to take.

The process is well established. Four years ago, South African political analysts became aware of an extensive study by a team of American scholars of 13 countries — including Spain, Greece, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay and Argentina — that have moved from right-wing authoritarianism to democracy without revolution since World War 2.

One of the team, Phillippe Schmitter, came here as a guest of Idasa. He has since sent me his further studies of transitions in Chile and eastern Europe.

In attempting to pinpoint the key factors which enabled these transitions to take place, the authors of what is now a weighty literature on the subject found that "pacting", or negotiated compromises between the major political players, was the most important.

STAM 27/1/93.  
These pacts usually emerge, the authors say, when a series of crises has created an "unstable equilibrium" between the authoritarian forces of the state and those thrusting for democracy, when the regime loses legitimacy but the democratic forces still cannot oust it.

Exactly what has happened in South Africa.

The two sides then try to negotiate a new dispensation. Attempts to do this in large democratic forums usually fail because of the disparity of views and the difficulty of making compromises to cherished positions in a public arena.

Hence the process of pact-forming by leaders. These pacts define the rules under which the parties will operate, with each agreeing to modify its own policy position to accommodate the other's vital interests. When the deal is struck a founding election is held, and the new dispensation is then legitimised by the population at large.

Since they are agreements reached by political leaders, they are obviously acts of political elitism. That means they are vulnerable to attack as undemocratic. Yet they are essential to achieving democracy.

As Schmitter and co-author Guillermo O'Donnell put it in a summing-up volume: "Ironically, such modern pacts move the polity towards democracy by undemocratic means. They are typically negotiated among a small number of participants representing established (and often highly oligarchical) groups or institutes; they tend to reduce competitiveness as well as conflict; they seek to limit accountability to wider publics; they attempt to control the agenda of policy concerns; and they deliberately distort the principle of citizen equality."

Nonetheless, they alter power relations, set loose new political processes and open the way to democracy.

"Pacts are not always possible," the authors say, "but we are convinced that where they are a feature of the transition, they are desirable — that is, they enhance the probability that the process will lead to a viable political democracy."

It is understandable that lay members feel uneasy when their leaders cut deals behind closed doors. But it is the end result that counts more than the means of getting there. The process, however elitist, is going to lead to an

election — and that is when the democracy will begin and the ordinary people have their say.

Even then it will not come in a single step but in instalments. The first steps will be limited: a transitional executive council with power clumsily shared; then an election and a new constitution followed by a "government of national unity", another awkward coalition but this time at least of elected representatives.

With each step the democracy will be widened and the people will become more involved. That is the transforming process. Democracy itself changes the whole game, opening the way for the emergence of new forces. The relationship between the old players will change and new players will emerge. A changing class stratification will transform the political landscape.

The mistake is to imagine we are creating the whole thing now, designing Utopia in one great act of political creation. What we are doing is starting a democratising process. Even then democracy is not an end, but a beginning. It does not end the struggles over the form and purpose of politics. All it does is institutionalise those struggles, providing a framework

in which they can take place constitutionally and peacefully.

The struggle Mrs Mandela speaks of, to promote the cause of the impoverished and unemployed, the people disadvantaged for centuries by colonialism, segregation and apartheid, will go on well beyond her lifetime and mine. It will be the stuff of South African politics for the next 50 years or more.

Democracy provides the means to wage that struggle, and pacting is the most effective way to attain democracy.

Yes, it is important for the NP and ANC leaders to keep their members informed of what is happening in the negotiations, to counter perceptions of bedfellowing and bring their supporters along with them into the deal.

In this the ANC has done rather better than the NP, with its vigorous internal debate over "sunset clauses" and the return to negotiations — which some media critics promptly derided as a sign of divisions and confusion.

But the best way to carry the people along is to build up a sense of momentum. It is endless argument and stalemate that breeds disillusionment. Again, pact-forming is the way. □

# PAC set for stormy meeting <sup>11A</sup>

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Reporter

Sparks are expected to fly at the Pan Africanist Congress's three-day national executive council (NEC) meeting in Johannesburg on Friday, amid rumours that at least three NEC members are considering tendering their resignations.

The PAC meeting — the first since second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke shocked supporters in the PAC by resigning from the or-

ganisation's leadership last month — will discuss a wide range of issues, including Moseneke's departure.

Some sources close to PAC said at least three NEC members, two of whom were close confidants of Moseneke, would present the meeting with resignation letters if they were not satisfied with the organisation's explanation of the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The three leaders'

names are known to The Star. Two of them could not be reached for comment and the third declined to comment.

Although many political observers have argued that Moseneke's resignation was triggered by his opposition to Apla's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown last month, Moseneke himself cited work and family pressures.

He has not commented on Apla's activities since then.

**Confine two  
S 14 R  
battalions,  
27/11/92  
urges ANC**

The ANC yesterday called on the Government to restrict the SADF's 31 and 32 battalions to their bases and to make public their members' names. (S)

The ANC was commenting on Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos's allegations that Jonas Savimbi's Unita continued to receive help from South Africa.

The organisation said that if Pretoria did not accept the outcome of democratic elections in Angola, South Africans could not have any confidence that it would accept results of elections in this country. (11A)

The ANC said that as long as units such as 31 and 32 battalions were not confined to base, suspicions that they were bolstering Unita forces would remain. — Political Reporter.

# Basic differences remain after talks

BILLY PADDOCK

11/17

FUNDAMENTAL differences remained between government and the ANC on how power would be distributed in the first phase of an interim government, a senior government source indicated yesterday at the end of the five-day bilateral meeting.

"A great deal of good progress was made, but there were still 'quite a lot of differences on issues such as power sharing and regionalism', he said.

The main area of disagreement appeared to concern how the transitional

executive council — the first phase of interim government — would function in the runup to nonracial elections.

He said government had not envisaged the council functioning as a government, but the ANC wanted definitive authority vested in it.

Government envisaged council overseeing facets of government and ensuring

To Page 2

## Talks

Bloom  
27/1/93

that no political party gained unfairly from government actions. "It was always seen as a mechanism for levelling the playing fields," he said.

A joint statement by the delegations also indicated that expected progress had not been made. It gave little detail of the substantial agenda and lengthy discussions, and said: "Further discussions ... will be taking place."

The delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, agreed more talks were necessary for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The parties' differences did not, however, appear insurmountable. The statement said the delegations would report to their principals "with a view to resolving matters and facilitating the resumption of multiparty negotiations".

It said security matters were discussed during the first two days of talks.

The government source said good pro-

gress was made on security forces and private armies. Close monitoring of all armed formations was envisaged to ensure a level playing field before elections.

The statement said models of such issues such as a government of national unity and regional government were considered. "Various matters that were canvassed at Codesa, such as procedures to appoint a new SABC board and independent media commission, independent electoral commission and the reincorporation of the TBVC states were also explored."

On regionalism, government still wanted to get agreement that the powers and duties of regions be negotiated and set down as a principle before a constituent assembly was elected. The ANC insisted this was the preserve of the elected body.

Ahead of today's meeting with Inkatha in Cape Town, government was optimistic that it would resolve the row over Inkatha's controversial memorandum.

From Page 1



# Power meter exports on the cards

**DURBAN** - based electronics company Conlog said yesterday it was close to winning several export deals for its prepaid electricity meter system.

Marketing manager Lynette Brull said international interest in the system — developed four years ago for Eskom's drive to electrify all township households — was generated at a recent conference in Glasgow at which Conlog's Herman Bos presented a paper.

As a result of that interest, Conlog had entered into negotiations with New Zealand, Australia, Gabon, Egypt and a number of South American countries.

**WILSON ZWANE**

Brull said the system — called the E-Kard Electricity Revenue Management System — had been developed to such an extent that it was now an internationally competitive product.

Conlog, which has been selling 24 000 meters a month in the past few months, claims it dominates the southern African market. Its biggest customer is Eskom.

"To cope with increased demand, we have increased our production capacity more than sevenfold and have more than trebled our staff complement," Bos said.

# PAC occupies Umtata offices of newspaper

**Own Correspondent**

**EAST LONDON** — About 15 PAC members occupied the Daily Dispatch's Umtata office yesterday in a protest against the newspaper's "campaign of silence" against the organisation.

Two trucks delivering the newspaper to the homeland were stopped by armed men, but Transkei police did not believe there was a link between the two incidents and the sit-in.

One truck was hijacked by four armed men near Tolweni. It was found near Butterworth with only the keys and number plate missing. The other truck was prevented from continuing into the homeland by a group near the Queenstown-Transkei border on the road to Lady Frere.

Daily Dispatch staff in Umtata left the office during the occupation but Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa assured the SA Union of Journalists that journalists would be protected.

PAC regional secretary Zingisa Mkabile, who led the occupation, refused to confirm or deny PAC involvement in the truck hijacking except to say the organisation was "rejoicing". He said the PAC could not guarantee the safety of Daily Dispatch vehicles and the organisation would "kill" the newspaper's business in the region.

In a statement, the PAC accused the Daily Dispatch of ignoring its statements and refusing to cover PAC events. It vowed to continue the action until the newspaper ceased its alleged "bias publishing".

Daily Dispatch editor Glyn Williams assured the PAC that the stance of the editorial staff concerning news items was "unbiased and objective".

## Results

factory trading results for the second half of the year, the second half has seen improvement which has been achieved in a market that has been in a depressed state throughout the year.

The company's 1992 annual results show an improvement over the previous period's results. The results do, however, show a satisfactory annualised increase of 25% compared to the previous year.

The company has expanded its operations in the following areas:

1. A new plant was opened in Brits to produce moving trade-in vehicles.

# Apla's claims exaggerated, say police

1104  
Sowetan 28/11/93  
■ But movement a threat to negotiations

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) used disinformation to create an exaggerated picture of its own capabilities, according to the police.

The movement, however, was a real threat to peace and the established negotiations process, says Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

Apla's claims of having killed 500 security force members last year, if one interprets police statistics for 1992, verge on the incredible.

According to official Government statistics, only 226 members of the South African Police had in fact died in 1992 from various causes, including accidents, while on duty.

Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux, of the SAP's Crime Combating and Investigation Division, said at the weekend that in eight instances only had Apla members been connected to the deaths.

"It is thus evident that Apla uses disinformation to create an exaggerated picture of its own capabilities," Le Roux said.

Apla does, however, remain a problem for the SAP, Mr Hernus Kriel, said at the weekend.

Kriel believes that the nuisance factor Apla represents and the misery index which it influences will turn people against the PAC. The movement did very little to speed the flow of negotiations in South Africa, he said.

## Opposition to negotiations

Kriel believes that the ANC has left a vacuum on the extreme left where it once sat and that the PAC was, through Apla, trying to secure this position for itself by tapping the support of people who are opposed to negotiations.

According to SAP intelligence, Apla decided early in January that its cadres would lie low while interest in its activities was high and while civilians were busy arming themselves.

But as soon as things were "back to normal", Apla would strike again, Kriel said.

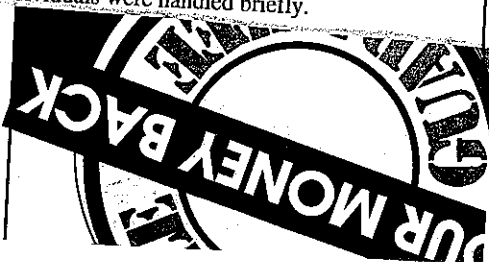
Kriel's intelligence on Apla appears to be thorough and covers funding, training and operations.

The SAP believes, for example, that Apla received R14 million from the Libyan government during 1991 and that the PAC's military wing was operating from at least 10 bases in Transkei and Ciskei.

While the Government knew where these bases were it was difficult to launch pre-emptive strikes against them because they operated intermittently and arbitrarily, Kriel said.

"Our informants are not always at a phone when the bases are up and running," Kriel said.

A base, he said, was not a formal set-up with tents behind barbed wire fences and marching soldiers in uniform on the compound. It was more like a single house where individuals were handled briefly.



# Light at the end of talks tunnel

CAPE TOWN — The flurry of bilateral meetings held between the Government and the ANC and Inkatha had raised hopes that multiparty talks might resume soon, negotiators said last night.

Major obstacles have still to be overcome, but following successful meetings over the past week there is optimism that negotiations involving all the major political players could be resuscitated soon.

After a five-day meeting with the Government on the Cape coast, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that although no breakthrough had been achieved, the talks had held out the promise of a settlement when the two sides met again next month.

Optimism was also boosted when Government and IFP delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, met in Cape Town yesterday and patched up the fierce quarrel which peaked with an exchange of insulting memoranda last week.

The delegations agreed to appoint a committee to arrange a multiparty planning conference to review all bilateral agreements. They meet again on February 8.

Announcing that Government-IFP relations were back on track, Mdlalose and Meyer said at a joint press conference that they shared many basic constitutional principles. They had not yet got down to discussing differences.

In Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC and the Government would meet next Thursday to discuss security and violence and then again from February 10 to 12 to resume discussions on constitutional matters. "The talks are currently holding out a promise which we hope will end up in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet," he said.

There is a growing sense of

● To Page 3 ●

# New hope for talks

● From Page 1

urgency and a firmer commitment to stick to the timetable for transition which President de Klerk spelt out in November. It calls for the resumption of formal multiparty negotiations by April, a transitional council by June and elections for full interim government by March next year.

One source close to the negotiations said yesterday that South Africa had six months to reach an agreement on interim government, or else the international community would turn its back on the country.

But despite the urgency, it is clear that fundamental differences of principle still separate the main parties.

The ANC and the Government still have a long way to go in reaching agreement on the powers to be devolved to regions, on whether power-sharing in a final constitution should be informal or formally entrenched, and on the powers of a transitional executive council to supervise the run-up to elections for an interim government.

But it seems that at the ANC-Government meeting over the past week, the two positions began to converge on federalism as the ANC began to accept that regional powers should be devolved rather than simply delegated from the central government. — Political Staff and Sapa.

## ERS: Azapo not impressed

"CHANGING socks without  
does not stop the feet from smelling" said the  
Azanian People's Organisation yesterday in re-  
sponse to the Government's Education Renewal  
Strategy.

The cure for South Africa's educational ills was  
a centralised, unitary education system offering  
free and compulsory education, said publicity sec-  
retary Dr Gomolemo Mokae. He said the Govern-  
ment did not have the moral stature to implement  
such a system. Only a popular democratically  
elected majority government would have the moral  
high ground to repair damage inflicted on educa-  
tion in South Africa by racism, said Mokae.

*Due Jan 28/1993*

*SP 11A*

# Weighing up his <sup>(11/17)</sup> words?

STAN 281193

Talk isn't cheap these days when it comes to Nelson Mandela.

Businessmen wanting to hear the African National Congress president speak in Johannesburg next month will have to pay R500 each.

The price may be steep, but the ANC PWV region's publicity department said yesterday that Mandela would deliver a speech of great relevance.

The address will be given at a gala banquet in the Johannesburg City Hall on February 19. The affair is being held in honour of Mandela and is part of the ANC's programme to visit its 14 regions countrywide.

The ANC's top executives will be in attendance at the function and businessmen and professionals may gain valuable first-hand insight into the ANC's views and strategies. — Staff Reporter.

# Govt, ANC agree on key issues

B/DAM 29/1/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE crucial talks between government and the ANC had achieved a great deal of consensus on key issues but the detail of how to implement the principles promised to be difficult to overcome, a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He said the five-day bilateral meeting with the ANC had produced a common proposal on the main constitutional matters but because both delegations had shifted from their mandated positions, it was necessary to return to principals for further mandates.

It is understood there is very little difference between the parties on regionalism, with the ANC accepting that powers be devolved to regions rather than merely delegated.

"When you look at what they are saying about how they want the powers, functions and duties to be devolved to regions, there is very

little difference between that and what government is pushing for," the negotiator said.

There was also strong convergence on an interim constitution with the ANC agreeing to power-sharing during this period. However, it objected to the entrenchment of power-sharing in the final constitution.

There were also differences on the powers of the transitional executive authority in the runup to elections: the ANC wants to accord it greater authority and government wants it merely to level the playing fields.

The source said the focus of the next few weeks would be to resume multiparty talks and intensify bilateral discussions to ensure success at the multiparty forum.

He said government wanted Inkatha to be kept in the process.

At Wednesday's bilateral meeting between government and Inkatha, it was agreed that a multiparty planning conference be convened soon with a commitment to reconvene multilateral negotiations in March.

However, yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told OAU delegates he rejected the power-sharing agreement reached between the ANC and government and would not join multiparty negotiations under those conditions.

The government source said most of the hard bargaining would take place at bilateral meetings as this would minimise the chances of deadlock or breakdowns.

He said the major stumbling block was the issue of reincorporation.

He said Transkei, Ciskei and Venda had committed themselves to reincorporation but Bophuthatswana had reserved its position.

0801 057 S J

WRC 170 TO 1700  
YR 1993

## Kasrils launches bid to clear his name

RAY HARTLEY

ANC NEC member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday launched a drive to clear himself of allegations that he was responsible for torture and abuse at the ANC's Quibaxe camp in Angola in the past.

Kasrils arranged media interviews with two men claiming to be among 14 former Quibaxe detainees alleged by the International Freedom Foundation's Douglas commission to have been mistreated by him. **6/10/93 29/11/93**

Kasrils said the ANC and his lawyers were still deciding whether or not to sue Douglas for defamation arising from the claims contained in the report.

The two, Victor Mgwenya and Ben "TNT" Lekalake, denied Douglas's statement that evidence suggested Kasrils was responsible for having 14 MK cadres

held in a basement in Quibaxe camp where "a diesel engine nearby flooded the basement with noxious fumes" **11/9**

Lekalake claimed the diesel engine referred to was an electricity generator about 60m from the detention cell and had never been used to abuse detainees. Lekalake and Mgwenya were accompanied by Duncan Dlamini — MK chief of staff for the camp when the abuses allegedly took place — during the interviews.

They said they had been held for two months for refusing to continue with training and their only contact with Kasrils was when he tried to persuade them to become more involved in camp life.

## Codesa will work, says Mandela

LLOYD COUTTS

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had agreed in December that Codesa was the forum for multiparty negotiations, ANC leader Nelson Mandela has said.

In the February edition of the ANC journal Mayibuye, Mandela said the ANC was not prepared to waste time setting up a new forum, but Codesa could be restructured to accommodate other parties.

"It has taken a long time to establish Codesa. For us now to try to set up another multiparty forum may take

as long, and we are not prepared for that.

"Codesa is an effective organisation for any future multiparty talks. All that is necessary is that parties which want to make a contribution to the process can come and join. We will listen to any suggestion they make which can improve the effectiveness of Codesa." **6/10/93 29/11/93**

Mandela said the ANC envisaged the installation of a transitional executive

council and elections for a constituent assembly, taking place towards the end of this year.

The assembly would then design a new constitution for the country.

"This might take some time and might go beyond 1993," he said.

Most political parties had realised the need for a peaceful settlement in the near future, and 1993 was likely to be turned into a year of decisive achievements, he said.

Net distributable income (R)



# Candy and flowers, but not the ring

w/mail 29/11 - 4/2/93

11A

*Israel's new ambassador to South Africa has been spending more time at Shell House than in the Union Buildings, negotiating a rocky path between a jumpy South African Jewry and a sceptical ANC. MARK GEVISSER quizzed him about what seems a major policy shift*



Dr Alon Liel ... 'I am helping the ANC see that Zionists are not monsters'  
Photo: MARK GEVISSER

**A**lon Liel, Israel's new ambassador to South Africa, is only the second Israeli Oliver Tambo has met. The first was a garage owner to whom the former African National Congress president took his car in the early 1960s before he went into exile. "And that," comments Liel, "gives you some idea of just how bad relations have been between Israel and the ANC."

Liel is a career diplomat who ran Israel's South Africa Desk in 1987, when the country decided to join international sanctions against South Africa. He was given his posting to Pretoria almost immediately after the Labour Party victory in Israel last June. His instructions were simple: befriend the ANC.

"My presence here," he says, "is a reflection of the new mood in Israel. The previous ambassador was a political appointee of the (right-wing) Likud government and, for the past three years, there has been no attempt at creating meaningful relations with the ANC."

Liel's predecessor, Zvi Gov-Ari, was decorated by the South African government, but despised by liberal Jews and the liberation movements alike. "Anything that changes the Israeli approach of the past few years is a breath of fresh air," says Adi Assabi, the rabbi who began formal contact between the South African Jewish community and the ANC by inviting Nelson Mandela to address a Friday night congregation at his synagogue in 1991.

But haunting Liel's work is that image of Mandela and Yasser Arafat in fraternal embrace. Standing between him and the realisation of his task is not only the historical friendship between the South African and Palestinian liberation movements, but also Israel's history of support — military and otherwise — for the apartheid regime, and the love-affair that continues between the Israeli government and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

"I won't lie," says Liel. "It hasn't been easy. For so many years, the ANC has been exposed to anti-Israel propaganda because of its friendship with the Islamic and communist worlds. We would be naive to think that just because the Israeli government sends a nice guy with a nice smiling face, things are going to change overnight."

For the past couple of months, bemused officials at Shell House have witnessed a steady stream of visits: Liel has presented his credentials to Mandela, officially inviting him to Israel, to Cyril Ramaphosa, to Tambo and to Walter

Sisulu.

"He's so un-Israeli," comments one official, who has met a few more than Tambo. "He's so eager to please."

Liel's task has not been made easier by the recent deportation of 400 Palestinians from Israel. Neither has it been helped by the statement, issued in Tel Aviv this week, by the ANC Youth League, which is currently on a tour of Israel encouraged by Liel himself. The league declared that official relations between the ANC and the state of Israel "remain a remote possibility" because of the latter's continued oppression of the Palestinians.

"The statement was quite a blow," says Liel. "It is one-sided and it plays right into the hands

of those who say that relations with the ANC are impossible; people in Israel and South Africa who say that the ANC hates Israel and that it is anti-semitic."

Despite the harshness of its tone, there is nothing anti-semitic about the league's statement — nor does it challenge Israel's right to exist. But the strong and swift reaction it has drawn from South African organisations like the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Board of Deputies demonstrates, once more, the anxiety of the South Africa's Jewish community.

On paper, South African Jewish organisations have given Liel their unequivocal support: "We are behind him all the way," says Seymour Kopelowitz, national director of the Jewish

Board of Deputies. "By trying to establish open and friendly channels with the ANC, he is doing what we have been doing for ages."

But Liel notes that "at least one third of each working day is taken up explaining to the Jewish community why I'm doing this". Certainly, he says, "I'm not nearly as unpopular now as I was when I implemented sanctions against South Africa in 1987, and most South African Jews do support my initiative. But what resistance I have met has come from within the Jewish community." This has run to the occasional anonymous hate-mail printed in the local Jewish press.

A leader of the South African Jewish establishment, known for his conservatism, nevertheless supports Liel's initiatives: "No matter what my personal views of the ANC are," he says, "my priority is to make sure that relations between South Africa and Israel remain friendly in the new South Africa. The last thing we want here is what happened to the Jewish community in Zimbabwe after independence there, where Mugabe broke ties with Israel."

A well-placed official in the ANC's Department of International Affairs notes that, despite the Youth League rhetoric, there is little chance of this happening in a new South Africa. "The ANC has stated categorically that it recognises Israel's right to exist. But it also recognises the Palestinian right to self-determination." And, he adds, "the fact that we are talking to the Israelis does not mean we approve of their policies."

Liel is trying to demonstrate to the ANC that there is more in Israeli policy to approve of now than before: "I am helping the ANC see that Zionists are not monsters. Our present government has the reputation of being the most peace-seeking Israel has ever had. It has announced that it is ready to trade land for peace in the Golan Heights, and it has announced general elections in the occupied territories."

Liel's posting is undoubtedly a function of a change in Israeli foreign policy — both in the Middle East and in southern Africa. But whether this personable man who clearly enjoys adversity (he was the head of Israel's mission in Turkey at the time of the Lebanon invasion) can single-handedly reverse Israel's notoriety among the majority of South Africans depends on how quickly Israel resolves its own regional problems.

And this is something that Liel himself recognises. "My progress with the ANC depends, ultimately, on one thing: the successful resolution of the peace process in the Middle East."



# Hunt for the new Smiley's People

w/maif 29/11 - 4/2/93

By EDDIE KOCH

THE search is on for a few good men to overhaul the intelligence machine that is falling apart along with the system it was set up to defend — and it's not going to be easy to find them.

Joe Nhlanhla, head of the African National Congress' Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS), stands in line for a top job in the new South Africa's spy agency.

Unlike the ANC's other intelligence barons — Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Hani and Jacob Zuma — Nhlanhla has a reputation for remaining above some of the feuds that have taken place within the ANC's military wing.

"He has no record of getting involved in political games and is regarded as a competent official. He has always been recognised for his bureaucratic skills," says Steve Ellis, director of the Africa Studies Centre at the University of Leiden in Holland.

However, Nhlanhla as well as some of his agents have been compromised by allegations of torture at the ANC's detention camps in Angola and Zambia. He took over the DIS from Mzwai Piliso, the man blamed for most of the abuses, in the mid-1980s, in an effort to clean up the department.

Nhlanhla succeeded to some extent but less serious forms of torture continued to take place. This blot on his copybook will jeopardise the DIS chief's chances of leading a new intelligence agency.

General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, the flamboyant chief of military intelligence (DMI), is a non-starter. He has been hopelessly compromised by the notorious Goniwe signal message and the

ANC will fight tooth-and-nail to prevent him from having any power in a new intelligence world.

The general's Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) has taken the brunt of recent purges in the SADF and it is clear that the National Intelligence Service (NIS) has been working hard to erode the once-powerful department that Van der Westhuizen headed.

But Van der Westhuizen is a resourceful man and has been working hard behind the scenes to salvage his career. Much will depend the outcome of the Goniwe inquest which begins in March this year. But it seems the best he can hope for is to remain head of a weak and dismembered military intelligence unit.

The dark horse is Michael James Minnaar Louw, director general of the NIS. His agency is the one most in control of the current spy versus spy war and it is currently being beefed up to replace DMI as the country's premier intelligence centre.

Louw served a spell in DMI after obtaining an honours degree at the University of the Free State in 1962. He joined the Bureau for State Security after its foundation in 1969 and has served in several posts in the NIS including that of special advisor to the director general.

Louw and his agents have a reputation in rival agencies for being the "boys in suits" — academics without any experience in the tough world of intelligence and counter-intelligence.

But his big advantage is that nobody knows much about him. His record looks clean and there is no evidence of dirty tricks and human rights abuses — always an advantage when there are few other good men around.

# Proposals await approval

w/mail 29/1-4/2/93.

There was no 'breakthrough' but if the cabinet and ANC executive agree to the proposals formulated at the bosberaad then the deadlock could be broken.

By PAUL STOBER and ANTON HARBER

**T**HE African National Congress and the government left this week's *bosberaad* with joint proposals covering the major issues that have so far separated them.

These proposals, however, are still subject to agreement by the cabinet and the ANC national executive. If approval is granted, however, this will constitute a major breakthrough in the deadlock between these two parties.

This is why ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on Wednesday that there had been "no breakthrough", but he held out the hope of "a promise of a settlement when we next meet the government".

He is hoping that when the meeting reconvenes in the next fortnight, they will have secured approval from their respective executives.

It is understood that the full range of proposals drawn up at the meeting cover all the major points of issue between the two parties, including the government's insistence on a large majority for constituent assembly resolutions, a second house to approve the constitution, prior agreement on regional powers, entrenched power-sharing and a presidency in the interim arrangement.



Cyril Ramaphosa

In particular, it is understood that the government and the ANC hammered out a joint constitution-making proposal that provided the brightest spark in an otherwise straightforward meeting.

Details are scarce but the government is thought to have accepted that the ANC cannot be seen to be enshrining power sharing in the constitution before a constituent assembly has met. Previously, the government had insisted that constitutional principles agreed to in negotiations before a CA was elected could

not be changed by the constitution-making body.

However, the government remains committed to ensuring that minority rights and strong powers for the regions are guaranteed before the CA sits.

The ANC sold the idea of minority rights to its membership during its debates about "sunset clauses" late last year.

Delegates from both sides at the *bosberaad* are said to have undertaken to sell the resolutions to their principles.

An ANC source said this was not likely to be a problem for his organisation because "the proposals are in line with ANC thinking". However, he thought the government may face some difficulty getting the full support of the cabinet.

The question of the powers of the transitional executive council, which will oversee the election of a CA, was thrown back to a sub-committee after the government and ANC delegates failed to resolve their differences on the issue. The government is believed to have continued to insist the transitional councils be subordinate to the existing cabinet while the ANC wants the councils to have executive power.

Sources indicated substantial progress had been made on technical issues regarding voter registration and the control of the security forces, private armies and the SABC in the run-up to the election for a CA.

The *bosberaad* also accepted that a planning conference be held before full-scale multi-party talks resume.

Observers see the conference as a last-ditch attempt to draw in parties which have refused to be part of the Codesa process.

Ramaphosa said the conference would be open to "all parties that were part of Codesa ... as well as those other parties outside Codesa".

Although Ramaphosa insisted that the ANC was not prepared to accept an Inkatha Freedom Party demand for a conference to review all Codesa agreements, most observers see the idea of a planning conference as a subtle concession to the IFP.

The acrimonious stand-off between the government and the IFP ended after a meeting between the two parties on Wednesday. IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose cautiously described the latest meeting as an "improvement".

"We did have differences ... but they were smoothed over," he said after the meeting.

Mdlalose signalled the IFP's return to the negotiating fold by endorsing ANC and government targets of mid-February as a time for the planning conference and early March for the start of full-blown multi-party negotiations.

# Kasrils denies gassing claim

W. M. M. 29/1-4/2/93.

By BAFANA KHUMALO

TWO former African National Congress prisoners dismissed allegations by the Douglas Commission that they and 12 other Umkhonto weSizwe members were overcome by noxious fumes while held in a concrete basement in the ANC's Quibaxe camp in Angola.

One of the men is the well-known former South African flyweight boxing champion, 41-year-old Ben "TNT" Lekalake, who arrived back in the country from a training course in America last week. He and 42-year-old Victor Ngwenya spoke at an interview arranged by ANC campaigns committee head Ronnie Kasrils at the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters.

The commission accused Kasrils of responsibility for holding the men in the basement. It claimed the room had been flooded with fumes from a nearby diesel engine and that the 14 MK internees had to be rescued by comrades.

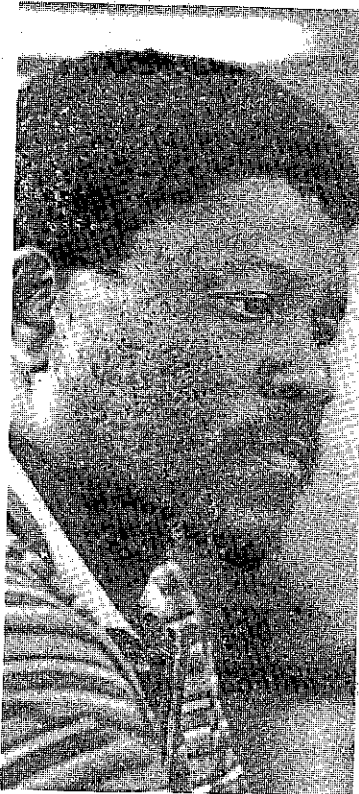
Lekalake and Ngwenya confirmed they had been held in the basement, but denied that the incident reported by the Douglas commission had ever occurred.

Relating the events leading to their detention, Lekalake said: "I had left the country in the aftermath of the 1976 uprising and had been trained for six months. I was eager to come back into the country and fight."

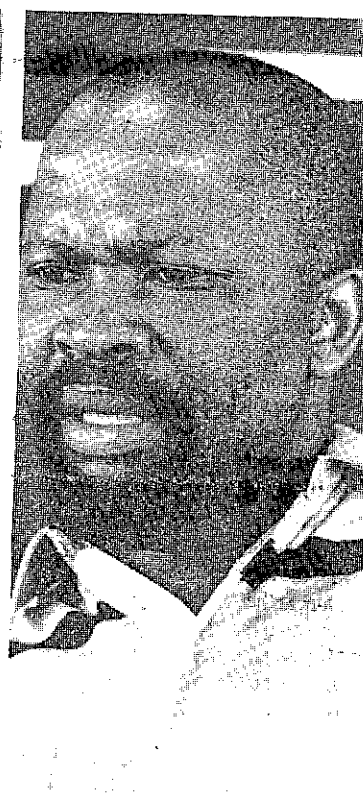
Instead, the ANC told him that he would have to go for "further military training in Europe". This, Lekalake found "unacceptable".

"We were so hot-headed that we wanted to come back and fight immediately," he said, adding that they "refused to take orders and told the camp commanders that we wanted to go home".

Ngwenya said: "We thought that it would be six months' training and then we would get our AKs, then come back and fight.



Victor Ngwenya



Ben 'TNT' Lekalake

"The camp commanders and ANC Khumalo (Ronnie Kasrils' *nom de guerre* in exile) told us that we would have to take part in the day-to-day activities of the camp," said Ngwenya, "but we refused."

After this refusal, the two said, a trial was held where "we were found guilty of defying the movement". The two were at pains to point out that Kasrils was not involved in this trial. The tribunal was conducted by Joe Modise, camp commander at Quibaxe, and Piliso Mzwai, security officer. Kasrils, at the time, was the political instructor.

The 14 were sentenced to a two-month stint of menial work: digging latrines, trenches and dugouts. Describing the conditions of their detention Lekalake said, "We were imprisoned in a basement of sorts and I guess you can say it was dark but not so dark". Their bedding consisted of air-bags and sponge mattresses. "We did not need blankets because it was so hot," added Ngwenya.

The two vociferously denied that the diesel generator was anywhere near their detention quarters. According to them, the generator was "about 50 or 60 metres away".

Describing conditions at Quibaxe, Kasrils said: "The camp was rudimentary, an old Portuguese coffee plantation. People lived in tents. He added there were some-

times food shortages and that the camp inmates had to survive on a diet of coffee and rice.

Giving his version, Kasrils said in 1977 he had been living in London and "was asked to come to Angola to give political education to the Soweto generation". Upon arrival at Quibaxe, he said they had to deal with the 14.

"They were upset because they could not immediately get missions back home," said Kasrils. He added that they were "unco-operative and did not want to take orders from the camp commanders".

They were told that they would be locked up in the "basement" if they did not take part in helping out with the duties of the camp. "They opted for the basement," said Kasrils.

Describing the basement, Kasrils said it was a barrack built for plantation workers underneath a hill and that it "was large and had a high ceiling". He added that the 14 "were not confined to the barracks" as there was no enclosure. "They could come and go as they pleased," he said. "It certainly was no black hole of Calcutta."

This week, Bob Douglas, who conducted the Douglas Commission said that the allegations against Kasrils had not come from former prisoners, but from the evidence of two witnesses present at Quibaxe in 1977.

SA's last "white" Parliament ... or does it? Perhaps because the political coterie's confidence was so shell-shocked by the failure of Codesa II, perhaps because SA's political landscape is so craggy, perhaps because political transitions are always so turbulent and uncertain, what ought to be a confident assertion claims a question mark.

All the areas of difference still to be settled ought to have been decided almost a year ago at Codesa II or soon afterwards. Political observers expected the last parliamentary session to be the final assembly under the auspices of the tricameral constitution. But with a sigh, the politicians gathered again in Cape Town this week once again to face an uncertain session. This will surely be the last, was the consensus.

What makes the birth of the new SA in 1993 so doubtful in spite of the unmistakable requirements?

**A**t root, the problem is that change in SA is not the result of any standard or traditional cause. It is not taking place as a result of a fundamental technological and philosophical social shift (although there have been some major social changes). It is not taking place as a result of a dire economic necessity (although the poor economy was a factor). Neither is it taking place as a result of a wartime victory (although the fast developing siege society was a component).

But for all the caveats, it is not for the victorious new class or party to dictate the terms of the peace. It is for the not quite vanquished to negotiate the terms of surrender with the not quite victorious — a peculiarly volatile scenario.

The situation is made more complex because the non-victorious believe they have won, and the unvanquished do not believe they have necessarily lost. The prospect of having to actually secure victory, as opposed to getting it served on a platter, seemingly irritates and frustrates ANC members who tend to

# This may not be the last white Parliament after all

B/DAM 29/1/93

(1/A) (FET) (SAP)

TIM COHEN in Cape Town

regard victory as their natural right.

Perhaps more astounding, government tends to patronise the ANC's ability to govern, as though the NP has performed faultlessly. The most they can claim is that they now know how not to do it, but yet, incredibly, government Ministers often imply that a new government could not function properly without their participation. The ANC only encourages this tendency by occasionally proposing strategies that are so out of touch with reality that they would be funny if they were not so frightful.

There is, in fact, a lack of clarity about what government hopes to gain out of the negotiations. Is it to retire with grace, speed and the minimum fuss? Is it to secure the best possible result for the (white) middle class? Is it to ensure the country functions from now on according to the finest Western values? Or is it, as many suspect, to secure an extended lifespan for the present ruling group?

The conventional wisdom is that there has been a sea change in both government and ANC thinking since Codesa II. They are both older and wiser men now, the theory goes. Before Codesa II, the ANC thought power was there for the taking, but this dream died with the faithful and naive peasants of Bisho.

Before Codesa II, government thought it could possibly win a democratic election — or at least a veto over a future government's actions — by drawing together a coalition of anti-ANC groups from the right-wing to homeland political parties. But Inkatha, in particular, lost the confidence of government, and anyway this would never work. After Codesa II, (the theory goes) government changed its strategy fundamentally, considering its best option to be a coalition of sorts with the ANC, which would extend the life (and benefits) of the ruling elite.

**S**o now a new scenario emerges: government and the ANC have done a deal; stability is to be placed above democracy; government does not have the legitimacy, the ANC does not have the ability, they will rule together in an unholy alliance for the good of the people, the country and themselves.

Tempting, but unrealistic. In any event the negotiations have simply not yet reached this advanced stage.

Nevertheless, under pressure from the international community, which believes (perhaps unfairly) that government was responsible for not securing an agreement at Codesa

II, deals will soon have to be struck on the two main points of difference: power sharing at executive level and regionalism.

On regionalism, the prospects are good and negotiators are closing the gaps. The ANC always said it was in favour of regionalism, but other parties were not convinced. In the most recent discussions, it has become clear the ANC was not in fact simply paying lip service to the concept. This obviates the need for some other constitutional safeguards, and the apparently petty argument about a 70% versus 75% majority requirements for constitutional change are unlikely to recur.

Agreement is also elusive on when the regions (and their powers) should be finalised — before or after elections for a transitional government. If this is done before the first set of elections, then the regions will have a stake in a constitutional assembly as regions. But this would also mean dictating some irrevocable conditions on the constitutional assembly — an apparent contradiction. The implementation of regions also poses problems for the TBVC states which will have to be dismantled before elections take place.

On the question of power sharing at executive level, government still proposes a constitutionally en-

trenched power-sharing model — but this is just a proposal. What it will finally accept is open to question and it will have to decide soon whether its proposals will meet with international acceptance. The Swiss model of power sharing was often cited as an example SA ought to follow, but in fact, power sharing in Switzerland is more a voluntary pact than a constitutional model.

The transitional executive council, the body intended to ensure free and fair elections, has not yet received negotiators' full attentions but there are signs that when discussions begin in earnest agreements could be struck without too much difficulty. Negotiators are predicting that these discussions might provide the current session of Parliament with at least something of a swansong. The legislation establishing the council could be of an enabling nature so that even if agreement is reached after the end of the current session, the council and its subcouncils could be implemented by proclamation.

The one piece of legislation that will be pivotal will be the Budget, although most of the important trends have cleverly and carefully been announced over a period of time. The shocks that the Budget must contain will therefore not come as a surprise to most. We already know the parameters; civil servants will get less, petrol will cost more and the tax burden will increase. Nevertheless, the way Finance Minister Derek Keys deals with the revenue shortfall, among other problems, will be watched with interest.

**D**espite the dependence of the parliamentary session on what happens in the negotiation process, it promises to be far from uneventful, and preparations for a new regime are everywhere. The new orientation for the police force and the proposals for a new education system are just the tip of the iceberg. The media, the TBVC states and the security forces, among others, are all ripe for renewal. "Community orientation" is the new buzzword. But, as radical philosopher Antonio Gramsci said: "In the interregnum before the old is dead and the new is born, a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."

# PAC to snub probe (11A)

STAR 29/1/93  
Own Correspondent

The first Pan Africanist Congress official summoned to appear before the Goldstone Commission today would defy the order — and so would all other members, the PAC said yesterday.

Simon Ngcime received the summons last week, said secretary-general Benny Alexander.

He said Ngcime was required to give information of Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) camps, aims, ammunition, personnel and their operational activities.

The commission was due today to start hearing evidence in Pretoria on the activities of Apla, the PAC's military wing.

The summons warns that any official who fails to appear before the commission, refuses to take an oath or refuses to answer questions, gives wrong answers or fails to furnish required particulars will be liable to a R4 000 fine or a year's jail or both.

Alexander said: "The PAC makes it clear that no PAC leader, staff or any other member will appear before the commission."

# ANCYL conference

■ League president Mokaba to

speak: Sowetan 29/1/93 (11A)

**By Mpikeleni Duma**

THE southern Free State region of the ANC Youth League will hold its second annual regional conference at Vista University campus in Mangaung near Bloemfontein from today until Sunday.

The media spokesman for the ANC Youth League in the OFS region Mr Mandla Maseko, said the conference would be opened by ANCYL president Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Sekhopi Malebo, regional chairman of the ANC in the southern Free State.

The theme of the conference will be "Youth unity in action for the total transference of power to the black majority".

**W**INNIE MANDELA'S carefully calculated return to the political limelight should not be underestimated.

Her statement at Helen Joseph's burial in Soweto, lashing the African National Congress leadership, with pointed references to the strong leadership of her husband's predecessor, Oliver Tambo, was initially ignored by the local press.

Mandela is indefatigable. Confident that her kidnap conviction will be overturned on appeal in March, she appears to be building a new political career from the ruins of her forced exit from office in the ANC.

Now firmly ensconced in a suite of offices in Braamfontein, she is back as the social worker, running a campaign against poverty that takes her into the heart of her potential support base in the squatter camps of the Witwatersrand.

Phola Park, for one, appears to be a personal Mandela fiefdom. Journalists can't talk to the locals without permission from Comrade Winnie.

Clearly, she has struck a chord with her warnings of an ANC elite and a National Party elite striking a deal at the expense of the masses. Many rank-and-file members of the ANC are uneasy at the talk of power-sharing and the compromises that the leadership appears to be prepared to make.

As the wife of Nelson Mandela and a representative of the ANC, a movement seeking international respectability, Winnie Mandela was a public relations disaster. Now, she told the *Baltimore Sun* recently, she is liberated, free to "deal with humanity".

Her constituency, the downtrodden poor of the informal settlements, hardly share the same sensitivity to Mandela's scandal-prone behaviour. Nor does it appear to faze them that the one throwing mud at the elite comes to visit in a white Mercedes Benz.

Though she still flies the ANC flag at her headquarters, she has constructed a power base independent of those she lost last year — her husband, the Women's League, and the ANC Witwatersrand region. The big question is what Mandela will do with her renewed lease on power.

Like Harry Gwala in Natal, she could be a magnet for those disenfranchised with the direction negotiations have taken and with the ANC leadership conducting the negotiations — the same leadership that drove her into the political wilderness in disgrace. The desire for vengeance can drive one as hard as ambition.

It is that leadership that is in danger of being badly compromised by government intransigence. She could be the chief beneficiary of their troubles.

Pieter-Dirk Uys used to joke that all



Photo: KEVIN CARTER

# Winnie factor can't be ignored

Winnipeg 29/1-4/2/93  
From the ruins of her career and personal life Winnie Mandela is making a return. It would be dangerous to ignore this calculated comeback

By  
**PHILLIP  
VAN  
NIEKERK**



the unused Free Mandela T-shirts should be fetched from the warehouse for Winnie. Will we know, when the time for an election comes, who is being referred to on the "Mandela for President" posters?

**C**omrade Winnie is not by a long stretch the ANC negotiating team's biggest headache. After putting up a bold front at Wednesday's news briefing, they must be feeling unsettled by the government's failure yet again to respond to the core demand for democracy.

After the December *bosberaad*, when government negotiators arrived empty-handed to receive the ANC's carefully formulated position papers, it was optimistically suggested that they simply needed time to frame their own responses. Settlement, including a date for an election, was expected at last week's *bosberaad*.

Instead, it got off to a bad start. Security matters were first up and by all accounts ministers Hennis Kriel and Kobie Coetsee were remarkably obdurate. That was only the beginning.

Unless there is some dramatic change of heart from President FW de Klerk within the next two weeks, or some very secret protocol between the ANC and the NP, there is really no

reason to believe that a settlement is pending.

There is not a shred of evidence yet to suggest that the NP is prepared to concede its bottom-line constitutional principle of permanent power-sharing, a concept which proposes to cheat South Africans out of real democracy.

If nothing emerges in the next two weeks, the ANC faces the choice either of proceeding to the multilateral conference without a bilateral agreement, and risking a repeat of Codessa II, or withdrawing yet again from talks.

At least as disturbing as the possibility that the ANC is about to be suckered again, is the fear that the NP leadership is too divided to cut a deal anyway. Meanwhile, the country and its economy continue to slide down a dark hole.

**T**he example of how to filibuster and delay, set by the top echelons of government, is being artfully imitated in the remotest peripheries of state power.

While the South African Police were vainly digging up the veld for bodies outside Rustenburg and Carletonville this week, the quiet saga of another exhumation was playing itself out at the Hlanganani Magistrate's

Court.

As was reported in this column last month, Edward Boozi Malele died on Christmas Day, 1991, after being savagely beaten by Gazankulu police.

The district surgeon, Dr AJJ Naude, found the cause of death to be broncho-pneumonia, but almost a year after his death lawyers for the family got the court to order that Malele's remains be disinterred for a second post-mortem examination.

The date for the inquest was set for Tuesday, and it attracted a large crowd of villagers, some of whom had walked more than 20 miles to attend the proceedings.

But the start of the inquest was delayed by the non-arrival of Naude. He eventually phoned in from Giyani to say he was unable to attend as he had a very sick patient at the hospital.

The magistrate decided, against expectations, to proceed anyway. Counsel for the police and the Department of Health did not show up, which was a pity because they missed some bizarre evidence. Dr Gert Saayman, an independent pathologist for the family, testified that the probable cause of death was a head injury with a haemorrhage in the skull.

What was unusual was the gulf between the findings of Saayman and state pathologist JD Loubser, and

those of the district surgeon. Naude, for instance, had argued that Malele's skull was "normal", but according to Saayman, not only was there evidence of the haemorrhage almost a year later but there were additional signs of a much older defect in the skull.

Furthermore, Naude had come to his conclusion without even opening the skull.

Saayman said that because of the passage of time he was unable to dispute the district surgeon's finding that the trachea and the bronchii were filled with mucous and pus. However, he pointed out, the airways had never been opened in the first examination.

Naude had found the chest wall normal, while Saayman and state pathologist Loubser found four ribs broken, the probable result of a beating shortly before his death.

The next witness was to be the investigating officer who had arrested the menfolk of the village of Wayeni after Malele's uncle, Titus Malele, was burnt to death for witchcraft on Christmas day 13 months ago.

The court called the witness's name three times, and adjourned for 10 minutes as the orderlies set out to find him. The prosecutor said he "had been around, but is now nowhere to be found".

Another policeman arrived to say that the officer in question had suddenly had a puncture some miles away and had radioed in for assistance. Under the circumstances, the exasperated magistrate decided to call it a day.

This information was conveyed to the long-suffering crowd in the gallery, who could but shake their heads and set off on the long trek home. There would be plenty of time to debate the merits of rural justice.

**I**t's not just in the rural areas that things get slow. The inquest into the death of Bethuel Maphumo, who allegedly drowned in a Soweto swimming pool while escaping from police more than two years ago, was due to be heard on January 15.

The case had created interest because pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman had contradicted the police story and determined the cause of death as manual strangulation.

At considerable expense, Amnesty International sent out Professor Derrick Pounder, the head of forensic medicine at Dundee University, to observe the inquest.

It was not to be. Counsel for the police mysteriously got a tummy bug on the eve of the hearing and the case was postponed for a month.

Which makes one wonder what ailment National Party chief negotiator Roelf Meyer will be afflicted with before the next *bosberaad* with the ANC.

# Getting all the spies in from the cold

w/mart 29/1-4/2/93

Accountability and transparency —  
with more civilian control — are the  
aims for a new spy service, report

**PHILIPPA GARSON**  
and **DEREK FLEMING**

EXISTING intelligence operatives may retain their jobs during the power-sharing era, but if the African National Congress has its way, the new, integrated intelligence service will have dramatically different goals and functions.

In particular, the ANC is insisting that a future service must comply with international trends of greater openness and accountability.

The government, while moving on the integration of Umkhonto weSizwe and the South African Defence Force, still seems hesitant to merge its intelligence wings with those of the ANC.

The formation of a new intelligence system, central to the integration of the security forces for the transitional period, was high on the agenda of the ANC-government *bosberaad*. But, according to sources, the issue was not tackled at this week's bilateral discussions and the government seems reluctant to give ground on this last bastion of its power.

One thing is clear: a future government will not give police and military intelligence free rein and endless resources to flush out reds from under beds across the country and beyond.

Their colleagues in the West are having to follow suit. With the dawn of a new global order and the emergence of one superpower, intelligence agencies have been thrown into disarray, searching desperately for new stages on which to play out their clandestine operations.

According to a senior ANC intelligence advisor, intelligence functions are being revised worldwide. "Accountability" and "transparency" are the catchwords for a new-look intelligence service — seeming contradictions for agencies staffed with hordes of faceless people who glide around in sunglasses with a dozen hidden agendas in their briefcases.

Instead of devoting themselves to clandestine dirty tricks, intelligence agencies will in future be called on to play more overt, constructive roles. In many countries, they are already subject to stricter parliamentary controls and their activ-

ities are governed by codes of conduct and ombudsmen.

"The function of intelligence agencies in the 1990s will increasingly move towards research and development. They will be expected to present the political players with scenarios and options in this regard, particularly concerning national economic interests," he says.

ANC intelligence supremos are canvassing agencies around the world in preparation for their imminent intervention in the restructuring

of the state's intelligence system. During the movement's May 1991 policy conference, basic guidelines for intelligence were drawn up, emphasising the need for parliamentary control, independence from party political agendas, respect for human rights and a clear demarcation of boundaries between various intelligence wings.

The ANC wants a more streamlined civilian-based intelligence service to avoid the current overlaps between the National Intelligence Ser-



(11A) ~~(S)~~  
service, the Criminal Intelligence Service (formerly the security police) and Military Intelligence, responsible for bitter competition, animosity and the squandering of resources.

"Covert operations influencing the political and security situation in the country must end. There should be satisfactory parliamentary oversight over the workings of any intelligence agency. We need increased transparency and a sensitivity to the fact that abuses can be perpetuated under the guise of secrecy."

Sandy Africa, who runs the Durban-based National Security Research Centre agrees. "We need a new intelligence system that will have to be accountable, despite the inherent contradiction between national security and democracy," she says.

"There should be one centralised intelligence service responsible for strategic, as opposed to tactical, intelligence functions. Police need intelligence to carry out crime combating, the defence force needs intelligence to resolve military conflict, but when it comes to advising the government on security with regard to the political conditions in the country, the military and the police should not be playing a role."

In her view, a new system will have to put an end to intelligence gathering on lawful political bodies. The current practice is to bug almost everybody wearing a political hat, including Codesa participants.

NIS, pivotal in getting the government to negotiate with the ANC, has risen to prominence in recent years. But the ANC is adamant that an entirely new intelligence service must evolve. NIS agents, though sophisticated proponents of the new South Africa are mostly white Afrikaner nationalists whose past agendas have been no loftier than those of MI or security branch.

Police intelligence-gathering skills are of a high standard, according to some ANC intelligence operatives, who consider them indispensable.

Though affirmative action is likely to change the racial composition of state intelligence agencies, "we are not going to swamp the intelligence service with black faces for the sake of it. We are looking for qualitative change", says the ANC source. The combined skills of agents trained in both East and West is likely to lend a cosmopolitan flavour to a new intelligence service.



# Bosberaad brings promise of peace

11A

SOUTH 30/1 - 3/2/93

**T**HE promise of an early negotiated settlement in South Africa hung in the air at the end of a successful round of talks between the ANC and the government.

"The talks are holding out a promise which we hope will end in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet the government," ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the end of five days of bilateral talks with the government.

Ramaphosa was emphatic that the ANC rejected the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for a conference of review.

"The question of reviewing Codesa agreements is totally out of the question. The ANC is not prepared even to consider it," he said.

"We have agreed to hold a planning conference on negotiations,

and that will address how and when multilateral negotiations commence.

"We say Codesa must be resumed. But we are prepared to go to a planning conference to make sure that multilateral negotiations get off the ground."

Two 20-member teams spent five days of secluded "bosberaad" talks at the Presidensie in Pretoria and then at the De Hoop reserve on the southern Cape coast.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Ramaphosa.

The parties will meet again on February 4, when they will continue talks on the peace process, including violence and security. From February 10 to 12 they will tackle constitutional issues.

"At the meeting in the Presidensie ... we delved into the National Peace Accord and looked at the implementation in full of the Peace

Accord as well as other bilateral agreements between ourselves and the government," Ramaphosa said.

A sub-committee was set up to look at outstanding issues with the aim of presenting a report at the February 4 meeting.

Other issues the sub-committee will deal with include the further release of political prisoners, the repeal of certain security legislation, and "all armed formations" — including the South African Defence Force and the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

The talks on constitutional issues ran for three days.

"We first looked at the question of the planning conference which should lead to the resumption of multi-party negotiations."

The so-called planning conference has been interpreted by some observers as a bid to address the IFP's opposition to the September



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

26 Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP has accused the two sides of ganging up to sideline them in negotiations.

Ramaphosa said they agreed a negotiations planning conference should be held before negotiations resumed. All parties which were present at Codesa should participate as well as others wanting to be part of the negotiation process.

"We would expect that this conference should be held fairly soon, and in fact no later than the end of February. — Sapa and South Reporter

# Battle for votes signals new era

**A**ROUND the country, political parties are talking about elections and getting their election machinery into place. The battle for South Africa's approximately 21 million voters is about to begin.

For the vast majority of South Africans, a new era is about to unfold — the era of participation in elections.

The word election comes from a Latin verb meaning to choose. This is exactly what the voters of a country are required to do — choose those parties or party representatives they want as a government.

Whether voters can choose a specific party representative or only the party, depends on what type of electoral system is used. This determines the format of the ballot paper on which voters record their vote.

The ballot paper may contain the names of candidates, with or without the names of the parties to which they belong, or only the name of the party.

When voters choose only a party, it is the party which draws up a list of candidates eligible for office. So if a party wins 40 seats, that the first 40 names on the list are elected into office.

This means that for voters' wishes to be met, the party has to consider the order in which the names are put down on the list.

However, electoral systems can be adapted to suit the needs of almost any situation. As a result, there are at least a few hundred variations of electoral systems which have been applied throughout the world.

Just as elections give the voters an opportunity to choose who should

South Africans will have to get used to the bickering that accompanies an election:

govern, they also confer legitimacy on the party voted into power.

Free and fair elections are the most effective way to end any conflict about how legitimate or representative a party is. That is why it is so important to ensure that mechanisms exist to ensure that elections are indeed free and fair.

Another aspect that influences the extent to which the party voted into power is seen as representative, is the number of voters who cast their votes — the percentage poll.

This means that if 100 percent of voters (all voters) cast their votes, then the party which wins the election has the support of the majority.

In practice, elections all over the world show that a 100 percent poll on election day is only a dream. For a variety of reasons, not everyone who is eligible to vote goes to vote.

The reasons may include disillusionment (some people believe that nothing much will change for the man in the street no matter which party comes to power), ignorance or apathy.

Special provisions are made for voters who are ill, travelling abroad, or in prison for minor crimes.

People convicted of crimes such as murder and treason may not vote in an election. In South Africa treason will have to be redefined before

South 30/11-3/2/93. (11A)

Counterfoil No 57492  Date: ..... (Election Day)  ID No. ..... .....	ANC African National Congress		Record your vote by making an X in the square opposite the name of the candidate for whom you wish to vote  .....  Supa ka X ya go ka mo lesakaneng gaufile nkgetheng yo o mo ratang  .....  Bonisa ngo X ebhokisini edze nomqophi omqophayo  .....  Bonisa ukuba ukhetha mphi ummeli ngo nobumba u-X ecaleni kwegama lakhe
	AZAPO Azanian People's Organisation		
	DP Democratic Party		
	IFP Inkatha Freedom Party		
	NP National Party		
	PAC Pan Africanist Congress		
SACP South African Communist Party			

A possible ballot sheet in a democratic election

anyone can be disqualified from voting on these grounds.

Election campaigns are primarily waged to reach those who are apathetic, ignorant or undecided about their choice.

By the time the campaigns begin — usually from 14 to 35 days before election day — the politically aware and informed voters know who they are going to vote for.

Parties prepare to battle for what is sometimes referred to as the "swing vote" — the apathetic and undecided section of the population

who are not members of a party and who can make a significant difference to the election results.

For this reason, parties try by all means to attain the maximum of favourable publicity and exploit any negative utterances or events which can harm the image of an opposing party. This is what is at the heart of all election campaigns.

Parties go all out to publicise everything favourable in their past, their policies and their future plans.

Parties organise volunteers to go out into neighbourhoods to canvass

— they go from door to door trying to establish the degree of support enjoyed by the party in the area.

South Africans are used to the constant bickering between rival political organisations. It is likely that the intensity of that bickering will rise to as yet unseen levels during the forthcoming campaigns.

It is important for people to realise that this is an accepted part of election campaigns and is in fact a much better alternative to the violence that has been scarring the country for so long.

# CROSS TALK

## The last racist Parliament

In the first of a weekly series in which leading figures debate political issues, ANC-Western Cape treasurer, **EBRAHIM RASOOL**, argues that the tricameral parliament has become toothless. Next week political organisations within parliament will defend their position:



**L**AST year, at the opening of the September short session of Parliament, we said the only remaining task for the bankrupt tricameral parliament was to rubber-stamp legislation for a transition to democracy.

This week parliament convenes to do just that. It has, indeed, power to do little more. The tricameral parliament has been vanquished and the political arena has shifted to those engaged in negotiating the ground for the months ahead.

Ten years ago that the tricameral parliament was presented to the people of South Africa as an attempt at reform, a step in creating an inclusive system of government.

Those who voted "No" were vilified and condemned. Those who refused to participate in the ensuing elections were accused of frustrating reform. And those who spoke out against what they saw as an attempt to create a smokescreen for the National Party to make further inroads on human rights incurred the wrath of the state.

Today, they have the satisfaction of knowing they were right. The tricameral parliament was a blind for one of the most autocratic regimes the world has ever seen. Hit squads, assassinations, torture, detention, cross-border raids, victimisation, corruption and human rights abuse of all kinds. A chilling facade for the Botha/Malan reign of terror.

At last the tricameral teeth have been drawn and it must now make way for a real government of the people — for liberation.

A symbol of this aspiration was enacted in January 1992 when thousands of people gathered on the Grand Parade for the People's Parliament to call for an interim government and a constituent assembly. At the time their hopes were pinned on Codesa and there seemed real reason to hope the end was in sight.

We entered Codesa in good faith

but, as the true agenda of the government and Inkatha emerged, as it became clear the government's proposals were founded in contempt both for the aspirations of our people as well as for the democratic process itself, further discussion became impossible, even ludicrous.

Then followed Boipatong, and the growing anger against the NP's double agenda exploded into rage and despair.

It became clear mass action was the only way to bring a recalcitrant government to the realisation that its attempts to hijack the democratic process would not be tolerated.

Involving those who desire democracy in the process of its establishment is the only alternative, the only way to force the National Party to give up the power to which it so fiercely clings. The government must be compelled to see that it could not continue to try and fool people with wolfish democratic proposals in sheep's clothing. If they were not prepared to negotiate in good faith, they had to be forced to do so — forced to realise the people of South Africa would tolerate no further trickery, that there could be no further mockery of their longing for freedom.

Our people have made great sacrifices in this quest for a democratic government. There was the terrible slaughter of Bisho. A national strike

at a time when few could afford to put their jobs at risk. There was violent criticism from many quarters. We were even accused (incongruously) of delaying the democratic process.

And throughout that time, unknown forces waged a war in our townships where many died and some even turned on each other in their despair and confusion.

But, as the pressure mounted, even the most ardent De Klerk supporters began to see beyond that endlessly smiling mask into the dark corners of the edifice he continued to buttress and protect. There were revelations of almost unbelievable corruption. Cabinet ministers collapsed in terror and confusion. There was evidence of a ruthless conspiracy to destabilise, to

murder and to destroy. The truth, at last, began to emerge.

And finally, when it became clear that nothing on earth would stop the leak that had turned into a flood, there was a pathetically transparent attempt to pass amnesty legislation to protect the hides of some of the most evil men in history.

The struggle is not over. The National Party still controls the state apparatus while our power lies only in the voiceless cry and activity of the masses of South Africans.

The ANC, with our allies, sees this period as a new phase in the movement towards liberation — a phase in which we need to prepare for the final countdown towards elections. It is a phase in our history that will determine the shape of our society for years to come.

The ANC aims to enter the election campaign at the head of an alliance of forces — political parties, organisations and individuals — who believe in democracy. This must be a democracy able to solve

the enormous problems facing our country.

The way in which we aim to build this alliance is to begin forging unity around solving the issues that directly affect our people in their daily lives. Our election campaign will not be one in which politicians make endless empty promises that can never be fulfilled, in order to win votes. Our campaign will be aimed at building the power and unity of the people and communities themselves to solve their own problems.

A new government alone cannot rebuild this country from the devastation that apartheid caused. But a new government, in alliance with the democratic forces of civil society, can create the conditions in which the nation as a whole can begin to solve its problems.

For this reason we believe our strategy for the election campaign must have at its centre the empowerment of people and the forging of alliances.

The ANC does not claim to be the only organisation with these interests. There are other parties, organisations and the overwhelming majority of civic, cultural, religious, sporting and other groups who support these goals. These groups need to come together in a powerful and election-winning alliance to end the National Party's monopoly on power, to destroy apartheid and lay the basis for a democracy based on the will of the people.

The choice that will face the electorate must be between those who want to retain as much of their white power as possible and those who believe the people as a whole should govern.

The elections will be the first time the majority of people will vote for their own representatives and own government. That vote must also give them, for the first time, a real chance to have a say in the running and rebuilding of their country to bring peace, democracy and pros-

# PAC 'is <sup>(11A)</sup> ready for talks

ST Times  
Cape 31/1/93

By **NORMAN WEST**  
Political Reporter

THE Pan-Africanist Congress is anxious not to miss the negotiations boat and is "ready to talk to the government about anything", well-placed sources in the organisation have indicated.

A senior source said yesterday the PAC was "pragmatic enough" to realise the country was close to a democratic settlement, for which the PAC had struggled.

The PAC was prepared to meet the government "any time, anywhere".

Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer was adamant yesterday that the PAC was "keeping itself" out of talks.

"We made it clear the PAC first had to distance itself from the activities of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). It has not done so. 31/1/93.

"We cannot make one set of rules for the ANC and IFP and another for the PAC."

Asked if the PAC would consider calling on Apla to suspend violence, the source said: "We are prepared to talk to the government about anything."

"If, as the government claims, Apla comprises only 120 men it is hard to believe it would allow such a small group to hold negotiations ~~to~~ ransom."

IV BACK IN THE BLACK  
31/1/93  
time

## **PAC and Dispatch will talk**

THE Transkei PAC and *Daily Dispatch* have agreed to talks to resolve the dispute which has brought the distribution of the newspaper in the homeland to a halt.

Newspaper management decided not to send delivery vehicles into the Transkei and a group of PAC supporters vowed to continue with the occupation of the newspaper's Umtata bureau.

The PAC said their actions were to protest against the *Daily Dispatch's* lack of coverage of PAC activities.

The newspaper has insisted it is unjustly accused. *C/Pues*

Transkei PAC regional secretary Zingisa Mkambile said the PAC was willing to negotiate under certain conditions. - E!-news 31/1193.

# Rushed talks while the country waits in the

Dark

**SEKOLA SELLO**

OR most South Africans, bombarded daily by the stream of information coming out of the talks about talks, few seem to know where the country is going.

Even after reading most of this week's newspaper reports about the latest flurry of bilaterals which will hopefully lead to the much talked about multiparty forum, no one could be the wiser.

A day after the completion of the Inkatha/government bilaterals, which came a day after the end of the ANC/Pre-

toria talks, a classic example of the state of guesswork, speculation and confusion surrounding the talks came to the fore.

"All is set for multiparty talks" was the headline which thundered across the front page on one newspaper. Another opined that "Divisive issues still unresolved as parties agree to hold preparatory talks" while another said "IFP, NP make up".

If two others had declared "Deadlock in talks" or "No hope for resumption of talks", they too would have been spot

on. **11A** ~~3074~~

The different interpretations by newspapers indicate the fluidity of talks at the moment. It also demonstrates how difficult it is to determine what is really going on.

All three parties - Inkatha, the ANC and the government - are playing their cards close to the chest. No one is prepared to say more than necessary.

All the ANC and government in a statement was: "Security matters were discussed during the first two days.

"Various models ex-

ploring issues such as a government of nation unity and regional government were considered. Various matters that were canvassed at Codesa - such as procedures to appoint a new SABC Board, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Electoral Commission and the reincorporation of the TBVC states - were also explored.

"The two delegations will be reporting to their principals with a view to resolving matters and finalising the resumption of multiparty negotiations."

It went on to explain

how to mend bridges between the two parties while both parties retained their democratic right to state their positions "in an acceptable manner" and that the most pressing problem was the re-establishment of multiparty negotiations.

If CP leader Andries Treurnicht is to be believed, contrary to what the government and the ANC were willing to reveal, some breakthroughs on security matters were made.

Treurnicht said there was agreement on the in-

tegration of armed forces including the SADF and the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.

Buthelezi has not yet abandoned the idea of a troika leadership comprising himself, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk - an idea strongly opposed by the ANC leadership. Whether Buthelezi has been promised this to return to the talks remains to be seen.

While joint statements made by the various leaders have been terse, the ANC, in its post-bosberaad briefing to journalists, once more took a

hardline position on Codesa. It reiterated that future multiparty talks would take place within the context of this forum.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said as far as Inkatha was concerned, Codesa is as good as dead.

Drawing on the little snippets of information being revealed, if Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group ally insist that Codesa is dead and the ANC says this is the body to unlock the electoral process, then it is clear the talks are still headed for an impasse.

The ANC position on Codesa is full of contradictions. They say, and rightly so, that bilateral agreements between them and the government are not binding to those who are not party to them.

If this is the case, why should those who were not party to Codesa be forced to accept it as the forum to resolve the country's problems?

After several days of intense discussions and De Klerk's opening of parliament, the public is still not clear whether the multiparty talks are around the corner or not.

## Govt of unity only way - Mandela

THE ANC had no alternative but to form a government of national unity if it wanted to remain in power after winning a non-racial election, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town on Friday. *Cape Press 3/11/93*

He was addressing delegates at the Anglican Consultative Council conference at the University of the Western Cape following a half-an-hour meeting with the visiting Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey. *(11A) (S-1A)*

Mandela said a government of national unity was the only way to counter the "already incipient counter-revolutionary movement" in which elements of the security forces exploited tensions between the ANC and Inkatha in order to foment violence aimed at destabilising the ANC.

"To take political power in SA is easy. The most difficult thing is to retain that power," Mandela said.

# PAC vows to 'crush' newspaper

CIRCULATION of the only daily newspaper in the Transkei, the East London-based Daily Dispatch, ceased this week when PAC members padlocked the newspaper's Umtata offices. (S) (IA)

They also occupied the premises and warned local distributors that "selling the newspaper would not be a safe thing to do".

PAC regional secretary Zingisa Mkabile was at pains this week to

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

stress that the PAC's fight was not with Daily Dispatch journalists.

The fight was with management who, unless they travelled to Umtata to iron out complaints, would force the PAC to "crush the Dispatch".

Said Mr Mkabile: "It is the right of any journalist with a guilty conscience to be intimidated. But we do believe in freedom of the press, freedom of association and the free flow

of information. That is why we are fighting with the Daily Dispatch. It is not publishing our information."

The PAC said there were five instances in which the Daily Dispatch allegedly failed to report on PAC events in the Transkei and one in which information was allegedly relayed to the SAP.

Daily Dispatch editor Glynn Williams said some of the items had been published — one with a picture.

S/ Times 3/1/93





# Call to support Apla

Sunday Times Reporter  
~~STIMES~~ 311192  
MEMBERS of the PAC in  
Transkei were urged yes-  
terday to rally support for  
its military wing, Apla.

Speaking at the organi-  
sation's bi-annual regional  
conference in Umtata,  
executive member of the  
PAC in the Transkei re-  
gion, Zingisa Mkabile, told  
delegates to go from door

to door to raise sponsorship  
and donations for Apla.

He said this was one way  
of supporting the armed  
struggle to liberate the op-  
pressed masses of South  
Africa.

(11A)  
"If you want peace you  
must prepare for war," Mr  
Mkabile added.

He said it was evident  
that the OAU will not sup-  
port the PAC financially.

# Identity crisis for US blacks

CPres 311193

their search for a cultural identity, more black Americans are demanding to be described as African-Americans. At the same time they are demanding that more attention be paid to African history. In growing numbers, they are also pressing in west African cities to demonstrate their African roots.

**Can black Americans claim to be African? Or are they the first Western black people, with their own cultural trends, but part of the American culture? JOAO SANTA RITA in Washington reports on the growing search for African roots among black Americans.**



**CROSSROADS ... New York mayor David Dinkins got the surprise of his life when he 'came home' recently. Here he is seen at the movie set of Sarafina.**

Black Americans now see an end-of-the-year, seven-day celebration dubbed Kwanza which makes African culture and promote seven principles - unity, self-determination, collective work, co-operative economics, purpose, creativity and faith. Some of the seven principles have been given African names such as Ujamaa, the Swahili name for co-operative.

There are signs that it is becoming part of black American culture.

Larry Weathers, owner of shop which sells products commemorating the seven-day celebration, said there had been an increase in sales of Kwanza-related goods in December compared with the previous year. "There is now more interest because there is a

bigger community awareness and blacks are more conscious of the need for a positive cultural experience," he said. Shoppers said they gave importance to the

Kwanza celebration because it allowed black children "a cultural identity" and allowed them "to understand what it means to be African-American".

In this search for African roots some black Americans go even further, claiming that they are not American at all. "In my opinion there is no such things as an Afri-

kan (sic)-American - we are Afrikans, born in America," wrote the rap music artist Kool Moe Dee without explaining why he chose to spell African with a K.

## Afrikaners are more of our brothers, says top 'African-American'

CPres 311193

He said the reason blacks continued to use the term "American" in their description of themselves was because they continued to be preoccupied with assimilating, "aiming to be equals to a lesser power because the slave master has erased our knowledge of our superior way of life".

In their search for their African roots many American blacks have started adopting African-sounding names or looking for real African names and have pressed for the introduction of an Afrocentric school curricula.

Molefi Asante, a leading proponent of Afrocentric curricula, who lectures at Temple University, said such an approach was necessary for black children to be "made to feel a part of the content that is being offered".

"An African-American child sits in the classroom in America and is studying about how information and knowledge are produced by Europeans," he said recently. Clinical psychiatrist Nai'm Akbar supports the Afrocentric approach.

"In a society such as this where black and white have been made to be distinct, then one can only have an in-depth identification with something that shares your im-

age of who you are," he said.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr has been particularly critical of the Afrocentric approach. "History as therapy," he called it.

Critics point out that in their search for cultural roots in Africa, most black Americans ignore the huge disparities that exist between the different African cultures and languages.

Recently, for example, a *New York Times* black journalist wrote a column entitled "A Father's Rite" in which he recalled how he had taken his son to Egypt, and while there he poured desert sand over his son's head as an affirmation of their African roots.

A white American, Michael Patrick, wrote to the newspaper pointing out that the vast majority of Africa-Americans had their roots in west Africa.

"From an anthropological standpoint, it seems comparable to my searching for my Celtic roots among the souks and minarets of Istanbul," he wrote.

Although very few, if any, slaves were taken from SA to the US, many black Americans travel to SA in search of their roots because of the recent past of racial discrimination similar to the discrimination that occurred in the US.

Ironically, while more American blacks are claiming to be Africans born in America, there is a growing number who are becoming aware of the huge cultural, educational and attitudinal differences between Africans and black Americans.

Eddy Harris, a black American, recently published a book about his travels in Africa (*Native Stranger: A Black American's Journey in the Heart of Africa*), in which he concluded that "except for the colour of my skin, I am not African".

"My skin is black but my culture is not," he wrote and recalled how he felt more at home with whites in Zimbabwe and SA than with the blacks.

Even black American actress Whoopi Goldberg acknowledged to an American newspaper that when she travelled to SA to film the musical *Sarafina* she felt different from SA blacks.

"They knew I wasn't from here (Soweto) before I opened my mouth," she said.

The *Los Angeles Times* noted the huge cultural differences that exist between black Americans and black Africans when it recalled that black New York Mayor David Dinkins had declared when arriving in Johannesburg re-

cently that he was "finally home".

"A few days later the cultural gap became evident when the mayor and other African-Americans in his party showed up in brightly coloured African shirts for dinner ... (while) their ANC hosts were dressed in the more usual uniform of black leaders in Africa - dark business suits," wrote the newspaper's Johannesburg correspondent.

Gerald Early, director of African and Afro-American Studies at Washington University in St Louis, clearly rejects the idea that black Americans are Africans.

"While it is necessary that we recognise our African ancestry, and remember that it was in varying degrees stripped away by slavery, we must acknowledge finally that our story is one of remaking ourselves as Americans," he wrote in *Harper's* magazine, adding: "I will never be African again."

"Our profound past of being African ... must be balanced by the complex fate of being American, which we can never deny, or worse, evade." For writer Eddy Harris, the message he got from his African travels is even more blunt, unorthodox and to some sacrilegious. He says African-Americans have more in common with Afrikaners than with blacks from Africa because they are both minorities.

He said the Afrikaners will live and fight in Africa, "make it work or lose it all" in Africa.

"The black American should make up his mind to do the same in the US. Africa is not our home," he wrote.

**BECOME OUR 13TH MILLIONAIRE**

**\* \* \***

**GOLD RUSH 13 CARE CERTIFICATES**

AVAILABLE AT: FIRST NATIONAL BANKS, COMPUTICKETS & SELECTED OUTLETS

**PLUS 5 MONTHLY DRAWS OF R25 000 IN CASH**

**NOW R1365 000 IN CASH TO BE WON**

DECEMBER WINNER: J P JANSEN VON VUUREN OF WELKOM \* LAST CHANCE - CLOSING FEBRUARY 6

Every Care Certificate purchased enters you into Operation Hunger free R25 000 monthly draw.

**The sooner you enter the more chances you have to win.**

Closing date: 6 February 1993

**10118 WITH YOUR HELP OUR CHILDREN LIVE!**