

BLACK POLITICS.

1993 MARCH.

Multiparty planners meet tonight

Star 11/3/93

(SAPA) (IA) (11)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

Crucial talks to prepare for this week's multiparty planning conference to kick-start negotiations start today. The Star has learnt that a multiparty steering committee organising the planning conference will meet in Cape Town tonight.

The meeting comes ahead of a series of urgent bilateral talks this week to try to clear away remaining problems which could upset the all-important multiparty planning conference, scheduled for Friday and Saturday.

There is still concern that the Inkatha Freedom Party could cause a scene at the weekend conference, but The Star was told that tonight's meeting would go ahead regardless of whether the IFP attended.

The IFP did not want to have a core steering committee organising the planning conference and inviting others to the conference because it wanted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — who would not be invited to the talks — to "gatecrash" the World Trade Centre conference at the weekend with a delegation of his own.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a weekend rally at Vryheid that the IFP was not willing to negotiate constitutional principles unless they were based on a federal form of government, Sapa reports.

Addressing about 5 000 supporters, among them about

300 whites, at a rally in the northern Natal town, he said there had to be agreement on the form the state would have before negotiations on interim arrangements could take place.

The rally was held to welcome three Members of Parliament from the National, Democratic and Solidarity parties — Jurie Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farouk Cassim — who have joined the IFP.

Referring to this week's scheduled multiparty planning conference, Buthelezi said: "The main choice which we will need to make in the next two weeks is for federalism.

"The type of compromises we are going to make in the coming negotiations are most likely going to determine how the final constitution for South Africa is going to be structured."

However, he stressed that before negotiations were taken further, agreement had to be reached on the form of the state.

"We have taken the position that we are not willing to negotiate constitutional principles other than federal principles ... until and unless there is an agreement on the issue of the form of state."

The ANC, the Government and most other Codesa parties have a more limited view of the conference and believe it should merely review Codesa decisions and plan the proposed full-scale negotiating conference this month.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel leads a South African delegation to Gaborone, Botswana, today to meet the Pan Africanist Congress and its military wing, Apla.

Talks: who's the top scorer?

Star 113193

11A

Who is winning the battle of wits at the negotiating table? PATRICK LAURENCE looks at the score card as the interlocutors prepare for another and possibly decisive round of talks.

SOUTH Africa's political negotiations are a process of give and take, in which the negotiating parties strive to take more than they give or — less cynically — try to take enough to justify what they have to give.

With the resumption of multi-party negotiations now imminent after a nine-month hiatus, it is pertinent to ask how the two dominant parties, the African National Congress (ANC) and the De Klerk administration (DKA), have fared so far.

Using a different metaphor, what tactical retreats have they conducted in order to make strategic advances and, critically, who has gained the most ground in the contest?

Viewed from one perspective, the ANC has achieved major gains. Some middle-ranking members of President FW de Klerk's ruling National Party and of his parliamentary caucus think so; they have expressed fears that De Klerk surrendered too much ground to the ANC.

One major concession by the DKA concerns the ANC bottom-line demand that the constitution for a non-racial South Africa be drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly.

When the negotiating process began after the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1990, the DKA wanted the constitution to be drawn up by a multi-party conference, in which the power of the ANC would be muted by the presence of a plethora of smaller parties.

Now, however, the DKA accepts that only the democratically elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body will have the moral authority to confer legitimacy on the new constitution.

Another major concession by the DKA concerns its proposal

that the decisions of the constituent assembly be vetted and, if necessary, vetoed by a powerful second chamber, in which representation would be weighted in favour of smaller parties.




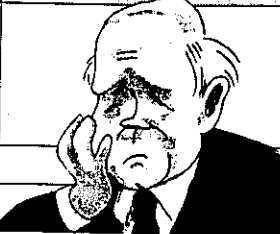
That has now been taken off the DKA's agenda for the time being; it may resurface in a modified form via the National Party's elected delegates when the constituent assembly begins its work next year.

The DKA appears to have lost another critical battle: it originally demanded markedly high majorities for the adoption of the new constitution by the constituent assembly (70 percent for general clauses and 75 percent for clauses relating to regional affairs); now it seems to have accepted that it will not get more than the two-thirds majority offered by the ANC.

On the vital issue of the powers and boundaries of regions, the DKA has made yet another retreat. Where it once wanted the multiparty conference to all but settle these questions in advance, leaving the constituent assembly little more to do than complete the formalities, it now agrees that the final decisions should be taken by the constituent assembly.

Apparently abandoned, too, are the DKA's original plans — contained in the proposals approved by the NP's special federal congress in September 1991 — for a collective or troika presidency, a rotating president and a clause in the "final" constitution prescribing power-sharing in perpetuity.

The sense that the DKA has been outmanoeuvred and forced to pull back, rather than having conducted a series of tactical retreats, is reflected in an edito-

African National Congress (ANC)		National Party (NP)	
GAINS ✓	LOSSES ✗	GAINS ✓	LOSSES ✗
A democratically elected constitutional assembly		A rotating troika presidency with perpetual power-sharing	
The new non-racial constitution drafted by a popularly elected constituent assembly		The new non-racial constitution drafted by a multi-party conference	
The adoption of the new constitution by a two-thirds majority		The adoption of the new constitution by 70% for general clauses & 75% for clauses relating to regional affairs	
Final decisions made by the constituent assembly		Constituent assembly to be vetted by a second chamber with power of veto	
	No power-sharing	A Transitional Government of National Unity (TGNU) in which power will be shared between all parties obtaining five percent of the vote	
	No federalism	Autonomous regions	
	A nationalised & centralised command economy	A market economy	
Timing only	A justiciable bill of rights	Timing only	A justiciable bill of rights

GRAPHIC: NICKY TAYLOR, LIZ WARDER

Klerk, ensuring that the NP, "the inventor of apartheid", will remain in power until the close of the century.

On the crucial question of federalism the ANC stance has shifted during the negotiation process.

It has moved from a position of regarding regionalism as a form of neo-apartheid to recognition of the need for effective regional government. According to a well-placed observer who has followed bilateral discussions between the DKA and the ANC closely, the ANC now accepts that there should be autonomous regions.

Regionalism, as everyone knows, is code language for federalism, the "F-word" of South African politics. The ANC's changed thinking on regionalism marks a softening of its opposition to federalism.

On another critical issue — that of economic policy — there has been an even more significant change in ANC thinking.

From a stand propagating nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry," the ANC has come to reject a centralised, command economy in favour of a mixed one with a strong private sector. At the same time the ANC has begun to look to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund — those bastions of international capitalism — for help in the reconstruction of South Africa.

On the Bill of Rights the differences between the DKA and the ANC are about timing and detail, not essence.

There is concurrence that a comprehensive and justiciable Bill of Rights should be enshrined in the constitution to guarantee the rule of law — what the DKA calls a constitutional state — and to protect fundamental human rights and liberties from abuse by government power.

Who, then, has outmanoeuvred whom? The best answer is to look again at the score card and judge for yourself. □

rial in the conservative newspaper, The Citizen.

"If the government makes any more concessions," the newspaper states, "it might as well give up now and hand the country over to the ANC, since the ANC is getting its way on most vital issues."

But against that it can be argued — and is by DKA loyalists — that the DKA has kept its head in a difficult process and successfully advanced its key objectives. Its steadfast defence

of its overall objectives has been combined with flexibility over the mechanisms for achieving them, DKA men reckon.

The core objectives are defined as power-sharing, federalism (as a way of dividing and therefore sharing power), a market economy, a justiciable Bill of Rights and — associated with it — constitutional guarantees against domination of one group by another.

The proposed transitional government of national unity (TGNU) — in which power will be shared between all parties obtaining five percent of the vote in the constituent assembly elections in proportion to their showing in the poll — is a form of power-sharing, whatever objections the ANC may have to the phrase.

The TGNU will not necessarily last longer than five years after the elections, a limitation which causes conservatives to

scornfully assert that the DKA has been outmanoeuvred. A rejoinder is, however, in order.

The DKA's achievement in negotiating a deal which will give De Klerk's NP a guaranteed role in the governance of South Africa until the end of the century should not be underestimated.

As The Economist notes in an editorial written with the advantage of the perspective of distance, the deal is "a breathtaking achievement" by De

CLAF 112192

ANC and MPLA among clients - report

Star 11/3/93

'Destitute' MI men for hire

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By Jacques Pauw

The ANC — like Angola's MPLA government and Unita — has turned to former operatives of Military Intelligence's controversial Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC). The operatives have claimed that the ANC has sought to buy information, while the Angolans have been secretly recruiting mercenaries.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, former DCC handler and Special Forces officer Rich Verster said the men were considering all offers. "They are destitute, jobless and have been cast out by their Defence Force superiors. They may accept any offer in an effort to find work and get money."

Verster said the former second-in-command of the DCC, Colonel At Nel, was recently approached by ANC intelligence personnel with an offer to buy information.

The agents claimed to be acting on behalf of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma who was the organisation's former chief of intelligence.

Verster said the ANC's invitation was extended to all former Military Intelligence (MI) operatives and included an offer of payment.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday she had no knowledge of the ANC's offer, but that the organisation may have approached operatives for information to help clean up the security forces. She said the ANC would not have offered them jobs or money.

Marcus said the ANC had a policy of not paying people such as DCC operatives as it undermined the credibility of their information.

Verster and Nel were among a host of MI operatives sacked late last year by



M for miracle . . . Shyama and Jayant Ooka with daughter Mena, the rose among t

GIFT from God — parents of 4

By Michael Sparks

Jayant and Shyama Ooka faced the bitter prospect of remaining childless. Then,

chance of having a baby naturally since Jayant had a low sperm count and Shyama was facing menopause at the early age of 27.

prepared to do that was the Garden City Clinic in Johannesburg, where Shyama was rushed on February 7 to give birth by Caesarean section.

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Verster and Nel were among a host of MI operatives sacked late last year by President de Klerk in his purge of the security forces. The sacked operatives included two generals as well as brigadiers, colonels, handlers and agents.

Verster spoke yesterday about the extreme bitterness among the operatives, who now felt they were outcasts. "Each and every project we executed had the full knowledge and approval of our superiors. They knew exactly what we were doing.

"Now we are treated like criminals and are probably going to face criminal charges. The men are bitter and their former loyalty towards the SADF has changed. That is why some are seriously contemplating working for the MPLA, Unita, companies and even the ANC."

Verster said he was aware of a group of men who left for Angola on Thursday and another group that left on Friday. He said, however, that none of the men he represented — including most of the civilians fired by De Klerk — was on the flights.

He said the men were offered \$5 000 (about R15 700) a month by the Angolans, which was, "under the cur-

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'Destitute' former MI men for hire

● From Page 1

rent circumstances, not an amount to be scoffed at".

Verster was commenting on reports in Sunday newspapers that the embattled MPLA government and the Unita rebel movement were secretly recruiting members of South Africa's elite Special Forces, the dissolved Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and 32 Battalion to fight in Angola.

The SADF said in a statement yesterday that it was aware of attempts to recruit former as well as current members of the Defence Force as mercenaries.

These attempts were viewed in a serious light, as indicated by Minister of Defence Gene Louw's statement on Friday warning SADF members it was a criminal offence to sign up as mercenaries.

According to a report,

about 14 men have already left the country to join MPLA forces for an assault on Unita.

Former DCC operative Leon Flores, sacked by the SADF after allegedly trying to arrange the assassination of former police captain Dirk Coetzee, told The Star yesterday that he had recently been approached by MPLA recruiters to fight against Unita.

He declined the offer.

He said he had not been approached by the ANC, but would seriously consider an offer to work for the organisation.

Verster said this was the attitude of the people he represented. They included, besides Nel, former members of the Special Forces who had joined the DCC as agents.

He said the men had discussed the possibility of accepting offers from the ANC and Unita as they were having diffi-

culty finding new jobs.

Verster said most of the men had no objection to working for an ANC-controlled defence force.

He said the ANC wanted information about the current situation in the SADF and sought operatives to gather further intelligence.

Verster said the internal investigation about the DCC's activities had been completed.

The probe followed De Klerk's undertaking that the alleged criminal actions of DCC operatives could lead to prosecution.

The Sunday Times said yesterday that mercenaries would be registered as employees of major oil companies operating in Angola. According to the report, the recruitment was happening with the full compliance of American and French oil companies.

It claimed that on February 24 seven mer-

cenaries left Jan Smuts Airport to travel to Angola via Windhoek. These men are said to be: V van Reenen, Buks Buys, W J Bosman, G Mylie, J P Potgieter, Christo Olivier and Deon Gerber.

According to the Sunday Times six members of 32 Battalion, led by a Sergeant Tshaka Ernesto, were temporarily housed at the home of the Angolan ambassador in Botswana before leaving for Luanda.

The soon-to-be disbanded 32 Battalion is made up of Angolan soldiers who fought for Holden Roberto's FNLA in the independence struggle against Portugal.

When the MPLA took power in 1975, these soldiers fled to the south of Angola where they were absorbed into the SADF. When hostilities ended on the Namibian border in 1989, the battalion was moved to Pomfref in the northern Cape.

PAC wants new roll

11A

■ Makwetu asks Government to register millions of voters:

Soweto 1/3/93

By Isaac Moledi

THE PAC yesterday called on the Government to register the more than 21 million blacks who had been left off the common voters' roll.

Commemorating "Sobukwe Day" at Vista University in Soweto, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the Government had agreed that every South African over the age of 18 was eligible to vote, yet only a handful were on the voters' roll.

Makwetu also demanded the setting up of a new forum free from the defects of Codesa, which he said was not democratic and was unrepresentative.

"Out of the 19 parties which were represented

at Codesa, only two had a national base and that is the ANC and the South African Communist Party. The rest were either ethnically based or tribal institutions," he said.

He called on members of the PAC to emulate the organisation's founder, Mr Robert Sobukwe, who he said his greatness lay more in his sacrifices for the cause of his people and the denial of his personal comfort.

"One thing is certain, Sobukwe would not have accepted power-sharing. He would have vehemently opposed regionalism or federalism," Makwetu said.

Makwetu said the commemoration of the death of Sobukwe should serve as a rallying point for national unity, as unity was important to overthrow white domination.

PAC, Govt to meet in Gaborone today

Sowetan 11/3/93

11A

■ Crucial issue of Apla high on agenda:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government meet in Gaborone today in a face-to-face encounter which includes the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) high command and South Africa's securocrats.

The PAC's armed struggle will be at the top of the agenda, both sides have confirmed, with the Government describing Apla's insurgency as "terrorist".

The one-day meeting precedes a multiparty planning conference in Johannesburg on Friday which already hangs in the balance after attempts to woo both the PAC and the Azanian

People's Organisation floundered last week.

This follows the African National Congress's unsuccessful attempt at shuttle diplomacy which tried to get a commitment from both Azapo and the PAC.

Azapo has indicated it would not be at Friday's talks which it sees as an attempt to revive Codesa. The organisation wants a united front of the ANC, PAC and itself before facing the Government.

The Government's team at today's meeting with the PAC will be led by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, whose delegation will comprise Deputy Minister of Justice and of Defence Mr Danie Schutte and

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Fanus Schoeman.

The SAP, SADF and National Intelligence Service will be represented by their most senior generals while Apla chief commander Mr Sabelo Phama and Apla political commissar Mr Romero Daniels will lead their delegation from Tanzania.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander will be joined by foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim, political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke, legal affairs secretary Mr Willie Seriti and national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani.

The reason for the talks being held outside South Africa was to facilitate the attendance of Apla chiefs.

VAT Budget alarm

Sowetan 11/3/93

■ Committee won't support increase in VAT:

320

By Ike Motsapi

THE Co-ordinating Committee on value added tax will hold an urgent meeting today to discuss the Government's Budget to be presented to Parliament on March 17.

The meeting, which will be attended by representatives from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, National Council of Trade Unions, African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, small business organisations, churches and

many other bodies, will start at 9am at the Johannesburg Hotel in Johannesburg.

Key speakers will be Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and Mrs Ina Perlman, executive director of Operation Hunger.

Dr Bennie Fanaroff, chairman of the co-ordinating committee, said the meeting was necessary because the committee was concerned about continuing poverty and the Value Added Tax on food and basic services.



News in brief

Girlfriend gang-raped

FOUR men — two of them armed with knives and one with a firearm — tied up a man and raped his 29-year-old girlfriend when they parked at The Wilds near Hillbrow, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Picke said Hillbrow police were investigating. He appealed to couples

not to park in deserted places and to lock their car doors if they did.

Mercenary soldiers

REPORTS from both factions involved in the civil war in Angola are that former SA Defence Force members have turned mercenary and are fighting for Unita and that country's government forces — at a price.

The Ministry of Defence has reported

edly released the names of at least four soldiers of fortune who have left the country to fight in Angola's renewed civil war.

That country was plunged into civil war again after Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi refused to accept the outcome of elections in Angola last October.

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw warned that any members of South Africa's permanent or citizen force who became mercenaries were violating the country's laws.

Sowetan 11/3/93

CH 113/193
MFA

PAC drums up support for Winnie

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Transkei PAC has called on ANC members to support Mrs Winnie Mandela's condemnation of power-sharing.

The organisation's assistant regional secretary in Transkei, Mr Gilbert Sineke, said at a meeting in Elliotdale yesterday that Mrs Mandela was correct in her analysis of power-sharing as a "short-cut political scheme of elite members in the ANC who want to get into power for their personal benefit".

Mr Sineke said no white person had the genuine interest of the African people at heart. Even those white liberals who joined liberation movements like the ANC did so "to manipulate the African people".

Star 11/3/93

ANC call IIA to accept poll result

The ANC today launches a series of lunchtime placard demonstrations calling on the Government to recognise the results of last year's Angolan elections "and to stop supporting Unita".

"The focus will be on the SA Defence Force because of its continuing support for Unita," the ANC said in a statement.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has repeatedly denied claims that South Africa is involved in the renewed civil war in Angola.

The Bophuthatswana government would also face protests, the ANC said.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi refused to accept defeat in last year's elections and has taken up arms again against the Luanda government.

United States consulates throughout South Africa will be presented with letters from the ANC and its alliance partners, the SA Communist Party and Congress of SA Trade Unions, urging President Bill Clinton to recognise the Angolan government.

In Johannesburg today, the ANC-led alliance will hold a lunchtime picket outside the US consulate. Deputy president Walter Sisulu and other members of the ANC's national executive committee will attend.

Protest actions will also be held during the course of the week in Cape Town, Durban, Witbank, Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein. — Sapa.

Star 21/3/93

PAC for planning talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The PAC, the KwaZulu government, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are set to formally join constitutional talks on Friday.

PAC sources said yesterday that the organisation's national working committee had decided on February 20 to attend the two-day multiparty planning conference which starts at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Although no consensus has been reached on the attendance of the KwaZulu government, it is understood that it will send a delegation.

A panel of seven chairmen for the conference, including Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, is meeting in Cape Town today.

Star 2/3/93
**69 held at arms
smuggling trial**

Staff Reporter and Sapa

Police arrested 69 people outside a court where three ANC members and a fourth man appeared yesterday on charges of smuggling arms into South Africa from Swaziland. (SFA)

Police said the trial in the Bethal Magistrate's Court was disrupted when demonstrators stormed the courtroom.

The accused — Mandlenkosi Makhoba, Vusimuzi Ngobese, Siphon Sithole and a fourth man — were remanded until March 29 for the completion of investigations. (IA)

Star 2/3/93

'Govt misused R5-bn'

The Government has misused an estimated R5 billion, the ANC claimed last night.

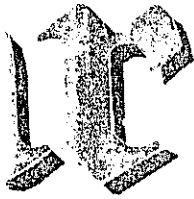
In a further indication that the current corruption scandal is hardening attitudes towards the March 17 Budget, the ANC said there was rampant abuse in Government circles.

Government expenditure of R3 million for 29 Ministers to live in their own homes last year was

"a depressing exposure of how the National Party Government abuses taxpayers' money".

The payouts were made with the full knowledge of President de Klerk and it was unacceptable to say they were in accordance with ministerial status.

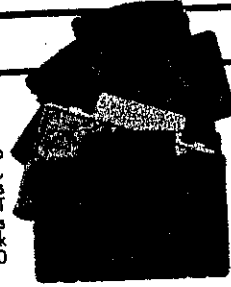
The ANC urged the Government to consider the needs of the majority of taxpayers in its allocation of public funds. — Political Reporter.



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Star 2/13/93
Mob hacks policeman to death

DURBAN — Two KwaZulu policemen investigating a charge of murder at Clermont, near Durban, were attacked by a mob and one was hacked to death. The other was seriously wounded.

A man apprehended by the mob and accused of murder was also killed during the incident, which took place on Saturday.

Detective-Sergeant Temba Mbuthuma died when he was chased into a flat and hacked to death, and Sergeant Martin Makwaza was shot in the head.

A third policeman, Sergeant Moses Dladla, escaped. The policemen had responded to a report that a man who had attacked another person had been caught by residents. — Sapa.

Star 2/13/93
Apla's late arrival holds up meeting

By Kaizer Nyatumba
 Political Reporter

GABORONE — The PAC's meeting with the Government begins this morning after the arrival late last night of the three-man Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) delegation led by Romero Daniels.

Yesterday's planned meeting had to be postponed to today after the Government delegation, led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, refused to talk to the PAC leadership without the Apla high command being present.

The Apla delegation is made up of Daniels, Raymond Martin and Willy Williams, all of whom are commanders in the guerilla army.

Confusion over travel ar-

rangements yesterday led to the postponement of the talks.

The Apla delegation had plane tickets to fly from Harare to Johannesburg and onwards to Gaborone, but feared they would be arrested if they touched down at Jan Smuts Airport.

Kriel said the men could not be arrested as long as they remained in the airport's transit lounge.

After a frustrating day of constant consultations and informal discussions with the PAC leadership, Kriel said his delegation had decided to stay over and begin discussions at 8.30 am today.

At a press conference the PAC leader — legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti — insisted that the armed struggle was not the only item on the agenda.

Travel hiccup holds up talks

Sowetan 2/3/93
■ **APLA STRANDED** Delegates stuck in Harare

because of Jan Smuts stopover:

(IIA) ~~(S)~~

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

BY LATE yesterday the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government had not met in Gaborone because the Azanian People's Liberation Army delegation were stranded at Harare airport.

Because their tickets — bought through a travel agent in Pretoria by the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg — indicated they would have to touch down at Jan Smuts Airport they refused to board the chartered aircraft. None of the Apla cadres have indemnity and could be arrested on South African soil.

The PAC was forced to charter a plane to pick up Apla chief political commissar Mr Romero Daniels and high command officers Mr Raymond Ronalds and Mr Willie Williams.

The meeting called by the Government was to discuss Apla's armed struggle and, according to Government officials, to ask the PAC to suspend

its offensive and join multiparty negotiations.

"We will be here the whole week if we have to," said Government officials.

Both Government and PAC officials present in Gaborone for the talks said it was essential the Apla delegation be present at the discussions, which Pretoria said would deal ultimately with the PAC armed wing's continued attacks in South Africa.

PAC secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim confirmed that the organisation, at the insistence of the Government, had to charter a flight from Harare to Gaborone.

In terms of the Preferential Trade Agreement any ticket purchased in South Africa obliges passengers to travel via a South African airport.

Ebrahim said the Apla delegation would arrive at about 8pm.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, after caucusing with his delegation, announced that a Press conference would be held yesterday afternoon.

Bungled travel plans delay Apla delegates

11/11

PAC bungling of travel arrangements for its military wing representatives delayed crucial talks with government yesterday.

The meeting, due to start at 10am in Gaborone, is now expected to get under way only this morning after Apla delegates stranded in Harare were forced to charter a plane to get to the talks.

The PAC's Johannesburg office booked the Apla members' plane tickets in Pretoria. But officials failed to note the stopover in Johannesburg for the trip between Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Gaborone.

When the three Apla members, led by

BIDAM 2/3/73
BILLY PADDOCK

chief political commissar Romero Daniels, realised they would have to set foot on SA soil, they refused to go further than Harare. They feared they might be arrested at Jan Smuts as Apla and the PAC have rejected indemnity for political crimes.

When the Apla men failed to arrive, the PAC team, led by foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, asked the government team, led by Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel, to discuss constitutional issues. This was refused. A Law and Order spoke-

man said only the PAC's armed struggle and the general violence were on the agenda.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said his organisation had been keen to discuss issues other than Apla. These could have included the multiparty planning conference, a new multiparty forum and transitional arrangements.

Ebrahim gave clear indications the PAC was preparing to suspend its armed struggle and said the Gaborone talks would revolve around "a mutual cessation of hostilities, as outlined in the UN declaration".



Meeting tackles differences

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC meet today and tomorrow to try to resolve differences on constitutional issues and prepare for Friday's planning conference on ways of countering opposition to the unity government proposal.

The meeting will also deal with report-backs from the seven sub-committees which have been trying to facilitate agreements on a range of issues prior to the resumption of multiparty talks.

The ANC wants agreement in as many areas as possible "so that when we get to the multiparty table the negotiations will be much smoother and there will be less chance of deadlocks developing", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

The subcommittees have been discussing a range of constitutional matters, especially the differences in interpretation of a unity government and power-sharing preliminary agreement.

Other matters to be discussed are a new independent SABC board; an elections commission, the reincorporation of the TBVC states; details of the planning conference, especially Inkatha's insistence on negotiating substantive constitutional issues; and finalising an agreement on the

powers and authority of the transitional executive authority and its sub councils.

Meanwhile, the steering committee finalising the arrangements for the planning conference met last night in Cape Town to discuss the agenda and set timing for the conference.

All the senior negotiators are part of the committee. These include Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Ramaphosa, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, the DP's Colin Eglin and senior members of the AVU, the CP and homeland governments.

Inkatha rejects outright that the planning conference is merely to plan the resumption of negotiations and insists that the form of state — unitary, regional or federal — must be decided at the meeting because this would affect the form of the new negotiating forum.

The Inkatha central committee ended its deliberations on the planning conference and discussions with Meyer and Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont on Sunday but party spokesmen would disclose any details yesterday.

ANC will work at retrieving its arms

UMTATA. — Everything possible will be done to try to retrieve all the armoury belonging to the African National Congress still in Angola, South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Speaking in a Radio Transkei broadcast, Mr Hani said the arms would be needed in the new South African integrated armed forces.

● ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak handed in a letter to President Bill Clinton at the United States embassy saying the US could make a contribution to peace in Angola.

● In Johannesburg, ANC supporters braved pelting rain yesterday to voice support for Angola's government. — Sapa

(11A) CJ 2/3/93

Optimism must be tempered with realism as peace hopes rise, writes Patrick Laurence

Star 2/3/93

SA needs wisdom of Solomon

~~SA~~

11A

OVER the past year South Africa has had enough Jeremiahs warning of pending doom, but Jeremiahs are not needed as national despair begins to lift at last.

A counsel of caution is needed, however, to guard against too much optimism now that multi-party negotiations are about to be resumed after the breakdown of Codesa 2 last year.

To a large extent the optimism has been generated by the agreement between the ANC and the De Klerk administration; forged in bilateral discussions, the agreement rests on an accord to establish a transitional government of national unity (TGNU) after the election of a constituent assembly.

The convergence of thinking between these two forces justify the hopes for a settlement that they have aroused. But real problems still have to be resolved.

One relates to the TGNU itself; it is clear the ANC and the De Klerk administration are not at one on what it means.

The ANC, facing criticism from its own constituents for agreeing to share power with FW de Klerk's ruling National Party, has

emphasised that the proposed TGNU will not compromise the principle of majority rule.

While all parties winning more than five percent of the vote in elections for a constituent assembly will qualify to serve in the TGNU, minority parties will not be allowed to thwart the will of the majority party, ANC leaders have stressed.

If the ANC wins an absolute majority in the elections (more than 50 percent of the vote), its wishes will prevail in the TGNU. As the ANC puts it, the need for inclusiveness will not be allowed to impair the capacity of the TGNU to function effectively.

Against that, as the ANC notes, the De Klerk administration is still wedded to the notion of consensus, a notion which will enable smaller parties to halt the process of government if they disagree with the majority party.

Thus there is disagreement at the heart of what has been billed as a major agreement — or, in the eyes of hostile interpreters, as a "conspiracy" — between the ANC and the De Klerk administration.

It is clear from various statements — by the ANC national ex-

ecutive after its three-day meeting in Soweto in mid-February and in the ANC's subsequent "Negotiations Bulletin" — that the ANC envisages an executive-style president.

Thus the president — almost certain to be Nelson Mandela, judging from opinion polls — will have the power to reject nominees to the Cabinet from the minority parties if he thinks they are "unacceptable". The only qualifying rider is that he should state why he finds them unacceptable.

Against that, NP policy, as expressed in its constitutional proposals and by De Klerk himself in numerous interviews including last month's with Sir David Frost, favours replacement of the present executive presidency by a ceremonial presidency.

These problems are not insuperable and need not prevent the TGNU from coming into being; but they are real and their resolution will require wisdom and probably compromise.

Before then, however, another problem will have to be solved: how to accommodate traditional or tribal leaders at the multi-party conference. The ANC and

the De Klerk administration concur that tribal patriarchs should be heard. They differ, however, on why and how.

The ANC is anxious to fulfil a request by the Congress of Traditional Leaders — which if not actually ANC-aligned is certainly in the broad ANC camp — that chiefs should have a voice at the talks. It has proposed that each of the four provinces send a delegation of chiefs to the talks with the power to vote in plenary sessions but not at management committee meetings.

The De Klerk administration has mooted a different formula: that the governments of the partially autonomous "homelands" be invited to attend, an arrangement which would allow them to include traditional leaders in their delegations.

Either format would provide a solution to a troublesome issue: demands by Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelethini, be given a place at the negotiating table.

The Government proposal would have the advantage of ending an anomaly: the presence at

the talks of the governments of the four "independent" black states — the TBVC territories — and the exclusion of the governments of their political siblings, the six partly self-governing states.

In the meantime, however, Buthelezi has signalled that he will pre-empt the issue: he will send two delegations to the preparatory meeting for the multi-party negotiations, one from the IFP and another from the KwaZulu government.

An even more difficult problem is looming: there is no evidence that De Klerk's men have been able to persuade the IFP that the best and safest way to a democratic and non-racial South Africa is via a constituent assembly and a transitional government; on the contrary, IFP central committee member, Ben Ngubane, has recently reiterated the IFP's objections to it.

The IFP argues that the order should be reversed: instead of elections preceding the drawing up of a constitution, it maintains that the constitution should first be drafted by the multi-party conference, sitting as a latter-day Na-

tional Convention, and that non-racial elections should then be held under the new constitution, provided that it is approved in a national referendum.

The IFP cites the case of Zimbabwe, where the constitution was drafted at the Lancaster House conference in London before the elections which brought Robert Mugabe to power; the ANC and the De Klerk administration counter with the example of Namibia, where a popularly elected constituent assembly drafted the constitution.

What happens if the deadlock cannot be resolved?

There is only the imprecise doctrine of "sufficient consensus" to fall back on. Forged during last year's failed Codesa talks, it holds that complete consensus is desirable but not necessary, that the multi-party conference can proceed if there is sufficient consensus. That, however, begs the question. If there is incomplete consensus, what constitutes sufficient consensus?

South Africa does not need any more Jeremiahs but it will need many Solomons to complete the journey ahead. □

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Star 2/13/93

SA needs wisdom of Solomon



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Star 3/3/93

War will not stop, says PAC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

GABORONE — Talks between the South African Government and the PAC ended in deadlock yesterday after the PAC leadership refused to suspend its armed struggle.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the Government had proposed a phased suspension of the PAC's armed struggle, which the PAC leadership was not in a position to give. The Government would therefore not support the PAC's involvement in multi-party negotiations until such time as it suspended its armed struggle.

At a press conference shortly afterwards, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti said his organisation intended attending multi-party talks in Kempton Park on Friday.

"We believe that we have a constituency to represent, and that it is our right to attend the meeting," Seriti said.

Kriel said the Government's three-phase proposal, which he described as "eminently reasonable", was that the PAC placed a moratorium on its armed activity, that the moratorium be reviewed by the organisation's national congress when it meets some time this year, and that the future of all armed forces be given top priority in discussions within a multiparty forum.

Kriel said it was "very clear" that the PAC was not in a position to implement agreements reached at its meeting with the Government in Gaborone in November, and consequently the Government could not support the PAC's involvement in the negotiations.

However, Kriel said the Government could not unilaterally prevent the PAC from attending the talks.

Right, Left and centre will all have their say

Star 3/3/93

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The full political mainstream will be represented in negotiations for the first time when more than 20 parties and administrations sit down together at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday to plan for the future.

All the main parties — including, for the first time, the Conservative Party on the Right and the Pan Africanist Congress on the Left — are due to attend the multiparty planning conference.

Its aim is to review agreements made to date and to plan the resumption of full-scale, multiparty, Codesa-style negotiations.

One top negotiator said the purpose of the conference was to form a bridge between past bilateral and future multilateral negotiations.

Bringing such a wide range of views together is bound to be a delicate operation and fireworks have not been ruled out.

Other participants were still not sure last night whether the Inkatha Freedom Party might not spring a surprise by demanding the conference make a binding decision

that the future South Africa become a federation.

However, IFP and other sources close to them said they did not think this would become a make-or-break issue at this stage.

They said this conference was mainly the brainchild of the IFP, which wanted it to review ANC-Government "deals". Thus the IFP would like it to succeed.

It appeared that other parties had accommodated the IFP's concerns to an extent by agreeing to include an agenda item on whether negotiations could take place regionally.

Panel

Arguments were still continuing yesterday about who should serve on the multiparty panel to chair the conference.

There was provisional agreement that the Government, ANC, IFP, Democratic Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, QwaQwa government and Transkei government should be represented.

A panel drawn from these groups met in Cape Town yesterday to make final arrangements for the conference.

However the conservative Concerned South African Group (Cosag) was still arguing that Boputhutswana Government

minister Rowan Cronje should be appointed to the chairing panel to represent their interests.

This problem was not expected to cause a major upset nor was the expected arrival of KwaZulu government and PAC delegations at the conference - even though this had not been agreed to by all parties.

The ANC has not approved the KwaZulu government as such being there and the Government is still officially observing a ban on contact with the PAC until it distances itself from violent acts by its armed wing the Azanian Peoples Party.

"Both will probably just pitch up and no one will chase them away," a negotiation source said.

The source added that first prize at the conference would be agreement on a date for full multiparty talks.

But it would be enough if the process of arranging the conference was just kept on track.

Parties will be represented by five-person delegation headed by their chief negotiators rather than their leaders.

Apart from the PAC, CP and KwaZulu government, the other principal newcomer to negotiations will be the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) which split from the CP last year.

Focus on Apla

MORE THAN A WEEK after the attacks on whites in Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress continues to equivocate on the issue.

Except for publicity secretary Barney Desai, the PAC's leaders have yet to condemn such attacks, or those responsible for them.

The organisation's explanation until now has been that it does not have sufficient information to make authoritative comment possible — and that the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army has also not commented.

Reports have Apla spokesman Johnny Majazi saying the guerilla army's cadres inside South Africa had not yet contacted Apla's headquarters to claim responsibility for the terror attacks.

It is pointed out that all there is to link Apla to the apparently racially motivated acts at this stage is a telephone call to the *South African Press Association* from an anonymous caller claiming to be an Apla cadre.

However, the situation remains very murky — because although PAC leaders insist that anybody could have telephoned the Press to claim responsibility on Apla's behalf, they have not ruled out the possibility that Apla might in fact have been responsible.

Attacks not condemned

Indeed, the PAC has tactically left the door wide open for this possibility and as a direct consequence has refused to condemn the murders and their perpetrators.

The furthest it has gone is to say that the PAC adhered to no policy which involved killing women and children.

But that, as the PAC leaders should know, is cold comfort to the families of those whom faceless gunmen have mown down in cold blood in the past two weeks.

At a media conference PAC president Clarence Makwetu was twice asked if he condemned the attacks. Twice he evaded the question, saying only: "We regret any killing, irrespective of colour." Told by the journalist who had posed the question that he had not answered it, Makwetu replied acidly: "Unfortunately we are not here to be tried by the media."

Ah, the media! The PAC leader — like most of his colleagues in the PAC leadership — has an aversion to the media matched by few of his counterparts in the country.

The average PAC leader and member believes the organisation has had a raw deal from the Press over the years. As a consequence they say repeatedly that the Africanist organisation was "not built by the Press" and therefore "will not be destroyed by it".

Instead of cultivating good relations with the Press, some PAC leaders have regarded the institution with scepticism and have not made

The Pan Africanist Congress has so far sat on the fence regarding recent killings allegedly committed by its armed wing, Azanian Peoples Liberation Army **Kaizer Nyatumba** argues that PAC leaders should condemn the racist attacks:

themselves readily available for interviews or briefings.

Because of the PAC leadership's prevarication on the recent attacks, theories have abounded. There are those who say the attacks were staged by a disgruntled wing of Apla, which is intent on getting the PAC leadership to quit negotiations.

Whatever the truth is, I believe the PAC must now state categorically and unequivocally where it stands on the attacks. Could it be that it knows Apla is not responsible but does not want to admit this because the perception that it is 'a defender of the people' would be jeopardised?

Others, including people in the ANC, say Apla is not responsible for the barbaric murders and lay the blame on a nebulous "third force" which seeks to sow race-hate and in the process derail negotiations.

Whatever the truth is, I believe the PAC leadership must now state categorically and unequivocally where it stands on the attacks. Could it be that it knows Apla is not responsible but does not want to admit this because the perception that it is "a defender of the people" would be jeopardised?

Does it perhaps know that Apla had carried out the heinous deeds but will not say so publicly because of the local and international censure which will inevitably follow?

Or could it be that Makwetu and his colleagues do not know and are reluctant to admit their ignorance? We do not know, because of the organisation's ambivalence.

Let us consider what the attacks mean for the PAC.

Undeniably, the attacks do have some grisly short-term benefit for the organisation, especially while violence continues in the country. PAC secretary general Benny Alexander is not alone in his belief that the Government has not done enough to stop the spiral of violence in the country because most of the victims are black.

There are many in the black community who hold the view that Pretoria would take the violence seriously and embark on effective initiatives to end it if whites were primary victims.

White life valuable

Unfortunately, the Government's reaction so far has merely reinforced the widespread perception that it values white life more than it does black life. This is a view ANC president Nelson Mandela has expressed a number of times, both here and abroad.

Moreover, PAC leaders say more than 20 000 people have joined their organisation since the Eastern Cape attacks in December last year.

But the acts of terror have also brought local and international condemnation of the PAC and have severely embarrassed many PAC leaders. Whatever support the organisation gains in the short-term has to be weighed against the embarrassment they cause to it.

Another disturbing dimension to these racial killings is that they further polarise South Africans along racial lines and trigger retaliatory attacks by rightwingers. This is a chilling prospect and could make eventual reconciliation impossible if the situation runs out of control.

The PAC leadership could play its part in staving off this doomsday scenario by categorically and unequivocally distancing itself from the murders and strongly denouncing those who perpetrate the acts of terror.

To this end, it might remove the poster at its head office's boardroom which seems to condone Apla's alleged attacks. The poster reads: "Each bullet takes us forward. Viva Apla. Year of Great Storm. Apla by day, Apla by night."

11A
Sowetan
31/3/93

War goes on VOWS PAC

By Themba Molefe

GABORONE — Talks in Gaborone, Botswana, between the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government deadlocked yesterday over the issue of suspending the PAC's

armed struggle.

The PAC reiterated its stance on the continuation of the armed struggle while the Government said it would arrest any members of Apla, the PAC's military wing, on sight.

Addressing separate Press conferences, the opposing delegations emphasised souring relations. The Government said it would not support the PAC's

participation in Friday's multiparty planning conference aimed at restarting full-blown constitutional negotiations. The PAC, however, said it would attend the conference in spite of the Government's decision.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told journalists the Government was disappointed that it did not get a commitment from the PAC to at least de-

clare a moratorium on its armed incursions or a phased suspension of hostilities. Kriel said the PAC was not prepared to stop killing what he termed innocent citizens and that the Government had "gone out of our way to get the PAC to the negotiating table".

He said the PAC had rejected all their proposals, especially declaring a mora-

torium on its offensive. The PAC's Gora Ebrahim accused the Government of reneging on agreements regarding the armed struggle the two parties had reached at a meeting in Gaborone last October. This was that there should be a suspension of hostilities on both sides. This also meant the expulsion of mercenary forces such as Koevoet and Battalions 31 and 32.

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Sowetan
3/3/93

PAC 'will reclaim white farmlands'

LLOYD COUTTS

11A
A PAC government would pay no compensation for expropriated farmland but be prepared to make reparations for structural developments.

In an interview published in Barometer on Negotiation, PAC department of land and environment affairs director Peter Mayende said his organisation had targeted a substantial amount of land controlled by white farmers for redistribution.

"The first step will be the expropriation of white controlled land. This will be the first and major source of land for redistribution."

Under-utilised land and state-owned land lying idle was also available for habitation, agricultural production and other forms of economic enterprise. B10A/3/3/93

Land taken through forced removal would be returned to original communities who inhabited it. He said land was originally obtained through colonial conquest and its ownership therefore had no legitimacy.

"However, on moral grounds we are prepared to pay compensation for developments on the land, for example physical structures, dams, fencing, silos, trees planted, but not for the land itself. The final decision with regard to the amount to be paid as compensation will be the responsibility of the state."

Owners of residential properties would be compensated in a similar way. Housing would be provided under a leasehold and rental system. The PAC believed land, as a national resource, could not be owned.

PAC refuses to halt armed struggle

GABORONE — The political schism between government and the PAC widened last night when the PAC refused to end its armed struggle unilaterally.

At the same time, government said it would not support any move by the PAC to attend a multiparty conference once a date had been set by the multiparty planning conference this week. The PAC said while it would assess the question of attending a future multiparty forum, it would attend the planning conference regardless of government and NP feelings.

(11A) At the end of a day of formal talks, government delegation leader Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL said all parties except the PAC had laid down their weapons and agreed to a multiparty conference. "We firmly believe the PAC has an important role to play in SA's political restructuring. We have gone out of our way to bring them to the negotiation table."

KRIEL said the government delegation had proposed a phased approach to end the PAC's armed struggle: that APLA declare

To Page 2

PAC

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an immediate moratorium, to be reviewed by the PAC's national congress, and that priority talks on the future of all the armed forces be held at a multiparty forum.

"The PAC/APLA delegation was not prepared to accept this," said KRIEL. But he felt there was a ray of hope as the PAC had promised to submit the proposal to its national executive council.

At a later news conference, the PAC's Willie Seriti said the organisation would attend the planning conference. "The majority of the people of this country have the right to be represented at something that could lead to a constituent assembly."

PAC member Gora Ebrahim said the organisation had full control over APLA.

(11A) From Page 1
"The PAC pledges to enter into a mutual cessation of hostilities. But we told the regime we have no mandate to declare a moratorium here at this meeting... We state categorically that the PAC has never said it would suspend the armed struggle and then allow its members to start killing people like other organisations."

Ebrahim said the PAC wanted an end to all violence, "including state-sponsored violence through units such as Koevoet, 31 Battalion and 32 Battalion, the Selous Scouts from the former Rhodesia and the Askaris (turned MK cadres)".

He envisaged the PAC NEC meeting before the end of March to discuss government's proposals. — Sapa.



Right-wing Afrikaner leader Carel Boschoff and ANC president Nelson Mandela at a news conference after their meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Preparations finalised for crucial planning talks

3/10 AM 3/3/93
 JOINT government and ANC sub-committees met yesterday in an attempt to resolve outstanding problems on constitutional matters and a "phased approach to bringing all armed formations under joint control".

The committees are under pressure to reach agreement before this afternoon when delegates gather for a plenary session at the World Trade Centre to finalise the agreements which are to be referred to principals for adoption.

Today's meeting is a continuation of last week's two-day bilateral meeting which failed to make significant progress "as there was insufficient time set aside for discussion and the subcommittees had not completed their work", ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said.

One issue that was likely to be resolved was the acceptance of a new policy for an independent SABC board. Other issues were the powers and duties of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils and working out a draft proposal for an elections commission and how elections should be conducted.

In Cape Town, government met an Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) delegation to discuss the possibility of a regional state for Afrikaner self-determination.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels represented government, while the AVU delegation was made up of party leader Andries Beyers, his four Parliamen-

tary colleagues and six other AVU members, including former SADF head Gen Constand Viljoen.

A government source said yesterday the heads of most parties' negotiations teams due to participate at the planning conference had made progress yesterday in finalising the arrangements for Friday and Saturday. No further meetings were planned.

It has also been learned that the PAC's national working committee decided 10 days ago to participate in the planning conference. But, a government source said, this was dependent on agreement being reached on Apla and the armed struggle during yesterday's meeting between government and the PAC in Gaborone.

□ In Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela held two hours of cordial talks with Afrikaner separatist leader Carel Boshoff, Sapa-AFP reports.

Mandela said the ANC was "sympathetic" to the Afrikaner's dream of self-determination. "We hope whatever happens in multiparty talks, those who are demanding self-determination for their group will show the same patience which we in our own struggle have shown throughout."

A member of Boshoff's Afrikaner Freedom Institute (Avstig) delegation said the talks were about the possibility that an area of a future federal SA could become the Afrikaner homeland.

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC 'sympathetic' to Afrikaner dream

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela interrupted the rest prescribed by his doctors for cordial talks here yesterday with Afrikaner separatist leader Professor Carel Boshoff.

The African National Congress leader said the ANC was "sympathetic" to the Afrikaner's dream of self-determination.

Prof Boshoff has proposed an Afrikaner state in the sparsely populated north-western Cape.

"We hope those who are demanding self-determination for their group will show the same patience which we in our own struggle have shown throughout," Mr Mandela said.

He questioned the compatibility of a race-based state with the religious ideals Prof Boshoff's followers hold dear.

Prof Boshoff called the talks "fruitful", and said both sides had agreed to set up a bilateral committee to further the discussions. — Sapa-AFP

with a greater sense of urgency that South Africa's political leaders return to the World Trade Centre on Friday to plan the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

A little more than 10 months ago, at the same venue, negotiations towards a peaceful political settlement collapsed quite unceremoniously when the ANC and Government deadlocked on crucial matters dealing with the adoption of a new constitution for the country.

Since then the country and its people have endured much pain. Much of it has been written about and furiously and furtively debated — to repeat it would be trite.

During this time a new urgency for the two to resume talking has emerged.

Non-stop bilateral talks between the two took place and much ground that was lost after last year's World Trade Centre collapse was reclaimed.

These bilateral talks also stretched into areas that had at the time of the collapse been explored but not agreed.

Greater consensus exists between the two parties now than at the World Trade Centre on that fatal day — May 16 last year.

Not responsible

One factor which was not, in any significant way, responsible for the collapse last autumn, was the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the time of the collapse the IFP was still standing in a corner with its face to the wall in a furious tantrum because of the exclusion of the Zulu king and KwaZulu government from negotiations.

Now, just when everyone thought it was safe to return to negotiations, the IFP has thrown its traditional weapons out of its crib in a petulant rage and threatened to disrupt Friday's planning conference.

The IFP now wants the Zulu king at the negotiations. It wants the KwaZulu government at negotiations and it wants guarantees (even before negotiations begin) on key issues.

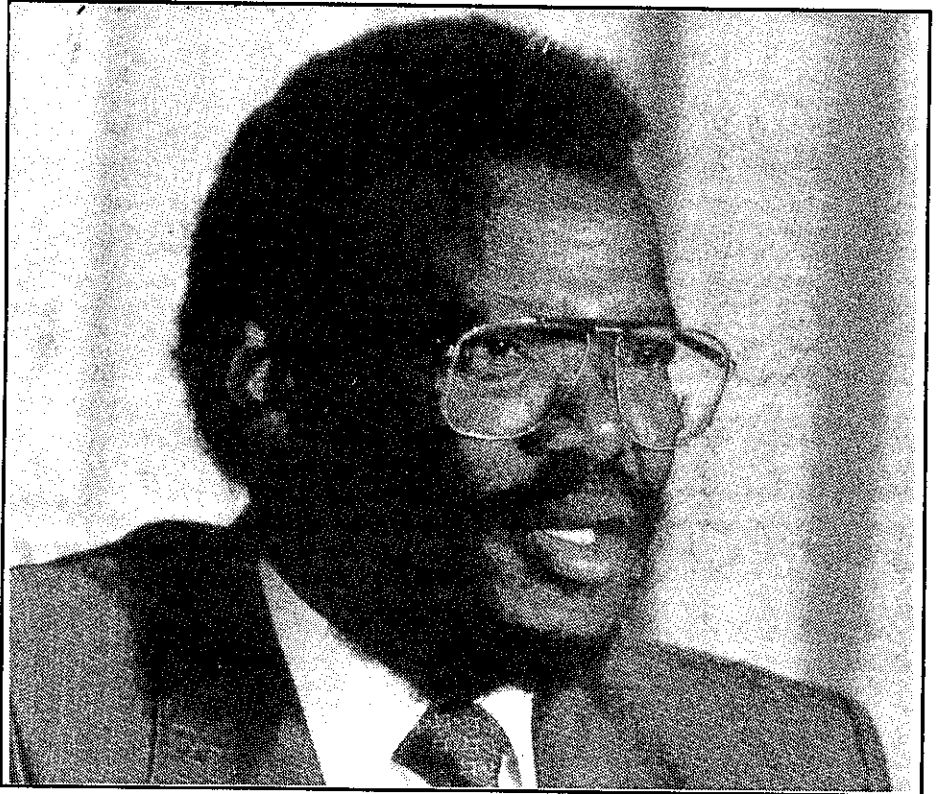
It is safe to assume that the IFP's allies and fellow travellers on the right — parties such as the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksumie and the administrations in the homelands of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — could support Buthelezi's demands.

In terms of the number of parties, then, the IFP could, through its Cosag (Concerned South Africans Group) stonewall and hold the country to ransom before resuming negotiations.

The IFP Member of Parliament for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Mentz, has warned that if that party did not get its way at negotiations and a settlement was reached without it, the country would be plunged into full-scale civil war that would make the conflict in former Yugoslavia look like

The Inkatha Freedom Party's role in talks between the Government and the ANC may not be apparent. But if Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not get his way, any hope of real talks may fail, **Ismail Lagardien**

writes: *11A* ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ *Sowetan*
3/3/93.



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... not responsible for the collapse of talks.

a Sunday school picnic.

Therefore, the progress that has been made in months of bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC could amount to nothing, if Buthelezi does not have his way on Friday.

The participation of the PAC and Azapo in the planning conference remains uncertain but there is hope yet. The PAC has said that it would attend but chances are that they could (like the IFP) make demands that are actually difficult to meet.

Azapo has been ambivalent as has the Conservative Party. The latter, as part of the initial group of 21 parties that were invited to the first planning meeting on November 29 1991, could arrive at Friday's meeting as part of Cosag.

How this will affect the participation of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana is uncertain.

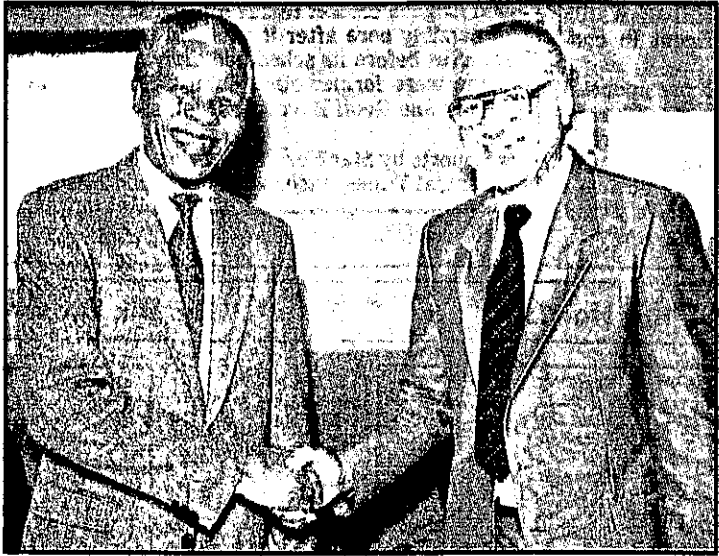
What is certain is that the 19 parties that took part in Codesa will return (in small delegations) and the invitations turned down in 1991 still stand.

This means that Azapo, the CP and PAC will be reinvited and the only new invitation will go to the Afrikaner Volksumie.

The agenda for this weekend's meeting will be, firstly, to look at the gains of past negotiations at Codesa and how multi-party talks can be resumed.

Politicians and negotiators from most parties who were at Codesa feel, however, that the resumption is only possible if this weekend's planning conference can get past the IFP.

Fit-looking Mandela speaks to rightwinger



So near yet so far . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela shakes hands with Professor Carel Boshoff yesterday.

A fit-looking Nelson Mandela interrupted the rest prescribed by his doctors for two hours of cordial talks yesterday with Afrikaner separatist leader Professor Carel Boshoff.

Careful not to alienate the Right days before the multiparty planning conference, he said the ANC was "sympathetic" to Boshoff's dream of self-determination. Boshoff has proposed an Afrikaner state in the north-western Cape.

"We hope that, whatever happens in multiparty talks, those who are demanding self-determination for their group will show the same patience that we

in our own struggle have shown throughout," Mandela said.

He questioned the compatibility of a race-based state with the religious ideals of Boshoff's followers and noted Afrikaners had never called for their own homeland in white-ruled SA.

Boshoff called yesterday's talks fruitful and said both sides had agreed to set up a bilateral committee to further the talks.

The ultra rightwing Afrikaner Vryheidstigting is considering whether it should attend Friday's multiparty planning conference. —Sapa-AFP.

● Govt; Volksunie look at 'Afrikaner states' - Page 8

All eyes on the 'spoilers' at talks

Star 4/3/93

PARTICIPANTS in the multiparty planning conference all realise the urgency for it to succeed and then lead to the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

But some will arrive tomorrow at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park with contradictory aims.

However it is clear that those planning on placing obstacles in the way of the conference leading to a new reconstituted negotiating forum will be regarded as spoilers — largely for placing party political views above national interests.

The eight-month hiatus in negotiations began at the end of June when the ANC formally suspended talks after the Boipatong massacre.

But it really began at the failed Codesa 2 when the key players — the ANC and Government — could not agree on who should write the new constitution. This led to the 19 Codesa participants dividing into pro-Government and pro-ANC camps.

Shortly after the Boipatong killings the ANC issued 14 demands focusing on violence and transitional arrangements, and said it would not even consider returning to the negotiating table until these have been met by the Government.

The ensuing weeks saw a "war of memoranda" between the two on these demands and counter proposals.

This period saw an unprecedented ANC-led mass action campaign and vigorous United Nations involvement in trying to resolve the crisis.

But ironically it was violence

South Africa tomorrow takes the first step in the resumption of multiparty constitutional negotiations when political groups return to the empty Codesa meeting rooms. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the road the negotiation process has travelled since it came to an abrupt end in June, and at the contradictory aims of the participants.

which resolved the negotiators "attitude problems".

More specifically, the Bisho massacre which proved to be the final turning point by getting the ANC and Government to meet.

This meeting led to the signing of the Record of Understanding in September between the two groups, but the ink was hardly dry on the historic document and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off talks with the Government.

He said these two parties could not reach bilateral agreements which had an impact on others.

The IFP took the lead in forming the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) based on opposition to the Record of Understanding and not on a shared vision of the transition.

Since September the ANC and Government have embarked on a series of meetings to thrash out differences on their scenarios for the transition. A greater convergence between the two has emerged with them agreeing on the framework for the transition from apartheid to democracy.

However, fundamental differences still exist on power-sharing and regionalism but they are regarded as details — although not mere procedural

matters — to be discussed at the negotiating table.

Meetings between Cosag — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments — and the Government have only really got under way since the beginning of the year. A large backlog still exists between them on constitutional issues.

It is quite likely that different camps will emerge at the planning conference because of the contradictory aims of participants.

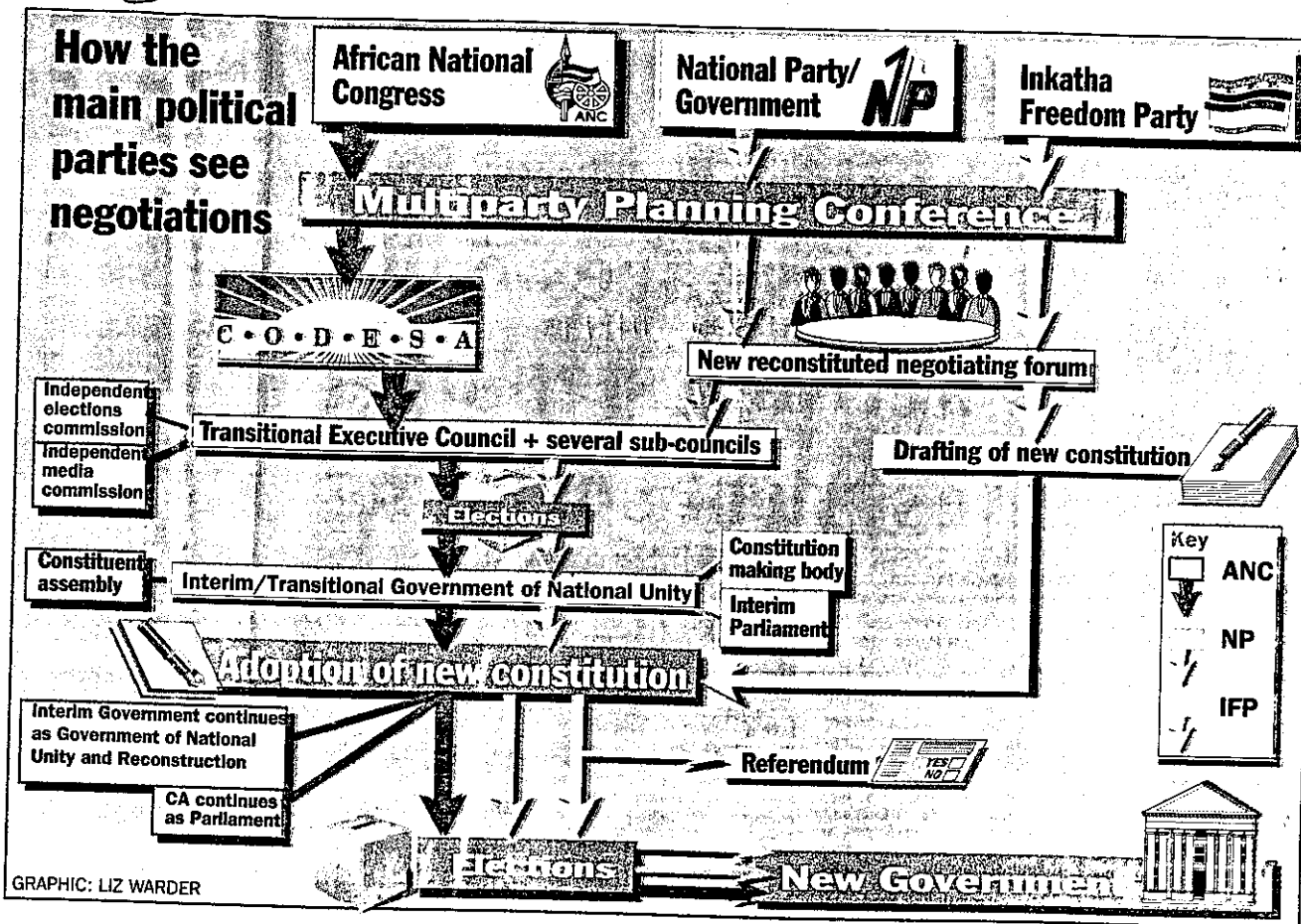
These differences are largely due to the different scenarios for the transition.

On the one hand, the Government and ANC want an elected body to draft the new constitution, while the IFP wants an appointed multiparty negotiating forum to draft the constitution before elections can be held.

Also, the IFP wants the planning conference to determine whether the post-apartheid South Africa will be a unitary or federal state.

Squabbles at the conference and hitches in the negotiating process are to be expected, but urgency in the process is an overriding factor.

Tomorrow will be a moment of truth in South Africa's negotiation process. □



GRAPHIC: LIZ WARDER

Back to negotiation table

1/A
~~1/A~~

Sowetan 4/3/93

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

~~1/A~~

■ Azapo won't attend and conservatives hedge on multiparty talks planning sessions but all others will be there:

POLITICAL parties are preparing to return to the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg tomorrow to plan for the resumption of multiparty negotiations towards a political settlement.

All the parties who were part of Codesa, as well as the Pan Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Volksunie, will be at the meeting.

Of the parties with proven political support, the Azanian People's Organisation has said it

would not take part in tomorrow's deliberations and the Conservative Party remains non-committal.

There is a strong possibility that the KwaZulu government will simply arrive at the meeting separately from the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The leaders of the senior political parties — the ANC, IFP, PAC and NP — will not be at the talks but other senior executive members will.

The agenda has two points: a review of past

achievements and the resumption of multiparty negotiations. Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town yesterday there were no objectives at the meeting except the two points on the agenda.

"We need to create a situation where no party will walk out of the planning conference dissatisfied. I believe all the necessary groundwork has been done to get all the parties together to resume multiparty negotiations," he said.

PAC to join in multiparty talks

■ Details to be discussed with ANC at meeting this month:

Sowetan 4/3/93
By Joshua Raboroko

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to join the ANC and other groups in the multiparty talks which start in Kempton Park tomorrow.

Speaking at a joint Press conference with ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the PAC's Gora Ibrahim said that they were prepared to participate in talks that would lead the way to the drawing up of a new constitution for South Africa.

Ibrahim said they had informed the ANC about their intentions to join the talks and the parties would discuss the

11A ~~11A~~
modalities at a meeting during this month.

The PAC was prepared to enter into a mutual cessation of hostilities but would not suspend the armed struggle, Ibrahim said. "We are joining the talks because most of the conditions we proposed will be met," he said.

The PAC's decision to take part comes after the liberation movement refused during meetings with the Government in Gaborone this week to suspend the armed struggle.

Ramaphosa said they were pleased that the PAC would join the talks that would lead to the drafting of a new constitution for South Africa.

Cosatu votes for ANC

Sowetan 4/3/93

By Ike Motsapi

■ POLL DEAL Giant trade union federation

seeks agreement on a Reconstruction Accord:

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) will back the African National Congress in elections for a government of national unity and reconstruction.

The ANC has changed the wording of "government of national unity" to one of "national unity and reconstruction" and will be holding a conference on Reconstruction and Development in June.

Countrywide demonstrations will be held on March 16 to protest against the anticipated "tough Budget" to be tabled in Parliament by the Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys.

Cosatu warned that the Government would be committing political suicide if it went ahead and

increased the Value Added Tax (VAT).

On elections, Cosatu wants to get a guarantee from the ANC that it will, together with other democratic organisations and trade unions, develop a Reconstruction Accord which should serve as a basis for an election platform.

Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of Cosatu, said a Reconstruction Accord should be seen as setting out a framework within which organisations of the poor and working people will reconstruct the economy in future.

Naidoo said the accord would commit the ANC to implementing the agreement reached

by all the concerned parties.

Cosatu strongly believed that the central feature of the accord would be the Budget.

Naidoo said: "We have been fighting apartheid all our lives and we do not know what the new government will be."

Naidoo stressed that members of Cosatu, who did not support or belong to the ANC, would not be forced to support the organisation during the elections. He believed, however, that after agreement was reached on the Reconstruction Accord, people who were not ANC members would support the organisation.

NEWS PAC agrees to take part in multi-party negotiations on a constitution

PAC to join in multiparty talks

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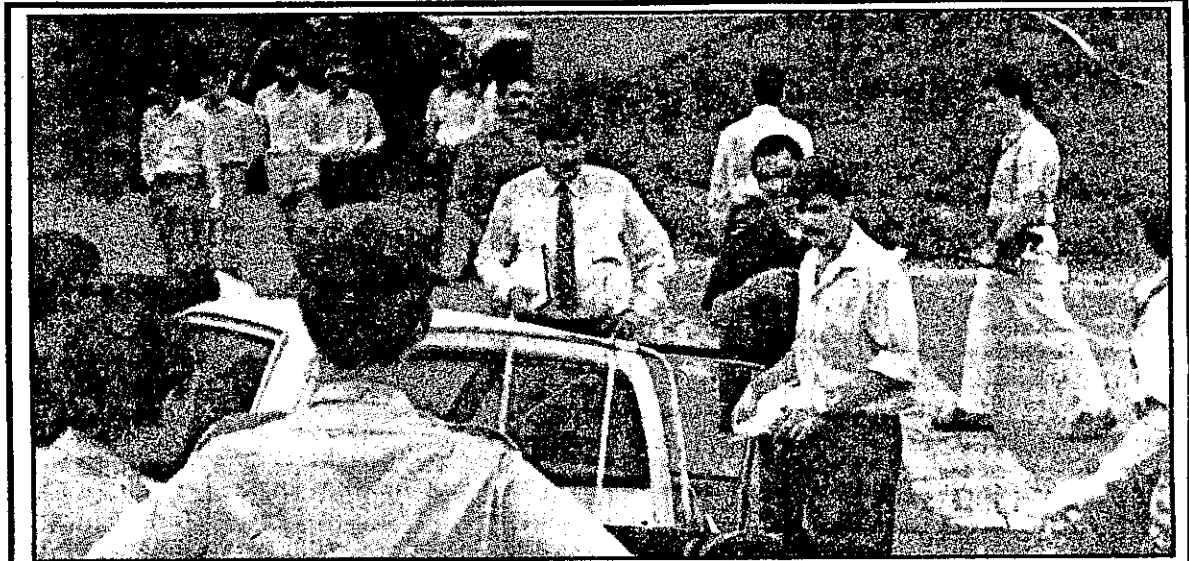
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Ramaphosa said they were pleased that the PAC would join the talks that would lead to the drafting of a new constitution for South Africa.



YET ANOTHER AMBUSH ... Police and paramedics at the scene of the shoot-out between armoured Fidelity Guards and robbers off the N2 freeway near Avoca, Natal, yesterday. A corpse was found sprawled in the back of a bakkle, surrounded by metal boxes. The robbers fled with an undisclosed amount of cash and the guards' guns.

Govt, ANC meet to thrash out 'nitty-gritty'

BIDAM 4/3/93

TOP government and ANC negotiators met in Johannesburg last night to thrash out "nitty-gritty" details of constitutional differences between them in the hope of finding further common ground.

Both parties stressed, however, that their talks "have nothing whatsoever to do with the planning conference" starting tomorrow at the World Trade Centre.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the parties did not realise how much time they would need to work through the "nitty-gritty" of their exploratory talks and added that there would be no decisions or agreements coming out of the meeting.

Most of the hard bargaining had been done in the sub-committees set up by the parties at the December bilateral meeting and these were reporting back yesterday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the two main areas of discussion would focus on security matters — the joint control of people and material in the various armed formations in SA and

11A
BILLY PADDOCK

the powers and functions of the sub-councils of the transitional executive council.

This had been a difficult area of difference and the parties were examining a method of phasing in the joint control and then incorporating the armies, starting with the implementation of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils.

Ramaphosa added that the parties would "touch on the thorny issue" of regionalism and federalism but he did not think much progress would be made given the time constraints. It was also not a major issue that had to be tied up this week.

The parties were seeking to find a way to bridge the differences between parties and accommodate their positions.

He said, however, that resolution of the discussion over a transparent and public system of appointing an independent SABC board was on the cards.

Path to talks cleared ^(11A) ~~(11A)~~ gov't

^{BIPAM 4/3/93}
THE groundwork for the resumption of multiparty constitutional talks had been well laid and no more obstacles had to be cleared, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said at a briefing that the planning conference, starting tomorrow, would have only two items on the agenda: assessing the stage of bilateral negotiations and setting the date for the resumption of full-blown talks.

Later ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa concurred, saying no constitutional items, such as regionalism, federalism or unitarism, would be discussed.

This put government and the ANC on a collision course with Inkatha, whose leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi stressed at the weekend that the conference would have to

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~~(11A)~~
BILLY PADDOCK

decide on the form of the future state as this would determine the form of the new negotiating forum.

But it is understood that while Inkatha would attempt to raise the issue at the planning conference, its delegation leader Frank Mdlalose would not make it a "make or break issue".

Meyer said: "No side issues or minor issues will be allowed to take the place of the major issue — the resumption of multiparty negotiations."

Each of the parties would have seven minutes at the start of the meeting to give opening addresses before the review of talks started. After this, parties would look

To Page 2

Talks ^{BIPAM 4/3/93} ^(11A) ~~(11A)~~

at the conditions necessary for resumed constitutional talks and a date for them.

While there was not finality on who would attend, apart from the 19 Codesa participants, delegations could be expected from the PAC, Afrikaner Volksumie, KwaZulu and perhaps the CP. Notices had been sent to the provinces other than Natal for delegations of traditional leaders to attend.

No standing rules or procedures had been worked out and a panel of chairmen would guide the process. It is understood there is a common understanding among parties on the rules.

Meyer said while government would not refuse to allow the PAC to attend, it would have to clarify its position on Apla and set in place a moratorium on the armed struggle before constitutional negotiations resumed. There would be enough time to negotiate this in the run-up to negotiations.

From Page 1
He said the parties needed at least three weeks after the planning conference to set up the new negotiating forum.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that the ANC yesterday placed its weight firmly behind a PAC decision to participate in the conference. An ANC delegation led by Ramaphosa briefed a PAC group on the agenda.

"We are pleased to confirm that the PAC will be attending the planning conference which starts on Friday," he said.

PAC negotiator Gora Ebrahim said his organisation would be going into the conference on the basis of achieving a more representative multilateral forum to discuss the election of a constituent assembly.

"We are a factor to be reckoned with and we have to participate in the process. We cannot see how the regime can leave out an important player and still expect to solve the problems of the country," he said.

● Comment: Page 6

Star 4/3/93
**'Apla armed
struggle (IA)
will go on (8/23)**

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress's Azanian People's Liberation Army will continue with its armed struggle until a political solution was found to the country's problems, Apla commander Romero Daniels has said.

In an interview in Gaborone, Botswana, on Tuesday — after talks between the Government and the PAC had deadlocked on the question of the armed struggle — Daniels (37) said his cadres would continue to hit "enemy targets" in South Africa until a political solution had been found.

He said it would be for the PAC leadership to determine the nature of that solution.

Daniels, who led an Apla delegation at the talks, said Apla was "a loyal army" of the PAC which would abide by any agreements reached by PAC leadership in negotiations.

Daniels, effectively number two in the Apla hierarchy, said its highest-ranking figure was PAC defence secretary and Apla commander Sabelo Phama. He dismissed statements by anonymous callers to the media claiming to be Apla cadres expressing unhappiness about the leadership's involvement in negotiations.

He said statements made to the press by a person claiming to be "Karl Zimbiri" speaking on behalf of Apla had to be dismissed.

He defended Apla's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape and said cadres in the region had evidence that senior SADF personnel were at the targeted places.

He denied Apla had training bases in Transkei, but said its cadres were "operating anywhere in Azania, including in Transkei".

Star 4/3/93

ANC dampens 'unrealistic expectations'

NAIROBI — The African National Congress has warned black Africa not to expect the end of white rule in South Africa to solve its economic ills.

A senior official of the ANC bluntly told participants at an economic conference here that other African states must promote growth and development and trade in their own countries.

Trevor Manuel, the head of the ANC's economic planning unit, told the bankers and investors: "Africans must not rely on unrealistic expectations that SA will either become a regional benefactor or a locomotive of growth for the rest of the re-

gion."

African states needed to improve their infrastructure to obtain access to the South African domestic market, while SA should grant favourable terms to its neighbours to allow trade to flourish, he said.

After more than two decades of stagnation and falling living standards in sub-Saharan Africa, many states have hoped the end of sanctions against apartheid would see a black-ruled SA become the engine of growth for an entire region.

In a sharp departure from the radical language of the ANC's underground days, a sober-suited Manuel told dele-

gates SA was in a state of economic decline and that many problems were structural.

"Unless we promote a balanced form of development which embraces much of Africa, outstanding and potential security problems will not be addressed in a non-militarised manner."

At home, South Africans must create a climate of political certainty to help economic growth.

SA's economy accounts for about 57 percent of southern and eastern Africa's gross domestic product, according to SA Foreign Trade Organisation figures. — Sapa-Reuter.

PAC to attend talks as

'a right'

Political Staff

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ARG 4/3/93
THE Pan Africanist Congress will attend the two-day planning conference on the resumption of multiparty talks in spite of its stated policy of continuing the armed struggle.

Although the government has objected to the presence of the PAC it was not in a position to deny it participation in the conference.

But Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says the government will "clarify the position on its further participation in constitutional talks".

There was a clear difference between attending this week's conference and the planned multiparty forum at the end of the month.

About 22 groups will attend tomorrow's conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

In addition to the 19 which took part in the Codesa talks, the PAC, the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie will attend, while delegations representing the Zulu king and tribal leaders are expected.

PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the PAC would definitely attend — not by invitation, but "by right".

It is expected that the DP's Colin Eglin will open the conference."

Tribal Star 4/13/93 leaders set for indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Delegations representing the Zulu king and other tribal leaders from all four provinces are likely to swell the ranks of those attending tomorrow's multiparty planning conference to get negotiations back on track.

The two-day conference will be the broadest-yet gathering of parties and other groupings for negotiation, from the PAC on the Left to the Conservative Party on the Right.

The PAC confirmed yesterday that it would be there and the Government said it would not object, although the PAC refuses to abandon its armed struggle.

The PAC, which walked out of Codesa, said it would also continue to take part in negotiations and would attend the full multiparty conference which negotiators hope to convene before the end of the month.

Indications are that no one will walk out when a delegation representing the Zulu king and other Natal traditional leaders arrive at the World Trade Centre for the meeting, even though the ANC has in the past opposed this.

Negotiations sources said yesterday they expected a delegation representing the king and other KwaZulu-Natal tribal leaders to attend, although the king himself would not.

Invitations had also been sent to traditional leaders of the other three provinces.

Allowing the Zulu king to be represented through a delegation of traditional leaders seems to be a compromise to get round the ANC's objection to his attending as the head of a KwaZulu government delegation.

Civics' leader denies fascism

By Mike Siluma

Dan Mofokeng has greatly irritated "white" political parties in the past week.

The general secretary of the southern Transvaal region of the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) incurred the wrath of both the Democratic Party and National Party by declaring Sanco would oppose their election campaigns in black townships.

DP MP Tony Leon said Sanco's stance — backed by Azapo — was evidence of "authoritarian fascism".

Who is the man who has stirred a political hornets' nest?

Before taking up his job at Sanco, Mofokeng worked as an organiser for two unions affiliated to the Congress of SA Trade Unions, and served on the federation's Witwatersrand regional executive.

He describes himself as "an ordinary member" of the ANC and Communist Party branches in Katlehong on the East Rand.

At 33 he has not been able to vote in a democratic election and looks forward to exercising this right.

Are he and fellow Sanco members a bunch of undemocratic fascists, as his opponents allege?



Mofokeng . . . looking forward to voting.

"No," he says. "Our understanding of democracy is that people should have the right to associate or not; to assemble or not; and to freely express their views without interference.

"But in South Africa today we have not yet arrived at that situation. For instance, our people still have to get permission for access to public venues from white town councils, the magistrates and the police."

Mofokeng believes the "white" parties should be allowed to campaign in the townships only once the political playing field has been levelled. This should be done through a transitional executive authority and making available "State resources" to all parties for campaigning.

Releases tie up council

By Helen Grange

The National Council on Indemnity — set up in October to indemnify people who committed politically motivated crimes — has found that the bulk of its work involves applications for release from prison, the Department of Justice said yesterday.

The council is at present dealing with 854 applications for release from prison and only 432 first-time applications for indemnity.

Some 348 cases are being examined a second time, in terms of the Further Indemnity Act of 1992.

In Parliament this week, the Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson said he had been told by the Justice Department that there had been only eight indemnity applications, and none had been granted.

The Ministry of Justice responded that a significant part of the council's workload involved dealing with release applications, and Gibson was under the mistaken impression that only indemnity applications were being processed.

The council had met nine times and meetings were scheduled well into June.

26 delegations from PAC to CP at key conference

Star 5/3/93

We're on the road again

By Esther Waugh and Peter Fabricius

As delegates began arriving at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today, South Africa was set to take the first official step towards the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Hundreds of security officials were on duty as at least 26 delegations gathered for the important two-day planning conference.

Local and foreign media contingents began arriving shortly after 8 am.

Early today last-minute details were still being attended to but it appeared that Azapo and three delegations of traditional leaders from the Transvaal, Cape and Free State would join the 23 delegations already announced.

This would confirm the planning conference as the most representative grouping of political organisations yet brought together under one roof for negotiations.

For the first time, the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the KwaZulu government will sit at the same table.

It is understood the KwaZulu delegation, led by Dr Ben Ngubane — KwaZulu minister of health and IFP central committee member — will represent traditional leaders of Natal, which makes their presence acceptable to the ANC.

Similarly, delegations from traditional leaders of the other three provinces are now expected to attend.

Moment of truth arrives



David and Gollath . . . Lorna Stanton of the African Raptor Information Centre holds a pearl-spotted owl and a giant eagle owl. The conservation group is running a raptor film festival at the Constantia Centre in Midrand until Sunday. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

3 Natal massacre suspects

arrested

By Bronwyn Wilkinson and Own Correspondent

Three men were arrested last night in connection with the murder of six children on their way to school near Maritzburg on Tuesday.

SAP Midlands spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said a full statement would be released later.

The arrests follow the disclosure that the driver of the bakkie, Phikalithetwa Ngubane (25), identified one of the gunmen as someone who had lived in Mboyi, where the massacre occurred, but had recently fled the area.

Budhram confirmed yesterday a gunman had been identified, but said he could not divulge details at this stage as it would hamper investigations.

Law and Order Minister Herron Kriel on Wednesday offered a R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers. Police continue to comb the mountainous terrain

● To Page 3 ●

Teachers warn of national strike

Star 5/3/93

(321)

NY bomb: man held



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Moment of truth arrives — Page 10

Negotiators last night expressed guarded optimism about a successful outcome although they acknowledged that the hazards of keeping such a divergent grouping from each others' throats introduced an element of unpredictability.

Ostensibly, the tasks are simple — to review past agreements such as those at Codesa and to set a date and agenda for a full, formal multiparty conference.

Although there are basic differences on how a new constitution should be drafted, the general view is that these will not be allowed to upset the conference.

The Inkatha Freedom Party remains something of a wild card because it differs markedly from the other parties on several issues.

But in Durban yesterday, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave the assurance that he had instructed his delegation to be "harmonious", while not abandoning its principles.

Diplomats of 42 nations and representatives of the Vatican and five international organisations are also set to attend.

Organisers said today's proceedings would finalise the first point on the agenda — an assessment of the current situation.

Each delegation will be allowed seven minutes to give its views.

Delegates are expected to agree on the necessity to restart negotiations.

Tomorrow, the discussion will focus on preparations for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The IFP is expected to propose that the conference decide on whether South Africa should be a unitary or federal state.

The ANC and Government are opposed to this proposal.

● Moment of truth — Page 10

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POWER FM 5/3/93.

Restless youth

(11A)

The ANC Youth League has confirmed its opposition to the proposed power-sharing deal endorsed last month by the ANC national executive committee. League president Peter Mokaba told a business symposium in Cape Town last week that his organisation accepts the need for power-sharing during the drafting of the constitution — but not beyond.

In a majority decision the NEC — on which the Youth League serves — agreed to the establishment of a multiparty government of national unity for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution. But there were immediate reports of discontent in a number of influential ANC quarters, including the Youth League (*Current Affairs* February 26).

Mokaba says the league's disagreement is not meant to delay elections and for that reason it accepts the democratic decision of the NEC. "But we feel our reservations must be taken into consideration."

The rejection of a government of national unity is based partly on the belief that the period after the adoption of a new constitution will be crucial and require the strongest possible government. This will not be possible if the new administration has to rely on consensus decisions.

The league is also concerned that its parent organisation may end up "in the same bed" as the NP "which the majority of our people have seen as enemies." The attainment of democracy should not be delayed simply to satisfy a minority of whites who

want to cling to power, he says.

The league believes the concept of democratic opposition will be undermined if the two main groups come together in a unity government. Mokaba warns that the aspirations of the youth should not be ignored in the negotiation process. Young people are being relegated to "Codesa watchers" and feel the process for which they have fought is no longer their property. "No-one can do anything properly without consulting the youth. We say that for negotiations to succeed they must involve all the people who will be affected."

He adds that the youth were discouraged and disillusioned at the slow progress towards transition. Three years after it began there is still no change on the ground.

"We agree there should be negotiations but the question bugging the minds of youth and others is whether negotiations are about the things we have been fighting for." ■

'The tail is wagging the dog in PAC'

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Sipho Mthembu

THE Government's aim at its meeting with the PAC this week was to secure a moratorium on its armed struggle.

This was said by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Kotze, however, said agreement with the organisation could not be reached due to the "immense struggle taking place within the organisation".

"There are doves and hawks within the PAC. Unfortunately the hawks won the day on Tuesday. It was clear to us even before the meeting that the PAC has lost control over Apla.

"The situation is vice-versa - the tail is wagging the dog," he said.

This was, however, strongly denied by PAC's Political Education Officer,

Mr Jaki Seroke.

"The regime made a mistake by going to Botswana with the sole mission of prescribing to the PAC to declare a moratorium on the armed struggle. The PAC went to the meeting with a mandate from the congress held in Umtata last year. We cannot strip ourselves naked before the talks. We must go into the negotiations on equal terms. That is after the cessation of hostilities and when we have found a means of political headway," he said.

Describing the PAC's "one settler, one bullet" slogan, Seroke said it did not have any racial connotations. Settlers are people who come and impose themselves. It is unfortunate that in

South Africa they are white."

Seroke said the PAC's continued participation in the talks would depend on the acceptance of proposals made by the organisation at the multiparty preparatory conference starting today.

Most callers supported Apla.

"The armed struggle was initiated to repossess the land of the Africans. Decolonisation is a violent phenomenon. It is only the settler government that stand to gain out of a life of a 12-year-old."

Muzi, Cape Town

513193.
"I support the armed struggle in toto. One talks in order to stop the war, not stop the war in order to talk. Why is the regime only concerned when the violence is directed at whites?"

Zozo, Uitenhage
"The Government's proposals are unreasonable. People are not yet liberated. They (government) have declared traditional weapons illegal, but still treat the IFP with kid gloves."

Aubrey Mabuya,
Tembisa

Talkback topic

THE *Sowetan*/Radio metro Talkback Show throws open the lines on Monday. Phone host Tim Modise between 7-8pm to discuss any topic of your choice.

Tel: (011) 714 - 8063

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by a
OKO

Vital talks offer hope

Sowetan 5/3/93



SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL leaders gather at the World Trade Centre today in a positive attempt to drag the country back from the edge of an abyss.

And there was still hope last night that the Azanian People's Organisation would make an 11th-hour announcement that it would attend.

The organisation's central committee met yesterday to consider a decision in this regard.

This followed a meeting with the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday morning and another between the PAC and African National Congress on Wednesday.

Thus there could be 23 parties at the meeting. This includes the original 19 parties who were at Codesa plus the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volkunie and PAC.

Political parties' attitudes were positive yesterday as the various caucuses met to prime their options and positions.

The PAC, bouncy as a newborn baby after its relative success in Gaborone earlier this week, has said it would attend today's meeting because it had a right to do so.

Asked whether it would attend, the CP

**By Ismail Lagardien
and Themba Molefe**

grunted in the affirmative late yesterday.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, having won — in a manner of speaking — its demand for a conference of review, was expressly positive. The leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the conference was the most important in South Africa's history.

What was needed at the planning conference was the combined wisdom of the African National Congress alliance, the Inkatha Freedom Party and all other parties, Buthelezi said.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said his organisation was optimistic because all the parties would give their position and therefore enhance understanding of the different views.

The PAC pulled out of Codesa 1 preparatory talks after claiming the ANC and NP wanted to ram through deals both had made in the guise of a multiparty forum. It also appears that - if Azapo attends - a loose alliance of the three major liberation movements (Azapo, ANC and PAC) would emerge at the conference.

Regionalism likely key to peaceful settlement

REGIONALISM is the key most likely to unlock the door to a peaceful political settlement in SA.

Two major issues — government and the ANC's deal-making and regionalism — could still cause the process to stumble as SA is buoyed up by the imminent resumption of multiparty negotiations. On both issues Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is doing the most sabre-rattling.

While the ANC and government are the two key players who will make or break any chance of speedily reaching a comprehensive agreement, they cannot ignore the Buthelezi factor.

There are three sides, and the two key players will have to find a way to lock Buthelezi and Inkatha into the negotiations process and persuade him to come in on their preliminary agreement.

The unhappy alternative is a veiled, threatened secession of Natal/KwaZulu and the reminder of what Unita's Jonas Savimbi has done in Angola. Buthelezi does not have the military might to emulate Savimbi but he certainly has the capacity to disrupt the process.

Having kept himself and Inkatha isolated from mainstream bilateral talks for most of the past nine

months, Buthelezi is now fighting for his political survival and waging a last-ditch struggle to establish a regional fiefdom.

He says he wants his party's delegates to today's planning conference to demand that the issue of regionalism/federalism be resolved before Inkatha commits itself to participate in a new negotiating forum.

Government and the ANC reject this outright. From their perspective, the conference's main objective is to get multiparty talks off the ground. Their concession to Inkatha and to the new parties joining the process — the CP, PAC, Afrikaner Volksunie and KwaZulu government plus, possibly, traditional leaders — is an opportunity this weekend to assess the results of the various bilateral negotiations since Codesa II collapsed nine months ago.

Meyer states unequivocally: "No side issues or minor issues will be allowed to take over the main objective." ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa adds that no discussion on regionalism will be entered into at the planning conference.

This could disrupt the planning conference. However, Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose is known as an astute and sensitive negotiator not

BIDA 5/3/93 (1/A) 3/2/93
BILLY PADDOCK

given to grandstanding. It is also understood that he and his delegation are not prepared to treat the regionalism issue as a "make or break" matter.

But his double delegation from Inkatha and KwaZulu can be expected to argue that it is important to reach agreement in principle on the form of the future state, as this will determine the form the new negotiating forum takes. Government counters that regionalism will be high on the agenda of the new forum and will command a lot of time for discussion right at the start. The hope is that this will satisfy Inkatha.

Government and the ANC will also come in for strong criticism that they were secretly orchestrating a coup of the process by making deals that pre-empt the multiparty forum. However, both can be expected to use the next few weeks to woo Inkatha and Buthelezi into accepting the understandings they have reached.

They will have to allay Buthelezi's fears that an ANC-dominated con-

stituent assembly will bulldoze its own "secret (constitutional) agenda" through, regardless of minority views.

Government's view on federalism and regionalism — strong constitutionally entrenched powers — is close to Inkatha's. President F W de Klerk is happy to accept an arrangement that the functions, duties and powers of regions be left to the elected body to determine, subject to two provisos: that decisions relating to regions be approved by a special majority of regional representatives in the constituent assembly; and that the need for autonomous regional governments be approved in principle by the negotiating forum.

The ANC national executive last month spelt out that it, too, had revised its position. While sticking to the view that the constituent assembly should decide on the powers, duties and functions of the regions, it accepted that half of the 400-seat assembly would comprise regionally elected representatives. The assembly would take decisions on a two-thirds majority. And it further accepted that any "matters pertaining to the powers and functions of regions will also require an additional two-thirds majority of the regional

representatives sitting as a whole". The ANC has moved from regarding regionalism as a form of apartheid through the back door to recognising the need for strong regional governments.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said in January that there should be strong, meaningful and representative regional government — as long as this did not emasculate central government and seek to maintain racial and ethnic compartments.

On Wednesday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer indicated he did not believe the differences between the ANC, government and Inkatha could not be resolved. Ramaphosa also said this week that if the ANC's latest position on regionalism was studied very carefully, "you will see that Inkatha's position can be accommodated — and they have acknowledged this".

Perhaps if the ANC promised "constitutionally entrenched regional powers" it could go a long way towards satisfying Buthelezi. But this is as far as the ANC could go, given its absolute commitment that the constituent assembly should make the final decision.

□ This is the first in a series of articles examining the negotiating process.

Hopes ride on planning conference

Major parties bullish on revived talks

B/DAM 5/3/93.

(1/A)
~~2/2/93~~

THE negotiations process reaches a critical juncture today, when the planning conference for renewed multi-party talks gets under way in Kempton Park.

Hopes have been pinned on the two-day meeting setting a date for the resumption of full constitutional negotiations, leading, within a year, to nonracial elections.

Top government and ANC negotiators are certain the conference will reach agreement on full-blown talks resuming by the end of March. They say the groundwork has been laid in bilateral meetings in the past few months.

With between 23 and 28 delegations taking part, the conference will be the most representative national gathering of political organisations.

However, despite the optimism from government and the ANC that obstacles to the resumption of Codesa-style talks have been cleared, there are indications that some crucial differences could still hamper progress.

Government and the ANC are committed to ensuring the meeting's success and will stand together to ward off criticism of their "secret deals". They will also try to steer proceedings away from contentious issues like regionalism.

It is understood that the panel of chairmen has been carefully briefed to keep the discussion on the "agreed main objective of getting multiparty talks back on track".

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has warned that parties trying to disrupt the proceedings by introducing side issues would do so at their peril.

The likelihood of success was given a boost yesterday when Inkatha president

BILLY PADDOCK

Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated that party political interests should take a back seat to the national interest.

Addressing a prayer breakfast in Durban, he hailed the conference as "the most important in SA's history". What was needed at the conference was the combined wisdom of the ANC alliance, Inkatha and all the other parties.

The indication is that Inkatha will no longer insist that regionalism be addressed first, but the thorny question of Codesa agreements being accepted as binding may cause problems if Inkatha and other parties not present at Codesa reject this.

Inkatha wants the management committee system revamped, as it objects to the control by the ANC/SACP alliance and government, and it may propose a new form of decision-making rejecting the notion of "sufficient consensus" if general consensus is elusive. An Inkatha source said sufficient consensus at Codesa was reduced to consensus between government and the ANC and this was unacceptable.

Government will raise its problems with the PAC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle or place a moratorium on Apla's activities.

Meanwhile, the anti-Codesa alliance has also strengthened its numbers at the conference with the announcement by Bophuthatswana that it will send two delegations — one representing its government and another from the Christian Democratic Party. This mirrors the representations from KwaZulu and Inkatha.

Each delegation will consist of three

To Page 2

Talks

B/DAM 5/3/93.

(1/A) ~~2/2/93~~

From Page 1

delegates and two advisers.

South president Spencer Sterling yesterday sent letters to key players at the conference stating that economic rights should be addressed in the constitutional debate to create the potential for a sound economy. Issues that needed to be ad-

ressed included property and economic rights, economic implications of regional government and boundaries, appropriate and equitable systems of taxation and representation, fiscal discipline and accountability, and Reserve Bank independence.

● See Pages 5 and 10

NEGOTIATIONS PLANNING CONFERENCE

Beware of icebergs

FM 5/3/93

11A

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Senior officials of the main parties met this week to finalise the selection of a panel of seven people to chair the Negotiations Planning Conference due to start today and to agree on an agenda. It has been suggested that the panel should also help to resolve parties' differences at the planning conference and at the multiparty talks when they resume.

Between 25 and 30 groups, including, for the first time, the Conservative Party and the Pan Africanist Congress (depending on the outcome of the PAC/government meeting in Gaborone this week), are expected to attend, making it the most representative SA political gathering to date. There were 19 participants in Codesa 2 when it was derailed last May.

Government has emphasised that the meeting is being held to plan the resumption of Codesa-style talks, not to debate substantive constitutional issues.

On the agenda, according to the ANC, would be "an assessment of the current situation and the resumption of multilateral negotiations" (see chart).

The conference is being convened, the ANC adds, based on each party inviting one another. The venue is expected to be the World Trade Centre, near Jan Smuts airport, where Codesa sat. Parties and organisations will be represented by about three delegates each.

Scepticism

In view of the unrealistic optimism at the start of Codesa 2, a note of scepticism about this weekend's talks is, perhaps, in order — despite the series of intensive bilateral talks involving government, the ANC and Inkatha aimed at removing obstacles.

What are some of the icebergs lurking about that could delay the process, if not sink it altogether?

Though disruption of the planning session by the Inkatha Freedom Party has not been ruled out, government sources do not see it as a big threat.

The IFP is demanding that the issue of federalism be resolved before multiparty talks resume (see Federalist's last stand). But a government source says federalism will be high on the multiparty conference agenda and it is not necessary for the IFP to force the issue at this stage.

However, it is hard to predict how IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi intends to play his hand. The extent to which he will push the federalism issue at the planning conference remains to be seen. His comments at Vryheid last weekend suggest that he intends making it a make-or-break issue.

Some people find it puzzling that Buthe-

lezi has chosen to highlight federalism now, rather than, say, that other vexing question of the ANC's armed wing, MK. Either matter could, and no doubt will, be raised at the subsequent multiparty conference on negotiations.

But you never know with Buthelezi. One observer wonders whether he might not use today's session to demand tighter decision-making procedures in the multiparty constitutional negotiations.

The road ahead?

ANC scenario for transition to democracy

NEGOTIATIONS PLANNING CONFERENCE
Attended by all parties to plan the resumption of Codesa-

Codesa

<p>Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Main task is to ensure levelling of political playing field and free and fair elections</p>	<p>Independent Elections Commission to organise and supervise elections.</p>
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Independent Media Commission
to ensure neutrality of state controlled media

Elections

<p>Constituent Assembly (CA) ● Composition: half from national lists, half from regional lists ● Decisions by two thirds majority ● Drafts and adopts new constitution. ● The CA has full authority to draft the constitution, including a Bill of Rights and deciding powers, functions or boundaries of regions</p>	<p>Interim Government of National Unity Composition: ● President elected by a simple majority of CA ● Parties with more than 5% of seats in CA represented proportionately in cabinet ● In general, executive authority is exercised by the President ● For specified matters, President requires approval of at least two thirds of cabinet</p>
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Adoption of new constitution

<p>CA continues as parliament</p>	<p>Interim government continues as Government of National Unity & Reconstruction ● it phases in new constitution ● prioritises a programme of reconstruction and transformation of state institutions</p>
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Elections

To be held not later than 5 years after first election for the Constituent Assembly. At this point the Government of National Unity is replaced by a majority government in terms of the new constitution. Source: ANC

What if Buthelezi were to reject the old Codesa formula of "sufficient consensus" (which really amounted to government/ANC approval) as a condition for IFP attendance at the multiparty talks — thereby ensuring his status as one of the Big Three in future?

These seem to be issues over which negotiations could stumble, at the negotiations if not at the weekend session.

If Buthelezi arrives at today's conference with a delegation of his king, which appears likely, it could end up little more than political theatre. There is a provision for parties and organisations to bring along one "invited guest."

Though the IFP might be the only problem now, it is by no means certain that things will go smoothly between the ANC and government later.

There appears to be broad agreement between them on the critical, outstanding issues of power sharing and regionalism. But the detail of the function and structure of the interim executive, what duties, powers and boundaries regional government will have, and in which forum this will be determined, must still be resolved.

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY FM 5/3/93 Federalist's last stand

The next few weeks are crucial to SA's future as a stable federal state — or are they? Certainly that's the view of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi who has again been thumping his well-worn federalist drum. But it has also been suggested that this is a last-ditch attempt by him to grasp regional power before it is swept out of reach for ever.

Buthelezi used a weekend meeting at Vryheid, ostensibly to welcome new members and old friends Jurie Mentz, Mike Tarr and Farook Cassim into the IFP, as a platform to echo his warnings that failure to secure a binding commitment to a federal republic now would be tantamount to signing away "our childrens' and grandchildren's" birthright for 150 years for the sake of a five-year period to protect the NP's position of power and privilege.

In short, he maintained it would leave constitution-making to the mercy of an ANC-dominated constituent assembly.

"I tremble at the idea of that the guarantees for our freedom and fulfilment of our needs, wants and aspirations could be given in dealings between government and the ANC," said Buthelezi.

Therefore, he stressed, the main item on the agenda of the forthcoming multiparty

planning conference should be the determination of what form the new state should take. Buthelezi maintained that it should be decided, before matters progressed much further, whether SA is to be a unitary or a regional/federal state.

"This issue cannot be relegated to the end of the transformation of our society. We are not willing to negotiate constitutional principles other than federal principles, or any



Buthelezi ... bluff only effective as long as it's not called

matter related to interim arrangements unless there is an agreement on the issue of the form of a future state," he asserted.

However, his strong line on federalism is being interpreted by some as mere bluff. Cape Town University's Robert Shrirer explains: "The Buthelezi strategy is quite transparent. While he occupies an important institutional position under the old rules, his future position is problematical because it hinges on political support.

"It's part of the power game where those who have substantial power now, but stand to lose it in the future, seek to maximise their input. The converse is true of those, such as the ANC, who have the promise of power."

He adds, however, that there is clearly a limit to which present forces can shape future political models, and if Buthelezi pushes too hard he faces a real danger of being marginalised. "A bluff is only effective as long as it isn't called, and the danger for Buthelezi is that he'll overplay his hand," Shrirer says.

At this stage it seems that Buthelezi is asking for something that has rather to emerge from more inclusive negotiations, rather than being the prelude to them. While there is a growing recognition of the need to resolve regional issues through decentralisation, there is also a general view that power at the centre does need to avoid problems of the past on issues such as parliamentary sovereignty.

This has been accepted in principle by the ANC and government, if not the IFP, which

probably realises this is as far as the ANC can or is willing to go on the subject. Shrirer thus concludes that all one can hope for at this stage is broad agreement that any new system should in fact include the decentralisation of power.

Instead of bargaining from strength, he says, Buthelezi is signalling his doubt about his political power base. That, adds Shrirer, should be sufficient to weaken his position further if observers are astute enough to pick up the signals.

The reality is that there are two key players, the ANC and the Nats. They are the ones who will make or break any agreement. That is the bottom line irrespective of the importance given to fringe groupings by some analysts.

Implicit in Buthelezi's drum beats is the suggestion that the IFP could make things difficult if it doesn't get its way. But that would cast the IFP leader in the mould of a Jonas Savimbi — and we doubt whether he would relish that. ■

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
FIM 5/3/93
Federalist's last stand

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Star 5/2/93 (11A)

Luther King jun visits Natal

Andrew Young, former United States ambassador to the United Nations, and Martin Luther King, son of the slain black American activist of the same name, will head an 18-man delegation to Natal today, at the invitation of the ANC. (11A)

Beware of i

Senior officials of the main parties met this week to finalise the selection of a panel of seven people to chair the Negotiations Planning Conference due to start today and to agree on an agenda. It has been suggested that the panel should also help to resolve parties' differences at the planning conference and at the multiparty talks when they resume.

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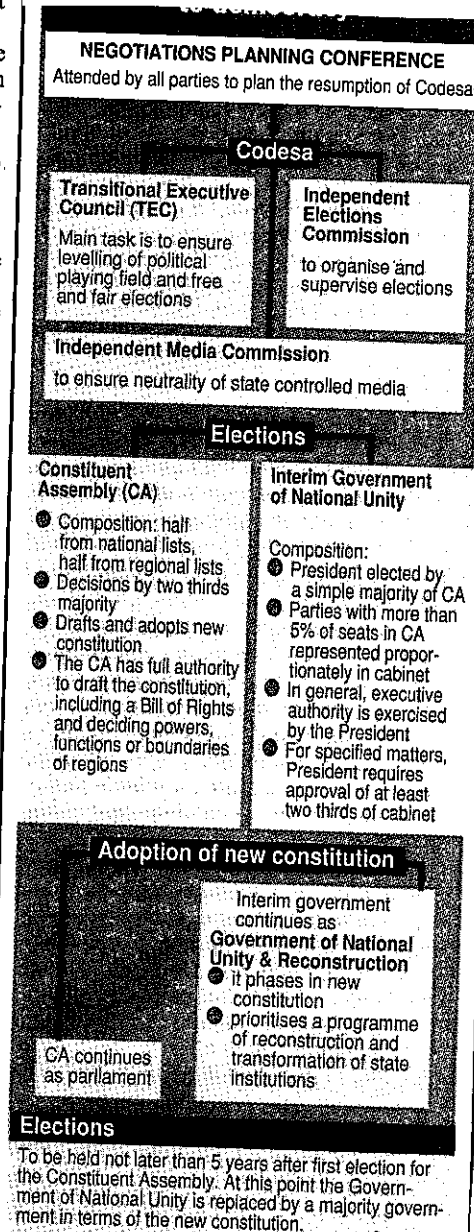
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Some people find it puzzling that Buthe-



FM 5/3/93

of CP supporters in this category, 48% of them "extremely intolerant."

Next come Inkatha Freedom Party respondents with a 52% intolerance level, followed by "the Indian parties" (41%), NP (37%) and PAC (29%).

The only groups which show a clearly tolerant attitude — in theory, anyway — are the supporters of the DP (83%) and the ANC/SA Communist Party (76%). Clearly, though, what the intelligentsia of a party believes is not always shared by its cadres on the ground.

Of particular interest, says Kotze, are any changes in these patterns (the survey has been conducted since 1990). In some cases, levels of intolerance are actually increasing. Compared with 1991, there appeared last year to be higher levels of intolerance for the CP, IFP, NP and ANC/SACP — with the CP (7%) and IFP (10%) showing the greatest increase in intolerance.

Not only political organisations are intolerant. In the "non-political" sectors to which respondents belong, "the most intolerant sector is the military, with an intolerance index of 67%." They are followed by agriculture (53%), labour (41%), churches (33%), bureaucracy (31%), semi-State organisations (28%) and academia (22%). Leaders in the media (10%) and business (12%) show the most tolerance.

Discussing the implications for the democratisation process, Kotze says the detailed findings reveal a pattern which evidently spells danger. With the society in transition, there are new and previously unknown freedoms for a large group. In exploring these new civil liberties, the boundaries of what was regarded as "acceptable" were being tested — "and tolerance is necessary so that the civil liberties can become ingrained.

"This is where opinion-leaders have an important part to play" — by leading the way in making the new rules of the game. However, if there are such high levels of intolerance among the opinion-leaders, the outlook for greater tolerance, a prerequisite for democracy — and more so for democracy in a divided society such as ours — is bleak.

Kotze suggests that what is needed is the acceptance of the rules of the political game in a constitution which has broad legitimacy. "In this way, a framework for procedural consensus can be created within which intolerance could be dealt with in a democratic way." Meanwhile, political parties and the State should create programmes that promote understanding of the necessity of political tolerance, he advises.

Next two days will test commitment, writes Political Reporter Esther Waugh

Star 5/3/93

SA's moment of truth arrives

~~Star~~ (11A) ~~Star~~

A MOMENT of truth arrives in the negotiations process today when a group representing every shade of South African political opinion meets at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park.

The outcome optimists are hoping for is that delegates will set a date for resuming multiparty constitutional negotiations.

The worst-case scenario — which at this stage looks unlikely but possible — is that one or more of the groups will walk out.

There are certainly enough peripheral issues to make this possible.

The two-day conference will be a test for participants of whether they are prepared to put national interests above party politics.

Only two issues are on the agenda — an assessment of the current political situation and the resump-

tion of multiparty negotiations.

The agenda does not include all the issues some of the parties want to discuss.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, for instance, wants the meeting to decide whether a post-apartheid South Africa will be a unitary or federal state.

But it is clear from the agenda that it will not be a forum to discuss substantive issues.

The test for political groups will be their stance on practical issues such as who should attend and how decisions will be reached.

Crucial to the success of the event will be whether participants take intractable positions.

It is clear that at the World Trade Centre, for the first time in South Africa's negotiations process, the most divergent political views will be represented.

And, for the first time, the press

will be allowed to observe deliberations. During Codesa the press could watch only the two plenary sessions at first hand.

While most parties realise the urgency of this crucial moment, the acid test of success will be their commitment to getting the process restarted.

Inherent in the negotiation process is that a negotiating forum will be imperfect to some of the groups.

A test for the players will be whether they propose constructive solutions.

The IFP and its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group do not want Codesa reconvened.

Instead, they want a new, restructured forum.

Codesa reached many agreements, though they were not ratified at Codesa 2.

It will therefore be difficult to ignore what was achieved from the start of Codesa 1 in December 1991 to the failure of Codesa 2 in May last year.

The IFP wants all Codesa agreements reviewed on the ground that new groups have joined the process.

Whether the conference decides to build on the earlier agreements or to adopt a new approach, it will be difficult to ignore the events of last year.

When proceedings start today, each delegation will have seven minutes to present its assessment of the current situation.

The best option will be for all groups to agree on the need for a negotiating forum to be convened.

In terms of the second agenda item they will then present their views on the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

It would be unrealistic to expect the planning conference to go off without squabbles.

One potential area of conflict is the presence of the media. The PAC said on Wednesday the proceedings should be open to all media, including television cameras, which have been barred from the meeting.

Another point of conflict could be the participation of new groups, particularly the PAC and the KwaZulu government.

The Government has indicated its opposition to the PAC's presence, but is unlikely to oppose it formally.

On the other hand, the ANC and its allies are opposed to the presence of the KwaZulu government.

At Codesa the IFP was pushing for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to be present. There has been a

slight shift in its canvassing of this point.

The king is a constitutional monarch and has a seat in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. He will therefore attend as part of the KwaZulu government.

The ANC proposed that he attend along with other traditional leaders in four provincial delegations.

Another possible problem area is the panel of seven rotating chairmen.

Some of the participants may argue that all groups should be represented on the panel.

Progress in the next two days will be determined by the groups' commitment to re-starting the process of moving from apartheid to democracy and on whether they squabble about side issues — and perhaps insist on derailing the conference because of them. □

Unita's diamonds of war

ANGOLA'S Unita rebels are helping fund their guerrilla war by selling hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of illegally mined diamonds to international buyers.

Intermediaries have made payments to Unita officials for diamonds smuggled across Zaire's southern border, many of which have ended up in the hands of the De Beers cartel.

In the last week of January, Unita officials were paid \$400 000 (about R1,2-million) in cash by dealers in the Zairean town of Tshikapa, about 100 kilometres from the frontier with the Angolan state of Lunda Norte, the heart of the country's diamond mining, according to sources close to the deal. Lebanese dealers working as licensed traders in Tshikapa say that about one-third of the diamonds they handle are from northern Angola, almost all of which is in Unita hands.

"The cross-border trade has been on

w/mail 513-113193
Zairean traders are buying diamonds from Unita — and many of the gems may be finding their way to De Beers,
 reports **CHRIS MCGREAL**

for a long time, but we used to deal with individuals. Many were Zaireans we knew who acted as traffickers from the diggers. Now they come with Angolans who don't speak French. The Angolans come in uniforms and there's always Zairean soldiers, officers, with them. The Zaireans do the negotiating but the Angolans take the money. We know who we are dealing with, it's Unita," said a dealer in Tshikapa.

"I would say that about one-third of all the diamonds we handle come from across the border and they all end up in the hands of De Beers. It knows where they come from, that's De Beers' job."

In a written statement, De Beers said

its Tshikapa buying office was closed in January because of unrest in Zaire and that it has no knowledge of any \$400 000 parcel of diamonds.

"The buying offices are open to all comers and unless an offerer of diamonds openly showed his affiliation we wouldn't be aware of it. We have no arrangement with Unita to buy diamonds illegally exported from Angola," said De Beers spokesman Tom Tweedy.

Aside from its mining contracts, De Beers has long bought up illegally mined diamonds in the name of market stability. Dealers in Tshikapa say that although De Beers maintains that the first it knows of the transaction is when it views the diamonds it is about to purchase, the cartel usually has knowledge of a major deal from early on because it wants to ensure high quality gems did not stray into competitors hands.

Others in the industry say De Beers cannot be in any doubt about the source

of diamonds which experts can determine. Kevin Kartun, a Johannesburg mining analyst, said: "In some cases they can tell from which mines diamonds came from. Anything it doesn't buy through regular channels De Beers calls an open market transaction and it wants those Angolan diamonds. One of De Beers' key roles is regulating the market. You can't have a lot of rough gems washing around the market. They have to go in and mop it up."

The Lebanese dealers were unable to say if the cash went to individual Unita members or the organisation as a whole. Although \$400 000 is a small proportion of the estimated \$500-million De Beers spent last year to buy up legally and illegally mined diamonds from Angola, the cash would go a long way toward supporting Unita which has watched its funds diminish since the peace process began in 1991. Unita needs cash for weapons, food, fuel and mercenaries.

French venture

w/mail 513-113193
 AN unusual combination of two African National Congress members, two South African Police officers, a kwaZulu Police officer and a policeman from Lebowa are visiting Paris to study crowd-control methods.

It is the first time the ANC has taken part in a venture like this with the SAP. The group left last week and will return to South Africa on March 15.

The delegation was invited by the French government as a follow-up to a report on crowd-control at mass demonstrations released by a committee of the Goldstone Commission. Apart from crowd-control the delegation will also study French police training methods.

The ANC members are John Jeffery and Sidney Mafumadi. The SAP officers are Major General AF de la Rosa and Major NM Nieman. Major NE Mbatia represents the KZP and Major LS Molomo the Lebowa Police.

SOUTH AFRICA'S debate on a bill of rights has turned into a form of political duelling banjos — without the musical treat. To date, the African National Congress, the National Party and Inkatha have all put forward their versions of "fundamental" rights. The Democratic Party is belatedly preparing its own.

Rights have become barter commodities, while the apathy of the people whose interests are supposedly at stake can be measured in inverse proportion to the esteemed legal minds involved in dreaming up new rights.

The latest contribution, the ANC's updated draft bill, has just arrived in the mail. It is a "preliminary, revised version" to be put to the movement's policy conference for finality.

It is a cumbersome document, 24 pages long, consisting of 23 sections and numerous clauses and sub-clauses and points of explanation. Six of the sections have nothing to do with rights, but the procedures to be followed in the event of a state of emergency, when the president and a majority in parliament can suspend just about every civil liberty that the first 13 sections of the same document create.

The ANC draft points to the huge limitation to the discussion of bills of rights in South Africa — that it is not being conducted by flesh and blood people, but by political parties, backed up by bloodless lawyers to dot the i's, cross the t's and mangle the language.

A good litmus test of a bill of rights is always to look at the section on freedom of speech and information, because this is the one that political parties most often like to fool around with.

This is what greets one under article four of the ANC document: "There shall be freedom of thought, speech, free expression, and opinion, including a free press which shall report and comment fairly and respect the right of reply."

The constitutional requirement that the press "shall report and comment fairly" has been added since the last draft bill of rights in 1991.

What bothers one is that some of the finest legal minds in the country are involved. One would feel a lot better if this was the first draft.

The fact that they have come this far, lauded it through a number sub-committees and discussion groups, to still arrive at this formulation persuades one that the desire to muzzle the press is an extremely persistent strain in ANC thinking.

It is difficult to imagine that, after the legal experts have let this clause pass, an ANC policy conference, dominated as it would be by political activists, would feel a compelling need to argue it down.

It's not that one does not believe that a free press should report and comment fairly and respect the right of reply.

But as a legal colleague points out, the United States Supreme Court has made the point over and over again that some measure of abuse and error is inherent in every right. Freedom of speech cannot be restricted to what is deemed to be fair. Otherwise it wouldn't be free.

Besides, who will decide what is fair and what is unfair?

This provision takes one right back to the era of John Vorster and the Nationalist government demanding that the press be responsible, but not even Vorster or Stoffel Boiha attempted to embed an authoritarian prohibition on "unfair comment" in the constitution of the country.

Banging the rights drum (but the sound jars)



On the programme are various bills of rights, played by South Africa's political parties. But the African National Congress and National Party strum to the same tune — which has little to do with ensuring people's rights



By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

Under the ANC's bill of rights, allegedly devised to create greater freedom, the press will be less free than it is now.

What is equally disturbing is what the section on press freedom, like the NP bill of rights, leaves out. Having gone to great lengths to provide an exhaustive list of rights for the citizenry in the rest of the bill, there is no freedom of information provision, no right of citizens to have access to the records of government.

This is a provision that could really empower people and, given the justifiable concerns about corruption and abuse of power, make government much more accountable.

The ANC is not silent on this point. Instead, it proffers the vague and unenforceable "all men and women shall be entitled to all the information necessary to enable them to make

effective use of their rights as citizens, workers or consumers".

Who will decide what the limits of "necessary" and "effective" are? The only conclusion one can draw from this phrasing is that lawyers are capable of meaningless formulations when they need to put dud clauses into contracts.

One ought not to be too surprised. The ANC, as the probable future government, has never liked the media prying into its documents.

Last year, the commission of inquiry into the ANC's detention camps recommended that the movement release the internal report into the 1984 camps mutiny and the internal inquiry into the 1989 death of Umkhonto weSizwe commander Thami Zulu, which is still shrouded in mystery.

The release of both documents should be

regarded as being in the public interest. Still, nothing has been forthcoming.

It is notable that the key drafter of the Thami Zulu report, which by all accounts is a whitewash, is Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC constitutional committee.

But it is not only what is actually said in the phrasing of the bill, or left out, but the whole cumbersome litany of rights that makes both the ANC and the government's charters so problematic.

The core freedoms are diluted and weakened when lumped together with every imaginable right, such as equality in marriage (a section that could inadvertently outlaw ante-nuptial contracts).

Press freedom and the right to a fair trial are degraded to one of dozens of other rights, some enforceable, others not.

It's not that some rights are superior to others, it's just that they're of a different order. Why not create a special charter of social and economic rights, including the rights of trade union members, of children, of the disabled, the rights to shelter and jobs, as a progressive statement of intent for the new South Africa, separate from the practical and enforceable core civil rights?

There is much that is gratuitous in the ANC's document. For instance, there is this clause: "Legislation may provide for reproductive rights and rights associated with childbirth and child-raising may be respected." Do we really need to say this?

It is reminiscent of one Noah Webster, who was opposed to a bill of rights in the American constitution and sarcastically suggested that a clause be inserted saying: "Congress shall never restrain any inhabitant of America from eating and drinking, at seasonable times, or prevent his lying on his left side, in a long winter's night, or even on his back, when he is fatigued from lying on his right."

The American Bill of Rights, an amendment to the constitution, has lasted more than 200 years. That is largely because its most empowering feature is that it is relatively short and the language is wonderfully clear and simple.

At the end of the day, the ANC has produced a document that seeks to set society in a strait-jacket of political correctness. It might win votes but ends up defeating the object of a bill of rights.

As the DP's Tony Leon says, both the National Party and the ANC have taken their political manifestoes and dressed them up as bills of rights. I hope he keeps that in mind when he draws up the DP's version.

The most ominous aspect is that there is a convergence between the ANC and the NP government in the ease with which the core rights can be derogated — in which, for instance, people can be detained without trial and censorship introduced.

As the new South Africa is unlikely to face a military threat from the outside, unless spacemen from Mars invade, what we have is a blueprint for the crushing of internal dissent — and in the bill of rights yet.

Let us hope that South Africa does not yawn its way into the new era when the ANC and the NP together will share awesome power, having arrogated the right to themselves to suspend civil liberties with a minimum of fanfare.

THE inclusion of white rightwing as well as black leftwing parties in the planning conference for multi-party negotiations which starts in Kempton Park today, has ensured hot temperatures right from the start. The real conflict, however, can be expected to come to a head once the planning conference is over and negotiations start taking place.

The conflicting interests represented by the new participants — ranging from the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) on one hand to Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress on the other — are bound to put the controversial principle of “sufficient consensus” under strenuous pressure. “Sufficient consensus” is the rather vague concept agreed upon by

‘Elephants’ agree, but will the ‘bokkies’ troop along?

the National Party and the African National Congress as a mechanism to push through decisions to which smaller parties may not agree.

The notion of “sufficient consensus” and exactly how it is defined will have a decisive bearing on the outcome of the new round of talks, even more so than during the two failed Codesas when the range of opinions was not nearly as wide as is the case now

The battle lines for the first two days

WJ mail
573-1113/93
Extremists on both sides of the political spectrum could hinder the multi-party talks that begin at the World Trade Centre today.

By CHRIS LOUW

of the planning conference were drawn in the week preceding the talks. Although it is quite clear that the con-

flict will take place on different levels and between different interest groups, the main protagonists at this stage seem to be the PAC versus the government, Inkatha versus the ANC and the government, and the CP versus the process of negotiations itself.

Although there seems to be differing interpretations between the ANC and the NP on the issue of an interim government of national unity, they are, in fact, allies. The apparent dispute is mainly due to a difference in

emphasis because of the different audiences the two major players are addressing. There is little doubt that the two “big elephants” have in principle already agreed on the transition process towards democracy.

To sell their bilateral agreements to other participants, however, will be no easy task.

Despite several meetings, the NP could not yet persuade Inkatha that the safest way to a democratic and non-racial South Africa is via a constituent assembly and a transitional government. Inkatha maintains that instead of elections preceding the drawing up of a constitution, the constitution should first be drafted by the multi-party conference, and that non-racial elections should then be held under the new constitution.

The CP, on the other hand, still insists that partition and self-rule should be part of the debate.

The problem is compounded by the government's failure to persuade the PAC to put a moratorium on its armed struggle at their meeting in Gaborone this week. The NP has made it clear that they will only support the PAC's participation in eventual negotiations once the organisation relinquishes its armed struggle. The PAC flatly refused to agree to this, but insisted on attending the planning conference.

These divergent views make an early deadlock almost inevitable. This is where “sufficient consensus” is supposed to come into play. It holds that complete consensus is desirable but not necessary, and that the multi-party conference can proceed if there is “sufficient consensus”.

But if there is incomplete consensus, what constitutes “sufficient consensus”?

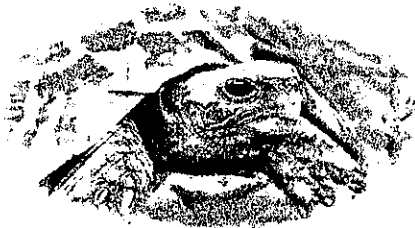
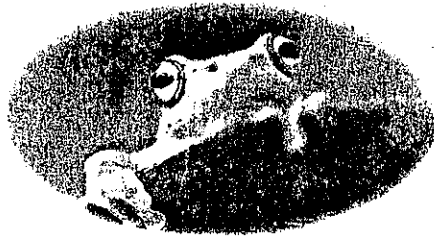
It is obvious it will be near impossible to find common ground between all the groups attending the planning conference.

If Inkatha and the CP are seen by the two “big elephants” as part of “sufficient consensus”, the ANC and the NP will have to compromise. That, says political analyst Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, means the multi-party conference will have to find some way of accommodating the fundamental positions of Inkatha as well as accommodating the fundamental positions of the common agenda of the ANC and the government. “Inkatha epitomises the dilemma of ‘sufficient consensus’. That is what the next two or three months is all about.”

The problem is compounded by the inclusion of the CP and the PAC in the discussions. If the major players want to include these organisations in constitutional decisions, they will end up with range of unsolvable problems, and the process itself might even be held to ransom by smaller players in the game.

“At some stage in this process the big ones will be forced to decide who will be marginalised and who not,” predicts Slabbert.

SOME OF THE MEMBERS OF OUR REHABILITATION PROGRAMME



Richards Bay Minerals has been extracting valuable minerals from sand for 15 years and has been practising integrated environmental management from the outset. We were the first South African company to employ a full time ecologist. The land we've mined will over time be returned to the same, and in some areas, a better state, than it was before mining. In recognition of our advanced environmental programme, we were given the



R B M

EPPIC award. The findings of several scientific studies conducted on the rehabilitated dunes show that the vital steps of plant, animal and insect succession are taking place, proving the ecological success of this pioneering work. On this page are just a few of the creatures that live on rehabilitated sand dunes and illustrates our concern for creating a balance between economic development and care of the environment.

CREATING A BALANCE

Star 6/13/93

Who will rule our land?

~~307 AD~~

(11A)

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CAPE TOWN — If everything goes according to plan and the political crystal ball is right, the new government of national unity will be in place early next year under President Nelson Mandela.

President de Klerk will still have a key role — some say he may even be Mandela's right-hand man — but decisions on South Africa's future will be in the hands of the ANC.

At this stage, however, such predictions are little more than pipe-dreams in the face of a host of remaining uncertainties and unpredictables concerning the power structure, life-span, workability and legitimacy of the proposed government of national unity (GNU).

Certain proposals have been made, there is some common

ground between the NP and ANC, but much depends on whether or not the two main players can sell their ideas to a multiparty negotiating forum. Even though it is still early days, patterns indicating the possible shape of a GNU are beginning to emerge. A popular guess is that it will be a 20-member nonracial Cabinet in which the two main political players — the ANC and NP — and two or three other groupings such as the PAC, Inkatha or right-wing parties will be represented.

Depending on the outcome of the first nonracial elections, scheduled for early next year, there is also a possibility that only the two main players will qualify for representation in the Cabinet. If the popular concept of a GNU becomes reality, the Cabinet could look something like this:

Nelson Mandela (President); FW de Klerk (Vice-President); Cyril Ramaphosa (Minister of

THE possible shape of South Africa's first nonracial Cabinet is beginning to emerge and some experts predict it will be an ANC-dominated body. FRANS ESTERHUYSE presents a Cabinet profile based on current predictions.

State Affairs and Constitutional Development); Thabo Mbeki (Foreign Affairs); Professor Kader Asmal (Justice and Human Rights); Joe Modise (Law and Order); Derek Keys (Finance); Trevor Manuel (State Expenditure); Roelf Meyer (Security and Defence); Mac Maharaj (Health); Gertrude Shope (Social Services); Dr Frank Mdlalose (Regional and Local Government); Professor Carel Boshoff (Deputy, Regional and Local Government); Archbishop Desmond Tutu (National Reconciliation); Jay Naidoo (Consumer Affairs and Manpower);

Leon Wessels (Water Affairs and Forestry); Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism); Dr Pallo Jordan (Communications); Dr Sam Mutsuenyane (Economic Affairs); Patrick Lekota (Housing and Public Works); Clarence Makwetu (Culture); Dr Kraai van Niekerk (Agriculture and Land Distribution).

This tentative Cabinet profile is worked out on the assumption that the ANC will receive more than half of the vote, the NP between 20 and 25 percent and three other parties more than 7,5 percent each. A further assumption

is that representation in the Cabinet will be proportional on the basis of votes obtained.

This means a 20-person Cabinet will include at least 10 nominees of the ANC, five from the NP, and one each from, say, the PAC, the IFP and right-wing groupings. If the DP gets enough votes to qualify — which some analysts think is unlikely — another Cabinet member could be a DP nominee.

The composition of the Cabinet will also depend on the criteria to be used by the winning party and any other players invited to nominate members. High on the list of likely priorities will be the Cabinet candidates' expertise and experience. Public stature and credibility will also be important.

Also taken into account is the profound change likely to occur in the entire approach to government, which may call for some new Cabinet portfolios such as consumer affairs, land distribu-

tion, national reconciliation and human rights.

For some portfolios, people with special expertise or experience may be brought in from outside the political arena. For example, the choice of former National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Mutsuenyane as Minister of Economic Affairs, Tutu as Minister of National Reconciliation, Naidoo as Minister of Consumer Affairs (in addition to Manpower), and human rights law professor Asmal as Minister of Human Rights (in addition to Justice).

The Cabinet profile also includes members of De Klerk's existing Cabinet among five NP representatives, one PAC representative (PAC president Makwetu), one representative of Afrikaner right-wing groupings (Boshoff) and one IFP representative (IFP chairman Mdlalose).

Claims of ANC/council talks 'false'

Staff Reporter

THE suggestion in an Afrikaans newspaper report this week that the ANC was involved in "power-sharing discussions" with the Cape Town City Council was "malicious and entirely without basis", according to Dr Allan Boesak, chairman of the ANC in the

Western Cape.

A report in the Burger said rumours that the city council and the ANC had worked out a power-sharing plan had "broken out in Peninsula municipal circles".

It was rumoured that Crossroads would be included in the Nyanga, Guguletu and

Langa municipal area, the report said.

The suggestion that these "fictional discussions" included the changing of boundaries in the metropolitan area was incorrect, said Dr Boesak.

"The ANC is totally opposed to any alteration to bound-

aries before there is agreement at a national level — and in full consultation with all organisations and interested parties," he said.

Mr Barnie Botha, senior deputy city administrator, said yesterday the city council had held no meetings and had not

reached any agreement with the ANC on these matters.

The city council had been discussing future government and boundaries with all relevant parties at seminars facilitated by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) over the past year, he said.

Dissent from COSAG stalls talks on day one

Star 6/2/93

PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER
WAUGH

THE planning conference in Kempton Park for multiparty negotiations was showing signs of strain yesterday as negotiators battled to achieve consensus among 26 political groups to get negotiations going. (11A)

The first day of the conference ended in confusion as delegates failed to agree on a straightforward resolution declaring support for the early convening of a formal multiparty negotiation conference.

A decision was postponed until today while the conference facilitating committee went into a huddle to try to agree on a mechanism for making decisions.

Objections by the CP, Ciskei's government and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) prompted accusations from the ANC and others that they were deliberately stalling negotiations.

COSAG parties blocked the resolution despite the fact that the Government — with the support of the ANC and its allies — had carefully excised any reference to a new constitution being drafted by an elected constituent assembly.

Stance

Although the ANC strongly backed the idea of a constituent assembly, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa supported the suggestion that

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Stance

Although the ANC strongly backed the idea of a constituent assembly, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa supported the suggestion that reference to it be removed from the resolution to ensure that delegates agreed on the need to hold a multiparty conference. This would send a positive message to the country.

The issue of the constituent assembly would be addressed at the multiparty conference.

The IFP's stance was not clear last night. Some IFP sources said they backed the resolution, but had problems with the fact that the conference had not agreed on how decisions would be made.

However, delegates resolved one of the main hitches — how the conference should make decisions — by agreeing that this should be done by "sufficient consensus".

The CP, which had been expected to insist on complete consensus, surprised other parties by accepting this mechanism.

A subcommittee, appointed to redraft the resolution, will report to the facilitating committee before the conference reconvenes at 10 am today.

Delegates described the problems as "procedural hiccups".

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ANC warned on coloureds

CT 6/3/93

11A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC's response to the "coloured question" in the Western Cape would be a crucial indicator of its ability to keep the nation together, the rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, has warned.

Prof Gerwel said although "muted debates" on the issue were taking place within the ANC, the organisation had to realise that many coloured people could become alienated from it.

The ANC was the only organisation capable of combating divisive tendencies, he wrote in the latest issue of South newspaper.

Prof Gerwel said the ANC had to develop an understanding of the social dispossession suffered by coloured people. He noted the

Danger of alienation, says Gerwel

potential for harnessing this experience for nation-building and its destructive potential if not properly addressed.

He said a number of approaches to the "coloured question" were emerging in the ANC:

- The first denied the reality of a coloured group and would "not advance non-racial organisation in the region";

- The second was a mix of defeatism and Africanism, arguing that the Western Cape ANC

should focus on African areas and implied the ANC would not make significant advances in the coloured community, and

- The third promoted building specific coloured formations in alliance with the ANC, which implied defeatism in regard to the ANC's ability to organise non-racially.

Prof Gerwel, who until last year was an elected member of the ANC's regional executive, said: "A danger about specifically coloured formations is that power interests take on structured ethnic form.

"An understanding always held was of non-racialism as a precious gift of the African people to this nation.

"The anguish and debate around the position of the coloured people challenges the Western Cape ANC to come to greater organisational self-understanding," Prof Gerwel said.

Star 6/13/93

APLA sits down with 'murderers'

(11A)

ROMERO Daniels stands up from his chair in his colleague's hotel room and offers his hand as PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke introduces us.

The formalities having been disposed of, he sits down again. Dressed in a grey suit, he looks somewhat tired. It has been a long day for him. He has been locked in long and frustrating discussions with the Government over the PAC's armed struggle and the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and has already given a number of interviews.

It is about 10.15 pm when my chance to talk to him finally comes, and he has been subjected to a 30-minute grilling from the SABC's Leslie Mashokwe. When I ask him whether he is tired, he concedes it has been a long day, and that he is indeed exhausted. But he has a few more interviews to go.

Although he is not the highest authority in APLA, Daniels (37), as chief commissar, is one of the top leaders of the guerilla army. Not only is he a member of the APLA high command, but he also serves in the organisation's military commission, which decides on APLA's operations and gives instructions to cadres.

Daniels makes it plain there are things he will not talk about: himself — the only personal detail he will give is his age — and the three-man APLA delegation's contributions in the meeting with the Government. He reiterates the view expressed earlier by PAC delegation leader Willie Seriti that there was only one PAC delegation at the

THE Government and the Pan Africanist Congress failed to reach agreement in Botswana this week on the PAC's armed struggle. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA spoke to APLA commander and chief commissar Romero Daniels, who attended the meeting.

talks, not two — political and military.

Daniels proceeds to pronounce on APLA's relationship with the PAC leadership, on the controversial Karl Zimbiri, who often calls the press to make statements on behalf of APLA, and on Congo Jibril, who claimed in December that APLA would launch indiscriminate attacks against whites. First, however, he wants to put permanently to rest the widespread belief that APLA is opposed to the PAC leadership's involvement in negotiations, and staged last year's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown to scupper the negotiations which were going on then.

APLA leaders and cadres, he says, are fully behind the PAC leadership's involvement in negotiations, are loyal to the PAC leaders and would like to see a political solution to South Africa's problems. APLA would, therefore, abide by any agreement

the organisation might enter into.

"The whole thing is political; it is not war for the sake of war. If an agreement is reached, the armed struggle will just have to go. We are not warmongers."

On Jibril's statement that APLA would target whites indiscriminately, Daniels says the PAC and APLA are "not fighting a racial war".

Statements made by Zimbiri since about June last year have to be taken with a grain of salt, according to Daniels. He says APLA leaders gave instructions to cadres that no one was to telephone the press on APLA's behalf and use the *nom de guerre* Karl Zimbiri any more. Daniels also denies that APLA has, or once had, bases in Transkei, but says it is operating "everywhere in Azania, including in Transkei".

And the armed struggle is far from over, warns Daniels. APLA will continue "to hit the enemy" until an agreement is reached. APLA is a formidable force to be reckoned with, and the fact that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel led a delegation to Gaborone to discuss APLA confirmed this.

How did he feel sitting opposite Kriel, SAP chief General Johann van der Merwe and the SADF's General Jan Erasmus? He replies: "It was quite interesting to sit down with murderers and criminals, people who basically slaughtered our people. But there is a need, regardless of our different backgrounds, to sit down and talk. Whether we like it or not, in the final analysis we will have to work together."

were other cross-border raids on Maputo, Gaborone and Lusaka.

Those were the days when South Africa demanded its pound of flesh from its neighbours. Political refugees were often forced out of their havens, either through threat of raids, sanctions or, in the case of Mozambique, the Nkomati Accord.

While Leabua Jonathan was seen as a puppet of the South African Government, he tried to prove otherwise — and paid heavily.

In 1985 he called for elections: his party "won" all 60 seats, but there was an increase in Lesotho Liberation Army activity. Jonathan accused the opposition Basotho Congress Party's military wing of operating out of South Africa, where BCP leader Ntsu Mokhehle was hiding.

When Jonathan failed to live up to expectations, South Africa blockaded Lesotho. Within 15 days, the kingdom was at a standstill. This precipitated General Metsing Lekhanya's coup, and within a week, the Military Council ordered ANC refugees out of Lesotho — much to Pretoria's delight.

Wealthy

These days, relations between the two countries are cordial.

South African ambassador to Lesotho, T G Visser, says the Lesotho Highlands Water Project binds the two countries inextricably. When the scheme comes on stream, the Basotho "will be relatively wealthy" from the income it generates.

Last year, when Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Renier Schoeman visited Lesotho, he said South Africa had a vital interest in stability in surrounding countries "because unsettled conditions elsewhere in the region deter foreign investment in South Africa. Promoting political and social stability in in-

Martyrs forgotten as SA, Lesotho

bury the hatchet

MASERU Access to the old cemetery is difficult at the best of times. On rainy days it is impossible to reach by car.

The pot-holed, winding road was once tarred: that was when ANC president Nelson Mandela scheduled a visit to Lesotho to pay tribute to the members of his organisation who died on its soil and to thank the Basotho for sheltering ANC exiles at the height of the struggle against apartheid. The trip was cancelled, and the road left to deteriorate.

Some of the Basotho who walk past the cemetery now might wonder why one part is neatly fenced off. But an examination of the gravestones tells a story:

● "Mzukisi Maranqana, massacred by SADF, 9.12.82."

● "Mdlankomo Liqwa, massacred by SADF, 9.12.82."

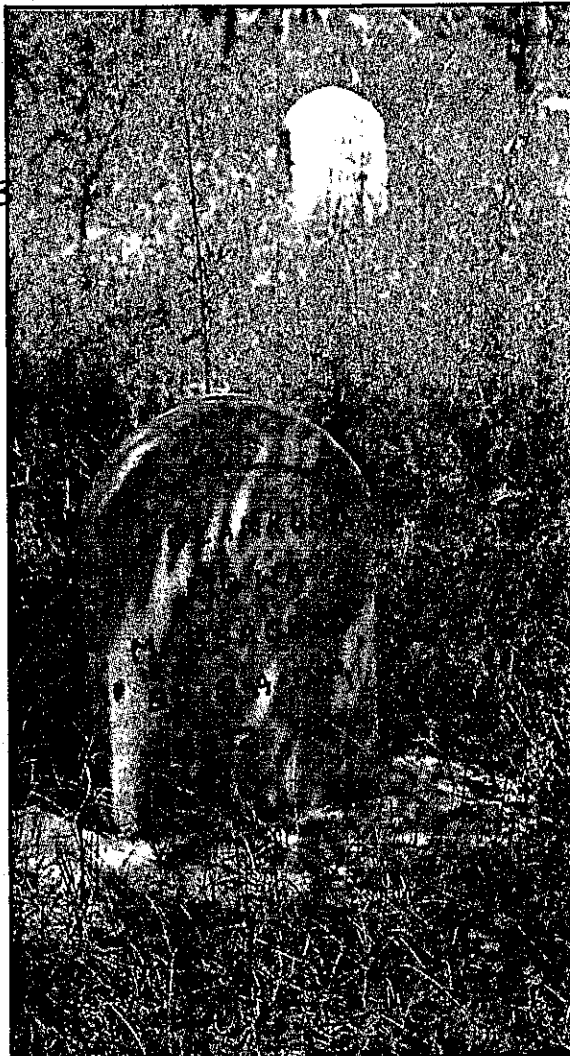
● "Dr Nqcipe Bantwini, massacred by SADF, 9.12.82."

And so it goes on. Twenty-seven times the story is repeated. Or could it be more? Some of the graves are overgrown, their occupants forgotten heroes of the struggle.

Raids

They are not the only ones. The December 9 SADF raid on Maseru was part of the Government's total onslaught against the ANC and other anti-apartheid forces.

In this raid at least 42 people were killed, 12 of



FORGOTTEN: The grave of an ANC member killed in Maseru is a grim reminder of an angry past.

THE graves of ANC martyrs serve as reminders of an angry past, writes Africa News Service assistant editor JOE LATAKGOMO.

dividual countries is a key component of our policy of co-operation in the region."

Basotho National Party secretary-general Lekhooana Jonathan said: "We are pleased with the political developments in South Africa. We are surrounded by (it) ... and our economic structures are intertwined with those of the Republic in trade and monetary regions." This, he said, compelled Lesotho to co-exist with South Africa in peace.

"The bigger South Africa grows, the thir- stier it will become," said Jonathan, indicating

that any government in Lesotho would do well to cement the terms of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project.

No fear

For the residents of Maseru, improved relations between the territories signal there will no longer be the fear of raids, of living next to Moscow House (where Chris Hani lived) or even of accommodating refugees.

And those who lie buried in foreign soil ... perhaps they will be better remembered once a democratic government is in power.

Boesak challenges Rabie

By Guy Berger and
Rehana Rossouw

SOUTH 6/3-10/3/93

Mitchell's Plain, Elsie's River, Delft, all of the Karoo — even Boksburg (Rabie's home base)."

Boesak said if Rabie was "scared of a live audience then a one-to-one encounter in a studio will be in order".

He wanted to debate Rabie on the Nat's education strategy, the bill of rights, power-sharing and corruption.

"Rabie denied that he was tarnished by corruption, saying this was only part of the PW Botha era — let him explain that."

Boesak said that if Rabie refused a rematch, it would be an admission that the NP could not face the ANC in open debate.

Rabie said he was not prepared to debate Boesak through the press and was "definitely not scared" to debate him again.

11A
ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak and NP politician Mr Jac Rabie are squaring up for a second confrontation following their TV debate on Agenda on Sunday.

Rabie cried "foul" after the debate while the ANC claimed "victory".

Boesak challenged the most senior brown Nat to set the date for a rematch debate.

"And if he can't come, let him send his baas," Boesak declared on Tuesday.

Boesak strongly rejected Nat claims that Sunday night's TV Agenda debate had been rigged against Rabie.

"I'm ready for any venue — in

In an open letter to Rabie on Wednesday, Boesak wrote:

"We would like to extend a personal invitation to you to continue the debate we began on Sunday night's Agenda.

"We believe there is enormous public interest in the programmes of the National Party and the ANC and that people must be given the opportunity to air their views and demand answers to their questions.

"I therefore repeat my challenge to you to join me in debate. I will be happy to meet you on the Cape Flats, in the Boland, or on television — with or without a studio audience."

Rabie's secretary confirmed that he received the letter and said he would respond "directly" to Boesak and not to the media".

Coloureds: on parade and up for grabs

SOUTH Africans witnessed a unique political phenomenon last Sunday when the major parties exhibited their coloured representatives. Apparently, the main purpose of this display in a live broadcast of Agenda — held under the guise of democracy was for each representative to indicate why his or her party would best serve the interests of the coloured community.

The candidates on display were Alan Boesak (ANC), Patricia de Lille (PAC), Jac Rabie (NP), Richard van der Ross (DP) and Allan Hendrikse (LP).

The NP had hoped that the broadcast, called "Die toekoms van die bruin mense in die politiek", would be a major boost for them. But it was the ANC that left victorious, in terms of Boesak's contribution and in terms of visible support. This was in contrast to opinion polls which indicated that the majority of coloured people support the NP.

The NP and the DP made cardinal misjudgments in their choice of candidates. Rabie, who defected from the LP to the NP, has never gained substantial support from the coloured community and will forever be tainted by his participation in the tri-cameral parliament. The DP's Van der Ross, sadly, is past a political career; his paternalistic style belongs to a previous era.

De Lille of the PAC put on an impressive show. An assertive and articulate woman, she downplayed "coloured-dom" and was applauded by ANC and PAC supporters.

However, the assumption of this parade was that there is an identifiable coloured constituency which needs to be represented by people who share similar physical and cultural features. One wonders whether Agenda will have a sequel in which parties parade representatives of Indian descent or Xhosa- or Zulu-speaking representatives, to woo these constituencies. This is unlikely to be the case.

So why was the coloured community chosen for such a display?

This community has leapt into voter prominence primarily because coloureds form a majority in the Western Cape, more than 60 percent of the electorate, and recent surveys indicated that most coloureds would vote for the NP.

The results of these opinion polls have led to extensive campaigning among coloureds by all political parties. Coloureds have, so to



**SPEAKING
OUT**

**Cheryl Hendricks
Political Studies Department
University of the Western
Cape**

speak, become a community "up for grabs".

The ostensible increase in support that the NP seemed to enjoy among coloureds, in 1992, needs to be understood against the background of the different methods of mobilisation used by the NP and the liberation movements, the pseudo-cultural differences between the groups and minority fears.

In 1992 De Klerk had, to a large extent, succeeded in projecting himself as the grandmaster of reconstruction, as one who can deliver on his word. The NP also portrayed itself as the only party capable of bringing South Africa out of its malaise (despite the fact that it was responsible for the current state of affairs) and of protecting minority rights.

Furthermore, the NP depicted the ANC as

an unorganised party and as the organisation responsible for the violence which has engulfed the country. With the media at the disposal of the NP, this propaganda was effectively spread among coloureds.

The ANC was under the mistaken impression that the support the UDF enjoyed among coloureds would be transferred to it. The ANC neglected to effectively mobilise in coloured townships. Gone were the days of taking up bread and butter issues and the "huisbesoek" mobilisation strategies which initially attracted this community.

These strategies were replaced by high-profile methods of mobilisation. National leadership figures were flown in to address the masses, with the groundswell of local leaders disappearing. Negotiations replaced consolidation of grassroots support, with the result that the ANC lost the appeal embodied in the UDF — the feeling of identification with the organisation, that "this is our organisation".

Codesa also appeared to sow confusion among the coloured community. For ordinary people who received their political information predominantly from the media, there appeared to be a convergence of policy between the ANC and the NP. This gave the NP an advantage, for not only was it using the language associated with the ANC, but it was making its appeal directly relevant to the coloured community. Professing to be non-racial, harping on cultural differences and instilling minority fears, the NP gained substantial support.

But late 1992, however, appears to be a turning point with a drop in support for the NP among coloureds. Its image became tainted with the massacre at Bisho (September 1992) and the corruption scandals. And in late 1992 and early 1993 the large-scale dismissal of teachers angered coloureds.

Although the ANC cannot claim to have bagged the coloured vote, the above events have given it space in which to regroup and mobilise support among coloureds. Unfortunately, it will have to start at square one and convince them that minority fears are unfounded and mobilise in ways reminiscent of the heyday of the UDF.

The coloured community's support cannot be taken for granted.

That support will be won by the party which makes the greater effort to mobilise this community.

Tony dumps idea of cabinet minister

HE's made the transition from being an armed insurgent who was caught and became the central figure in the Western Cape's longest running political trial to being one of the region's most quoted extra-parliamentary politicians.

But ANC (Western Cape) secretary Mr Tony Yengeni would be the first to admit that some of his comments have caused many a controversy.

His shooting from the hip style may be a headline-writer's dream, but often he ruffles more than a few feathers.

Last month he unleashed a war of words between the Democratic Party and the ANC when he accused the DP of having collaborated with apartheid.

Some said this accusation was chiefly responsible for the disruption of the DP's first public meeting in Gugulethu.

Last September, the ANC regional executive took the unusual step of repudiating him after he had called for Ciskeian dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to be killed to avenge the killing of innocent people in Bisilo.

But that's Tony Yengeni, former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, political commissar, political prisoner and would-be lawyer.

One of the top communists in the country, he was alleged to have been a key figure in an internal ANC coup against the regional leadership of Dr Allan Boesak.

"I did not try to oust him. In fact, I stood down for him at our last congress because I felt he was the man for the top job in the ANC. I encouraged others to support him."

PERSPECTIVES

Leading communist Tony Yengeni says he does not want to be a minister in a government of national unity. This report by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff.

Communist takes up a different political role

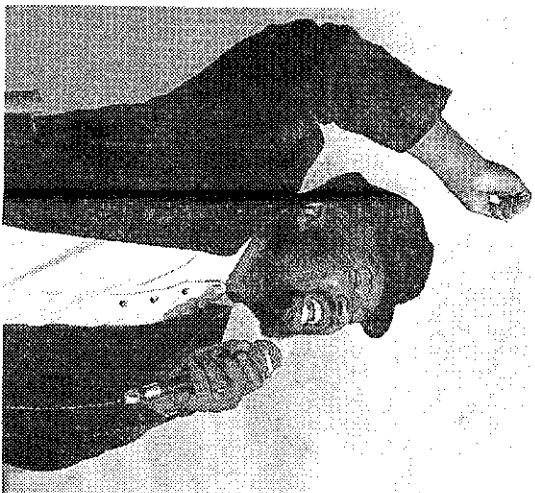
Stories that he and other communists had ganged up against Dr Boesak were untrue. "We have a good relationship. We might differ on some issues, but on the whole we relate well to each other."

With Dr Boesak and ANC (Western Cape) vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, Mr Yengeni is likely to be an ANC candidate if and when elections for a constituent assembly take place.

The imminent constituent assembly elections have caused a nominations rush in the ANC and other political parties as politicians contemplate a career in the new politics or even a cabinet post.

While others might have ambitions of becoming a cabinet minister in a government of national unity, ANC (Western Cape) secretary Tony Yengeni has set his mind on other things.

He wants to remain outside parliament to make sure that those elected to a constituent



□ **STOOD DOWN:** Tony Yengeni did not gang up against Dr Allan Boesak.

assembly don't lose perspective of the struggle for liberation.

He said bluntly: "I don't see my role as a cabinet minister. I will continue building and empowering the people on the ground. We can't all go to Parliament."

Changing from being a guerrilla to an all-most fulltime politician was not easy, especially because "today's politics are different from yesterday's politics".

But it is his willingness to change and adapt which has seen him survive in the extra-parliamentary political jungle which has

claimed so many others whose political stars had shone brightly when the United Democratic Front was the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.

"Today's politics are all about power politics and it introduces a sour taste to the palate. One of the dangers of the new politics is that it encourages elitism. I'm not saying it exists, but there's a real danger of it occurring."

Cape Town born, he matriculated at historic Healdtown High School in 1976.

"I had plans to become a lawyer. But of course I did not realise those dreams."

Instead he joined the ANC underground in 1976, secretly slipping over the border on Good Friday in 1977 to join the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and begin the life of a guerrilla.

His life of slipping into the country and always remaining one step ahead of South Africa's terrorist detection unit came to an end with his arrest in Rondebosch on September 17, 1987.

By then he had been trained in the Soviet Union and had, according to the charge sheet, risen to the rank of commander of MK's Western Cape machinery.

He was charged with 13 others, including Ms Lumka Nyanza, whom he later married in a prison ceremony at Pollsmoor prison. Their five-year-old son Mandla was refused permission to attend the ceremony.

During the trial it emerged that Mr Yengeni was assaulted and tortured and that a wet rubber bag had been placed over his head during interrogation.

The Yengeni Trial ended on March 18 1991 when the government granted indemnity to six of the Yengeni trialists.

Recalling those dark days, Mr Yengeni said: "I feel a deep pain in my heart when I think about those days. I still carry emotional scars from which I have not fully recovered. My involvement with the ANC, though, is helping me to heal."

114 208-6/7/93

By Prof Jakes Gerwel, Rector, University of the Western Cape

'Coloured question': a challenge to the ANC's nonracial philosophy

ACERTAIN shallowness surrounds much of the current discussion about the political role of the coloured people. The focus is on the immediate question: who will draw what percentage of the so-called "coloured vote" in upcoming elections? The larger and longer-term issues as to how the "national question" is understood and what kind of society is being built, remain largely unposed.

For the ANC, particularly, it would be important to ask these larger questions as it addresses the more immediate ones requiring its attention in the run up to elections. One must not expect the NP, the other main contender in this race, to have progressive concern for these questions. A task of anti-apartheid resistance politics has always been mobilising non-African sectors of the oppressed to levels approximating that of the African population.

Different forms of national oppression and class exploitation resulted in different levels of politicisation among various sectors of the oppressed, which the anti-apartheid struggle had to overcome. In this sense the struggle was at the same time aimed at nation-building, and at forging nonracial unity among sectors of the oppressed.

Major gains were made in this regard among coloured people in recent decades. The Black Consciousness Movement marked a first significant ideological shift. Unity was consolidated in the period of the UDF. There was growing politicisation among the coloured people in the Western Cape.

It is this political history the ANC inherits in the Western Cape. Questions of who gets onto the list for elections and into political posts are considerations people have in mind when taking positions about organising the coloured people. But the principled question is what kind of organisation the ANC seeks in the Western Cape and nationally.

There is a powerful worldwide tendency to re-legitimate ethnicity and racial division which will not leave the project of nation-building here untouched. The ANC is the only visible organisation capable of combating that divisive tendency through strategic and principled building of non-racialism. The way it does that in the Western Cape may be a crucial indicator of its ability to keep the nation together.

In the Western Cape, the ANC also needs to keep in mind the possibility of a large sector of the coloured population becoming alienated, with that alienation taking

on perverse and anti-social forms. The ANC must develop an understanding of the social dispossession suffered by coloured people, and an understanding of the potential for harnessing that experience for progressive nation-building, as well as its destructive potential if not properly responded to.

There are, as far as one can discern from the muted debates, a number of approaches to the so-called "coloured question" current in and around the ANC.

● The first, with deep roots in Western Cape politics, chooses to deny either the materiality of such a group of people with specific — even if internally varied — social experience under apartheid, or else deny the political implication of that collective experience.

The strong non-racial strain in progressive politics in this region, which needs to be nurtured and sustained, derives from this tradition. But it has become abundantly clear that this approach driven to the extremes of the ostrich hiding its head in the sand will not advance nonracial organisation in the region.

● The second approach is a mix of defeatism and Africanism. Its

basic argument is that the ANC in the Western Cape should concentrate on the African areas. This argument sometimes comes out of an acceptance that the ANC will not make significant advances in the coloured community. Sometimes it stems from an Africanist perspective which believes in the primacy of African concerns for the ANC.

The defeatist attitude is premature as the ANC has not begun to canvass in coloured communities.

As for the other strand of this approach: a principled Left Africanism is a legitimate position and not necessarily anti-coloured, as long as it articulates itself openly and coherently. It needs to explain how it sees itself relating to the significant presence of coloureds in the region and how it advances nonracialism.

● A third approach is that of developing specific coloured formations in alliance with or under the leadership of the ANC.

This may appeal to the history of a previous Congress formation for the coloured people and the continued existence of such formations for Indian people. But this approach

also carries a sense of defeatism with regard to the ability of the present ANC to organise itself as a non-racial organisation.

A danger about specifically coloured formations is that power interests take on structured ethnic form. In the era of development which must follow a democratic government there will be contests around resources. Ethnic political formations create greater possibilities for those contests to assume an overly ethnic character.

What is required is for the ANC to conduct open and energetic debates and develop theoretically informed positions. The ANC has a history of sensitivity for the question of nationality. The organisation needs to revisit the theory around the leading role of the African people in national liberation, and the linked emphasis on the unity of the oppressed, through all of which ran the central plank of non-racialism.

Current behaviour sometimes gives the impression there is no history of struggle or theorising around nonracialism. An understanding always held was of nonracialism as a

precious gift of the African people to this nation. What that means in the Western Cape is that the question of coloured people must tangibly be the concern of prominent African ANC leadership figures.

One accepts that, given the present structure of our society, with the geography and social organisation of apartheid, coloured leadership figures and activists will have the key responsibility in organising that community. But it is when African leadership is not seen as taking equal interests in the non-racial project that ideas of separate coloured formations start emerging.

The anguish and debate around the position of the coloured people challenges the Western Cape ANC to come to greater organisational self-understanding.

At a different level, the way in which political ambition affects strategy is something that a resistance movement which has become a political party will have to face. The role of coloured political leadership figures is a case in point: the prioritising of national political interests and the seeking of political patronage from African circles have contributed to a lack of systematic attention to organising in the coloured community.

Feelings of lack of recognition may in other instances have given rise to the idea of starting specifically coloured formations. Open recognition of these dynamics can only assist the growth of the organisation.

In this debate a voice one hopes to hear is the SACP, with its historical nonracialism. A principled position may help dispel the untested assumption that coloured people have an aversion to socialist ideas.

Street talking

Edwina Booysen sounds out opinions

Which political organisation best represents coloured people and why?

which have not made it clear where coloureds stand with them."

Ms R. Jacobs

Trader, Maitland
"I don't know who will represent coloureds the best, but I will definitely not vote for the ANC."

Ms Theresa Wilson

Strandfontein
"I don't really have any interest in politics, but none of the parties involved at the moment are worth voting for. The ANC does not

really care for the coloureds. If anything happens in the country, we will be the ones to suffer."

Mr Yusuf Laattoe

Stallholder, Walmer Estate
"Definitely the ANC. The ANC holds the majority of the coloured vote and they aren't crusading for themselves, they're doing it for the people."

Mr James Almoed

Welder, Mitchells Plain

"The ANC is the organisation to turn to. They have struggled for all of us for democratic rights. I appreciate what De Klerk has done, but he is still a boer and he will still side with the whites."

Mr Waled Sulaiman

Stallholder
"The PAC and Conservative Party. Those two have stated what they stand for. The others, like the ANC and the NP, are misleading us. They are middle of the road organisations

Ms Theresa Dass

Manenberg
"The ANC, because they will look out for us. We cannot believe what the National Party tells us."

Mr David Peterson

Mitchells Plain
"The NP cares more for the coloured population. De Klerk tries his best. He has shown that he has our interest at heart."

Ms Elaine Hill

Atlantis
"The ANC will get my vote. They are the people who can pull the country back together."



Conference makes progress despite bickering among parties

NEW DEADLINE SET FOR TALKS

S/Time 7/3/93.

11A 3:00PM

By EDYTH BULBRING and CHARLENE SMITH

AFTER two days of intense bickering, 26 political parties yesterday agreed at the World Trade Centre to set a deadline of April 5 for the resumption of multi-party talks.

Important differences on procedural matters that remain unsolved have been passed on to a sub-committee for further discussion.

The two-day meeting held near Kempton Park was characterised by haggling, grandstanding and attempts by members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — which consists of Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volkunie, the Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — to win concessions under threat of scuppering the talks. Yet sufficient agreement emerged from this often stalled meet-

ing for all parties from the Pan Africanist Congress on the left and the CP on the right to finally commit themselves to urgent talks. Clearly, progress towards the country's first non-racial elections has been hastened.

The gains of the conference were threefold:

- All parties committed themselves to resume as a matter of urgency multi-party negotiations that will lead to drawing up a new constitution.
- There were no walkouts.
- And, of most significance, for the first time parties such as the CP and PAC were drawn into the negotiations process.

Emergence

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the main objective of the conference



11th-hour guarantee saves SA Grand Prix from collapse

By JEREMY WOODS

A LAST-MINUTE agreement by First National Bank to underwrite financial guarantees in excess of R20-million has saved the 1993 South African Grand Prix from "total collapse".

Cars and drivers for the event began arriving yesterday, but as late as last Tuesday, the Grand Prix — set to be televised around the world and given international coverage by 650 foreign journalists — was balanced on a knife-edge.

The government had refused to pay a R17,2-million cash grant in advance to



SPEAKING WITH THE ENEMY: Hernus Kriel and Joe Slovo at Kempton Park

Mobutu seeks home in Cape

By DIANA STREAK

EMBATTLED Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko spent several days in Cape Town recently looking for a luxury property to add to the string of mansions he owns across the world.

Mobutu left his strife-torn country last month when fighting broke out over food shortages, worthless new currency and the president's resistance to multi-party reforms.

He is said to have a personal fortune of R30-billion, much of which he is alleged to have taken from Zaire's state coffers.

Luxury

A spokesman for Seeff Residential Properties — which, sources said, showed several luxury homes to Mobutu — declined to comment on his search for a Cape home.

However, the Sunday Times has established that Mobutu was shown several luxury properties in Hout Bay and Llandudno.

He expressed a "keen interest" in one house with a R1.4-million price tag.

Sources confirmed that a group of Zaireans, including Mobutu, spent several days in Cape Town, but left without buying any property. "No deal has been signed yet, and negotiations are continuing," the Sunday Times was told.



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—drawn into the negotiations process.

Emergence

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the main objective of the conference was to set a date for multi-party negotiations. "Reality and reason have succeeded in bringing us together."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We emerge from this with a deep sense of satisfaction that a torch of hope has been lit for our country. We are confident that the way has been opened for a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict."

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate expressed the IFP's "total delight that this conference almost went to the next phase of negotiations. We can't afford to waste one week. An early start to negotiations for us is a great blessing."

It had been hoped that the meeting would decide on matters such as who should chair and participate in a revamped Codesa and, more important, what should become of agreements reached at Codesa. On these issues, however, no progress was made and the sub-committee was asked to resolve them.

Although the haggling centred on minor procedural matters, there are two broadly differing views of the road ahead.

The government and the ANC want Codesa agreements ratified, leading to the holding of early elections. Both are confident they will do well in elections and will serve in a government of national unity as well as being powerful actors in the constituent assembly that will draw up a new constitution at the same time.

Most of the Cosag grouping, on the other hand, will be eliminated by elections. Inkatha, the most powerful member of the grouping, foresees its Natal power-base being severely eroded unless it manages to secure in advance of elections agreement on powerful regional government.

Objections

While the government and the ANC went out of their way at the meeting to prevent any walkouts by Cosag members, particularly the CP, they are determined to adhere to a timetable that will see the first democratic elections by April next year.

Decisions at future meetings will be made on the basis of sufficient consensus and the government, the ANC and its allies believe the clout they carry is sufficient to move the process along by themselves if forced to.

They will do their utmost to keep Inkatha on board — but negotiators from both the government and the ANC said that if a party such as the CP attempted to hold up

□ To Page 2

Deadline set

□ From Page 1

the process or delay elections, it would be left by the wayside. *SITimes*

The CP, while agreeing that talks should be held before April 5, was the only party present to object to a resolution that mapped out the way forward to the talks. *7/3/93*

Early yesterday morning the two-day planning conference appeared doomed. Cosag members raised objections at almost every point.

But in an attempt to

ing village of Tuesday. Three times in that a children of a leader.

As church political par

Man

MANCHESTER known soccer c

United are dt July 24, and ne further fixture



come out of the talks with a message of hope for a violence-stricken country, the ANC and the government decided to fudge differences so the meeting produced a resolution to which all parties committed themselves. *(M) (S) (A)*

After a three-hour delay it was decided that all parties would:

- Commit themselves to the resumption of multi-party negotiations within the next month to move towards drafting and adopting a new constitution;

- The meeting would be convened before April 5 this year;

- The first meeting would determine a new name to replace Codesa. It would also decide mechanisms and procedures including the method of chairing the meeting.

A son of African^{Press} saluted

By MARTIN NTSOELENGOE

AFRICANISTS saluted a great son of the continent this week.

While the PAC engaged in a flurry of meetings with the government and former Patriotic Front allies, and participated in the multiparty planning conference, the organisation also commemorated the 15th anniversary of the death of its founding president.

Robert Mangaliso "Wohderboy" Sobukwe announced in his address to the PAC inaugural conference in 1959: "We aim, politically, at government of the Africans by the Africans, for the Africans."

Like many African leaders, Sobukwe's revolutionary life began at Fort Hare where he joined the militant ANC Youth League in 1947.

He led the 1952 Defiance Campaign and got fired from his teaching post for his political activities. He rejected with contempt the offer of his job back if he acted like a "good boy".

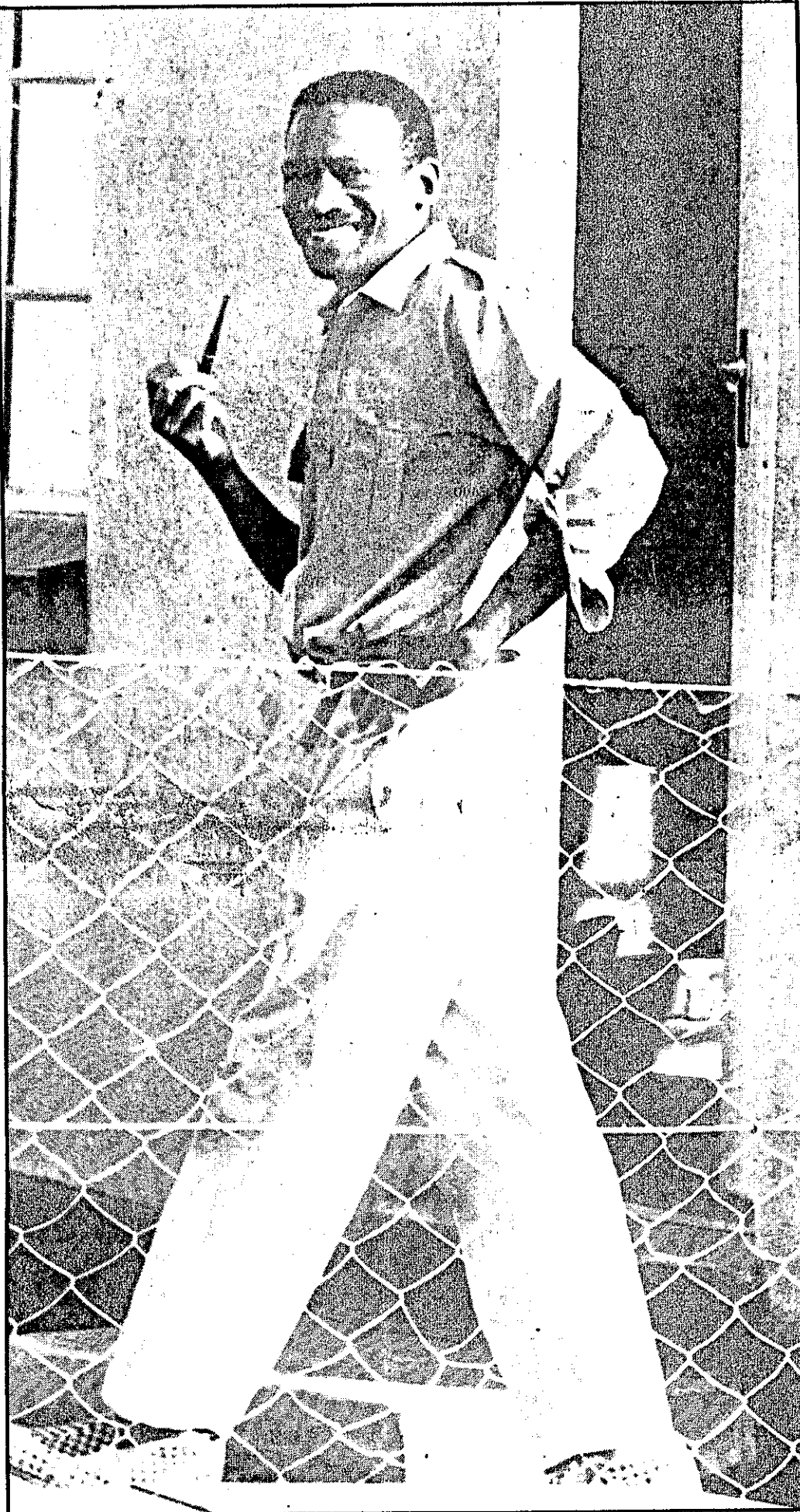
He was appointed lecturer in the Department of African Studies at Wits University.

After the anti-pass mass arrests and Sharpeville massacre, Sobukwe was jailed for three years.

A few months before his release the then Minister of Justice John Vorster rushed a Bill through Parliament known as the "Sobukwe Clause" which prevented his release.

In justifying this flagrant abuse of the law Vorster unwittingly paid tribute to Sobukwe as a "strong man with a strong magnetic personality and a sense of divine mission" who would set the country aflame with his charisma.

Sobukwe spent his last years under house arrest in Galeshewe near Kimberley and died of lung cancer in 1978.



MAYIBUYE IAFRIKA ... Robert Sobukwe is remembered 15 years after his death.

ANC infighting could disrupt election groundwork

By FRED KHUMALO

THE ANC, still grappling with mounting rebellion from two of its three Natal regions, has been plunged into yet another crisis which could hamper its progress towards forthcoming elections.

About 40 ANC supporters have died since January - at the hands of their own comrades - as bitter infighting rages within the organisation.

The fighting poses a great challenge to the ANC as the organisation struggles to solidify its

structure in preparation for election time," said southern Natal ANC organiser Joseph Nduli.

Nduli and Natal midlands ANC secretary S'fiso Nkabinde agree the infighting could have sad repercussions for the ANC which must prepare to contest the country's first-ever non-racial elections.

In Bhambayi, a squatter camp outside Durban, 10 people were killed last week. The figure climbed to 12 when two more were killed over the weekend as fighting broke out between two ANC factions.

In nearby Amaoti, 15 people died in several brutal attacks last month.

In KwaNdengezi, fighting has not ceased since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

And in Imbali, near Maritzburg, a meeting was held recently with the aim of resolving the fighting.

City Press recently highlighted the fact that the northern Natal region of the ANC and the Natal midlands were not willing to be party to preparatory talks between an ANC delegation and its Inkatha counterpart.

The preparatory talks were aimed at paving the way for bilateral talks between ANC President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The same regions expressed displeasure at the ANC's "capitulation" to the government following a statement released by the ANC describing two MK cadres arrested on the Swazi border with arms as "a gang of criminal gun runners".

"Issues involved in these fights vary from area to area," said Nduli.

In Amaoti, a gulf de-

veloped between young ANC supporters and elder members last December following heated debate over which inyanga to employ to protect the ANC stronghold from possible Inkatha attacks.

The same debate ignited tempers in Bhambayi.

But in Imbali, the issues are entirely different. The fighting started when a group of young ANC supporters from a section called Phenduka allegedly went on the rampage.

Nkabinde alleged that the youngsters from

Phenduka were criminal elements who had been reaping benefits from the fighting between the ANC and Inkatha.

He said the criminals, whom he did not deny were supporters of the ANC, were being used by the police to destabilise areas under ANC control.

"As a result of this breakdown of the community residents have come together in an attempt to find a solution to the fighting. The fighting can't be stopped overnight. We have to be patient," said Nkabinde.

Following numerous

calls by the ANC officials, members of the SAP this week swooped on Bhambayi where they confiscated a large quantity of firearms at a makeshift "factory" where lethal homemade guns were fashioned.

DP unrest monitor Roy Ainslie said an earlier raid of Amaoti, which also saw the confiscation of a large quantity of arms, offered relief to the affected community.

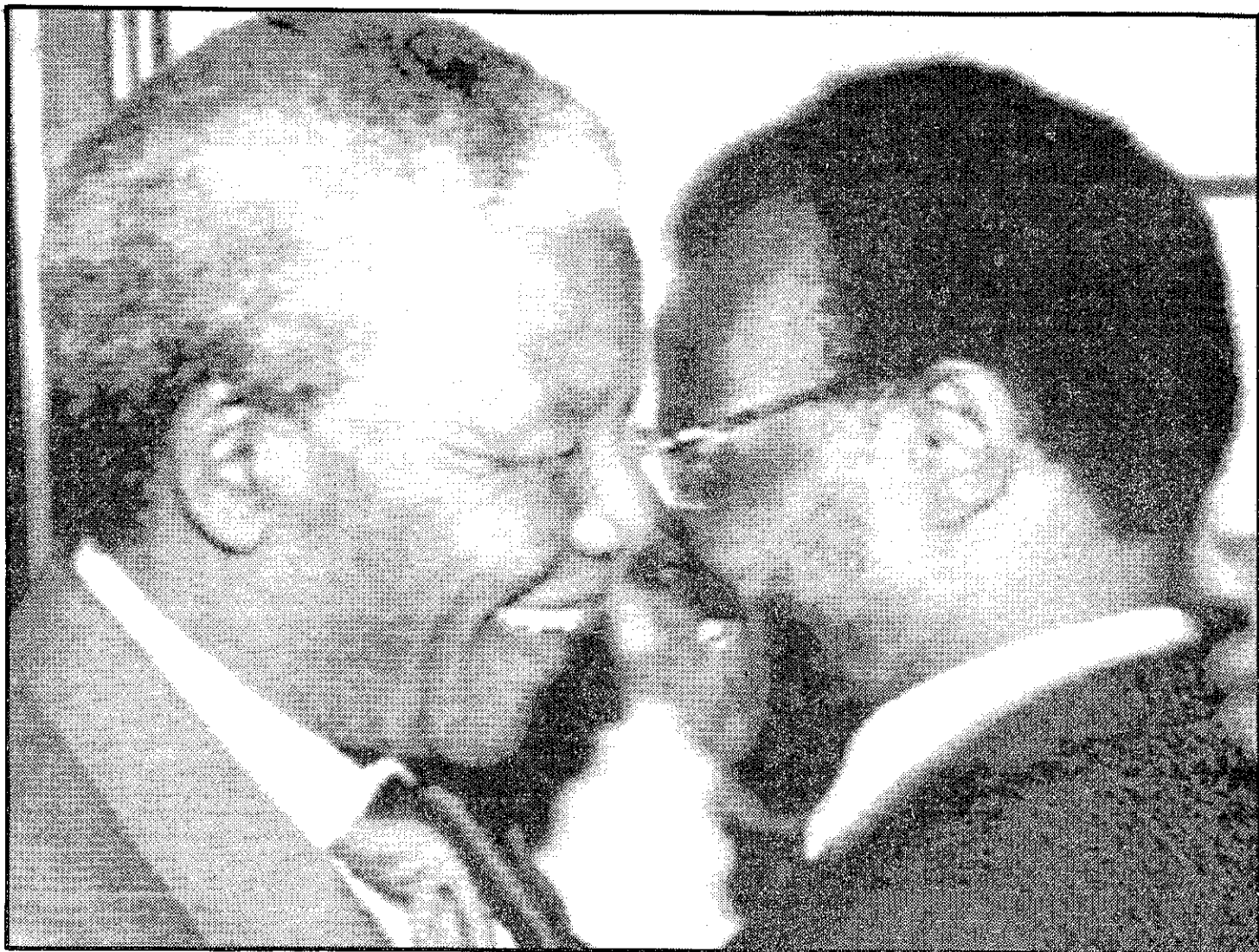
"While it is true that the security forces have had a hand in the destabilisation process, the fact also remains that these

people need serious political education. If they are equipped with such education it would be difficult for them to be penetrated and destabilised by outside forces," he said.

SAP spokesman Capt Henry Budhram strongly denied the police were fuelling the ANC's infighting.

Whether allegations that the police are behind the destabilisation of the ANC are true or not, the fact remains that the ANC must deal with the infighting if the organisation is to be a serious contender in the elections, observers agree.

The latest victims of the savage warfare in the Natal Midlands were 16 people, gunned down in ambushes near Maritzburg this week. GRAHAM MCINTOSH says the ANC and Inkatha have turned parts of the Midlands into little Somalias



FANNING FLAMES? Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi embrace, but their organisations are effectively at war

MANY people have little insight into the pattern of oppression, intimidation, prejudice and apartheid that has emerged in parts of the Natal Midlands as the ANC/SACP and the IFP — which profess to be apostles of democracy — fight for political control.

These two organisations — for some reason they are always referred to as “organisations” rather than parties — must be bringing a wry smile to those many granite reproductions of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd that are quietly being removed in most places.

In the Natal Midlands, however, Dr Verwoerd’s apartheid is alive and well thanks to the IFP and the ANC/SACP. Every black person must be classified and the only two categories are ANC or IFP; the new “dompas” or reference book is the party membership card; the poll tax is the money that is demanded or extorted from party members — often without receipts.

“Group Areas” are arbitrarily declared and, if you happen to be in a so-called ANC or IFP “group area”, you either appear to be one of them or move out because the alternative is physical attack or an arson attack on your home. Schools are deemed to be ANC or IFP as are churches, shops, bus terminals, public telephones, taxis and hospitals — often on the flimsiest of pretexts.

The “forced removals” instituted by the ANC and IFP make Verwoerd’s “black spot” removals seem sweetness and light by comparison. With murderous intolerance the ANC and IFP have forced thousands of people to flee and relocate.

In Estcourt “ANC blacks” are chased away from the bus rank whereas “IFP blacks” are chased away from the street where OK Bazaars and Checkers are located. If they don’t run away they will be shot and stabbed or get pangas lodged in their skulls. In Mooi River and Richmond similar things happen.

The contamination of being involved with the “wrong” party is often so irrational that it would be hilarious if it were not so sickeningly life-threatening. The Kwazulu Health Department has had to stop using clinic cards at its ante-natal clinics because

“ANC” for ante-natal clinic visits was printed on the card.

The ANC, in a kind of strange racism, alleges that whites have been killed helping the IFP. Edendale Hospital is perceived as IFP, Estcourt Provincial Hospital is so-called ANC and Emmaus Lutheran Provincial Hospital, near Winterton, is deemed to be IFP.

Medical personnel are puzzled and even angry when it is suggested that they would do anything but give the best treatment to all patients. All

hospitals in Natal now have extremely tight security and signs displayed saying, “No firearms allowed in the hospital”.

The real problem for genuine democrats and people committed to political tolerance and human rights — there are many in both organisations but they are paralysed with fear or terrified of being termed “sell-outs” or soft; what the “hawks” in the organisations like to term the “doves” — is when to intervene decisively and toughly.

For how long do ordinary, decent South Africans tolerate the barbarous savagery, bloodshed, intimidation, fascist intolerance and destruction of property that the ANC and IFP excuse, defend, connive at and encourage?

Is this not the same question which decent people around the world have had to ask themselves as they watched the selfish, barbaric, uncivilised and violent chaos that the Somali leaders created, which led to hundreds of thousands of innocent Somalis facing death by starvation?

Must decent people within the organisations as well as those outside them not ask themselves for how long does one allow killers, insurrectionists and intimidators to go on closing clinics, burning houses, closing schools and hounding and persecuting people of a supposedly different political outlook?

The people in the organisations who signed the National Peace Accord but undermine it by paying lip-service to it while encouraging the acqui-

sition of guns, the throwing of petrol bombs and intimidation of people into conforming to their beliefs are clearly not being disciplined by their organisations.

Those of us who know what the situation is like in Estcourt/Wembezi or Mooi River/Bruntville or Richmond/Ndaleneni can bear witness to the intolerable suffering that ordinary innocent people are having to endure at the hands of both the IFP and the ANC/SACP.

Is it not time that South Africa, like the international community in Somalia, imposes a state of emergency or martial law so that these oppressors of the people can be stopped in their tracks? Are our courts insensitive to the suffering of the innocents and should they not refuse bail in all cases of public violence and pass sentences which involve severe punishment rather than “correctional services”?

WE have our own little Somalias in the Natal Midlands and it is surely time for decent South Africans — and especially those many within the organisations — to speak out and demand tough action from their leadership and the courts against these vicious and evil savages who only understand peace as victory and unity as agreement with themselves and who only recognise oppression and violence when their organisation is the victim.

Of course the ultimate weapon for each one of us is not to vote for these organisations but to vote for a party that will have nothing to do with intimidation, violence and deceit. It is not uncommon to hear people say “Asifuni Mandela, asifuni Buthelezi” (We don’t want Mandela, we don’t want Buthelezi). Their votes are unlikely to go to the two oppressive organisations headed by these men.

□ Graham McIntosh is involved in the National Peace Accord as a convener of a Local Dispute Resolution Committee for the Estcourt/Wembezi area. He is a former PFP member of Parliament and serves on the National Council of the Democratic Party.

In the savage heart of the NEW APARTHEID

S/Times
7/3/93

11A
ZMB
BUTHE

The maths teacher who became a state problem

BY THE time he was murdered on June 27 1985, suspended Cradock schoolteacher Matthew Goniwe had become a major problem for South Africa's security forces.

For three months before he died, the problem of what to do about the United Democratic Front activist was on the agenda of top-level security meetings, according to documents filed with the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court last Monday.

The charred body of the slightly built maths teacher was found in the veld near Port Elizabeth exactly three months after his name first appeared in minutes of a meeting of the Eastern Cape Joint Management Centre (ECJMC).

Goniwe's body had multiple stab and bullet wounds and his face was burned beyond recognition.

Butchered with him were three other members of the group now known as the Cradock Four: Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicele Mhlawuli.

The March 28 meeting of the JMC, chaired by Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen — now Lieutenant-General and the SADF's Chief of Staff Intelligence but at the time Officer Commanding Eastern Province Command — was told that the black school boycott in Cradock and surrounding towns was total.

While a number of teachers had agreed to transfers, they had subsequently changed their minds, "evidently as a result of the influence of Matthew Goniwe".

At its May 23 meeting, the ECJMC heard that classes at Lingelbe, Cradock, had been suspended and that demands for Goniwe's reinstatement were mounting. He had been suspended after refusing a transfer to Graaff-Reinet in November 1984.

SIGNAL

The ECJMC decided to send a signal to the Secretariat of the State Security Council, to be relayed to the relevant cabinet ministers, recommending that "Goniwe and Calata under no circumstances ever again be appointed to any post in the Department of Education and Training".



DAWN BARKHUIZEN LOOKS AT THE

GONIWE FILE

TEACHER Matthew Goniwe was murdered on June 27 1985 after leading a campaign of boycotts and strikes at local schools against the government. Three of his colleagues were butchered with him.

This week the reopened inquest into the death of Goniwe led to the release of startling documents which for the first time expose the secret network established by former President P W Botha in the 1980s to pry into every aspect of public life.

The papers also track Goniwe's fortunes through this sinister network — up to his murder on a lonely Eastern Cape road.

would subject him to the DET's disciplinary codes, the general pointed out.

The Goniwe affair was not on the agenda for the State Security Council's monthly meeting on June 10, but on June 13, Mr Adamus Stemmet, head of the SSSC's

strategic communications section, sent a letter to SAAF Brigadier PJ Geidenhuys, head of the Goniwe task group, confirming the recommendation for reappointment, but advising that it should be in line with normal DET policy, which would require

the post to be advertised, candidates to be interviewed and the appointment to be made on merit.

Five days later, an internal DET memo reiterated that Matthew Goniwe's reappointment had been recommended, and that then deputy minister Sam de Beer had been so advised.

The secret memo was signed by the deputy director-general of the DET, Mr J Nienaber, and sent to five top DET officials, including the director-general.

But on June 25 — two days before Goniwe was murdered — the then Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, compiled a top-secret report recommending in the strongest possible terms that the teacher should, in fact, be removed from the Cradock community and detained in the Johannesburg Prison.

The DET wrote its final chapter in the Goniwe saga in a brief, handwritten memo dated July 3.

Signed by the director-general, it was headed Secret — Reappointment of MT Goniwe, and said: "This matter under consideration by ministries. On Friday 28-6-85 discussed again with Deputy Minister. No finality yet at that stage. On Saturday 29-6-85 report received of burnt-out car. On 3-7-85 report received of death of Messrs Goniwe and Calata."

A handwritten note at the bottom of the page directed: "Please file. These files still to remain secret please."

MILITANT

It was disclosure of this signal — which recommends the "permanent removal from society... as a matter of urgency" of Goniwe and Calata — last May that gave rise to the reopening of the inquest into the teacher's death.

According to General van Rensburg's affidavit, the discussion between him and Brigadier van der Westhuizen included the suggestion that Mr Goniwe and "some of his militant lieutenants" be detained for an indefinite period in an attempt to defuse the situation in Cradock.

General van Rensburg remembered receiving the signal, but could not remember what he did with it afterwards. "I may have destroyed it... which I would have been within my rights to do, as it was addressed to me personally."

His interpretation of the contents, he said, was that it pertained only to detention.

A letter dated June, with no date, from General van Rensburg to Mr Vlok and marked "Top Secret", spelled out the options on the Matthew Goniwe problem and recommended that he be reappointed.

According to the general's report, Goniwe — born in Cradock in 1946, lapsed in the Transkei for four years from 1976 for his Marxist leanings — had been under constant surveillance by security forces for several months.

Detaining the teacher could fan the flames of revolution in the Cradock townships, while reappointment to a teaching post



LAST PHOTOGRAPH: Matthew Goniwe with his wife, Nyameka, and their children, Nyaniso and Nobuzwe

The PAC on wealth, land, nationalisation, property and the azan in your pocket

Si Times (Bus) 7/3/93

By KEVIN DAVIE

A PAC government would replace the rand with the azan, according to a draft document detailing the organisation's economic policy.

The PAC — which according to one survey will get 1% to 3% of the vote, just behind the Democratic Party, which will get between 2% and 4% — says it chooses a "democratic, socialised economic system".

But the PAC does acknowledge some role for market forces.

"The conventional market of Western Europe, if it has to exist, has to find its place within the dynamics of initially heavy state involvement.

"The size of this market-place is expected to increase with time as the country moves from the warlike and post-warlike situation to normal conditions."

The PAC says nationalisation is not the only key programme of socialisation.

"Nationalisation does not, by itself, democratise the ownership of the economic resources by the citizens of the country; it does not by itself empower workers via part ownership rights of economic corporations and participation in financing, investment, production and employment decisions."

Critical

But the PAC does not envisage the state controlling all economic assets.

"PAC is not for the concentration of political and economic power, with the rest of the population merely receiving directive after directive."

It says "the increasing participation of the economically marginalised African ma-

jority is critical and a must".

The PAC says the existing distribution of income, wealth and all productive resources is the consequence of military defeat of the indigent African people.

"Liberation can only be attained by the redistribution of income, wealth and all productive resources equitably to all who regard themselves as Africans."

Redistribution should not be for past injustices and must not be welfarist or paternalistic.

"The African people will not be given fish but be helped to get fishing rods and be trained how to fish."

The PAC says the economically marginalised should be provided with access to productive resources, such as land, finance, capital, credit, technology and economic organisations.

It wants more land to be made available at break-even prices for industrial estates to facilitate black entrepreneurship.

Employed Africans with viable ideas will be encouraged to leave their employment. They will be paid a salary for one to two years from an "Entrepreneurial Promotion and Development Fund".

A policy option is for land to be "de-commodised", whereby land shall cease to be bought and sold at a market price.

"Land will be redistributed per PAC's definition of an African which is not based on colour, creed, race, place of origin but on loyalty, self-recognition and recognition by others.

Access

"The size of each unit will be determined by the intended use: the degree of prevailing landlessness; economic efficiency and effectiveness in the use of land.

"Every citizen of Azania shall have access to the land on a leased entitlement and the right to pass this lease to their children but not to sell the land itself."

The PAC says compensation will be paid in the form of interest-bearing government bonds.

It says it recognises that, in terms of the needs of the majority, SA is a very poor country. More emphasis will have to be placed on manufacturing ventures and technological development.

The export of precious stones and gold shall only be encouraged as a means to generate resources to prop up and promote the agricultural and manufacturing sectors.

Motor manufacturers will be pleased to hear that the PAC singles out this sector as one that "shall deserve all necessary support because of its critical linkages with the manufacturing sector as a whole."

But the industry will be re-structured and will emphasise the production of affordable cars for the majority of citizens.

Frank

The PAC stress that their proposals are in draft form for comment. Policy will be formulated in frank face-to-face discussions with interested parties.

● The Frankel Kruger, Sanlam and Ernst & Young Platform for Investment estimated that, after reviewing all survey evidence in HSRG and other surveys, that the ANC alliance would win 46% to 50% of the vote if an election was held soon.

The NP (or De Klerk alliance) would win 26% to 30%, the IFP 13% to 15% and the CP/Right wing 3% to 5%. Next came the DP (3% to 4%) and then PAC/Azapo (2% to 3%).

Walking talks tightrope

S/ Times 7/3/93.

By EDYTH BULBRING and CHARLENE SMITH

THEY came together to make history. Representatives of political parties, from the CP to the PAC, sitting down together for the first time in almost a year to chart the nation's future.

But five minutes after the planning conference, held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport, got under way this week it had to be adjourned to decide who should chair the meeting. This was not history, it was farce.

The aim of the meeting was deceptively simple: first, to decide what would become of agreements reached at Codesa; second, agree the next step in the writing of a new constitution for the nation.

The big two, the government and the ANC, after months of private talks, were in agreement: recognise past Codesa agreements, hold early elections and thereafter share power for five years while draft-

ing a new constitution. Their challenge: to get the rest of the parties to agree.

Opposing them was the Concerned South Africans Group. An unlikely alliance of conservative white parties, independent homeland leaders and Inkatha.

For them the early election route favoured by the big two would result in either total annihilation at the polls or, in the case of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, a massive re-

duction in its power base. Their response: stop the government/ANC at all costs.

The first indications of the difficulties that ensued at the talks came on Thursday — the day before the conference began. Gathered at 11am was the seven-person committee whose job it was at this late hour to finalise the arrangements.

The IFP's Walter Felgate, who had just spoken to Chief Minister Buthelezi, had a number of important points to raise.

The first was that, if the Kwazulu government delegation was not there in its own right, then Inkatha would not take part.

Second, Mr Felgate said, the chief minister insisted that Bophuthatswana representative Rowan Cronje be part of the chairman's panel, despite an earlier decision that he would not be one of the seven.

The third directive from Ulundi was that the planning conference should be all-inclusive — including such great unknowns as the United Federal Party and the Volkseenheidskomitee.

The rationale behind this was that the more splinter groupings which form part of Cosag were allowed to be present, the greater the clout carried by the groupings.

Dispute

Faced with a new set of demands, the politicians did what they do best — vacillated and put off a decision until the next day.

There were other, more urgent matters to discuss — such as seating arrangements. Even this was an issue for dispute.

While they agreed the parties would sit in alphabetical order, the problem arose with the Kwazulu government delegation. The ANC insisted it should sit under T, along with other traditional leaders. Inkatha insisted the delegation sit under K — for Kwazulu government.

And so they haggled. Finally, it was decided that the traditional leaders would sit as Cape Province, Transvaal and Free State — while the problem of Kwazulu would be left to the next morning.

This meeting started at 9am but had little success in solving the problems of

the day before — starting with the dispute about the chairman's panel.

It seemed that if every little party's aspirations for a higher profile was to be catered for, every party would have to chair the meeting. This is precisely what was decided.

So now the meeting of 26 organisations would have 26 chairmen. As Pliny said: "Always something new out of Africa."

The newly elected 26 chairmen then further agreed on the principle of inclusivity. This was much to the relief of the 11 political organisations who had pitched up at the centre uninvited and were now sitting in a special waiting room, having been escorted there by security guards.

They would be allowed observer status until such time that it could be established exactly who they were and whom, if anybody, they represented.

In the relief of the moment, the sticky point of where the Kwazulu government delegation would sit was swept under the carpet.

So impatient were Mr Ramaphosa and his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer, to get the show on the road that they turned a blind eye to the fact that the CP and Inkatha had each increased their delegations by one person.

Finally, the conference could get under way, carefully monitored by flashing green, yellow and then red lights to ensure speakers did not go over their allotted seven minutes. The entire day was dominated by a restatement of old positions and rhetoric — most of it mindlessly dull.

All that was apparent was that those allied to the government or the ANC and those who are part of Cosag agree on little.

Rapid caucus huddles took place over bitter coffee and biscuits between Cosag members.

Then it dawned: the conference had not decided how it would make decisions. The day that began with an adjournment ended with another.

For this, taxpayers had forked out R1,2-million.

By THEMBA KHUMALO

LUCK is a mystery. It is magic and unreliable.

In Oupa Siheri's case it's been very unreliable. After spending four years on Death Row he is wondering whether luck will ever come his way and free him.

During the days of the ANC's armed struggle he infiltrated the country along with several other cadres to "pull military operations".

But one fateful evening in December 1986 Siheri found himself in the wrong place at the wrong time - a Soweto shebeen.

Once drunk, a gang of

ANC denies disowning imprisoned MK cadre

men attempted to rob him of his Scorpion rifle. They assaulted him, disarmed him and left him for dead.

Siheri armed himself with an AK-47 and with the help of friends traced his stolen rifle to a house in Zola.

Siheri's anger is alleged to have been exacerbated by the reluctance of the two robbers to give him his rifle back.

Following a scuffle with

the two, he opened fire and killed Xola Makhawula and Michael Ngubeni.

Siheri was arrested by Soweto security police the next day and later sentenced to death for the killings. (IA)

His role in the killings is believed to have angered ANC leadership in exile and they allegedly turned their backs on him.

His family painted a gloomy picture about the

"negligent treatment" the ANC had given Siheri.

"He is frustrated and the last time I visited him he was thin and pale," a family member said.

But Faith, Khawula's sister, showed no mercy.

"He deserves the treatment he's getting. He was merciless when he killed my brother and his friend.

Despite our desperate pleas for him to spare their lives, Siheri told my

mother to pray for my brother for the last time. His brains were splattered all over the wall," Faith said. C/PRESS

ANC spokesman Matthew Phosa rejected allegations that his organisation had turned its back on Siheri. 7/13/93

"We've tried and we still are trying our best to get Siheri out of jail. I know Siheri very well

from our exile days. He has done good and bad things for the organisation, but we've not neglected him," Phosa said.

He said Siheri's name featured prominently when the ANC demanded the release of all political prisoners. (IA)

The Human Rights Commission was also handling his case, he said.

"The fact that they stole his rifle didn't justify the murders. The killings simply tarnished the name of the movement. As we fight his case we must bear in mind the sentiments of the families of the two men he killed," Phosa said.

Suppl to C/Press

Joint peace force

7/13/93

A joint peace-keeping force made up of at least 1 000 personnel each from the PAC, ANC, Inkatha and the NP was necessary to help stop violence in SA. This was stated by the National Peace Accord vice-chairman and Methodist Church minister Rev Stanley Mogoba.

Mogoba was among a group of prominent South Africans who attended a four-day conference in Sintra, Portugal.

"We are not saying the armed forces of these organisations should **disband** or hand over their guns to the authorities. This has proved to be impossible. What we are saying is that a peace-keeping force involving all the major players could be part of the

solution to long-lasting peace."

He said money should be made available to buy uniforms and provide transport for this force. "These forces must be clearly and easily **identifiable** from the rest of the **civilians**. (11A)

"If members from all these organisations could form a joint peace-keeping force, I think part of our problems could be solved," he said.

DICTIONARY

Prominent: to stand out or be noticed.

Disband: to do away with.

Identifiable: easy to recognise.

Civilians: ordinary people; not military staff.

NEWS FEATURE *Democratic Party meetings broken up by activists*

'Threat to fair poll'

Sowetan 8/13/93

~~301A~~ (11A)

■ **NONRACIAL ELECTIONS** *Row over white liberals campaigning in the townships elicits charge of authoritarianism from DP parliamentarian:*

By Michael Sanders

PROSPECTS for a fair nonracial election in South Africa have taken a severe knock from a row between black community leaders and white liberals who want to campaign in the townships.

The white Democratic Party (DP) saw two of its meetings in Cape Town black townships broken up by black activists at the turn of the year.

Last week Dan Mofokeng, head of the powerful civic associations of black residents in the townships around Johannesburg, warned that "the people will use every tactic to prevent political activity by the (white) parties.

"They are not going to allow those parties to come to the townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who have fought so hard for liberation."

DP parliamentarian Tony Leon, at the forefront of his party's bid to recruit blacks, responded with charges of authoritarianism, totalitarianism, even fascism.

"The jury is out" on whether South Africa could hold free and fair elections, he said.

"There are very few political organisations that believe in democracy as a virtue rather than a means to an end."

Mofokeng backtracked after the African National Congress (ANC), which his organisation supports, repudiated his apparent disavowal of free political activity, a principle it must support in pursuit of its own demand for freedom to operate in black homelands run by hostile leaders.

But Mofokeng's attempts at reassurance, reducing violence, hardly assuaged fears.

The DP and even the ruling National Party could campaign in the townships, he said, adding: "The only people who attend those meetings



Tony Leon ... "the jury is out"

There are very few political organisations that believe in democracy as a virtue rather than a means to an end

will be those who are serving on military establishments."

Few blacks would risk that kind of branding. Leon said: "The whole modus operandi of the civics at the height of the time of unrest was enforced community solidarity.

"There were certain methods for doing it. Collaborators were dealt with brutally and sometimes fatally," he said.

Mofokeng countered that the DP still enjoyed a parliamentary stake in a land where only the security forces can move around townships after dark with impunity.

"Whoever stands up and says 'free political activity' must clean up his own backyard."

He was incensed by a DP fly sheet aimed at blacks alleging that the ANC and NP "are fighting for power for themselves, not for the rights and needs of ordinary people.

"They do not care if you lose your job, your home or your life," it charged.

Archie Gumede, a pacifist and veteran ANC activist on the frontline of political conflict in Natal, said the DP circular displayed "a totally negative attitude.

"It's an outright attack on everybody. That's one thing that is going to create problems for them."

His view was echoed by Alec Boraine, head of the troubleshooting Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

"I would protect the right of the NP and DP to go anywhere they like to put their case freely without let or hindrance," Boraine said.

"But I would have thought that whites who have been, all of us, part of the problem for a very long time should be sensitive to the climate of the people living on the ground."

If the DP wanted a hearing in the townships, it should go in at the invitation of black community leaders, or on a joint platform with black parties in return for a similar deal in white areas, he suggested.

He said Mofokeng's attitude had more support than liberals realised and summarised a typical black position: "We have been living in a totally intolerant situation in this country for decades and we have been at the receiving end.

"Now suddenly whites who have had very little interest in our concerns, in our welfare, want our votes and want to come marching uninvited into our townships.

"We are not prepared to accept them. This is a time to take the fight in terms of voting. We can't deal tolerantly with people who have excluded us for so long." — Sapa-AFP.

focus on Negotiations

SOUTH AFRICAN Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo rather warrants an award for participant of the negotiations planning conference.

His input at the multiparty planning conference held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at the weekend drew applause from non-communists who flanked him at the conference table — Law and Order Minister Kriel and Pan Africanist Congress foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim — and others.

"We politicians have all had our say," said Slovo on Friday. "It is now time for the people to have their say."

"For the past three years we politicians have spoken to each other, at each other and past each other. We have been in bilaterals and multilaterals.

"Out there beyond the walls of the World Trade Centre, there is a growing impatience with our *speechifying*. And the most direct way for the people to have their say is, of course, through an election. Let the people elect their representatives to draw up a constitution that they will be able to call their own."

Slovo drew gasps and even envy from the media when he said: "I am absolutely convinced that across an extremely wide ideological spectrum, from free marketeers to communists, believers and non-believers, there is an emerging national consensus — in fact national impatience. The great majority of South Africans, black and white, want a new, nonracial constitution, they want a multiparty democracy, they want a justifiable Bill of Rights, and, above all, they want progress."

And he concluded: "In moving towards a new constitutional dispensation, the SACP is not talking about a 'communist' constitution or an 'ANC' constitution. We want a South African constitution. We want a united South Africa that respects the diversity of cultures, of languages and, indeed, our political beliefs."

Indeed hope for a peaceful settlement sprouted at the multiparty planning conference held at the World Trade Centre where 26 parties and organisations, major and insignificant, agreed to negotiate rather than confront.

Even the Conservative Party, which refused to adopt the resolution on starting proper negotiations by April 5, said it would remain in the process and "wait and see".

The CP has a member, Mr Tom Langley, on the seven-man facilitating committee which includes what it terms its arch-foes — the ANC, PAC and SACP.

The two-day multiparty planning conference succeeded in getting a consensus decision involving and committing more political parties to the goal of a negotiated democratic order for South Africa than ever before.

Sowetan 8/3/93
The multiparty planning conference to nurture a successor to Codesa kicked off last Friday as an unqualified success. And the man that stole the show was none other than Joe Slovo, writes Political Reporter **Themba Molefe**: ~~Sowetan~~ 11A



SACP luminary Joe Slovo.



Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer.

“We politicians have had our say. It is now time for the people to have theirs through an election

— Joe Slovo

For the Inkatha Freedom Party the conference was a major victory.

Said national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose: "We have succeeded in having the negotiations process, and indeed the dead Convention for a Democratic South Africa, reviewed. As with a dead body, a post-mortem has to be conducted rather than bring it back to life."

The Azanian People's Organisation now remains outside structured multi-party talks, which the Government believes may deliver the first open elections within little more than a year.

It was poised to state its position yesterday after it failed to attend the weekend's conference and after reportedly agreeing to attend.

The conference, which got off to a slow start with fears that it may be abortive, got round to it and ended on a high note.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's secretary-general, said the conference was "an unqualified success". =And the Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said: "I believe the conference had one objective — to get a date for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. We've succeeded and now we have a structure and agenda."

Also, the Pan Africanist Congress was "delighted" after succeeding to have the new process called the commencement of negotiations rather than a resumption. It also managed to have consensus that the name Codesa be changed when talks begin next month.

So far, so good, one could say, as South Africans await answers and would once more pin their hopes on the politicians to pull their country from the edge of an abyss.



SACP chairman Joe Slovo, left, and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers arrive at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Major parties satisfied with planning conference results

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha have expressed satisfaction with the weekend's multiparty planning conference at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

The CP said the conference had failed to recognise the issue of self-determination, and warned that the entire process would fail if self-determination was not addressed.

Government said the conference had achieved its main objective of setting a timescale for the resumption of genuine negotiations.

Senior government negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer dismissed claims that the conference had not debated the real issues on the agenda.

"We had only one main objective, as far as this planning conference was concerned," Meyer said.

"Whatever other parties had at the back of their minds... there was only one thing that was the main objective, and that was to get a date for the resumption of multiparty negotiations," he said.

The ANC called the conference an "unqualified success".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said his organisation viewed the conference with a sense of

deep satisfaction, adding a torch of hope had been lit.

The announcement that the new forum would be convened not later than April 5 was an indication of the urgency with which participants viewed the crisis in the country, he said.

"This sense of urgency raises the hope that all parties and participants do indeed have the political will to place the interest of our country above all else."

Ramaphosa said a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was still on the cards. It could take place before April 5.

Inkatha said it was delighted with the progress achieved at the end of the conference.

"This conference went straight into the next phase of the constitutional process, and the early start is a great blessing for us," said Inkatha delegate Walter Feigate.

The aim of the forthcoming conference, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose added, was to salvage something from Codesa.

Although Inkatha believed firmly in strong regionalism, their stance was negotiable, Feigate said. — Sapa.

Azapo

calls

for a black pact



MULTIPARTY TALKS ... Negotiators (left to right) Colin Eglin, the Democratic Party, Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and Benny Alexander of the Pan Africanist Congress study a draft resolution at a multiparty planning conference this weekend. The talks were aimed at ways of getting negotiations back on track.

Sowetan 8/3/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

11A

THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S Organisation (Azapo) wants an election pact with the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress that would guarantee a black majority vote, Azapo said yesterday.

The organisation was stating its position on multiparty talks and reasons why it did not attend a negotiations planning conference attended by 26 parties at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at the weekend.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala told a Press conference in Johannesburg that the organisation instead sought unity of the three liberation movements to initiate a common programme that would unite blacks and address the violence against them.

"Only then will Azapo consider another forum of discussion," said Mosala, adding that this unity of purpose would guarantee an election pact of the broad liberation movement.

"The aim of the struggle in which our people have paid so dearly is to liberate them and to liberate their country. For this reason Azapo is hostile to any plan, platform, forum, *hosberaad*, or meeting the essence of whose character is to exclude our people."

He said Azapo was optimistic that such meetings with the PAC and ANC would bear fruit following bilateral talks with each of them in the build-up to the Kempton Park conference and ongoing consultations among the three.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation would welcome any approach from Azapo but would not elaborate, saying the ANC kept an open-minded approach on such meetings.

Meanwhile, the multiparty negotiations planning conference on Saturday afternoon agreed to resume negotiations by April 5.

The only dissenting voice was that of the Conservative Party, which abstained from voting on the resolution and said it would keep its options open for the party's further involvement in multiparty negotiations. The two-page resolution was adopted by 25 of the 26 delegations at the planning conference.

A seven-man facilitating committee was elected to implement the resolution which would pave the way for full-blown talks. The CP objected to the resolution on the grounds that the planning conference had not dealt adequately with certain stumbling blocks in the negotiation process.

The conference also adopted a resolution condemning violence, especially last week's Table Mountain massacres.

The conference, however, had something of a false start on Friday when it had to be adjourned barely five minutes after it had started in order for the parties to decide who should chair the meeting.

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Race is on to beat April 5 talks deadline

IN AN effort to beat the April 5 deadline for the resumption of multiparty negotiations following the weekend planning conference, political parties met again on Saturday night to thrash out unresolved procedural issues.

The facilitating committee, representing members of all parties at the conference, met and immediately established a subcommittee to prepare the groundwork for the new forum.

The ANC and government said yesterday they were satisfied with the way the planning conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park had ended and were especially pleased with being on target for the timetable they had agreed on.

Spokesmen hoped the new forum would reach agreement within two months of convening on the general constitutional principles binding an elected constitution-making body.

The planning conference decided that each party would have only two delegates and two advisers at the forum, which would be a working forum rather than a plenary talkshop. However, it is understood that the new forum would be empowered to set up task groups and working groups involving more people.

It was hoped that the forum would, by end-May, have paved the way for the transitional executive council to be established. A senior government negotiator yesterday said: "We cannot allow the forum to go on for six months. It would put us all way behind our schedule of holding elections by April next year."

But Inkatha and its allies have dis-

BILLY PADDOCK

agreed. They want the forum to negotiate a final constitution. They also rejected the concept of a transitional executive council preparing the country for elections.

Negotiators from the three major parties — government, the ANC and Inkatha — yesterday agreed on three major issues on which the facilitating committee would have to decide. These were: setting the date for the first meeting; deciding on the credentials of new parties wanting to join the process; and resolving problems of how the new forum would be chaired.

But they continued to disagree over the status of Codesa agreements and the immediate way ahead, especially the establishment of the transitional executive council. The parties appeared eager to get the new forum off the ground before the end of the month.

An area of disagreement could be deciding the status of 11 parties which had to attend the conference as observers. A government negotiator said the committee would have to look at their credentials to establish if they were representative.

The Concerned South Africans Group wanted to weight the forum with the maximum number of small groups opposed to the ANC and government, while the two largest parties wanted the forum to be as streamlined as possible, yet representative and inclusive.

Government and the ANC believe there was agreement that the Codesa agreements would form the foundation of the

To Page 2

Talks

B/DAY 8/3/93.

11A

From Page 1

new forum but Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group associates disagree.

The facilitating committee is to look at the Codesa agreements and make recommendations to the first meeting of the new forum on the issue.

The planning conference dispute over who should chair it raised the likelihood of a similar dispute during the next phase. One way of circumventing the problem is that a management committee, representative of all the parties at the talks, be established and appoint a chairman.

It was also learned yesterday that, despite the CP announcing it was "keeping its options open", it would be represented on the facilitating committee.

Despite the shift to more open multiparty talks, negotiators predicted that closed bilateral meetings would still dictate the process. A government negotiator said the new forum would not be able to function efficiently without common ground being reached in bilateral talks.

"Bilaterals are the most important way to facilitate agreement being reached in the bigger forum," he said.

A senior ANC negotiator agreed and said the proof of this was evident from the planning conference where bilateral meetings had paid off.

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

PAC end to use of force ^{CT 8/3/93} 'accepted'

KEMPTON PARK. —
The government has accepted that the Pan-Africanist Congress has agreed to end armed action by its military wing Apl. ~~APL~~ (IA)

This, said Law and Order Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel at a press conference here, was the only interpretation he could give for the PAC's acceptance of a resolution condemning political violence, adopted at a multi-party planning conference here on Saturday.

He and other ministers answered questions arising from the successful conclusion of the two-day conference which adopted a resolution expressing the conference's "unwavering rejection of all instances of political violence and actions".

Mr Kriel said he was "grateful" that the PAC had adopted the resolution. — Sapa

ANC starts voter drive

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress will commemorate March 21, when police shot and killed 69 demonstrators in Sharpeville in 1960, with colourful rallies and the launch of its door-to-door voter education campaign.

(11A) ET 8/3/93

Azapo to call for unity with allies

(11A) CT 8/3/93
JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo), which scorned multi-party planning talks at the weekend, will call for urgent unity meetings with its Patriotic Front allies this week.

The aim, according to Azapo president Mr Itumeleng Mosala, would be to establish a firmly united programme of action based on a commitment to securing a democracy in South Africa.

"Entering talks without unity of purpose is a waste of time," he told a media briefing.

Unity among liberation movements, he said, should be based on a common commitment to a constituent assembly and transitional authority to manage South Africa's transition, and an agreement on independent monitoring of elections.

Meetings held with the PAC and the ANC last week had left Azapo confident that unity of purpose could be achieved between them.

"Sharing of ideas is not good enough," Mr Mosala said. "Azapo is of the view that any meeting whose ultimate aim is the liberation of the people must happen on the basis of unity." — Sapa

Star 813193

Azapo seeks meetings

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(11A)

The Azanian People's Organisation will ask for meetings with the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress as a matter of urgency to discuss a possible unity of purpose and action by the three liberation movements, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said yesterday.

Speaking after a meeting of the Azapo leader-

ship to discuss involvement in multiparty negotiations, Mosala said only after meeting the PAC and ANC would his organisation decide whether to attend the multiparty conference to be held by April 5.

He said Azapo would make no compromises on one person, one vote or on its socialist vision, and remained implacably opposed to any form of protection of group or minority rights.

Patrick Laurence explains the importance of a reconstruction accord to leftists

Star 8/3/93

Keeping ANC ideals in focus

WITH a political settlement now in sight after the setbacks of last year, there is a palpable stirring of excitement and apprehension in the ranks of leftists in the ANC-led "mass democratic movement".

The excitement is engendered by the prospect of the ANC exercising power as the dominant force in a transitional government of national unity; the apprehension is stimulated by fears that the ANC leaders may unwittingly — or, worse, consciously — renege on their pledges to the deprived masses.

A clear sign of the anxiety in leftist circles is the growing emphasis on the need for the ANC and its allies and auxiliaries to enter into a reconstruction accord before elections are held for a constituent assembly and the subsequent formation of a government of national unity.

The purpose of the accord will be to bind the ANC to fulfilment of its commitment to upliftment and empowerment of the poor and to secure the future against perjury — either through political na-

ivete (where the ANC leadership is outmanoeuvred by its more conservative and cunning partners in the government of national unity) or wilful greed (where it succumbs to elitism, putting its own interests before those of its constituents).

Jeremy Cronin, of the South African Communist Party (SACP), eschews talk of betrayal. He prefers to talk factually of the dangers inherent in the tricky process of transition and of the need to be aware of the guiles of the ANC's battle-scarred but undefeated adversaries on the Right.

In particular Cronin is wary of a social contract — in contrast to a reconstruction accord — between a future ANC government, big business and organised labour. Unlike a reconstruction agreement between the ANC and its allies, a social contract will be a deal between elites, at the expense of the poor, the wretched and the insulted.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) — which, like the SACP, is an ANC ally to the left of the ANC — is another strong protagonist of a reconstruction pact; it wants the recon-

struction accord to be signed and in place as an integral part of the ANC's manifesto before elections for a constituent assembly.

An article by a Cosatu correspondent in the latest issue of the ANC journal, *Mayibuye*, is instructive.

It refers to the "danger that the new government functionaries could be tempted to pursue self-interests... of insiders" and neglect the interests of the unemployed and the dispossessed.

To counter that danger an accord must be signed and made part of the ANC manifesto, the article says, adding prudently: "If the accord is to see the light of day, the ANC needs to commit itself to implement it when it comes to power."

The article identifies four pillars of the proposed reconstruction accord:

- Jobs for all, including a national works programme.
- Education for all, with a commitment to 10 years of free and compulsory education.
- Security and comfort for all, with free health care for the poor, a national pension scheme and housing programme as its central

elements.

- Individual and collective rights for all, especially the disadvantaged sectors of society.

One particular item is worth noting: Cosatu, perhaps conscious of the manning of trade unions in many "liberated" African countries to the north, wants trade union rights, including the right to strike, specifically written into the reconstruction accord.

If fear of elitism in the ANC is one factor behind the drive for a reconstruction accord, recession and perhaps particularly the defeat last year of a strike by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), is another.

Duncan Innes, of the Innes Labour Brief, argues that Cosatu, fearing that hard times lie ahead, wants to ensconce itself before the ANC takes power in structures where "it cannot be dislodged".

The structures he refers to include the National Manpower Commission, the National Economic Forum and the National Housing Forum.

From its position there, the trade union movement wants to ensure that the rights of workers

are not neglected by a new government.

In an illuminating article in the latest issue of the *Labour Bulletin*, Karl von Holdt summarises the weakened position of the once burgeoning trade union movement in these words: "1992: falling wages, falling membership, lost strikes, lost jobs."

Von Holdt says: "For the first time since 1990 the militant democratic union movement has stopped growing. Cosatu's total membership has dropped by about 75 000 since 1991. While some affiliates have grown, most have lost members."

It is a mistake to think that the pressure for a reconstruction pact emanates only from organisations to the left of the ANC, the SACP, Cosatu and the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

Pressure has come from within the ANC itself, from members who are concerned that the ANC has given way too much to the De Klerk administration in the negotiating process and rendered itself vulnerable to co-option by the existing political and financial establishment.

As Innes puts it, there are fears

that the ANC leadership is being recruited to reform capitalism and make it work.

Fears the ANC is in danger of being duped are not new — they are voiced in the latest issue of *African Communist* — but they have been given greater impetus by the five-year "power-sharing deal" between ANC and the De Klerk administration negotiators.

In retrospect the drive for a reconstruction pact throws light on the three-day meeting in Soweto last month of the ANC's national executive, where the purported deal was discussed.

Announcing that the national executive had decided to accept the deal but being careful to avoid calling it a power-sharing agreement, ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Pallo Jordan spoke for the first time of a government of national unity and reconstruction.

With the advantage of hindsight it can now be seen that a trade-off was made within the ANC: the proposed agreement with the regime mooted by the ANC negotiating team was endorsed by its opponents on condition that the ANC committed itself to reconstruction. □

Star 8/3/93

Urgent preparations for multilateral talks

~~(SOUTH)~~

(IIA)

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

After Saturday's agreement among political groups to resume multiparty negotiations by April 5, delegates are urgently making practical arrangements to clear the way for the new talks.

A 26-member facilitating committee — whose members served as the rotating chairmen at the weekend planning conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — will meet at the same venue tomorrow

to begin preparing for a multilateral negotiating forum.

And the ANC and Government said they would hold bilateral discussions with a variety of groups to find common ground.

This means South Africa is back at the negotiating table and a significant step closer to a new constitution and representative government.

The process is also on target in terms of the Government and ANC timetables for the transition calling for the resumption of negotiations in March or April.

However, the planning conference succeeded only by postponing some vital issues which will certainly erupt at the multilateral forum.

The negotiating forum — which will in essence be an enlarged facilitating committee — will meet before April 5.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the last series of bilateral talks had contributed to the success of the planning

● To Page 3

Star 8/3/93

Urgent preparations for multilateral talks

● From Page 1

conference.

The ANC and Government are due to meet within the next 10 days.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said bilateral discussions had become an integral part of negotiations.

The ANC — in addition to meetings with the IFP to prepare for a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — would soon hold discussions with the IFP on constitutional issues.

Ramaphosa was "absolutely certain" common ground between the two could be found.

In another development, the PAC took part in the "Codesa patriotic front" caucus meeting on Saturday and has been invited to a meeting of the patriotic front due to take place before the end of the month.

All the main parties hailed Saturday's agreement as a triumph that would send a message of hope to South Africa, but it is clear the next meeting will be tough.

The multiparty forum to be held by April 5 will not be on the scale of Codesa 1 or 2.

IFP negotiators said the conference would essentially be the Conference of Review it had been insisting on all along. ~~(SOUTH)~~

The planning conference as a whole resolved that the agreement could be "a constructive foundation" on which the process could be resumed. It also agreed to consider the objections of parties like the IFP to some Codesa agreements. (IIA)

The Codesa agreements include vital issues such as an elected constitution-making body and a transitional executive council to level the political playing field in the run-up to democratic elections.

CP delegation leader Tom Langley will attend meetings of the facilitating committee, but his party will decide on its continued participation only after the facilitating committee has concluded its preparations.

● Everyone went away smiling — Page 9

New date for talks is set

Sowetan 9/3/93.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ Organisers wary of repeating mistakes made at Codesa:

11A

THE date for the start of full-blown multiparty talks has been set for April 1 and 2.

What remains to be done is for the 26-member facilitating committee to endorse the date and make an announcement after meeting today.

Today's meeting is a follow-up to the successful multiparty planning conference held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at the weekend.

It would also receive a report of a 10-person sub-committee elected by the multiparty conference to implement resolutions adopted at the weekend and draft an agenda. Also, the sub-committee is charged with structuring the secretariat and administrative functions for the April 1 and 2 conference as well as formulating

a new name for the forum.

Sources said organisers were wary of repeating mistakes that led to Codesa's collapse and would appoint "politically neutral" people for the secretariat and administrative posts.

For example, Codesa's secretariat and management were headed jointly by leading African National Congress and Government personalities.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said it would propose that the new multilateral forum sit daily and on a full-time basis unlike Codesa which met weekly.

Secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander told a Press conference in Johannesburg that the agenda should "in essence prepare the country for elec-

tion of a constituent assembly, and among others, introduce the international community to its role in the process; and put structures in place to ensure the swift transition to democracy".

He said decisions must be taken inside the meeting and not in secret deals.

In another development, PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemedzivhanani said the organisation would favourably consider the call by the Azanian People's Organisation for a pact with the PAC and African National Congress.

The ANC yesterday said it welcomed Azapo's approach but would remain open-minded.

Formal ANC-IFP talks are held up

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC and Inkatha have been discussing constitutional matters informally over the past few months. But the delay in convening the crucial summit between their leaders is preventing formal bilateral negotiations.

The delay is also delaying another crucial meeting — that of national peace accord signatories where it is hoped the parties will give the peace structure more teeth to combat violence.

Spokesmen from both parties yesterday said the summit was "definitely still on and will happen soon" but neither could give any indication of when this would occur. *BIOM 9/3/93.*

The meeting of the eight-a-side facilitating committee, scheduled for last Friday, was postponed indefinitely because of the planning conference. No date has been set for the teams, which have been broadened to 12-a-side, to meet.

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PAC remains firm on armed struggle stance

WILSON ZWANE

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday reiterated his organisation's position that it would not end its armed struggle until mechanisms to control armed formations had been agreed upon by a multiparty negotiating forum.

In an interview, Alex-

ander said the PAC had made it clear to government that it would not end its armed struggle. There had to be mutual cessation of hostilities, he said.

Government said after meeting the PAC in Botswana, it would not sup-

port any move by the organisation to attend a multiparty negotiating conference. *BIOM 9/3/93.*

A multiparty planning conference resolved at the weekend that a multiparty forum should be convened not later than April 5. Alexander said his organisation would participate in the forum.

A subcommittee was to meet today to draft an agenda for the multiparty negotiating forum, Alexander said earlier.

Liberation movements keen on election pact

WILSON ZWANE and LLOYD COUTTS

THE ANC and the PAC said yesterday they were not averse to an election pact of liberation movements as such an arrangement would strengthen the position of the masses. *BIOM 9/3/93.*

And the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) is to embark on a campaign to unite liberation movements in an election front.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said yesterday Sanco believed "credible" organisations should participate in an election on a single ticket to ensure a high percentage victory for the democratic movement in constituent assembly elections.

Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) secretary-general Dan Mofokeng said such a pact would "for the first time remove any doubt as to who can reconstruct the economy and the social lives and many other spheres in the lives of the disadvantaged people".

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said his organisation's programme for coming elections did not shut out members of other organisations and would look at the issue of pacts in due course.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said it would be "preferable" to have a united front of the "oppressed against the oppressor".

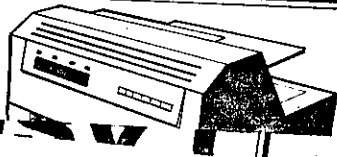
SACP secretary-general Chris Hani has said "an anti-apartheid alliance" would strengthen the position of blacks in the elections.

Azapo said at the weekend it sought an alliance formed by itself, the ANC and the PAC, to "initiate a common programme which would unite blacks and address violence against them".

It is understood that Patriotic Front members will meet in Johannesburg later this month to discuss an election pact and strategies they should adopt at a multiparty negotiating forum, scheduled for April 5.

Mayekiso said the organisations would be approached individually, and a possible joint meeting would be determined by the outcome of these approaches.

W



Man guilty

Business of preparing path to talks begins

Star 913193

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba



Negotiators get down to business today to prepare for the resumption of full-scale multi-party negotiations within a new forum by April 5.

Issues under discussion include the status of Codesa agreements, the participation of 11 groups which were given observer status at the weekend's planning conference, the chairmanship of the negotiating forum, the forum's name, as well as the role of the international community.

Today's meeting at the World Trade Centre will be attended by a 10-member sub-committee of the facilitating committee.

The facilitating committee — comprising the leaders of the 26 participating parties — was formed at the planning conference.

Democratic Party chairman

Ken Andrew said his party would propose that the negotiating forum be chaired by an independent chairman, and that delegates be available on a full-time basis for the duration of negotiations.

Andrew said his party favoured a technical committee being established to synthesise or identify possible consensus between the points of view expressed at the negotiating table.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation would propose a new name for the forum.

He said the international community had to be involved as neutral observers in negotiations, and help resolve deadlocks in the process.

The PAC would also propose that a series of referendums be held to resolve those deadlocks which the international community could not help solve.

Patriotic Front members to discuss negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba and Esther Waugh



A Patriotic Front (PF) conference will be held in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, later this month to discuss negotiations.

(UFA)

The meeting, the first to be held since 92 organisations formed the PF in Durban in October 1991, will bring together the ANC and its allies in Codesa, as well as the Pan Africanist Congress.

Although the 11 PF members at Codesa have been meeting regularly, this will be the first time the PF as formed in Durban will get together.

Organisations which attended the launch of the PF resolved a liaison committee should convene another meeting of the front within six months.

That never happened because the two main parties and co-conveners of the front, the PAC

and the ANC, fell out, with the PAC pulling out of negotiations accusing the ANC of colluding with the Government.

The PAC yesterday confirmed it would attend the meeting on March 27 and 28. PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the PAC would meet the ANC this week to finalise the agenda.

The revival of the front follows a series of bilateral meetings in the past two weeks between the ANC and PAC, the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the PAC and Azapo, and the PAC and the Labour Party.

Azapo did not attend the Durban meeting.

ANC spokesman on the PF liaison committee Ebrahim Ebrahim said that in addition to discussing the negotiations process, the meeting would review developments since the PF's formation as well as the future of the front.

Elections could dampen or aggravate the violence, says Patrick Laurence

Star 10/31/93

'No go' areas may decide victors

SOUTH Africa's main political organisations, including, critically, the NP, the ANC and IFP, are publicly unanimous on the need for nonracial elections to establish a legitimate and representative government.

Their declared pro-election stance invites the question of whether a free and fair poll is possible in the prevailing climate of violence.

It is not an idle question: last year more than 3 100 people were killed in politically motivated violence; the daily average number of deaths was 8,5 people.

The threat of violence to a peaceful settlement has been underlined in the past week by three brutal massacres in Natal: in the first, six schoolchildren were shot dead in an ambush; in the second 10 adults — six of whom were women — were slain in what might have been a revenge attack; in the third four people died when gunmen opened fire on a bus.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of the IFP, has opposed plans to hold elections for a constituent assembly and a transitional government of national unity within the next 15 months, citing as one of his reasons the impossibility of holding free and fair elections.

The IFP, Buthelezi avers, will not accept a constituent assembly "elected in unfree and unfair elections in the current climate of violence and intimidation"; nor, Buthelezi adds, will it allow an "undemocratic" assembly to define boundaries of regions and powers of regional governments.

Buthelezi's political opponents, particularly those in the ANC, accuse him of using the ongoing violence as an excuse to avoid the verdict of the people in popular elections. But in its latest report on the violence, the International Commission of Jurists also concludes that free and fair elections are not possible.

However the report is now more than six months old and, until last week, there was some evidence that the level of violence may have begun to tail off.

Thus the South African-based Human Rights Commission (HRC) notes in its latest report that the monthly tally of deaths in political violence has begun to decrease: the monthly average for the first two months of 1993 is 170,5, against a monthly average of more than 290 for 1992.

Even allowing for evidence that the downward movement of the graph showing fatalities started in November last year, it is still too

early to draw any definitive conclusions. As Matthew Kentridge, author of a penetrating book on the Natal conflict has observed, the undeclared war there waxes and wanes: what appears to be a tapering off may simply be the lull before the storm.

There is another complicating factor: the decrease coincided with a decision by the police to stop issuing their daily "unrest report", suggesting that the known number of deaths may have dropped because fewer are being reported.

The HRC figures do not take account of the latest killings in Natal. Judging from similar brutal episodes in the past, these massacres, tragically, have the potential to intensify the spiral of political assassinations in that unhappy province.

The latest carnage suggests that the epicentre of violence has shifted from black townships in the megalopolis around Johannesburg to Natal — where it began — not that it has begun to decrease on a national scale.

But the contention that the violence has made free and fair elections impossible must be weighed against a counter argument: that the violence makes elections all the more necessary. Joe Slovo, na-

tional chairman of the South African Communist Party and a senior member of the ANC executive, has put the counter argument eloquently.

"In moving rapidly, now, towards one person, one vote elections, we will show those forces who have unleashed the violence in our country that they cannot stop the movement towards democracy by escalating the body count. But if we falter now, we will encourage ongoing violence."

The counter-argument is positioned on a fundamental premise: that a major cause of the prevailing violence is President de Klerk's illegitimate and unrepresentative Government (it was elected by less than half of an electorate drawn from less than 15 percent of the total population).

Its replacement by a government of national unity after a nonracial election will, it is reasoned, remove a primary cause of the conflict.

But there is a risk that an election may exacerbate rather than reduce the violence if it is held before the violence abates.

The ANC complains that there are parts of South Africa where it cannot campaign because they have been declared "no-go areas" to ANC cadres by tribal poten-

tates. It is referring chiefly to the politics of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, where anti-ANC leaders — Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo — are in power. Areas where rabid white rightwingers are powerful can perhaps be added to these tribal territories.

But the ANC is not a completely innocent party: it has itself contributed to the growth of a "no-go" mentality.

Its supporters have disrupted at least one meeting in a black township outside Cape Town held by the small white-led Democratic Party (DP) and have reportedly been involved in the breaking up of another. A top leader of the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation, Don Mofokeng, has, moreover, vowed to prevent the largely white DP and NP from campaigning in black townships.

"The people ... are not going to allow these parties to come to townships and start discrediting the sons of our land who have fought so hard for liberation," he has stated.

Mofokeng's remarks — which were later routinely repudiated by the ANC — have drawn a riposte from Tony Leon of the DP. "The jury is out," Leon says, "on wheth-

er South Africa can hold free and fair elections."

Leon's remark assumes greater relevancy in light of the arrest of members of the ANC's underground army for smuggling arms into Natal and the defence of their activities by the leader of the ANC in Natal Midlands, Harry Gwala. These events, coupled with the arrest of IFP men for gun-running, are ominous omens.

The ANC and the IFP have already succeeded in putting parts of Natal out of bounds to their rivals; to move freely in particular areas men and women have to carry membership cards of the dominant organisation in that area.

According to Natal farmer and former opposition MP Graham McIntosh, there are ANC and IFP areas within the town centre of Escourt, into which people dare not go without the appropriate membership card. Party membership cards have become the "dompas" of the 1990s, he says.

Unless national leaders campaign in concert for tolerance and take firm action against their recalcitrant followers, the pending election will be won by the party or combination of parties which can carve out the biggest or the most "no-go" areas. □

Violence won't derail talks - Maharaj

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

TO jettison the peace talks because of violence will give its perpetrators a shot in the arm, a top African National Congress negotiator, Mr Mac Maharaj, told a caller on the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* last night.

Maharaj, guest speaker in the place of ANC general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who was unable to participate because of illness, was answering questions on the multi-party planning conference held last week.

"If you postpone talks because of violence, you are actually encouraging those who are engaged in violence.

"All hostile forces must be told: Violence or no violence, the change will take place," he said.

Maharaj said the ANC was convinced that elections could be held

between September and December this year, or at the latest within the first quarter of next year.

"The whole exercise will be meaningless if there is no time frame for transfer of power to the people.

"We know there are politicians who would like to perpetuate themselves in power. This should not hold the democratic settlement to ransom," he said.

Maharaj said bilateral agreements with the Government were not meant to steamroller other parties into a political settlement.

"The agreements are only binding between us and we take our views to the multi-party talks for discussion."

He said Codesa was not a wasted effort in that it set the signposts and the present talks would "pack the flesh on those".

Maharaj conceded that Codesa was

Sowetan
fundamentally flawed in that some participants "grew up under the vestiges of apartheid."

"However, for a constitution to be democratic, it should be as widely based as possible. Codesa's structures would be restructured and streamlined to deliver the goods.

"The management committee recognised at Codesa 2 the need for the restructuring. Last week, the multi-party planning conference seized the signposts and carried over the idea of restructuring," he said.

Responding to Inkatha Freedom

10/3/93
Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's concerns on regionalism, Maharaj said:

"People should forget talking about isms and look at how close the Government is to the people. The IFP would be surprised that its views on regionalism have been addressed by the ANC regional policy.

"We have proposed three tiers of government: on national, regional and local level. What we cannot agree on is a government of full consensus where the interests of the majority would be held at ransom by a minority veto," he said.

Talkback topic Tel: (011) 714 - 8063

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is likely to play a central role in determining the outcome of multi-party talks. A special guest in the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* studio tonight is IFP central committee member Dr Ben Ngubane to speak on the future of talks. You can share your view by phoning Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

NEWS FEATURE *An ANC government would go all the way*

ANC will push for 'small' businesses

Sowetan

10/3/93

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

By Mzimkulu Malunga

PROMISING PROMISE *Government*

should act as a guarantor for business:

THE African National Congress would remove all "excessive legislation" preventing small business from flourishing if it became the government.

The deputy head of the department of economic planning, Tito Mboweni, argues that most small businesses do not meet the loan requirements set by financial institutions.

"It is clear that by definition small businesses would not meet the collateral criteria as it stands now but it is for a future government to act as guarantor for the loans given to infant enterprises," he says.

To supplement private sector assistance to small business, the state would, through its financial arm, need to give loans to the Small to Medium sized Enterprises (SME) as well.

"The state should ensure that every department and parastatal has its sub-contracting work done by small business," Mboweni argues.

Business know-how

The key to small business development is know-how, which the movement plans to nurture through the establishment of training centres charged with the responsibility of cultivating an entrepreneurial culture in this country.

He highlighted services like printing where big business and the government could sub-contract all their printing requirements to small business people.

When South Africa finally gains access to international funds in the form of loans from the World Bank or its private sector arm, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), substantial amounts of that money should be channelled into small business.

The IFC is in fact waiting for a signal from the ANC to start putting in money for black business development.

Among avenues being explored to help the development of small business were tax exemptions.

Such comments normally raise interest in big business circles as to whether there would be a tax incentive for com-



Tito Mboweni ... promise to promote small business.

panies who do business with small to medium sized enterprises.

However, Mboweni's response to such speculation is categoric: "I think big business actually has too many tax incentives in this country."

The ANC sounds a word of caution to SMEs as well. The government could do all in its power as facilitator for the advancement of small enterprises but the ultimate responsibility rests in the hands of the entrepreneurs themselves.

They should be able to seize opportunities when they arise, he says.

Small business people should also refrain from being extravagant and spend money on luxury goods.

"We are not saying people should not buy a Mercedes-Benz but we think the

money could be used productively to help small business break into the mainstream of the economy," Mboweni argues.

Joint ventures between corporate South Africa and the upcoming entrepreneurs have to be encouraged.

Big business would also have to assist small business people with managerial and financial discipline skills.

Communities should be encouraged to buy from the small businesses in their respective residential areas, he says.

"There is a tendency by people to prefer big chain stores to the small enterprises irrespective of the services offered by the SMEs."

There have been calls from a number of circles for the establishment of a separate ministry for small business but the ANC is yet to make a decision on this issue.

Mboweni, however, cautioned enthusiasts on the notion that such a move could increase bureaucracy and fail to meet expectations.

Though big business executives are often ready to express their interest in working with small enterprises, mainstream companies mostly pay lip-service to small business development.

Hardest hit small business people are black traders in the townships who operate in highly volatile areas where delivery vehicles are stoned by groups of disgruntled youths.

While the ANC has always maintained that such activities are in contradiction of the type of society the movement wants to build, the issue cannot be addressed in isolation.

Unemployment and the high school dropout rate in the townships also contribute to the prevailing situation.

Since 1976 an average of about 300 000 young people in South Africa dropped out of school in grade four. An overwhelming number of these were black.

Constitutional negotiating forum makes a fresh start on

April 1

THE new constitutional negotiating forum will start on April 1.

Senior negotiators, who reached agreement yesterday on its structure and operation, said "a new mood of enthusiasm and good spirit" permeated the talks.

The agenda for the first meeting will be decided after next Thursday's meeting of the facilitating committee.

Finality on the agreement will be reached only at Thursday's meeting, but the proposals are unlikely to be rejected as most of the major parties' chief negotiators were present yesterday. They includ-

ed ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Inkatha central committee member Joe Matthews, Kwa-Zulu government representative Ben Ngubane and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, who chaired the meeting.

To streamline the negotiating process, the agreement proposes that the forum be divided into four bodies. They are:

□ A plenary meeting, with 10 delegates per party, convened irregularly as with Codesa. It will be the highest decision-making body with the party leaders present;

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BILLY PADDOCK

□ A multiparty negotiating forum, with three delegates and two advisers per party. It will meet every fortnight with the first meeting on April 1 and 2;

□ A negotiating council, where detailed constitutional talks will take place. Made up of each party's chief negotiator and one adviser, it will meet three to four days a week; and

□ The fourth level, attached to the planning committee, which consists of 10 chosen representatives to keep the forum as a

whole moving forward. It will meet daily.

All meetings will take place at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The thorny issue of chairmen for the forum appears to be resolved, with parties agreeing that at the plenary outsiders such as the two Codesa judges run proceedings. In the other structures delegates will choose a panel. (11A) (3-4A)

Flowing from the negotiating council will be some technical committees.

One committee will assess the status of Codesa agreements and circulate its findings. Ramaphosa said the aim was to find

out how Codesa agreements could form a constructive foundation for the new forum.

Another committee will investigate dispute resolution and deadlock-breaking mechanisms. It is made up of former PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj, Constitutional Development adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Inkatha's Matthews.

Yesterday's meeting could not decide on a name for the new forum. The PAC suggested the Negotiating Forum of SA (Nefsa), others wanted it called Codesa and a third option was Codesa/Nefsa.

Star 10/3/93

Warrant of arrest for Slovo

A warrant for the arrest of South African Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo in connection with a traffic offence, was issued in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on Monday but held over for two weeks. Slovo was supposed to appear after allegedly failing to stop at a stop street in the district on December 11 last year. Slovo told The Star he had paid the fine.

(11A)

ANC-led government unlikely to raise taxes

By Sven Lünsche

An ANC-led government would be unlikely to raise the overall tax burden from its present level, says Professor Dennis Davies of the Wits Legal Resources Centre and an ANC tax adviser.

Davies suggested, however, that the organisation would aim to achieve more equitable revenue income by taking cognizance of vast wealth gaps now

prevailing.

Addressing a seminar on taxes in the new SA, organised by accountants Deloitte & Touche, Davies listed a range of changes under discussion by the ANC.

He stressed there was very limited scope for increasing the tax burden on persons earning R20 000 to R80 000 a year because they already accounted for almost 80 percent of all income tax payments.

"We are moving in the wrong

direction.

"If we want to boost investment spending we cannot raise taxes any further," Davies said.

Nevertheless, within these confines, a number of tax changes could be introduced by a future government, which would ease the emphasis on the lower- and middle-income groups to provide the bulk of tax revenues.

Davies said these included:

- A multiple VAT system with

a high basic VAT rate, a lesser rate for essential goods and services and zero-rating for basic foodstuffs.

While such a system was more complex, it would be acceptable, given future political realities.

- Plugging certain tax loopholes, which have resulted in a marked disparity between the nominal rate of company tax at 48 percent and the effective rate of between 20 to 30 per-

cent.

- Reintroduction of a dividend tax, which brought in R408 million in 1990.

Davies said, however, tax on dividends should only be introduced after a careful consideration of alternative systems to avoid the abuse presently existing insofar as tax planning and pension funds were concerned.

- A land tax, which would be costly to implement, but would allow a future government to

address tenure patterns in its effort to deal with the legitimate claims of 3,5 million people displaced by apartheid.

- Lifting estate duty from its current level of 15 percent to about 35 percent.
- Excluding immigrants from exemption for tax on interest earned by non-South Africans, which could raise about R200 million.

Davies said the ANC was unlikely to introduce a wealth tax to raise additional revenue.



Dennis Davies ... more equitable revenue income

Lack of redistribution plans slated

By Sven Liinsche
and Mike Siluma

Both the ANC and Cosatu yesterday expressed major concerns at key aspects of Finance Minister Derek Keys's economic adjustment programme.

Both organisations, however, welcomed the Normative Economic Model as a valuable contribution to the debate on a future economic structure.

At a press conference yesterday the head of the ANC's economic planning unit, Trevor Manuel, said the model represented the

first time the government was willing to address economic issues in a "non-ad hoc" way.

"It also acknowledged that the current problems facing the economy have resulted from the rigidities of apartheid," Manuel said.

The cornerstone of the model, which has been widely welcomed by business, is sustainable employment creation through higher economic growth and investment.

The ANC objected to the programme for not addressing the mal-distrib-

ution of wealth in SA and not proposing measures to achieve a redistribution of income.

"The socio-economic focus of the model is extremely weak and we are given no indications of an overall development programme," Manuel said.

He was also critical of plans to shift the total burden more towards indirect taxes, such as VAT.

"This will hit the poorest communities particularly hard as they spend a greater proportion of their incomes on basics."

Both Cosatu and the ANC condemned the pro-

gramme's labour policy proposals, which include minimal real wage increases and decentralised wage bargaining structures.

"We see no possibility of agreeing on economic policy goals on the basis of low wages and poor labour standards," Cosatu said.

The ANC said the model's "right-wing approach to industrial relation" laid all the blame for high unit labour costs and poor productivity at the door of the workers and did not examine other factors such as capital costs and lack of training.

Star 11/3/93

ANC gives Marike rough reception

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Chaos erupted in Atlantis yesterday afternoon when police and security men reached for their weapons as angry ANC protesters surged around Marike de Klerk's car as she left a National Party function.

The State President's wife emerged waving from the community hall where she had been guest of honour at an NP goodwill tea for invited guests.

ANC marshals kept hundreds of shouting protesters behind a cordon, but as De Klerk's car moved off, the crowd surged forward, almost choking the exit.

A roar went up from the crowd when a security man running alongside De Klerk's car drew his gun, claiming he had seen someone in the crowd with a firearm.

As the cars sped away, plainclothes police pressed into the crowd and there were angry ex-

changes as tempers flared.

ANC marshals battled to regain control and, after several minutes, got the crowd to sit down on the pavement.

When she arrived at the hall, De Klerk ran the gauntlet of several hundred protesting ANC supporters, many brandishing sharply critical posters.

The clamour rose to a crescendo as her car swept up to the community centre, but as she got out she turned to the crowd and waved.

ANC and IFP join hands in peace bid

Star 11/3/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

In a major breakthrough for peace in the troubled Natal Midlands, the ANC and IFP yesterday made a joint call for calm and agreed to work together to help the police secure the area. (UA)

The call followed a closed emergency meeting in Durban between ANC Midlands secretary Sifiso Nkabinde and IFP Midlands chairman David Ntombela. (IFP)

Both organisations underscored their commitment to stemming the bloodshed of the past week by accepting an invitation for their regional leaders to tour the Midlands with Law and Order Minister Hernus

Kriel today. (IFP)

A SAP spokesman said Kriel had welcomed the joint appeal and would be looking for steps "at grassroots level" to promote peace.

Twenty people have been killed in three ambushes on vehicles near Maritzburg since last Tuesday.

The IFP and ANC leaders jointly appealed for restraint, particularly this weekend when the victims of the ambushes will be buried.

Natal-KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee executive member Siphso Gcabashe said the two parties had agreed to investigate all three ambushes, Sapa reports.

NEWS ANC treasury official allegedly made bogus purchases • Killer can appeal

ANC official on R283000 fraud charge

Sowetan 11/3/93.

■ **BAIL WRANGLE** Official allegedly put cash into his own accounts. *(11A)*

AN ANC OFFICIAL yesterday appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on fraud charges involving R283 000 after he allegedly made fictitious stationery purchases and deposited ANC cheque payments for the "goods" into his own business accounts.

Sakelo Llewellyn Ntile (33), a purchasing and stores officer in the ANC's treasury department, was arrested on Monday and faces 24 charges of fraud.

The State has offered Ntile bail of R10 000 but Ntile yesterday applied for a reduction to R4 000.

Ntile told the court he has no intention of fleeing and that he could justify his actions. Investigating officer Captain

Daniel Kriel said R10 000 was the lowest bail amount that would ensure that Ntile stood trial.

The State has alleged that Ntile set up three closed corporations of which he was the sole member.

Between December 1991 and December last year he allegedly made out fictitious purchasing orders and invoices purporting to represent stationery purchases made from the three closed corporations by the ANC.

Ntile then allegedly requisitioned cheques for payment to the closed corporations. The cheques were deposited into bank accounts opened in the names of three businesses, the State has alleged. Ntile was remanded in custody.



Sowetan 11/13/93.

THE EUPHORIA over the symbolic success of last weekend's planning meeting should remain there — at the meeting.

Beyond the gathering there were no successes. Nothing substantial or contentious was discussed.

The meeting's success rested solely on the fact that the PAC and Conservative Party attended and the Inkatha Freedom Party did not cause any problems.

It is matters of substance and even a palace revolt that could still see the PAC, the IFP and Conservative Party leaving negotiations. Admittedly this is the worst scenario.

The CP and PAC are notoriously dogmatic, as any party with a specific ethnic or racial identity base would be.

For its lack of numbers and depth, this theory excludes, for the time being, the identity-based parties in the tricameral parliament.

Besides the fact that the PAC is seeking to establish democracies of Africans for Africans and by Africans, both parties have separated two concepts which are inexorably intertwined.

Negotiations and compromise are like the chicken and egg situation: which came first?

Both parties seek to establish a state based on (their respective) party policies and not so much on universally accepted principles in whatever form.

That does not mean that the ANC and the National Party are perfect examples of anti-sectarian thought.

Nonsectarian state

These two parties have, in a manner of speaking, identified the need to create a nonsectarian state governed by universally accepted democratic principles.

Both the NP and the ANC have assumed positions that required serious compromises from both.

For the ANC the notion that liberation waves a red flag and rides a horse through a gauntlet of toothless peons (waving smaller red flags) has been supplanted by Realpolitik and a desperate need "to get on with it".

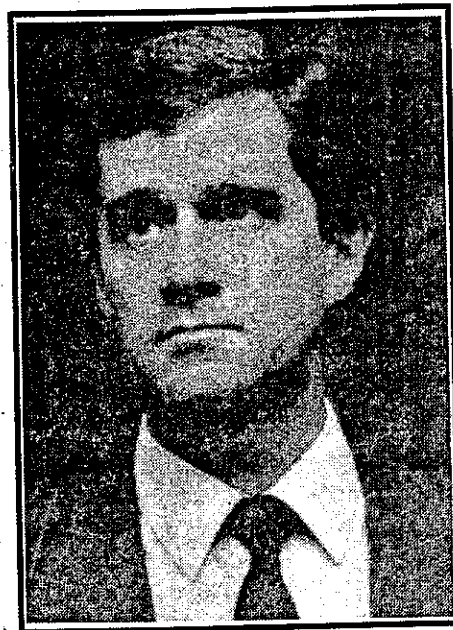
The ruling National Party, inscrutable as always, knows that without the ANC it cannot begin to imagine a future for itself. It has also accepted that, given the parlous state of the economy, for which, incidentally, it is largely to blame, it has perhaps become time "to get on with it".

The same cannot be said for the PAC and the CP or, to a lesser degree, the IFP, all of whom are locked in their own embrace.

The CP wants a separate Afrikaner state, the PAC wants a socialist state controlled by Africans and whatever else happens the IFP wants its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in central

The only success of last weekend's planning meeting was that opposing factions turned up in the same place at the same time. Only Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer really got what they wanted.

Ismail Lagardien reports on the uncharted waters that lie ahead:



Roelf Meyer ... got what he wanted.

government and KwaZulu-Natal within a gentle push of independence or even secession.

These are the three non-negotiables in a (negotiations) process which cannot go without compromises.

Parties are dogmatic

Besides these specific non-negotiables, the three parties are also dogmatic about the process.

That the process should encourage economic stability (at least), let alone growth, is not an issue with the PAC, IFP and CP.

That the process should encourage social and political stability (at least), let alone lasting peace, is not an issue with the PAC, IFP and CP.

The PAC wants the process to go the PAC's way. The CP wants the CP way and pretty much the same can be said about the IFP.

It can be said that the ANC would have liked the process to go its own way. But looking at this movement's ideas about national unity (based

on voter preference) there is a great deal of pragmatism in these proposals.

An interim government of national unity does not mean that the ANC will sell out the ideals and objectives of the indigenous and disenfranchised people.

Less treacherous route

It simply means that the less treacherous route to eventual and unimpeded majority rule, that of keeping the voting bloc that contains South Africa's nefarious security forces in rein, is the better option.

In simpler terms, the NP might represent only 20 percent of the vote but 75 percent of this is the army, the police and civil service.

To summarily dump this bloc would be disastrous.

To the PAC this type of thinking is a sell-out and the leadership of the Africanists have said that much.

It is hardly likely that the CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will sit in any cabinet under anybody who is in an alliance with communists or blacks for that matter.

It is hardly likely that the PAC will take a back seat to the NP in an ANC-led cabinet.

And Buthelezi. Well, the good doctor wants to have a big say in central government and the only say in KwaZulu-Natal.

It is early days yet for the neophytes. One need only reflect on how big the collapse at Codesa 2 was — when they actually started talking about real issues.

Last weekend was a breakthrough for the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and his Government counterpart, Mr Roelf Meyer.

They got what they wanted: the resumption of talks and maximum inclusion.

Beyond lies the uncertainty of the clash between party politics and the national interest.

To abuse an old cliché: You can lead a horse to the water but there's no guarantee that it will drink.

ANC protesters jeer at President's wife

CAPE TOWN — The President's wife, Marike de Klerk, ran the gauntlet of ANC protesters when she attended a goodwill tea in Atlantis yesterday.

She was jeered when she arrived, and as she left scuffles broke out between plain-clothes policemen and the crowd when shouting protesters threw posters at her car. One policeman reportedly drew a gun.

MP Abe Williams, Sport Minister designate, nevertheless declared her visit a triumph for democracy.

ANC officials acted as marshals in cooperation with police as the protesters gathered outside the hall, singing, jeering VIP guests and holding up posters that read: "Jobs, not tea parties" and "Abe is a

puppet".

Williams accepted a memorandum from community organisations and the ANC branch calling for Atlantis to be declared a disaster area because 11 000 of its residents were jobless.

De Klerk told the guests she knew there were many problems in SA. "Yet we must talk. If we have only war and strife and intolerance to look to then we have no hope." The cycle of violence and mistrust had to be broken. "One cannot eat the vote. . . One needs people-orientated solutions and with these solutions we can start before the new constitution." — Sapa.

● Picture: Page 3

BIOM 11/3/93

11A ~~11A~~

Peter Wellman looks at 'comrade' as it is used in the South African lexis

A word with many meanings

CALL someone "comrade" in South Africa and what do you get?

An acknowledgement if you are in the right company; a bunch of fives or a bullet if you are not.

For instance, it would not be wise to call out "Hello, comrades!" to a contingent of Inkatha warriors carrying traditional and other weapons.

The Oxford Concise Dictionary gives the following definition of comrade: "Mate or fellow in work or play or fighting, equal with whom one is on familiar terms."

In South Africa, the word is

rooted in the African National Congress alliance and has the meaning that is today an international password for the struggle against injustice. But the word has been around for centuries. In 16th century Spanish, for instance, *camarada* meant roommate.

Later, English produced *comrade-in-arms*, which is how the Comrades Marathon began after World War 1.

In Germany, the Nazis used the word *comrade*, so German communists used *gonossen* (close friend). The Cubans today prefer *companiero* (companion).

In South Africa today, the word *comrade* is a variable. Nelson Mandela will be *comrade* when he talks to ANC members, but Mr when he speaks to businessmen. In the townships, the word has been shortened to *com*, and, of course, *tsotsis* who pretend allegiance to the ANC are called *comtsotsis*.

One day, perhaps, the Speaker of Parliament will be a *comrade*, which brings back memories of an exchange in Zimbabwe's parliament when Speaker Didymus Mutasa mischievously "recognised" a former Rhodesian Front MP as *comrade*.

STW 11/3/93
11A
The hapless MP insisted that he was no *comrade*, but did not get his word in until he accepted the appellation.

As with many other countries at a comparable stage of social and political development, there will be jokes for years to come about who is a *comrade*, and who is not.

But it is worth bearing in mind that within the ANC Alliance there is no uncertainty and the word is taken seriously. A rule-of-thumb guide is not to call someone *comrade* unless you expect to be called *comrade* in return. □

ANC election victory in Cape 'crucial' — Boesak

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

11A
ARC 11/3/93

A COMPREHENSIVE African National Congress election victory in the Western Cape is crucial as this would make the non-racial nature of the movement apparent to all, says ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak.

Unlike in other regions, Western Cape voters came from a diversity of communities, he said at the launch of a new ANC student/academic/worker structure at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

The structure, to be known as the UCT ANC Forum, aims to:

- Concentrate on raising the ANC profile on campus.
- Facilitate discussion between ANC members and the campus at large.
- Raise awareness that the campus is not an island.
- Identify perceived obstacles to joining the ANC.
- Play a role in disseminating information.

Dr Boesak said it would not be long before an election date was agreed on, judging from the speed of discussions and agreements among the major political players. Once the date was set, electioneering could begin in earnest.

The National Party had made it clear it was "absolutely serious" about fighting for a majority in the Western Cape.

"This is an area where they think they'll be able to win a majority. Therefore it is absolutely crucial to prepare ourselves well for the elections," said Dr Boesak.

He called on students not to be apathetic. Enthusiasm he had encountered on visits to Macassar and



Dr Allan Boesak ... not long before an election date is agreed on.

Touws River had been a revelation that he wished National Party members could see.

"If we can match on campus the enthusiasm in those centres, half the battle will have been won," he said.

UCT ANC Forum co-ordinating committee member Mr Thulani Khanyile said the forum was the culmination of a year of intense discussion.

"We felt a need to identify how the ANC profile could be raised on campus. We felt the best way would be through the campus forum. A similar venture has begun at the University of the Western Cape," he said.

The structure would not be a decision-making body but would be accountable to branches of the ANC and various campus bodies.

It was hoped people would be in a position to cast "an informed vote at the end of the day", said Mr Khanyile.

STAR 11/3/93
Date set for PAC congress (11)

The PAC's northern Transvaal region will hold its first annual congress in Namakgale, Phalaborwa, from March 19 to 21. The theme of the congress — expected to be attended by 250 delegates — is "Land to the African People".

Star 11/31/93
(11A)

Slovo clears up arrest warrant

A warrant for the arrest of Joe Slovo, national chairman of the SACP, was withdrawn in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The warrant was issued on Monday when Slovo, who had allegedly failed to stop at a stop street on December 11 last year, failed to appear in court. It was held over for a fortnight to give Slovo the chance to appear.

Slovo arrived at the court yesterday and cleared up the matter. He said a cheque had been sent to cover the fine and some confusion had arisen over whether it had been received. — East Rand Bureau.

INSIDE JOB

11A

FM 12/3/93

A purchasing officer employed by the ANC, Sakelo Ntile, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Monday on charges of fraud. Ntile was arrested by the SAP Commercial Branch after he had allegedly stolen R284 000 from the ANC.

Last week, Commercial Branch detectives, led by Captain Danie Kriel, searched Ntile's house after the ANC had reported the theft two weeks ago. On Monday, Ntile, accompanied by his attorney, reported to John Vorster Square whereupon he was arrested. He appeared briefly in the magistrate's court on Monday afternoon. Ntile was not asked to plead and the case was postponed. Bail of R10 000 was granted.

Star 12/3/93

ANC, allies consider election pact

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(11A)

The ANC and its allies within Codesa have begun discussing the possibility of forming a broad election alliance to jointly fight South Africa's first election, it was revealed yesterday.

Making the disclosure at a press conference in Johannesburg, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said the possibility of his organisation entering into an election pact with its Codesa allies had been

discussed at a meeting of these organisations yesterday.

Zuma said the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress could be party to such a pact once the "broad Patriotic Front" — formed in Durban in October 1991 — was off the ground.

The matter was said to be receiving attention among the various organisations.

Organisations represented at yesterday's meeting were the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Labour

Party, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, Lebowa's United People's Front, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the governments of Transkei and Venda.

At least 100 organisations are expected to attend the Patriotic Front (PF) conference to be held in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, this month.

The conference, to be held on March 27-28, is expected to bring together the 92 organisations which attended the launch of the PF in Durban.

NEWS Dr Gluckman reports on ANC man's death ● Controversy over wounded man

ANC and allies to join forces for election

11A

■ 100 organisations expected to attend conference:

Sowetan 12/3/93

THE ANC and its allies within Codesa have begun discussing the possibility of forming a broad election alliance to jointly fight South Africa's first all-in election, it was revealed yesterday.

Making the disclosure in Johannesburg, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said the possibility of his organisation entering into an election pact with its Codesa allies had been discussed at a meeting of these organisations yesterday.

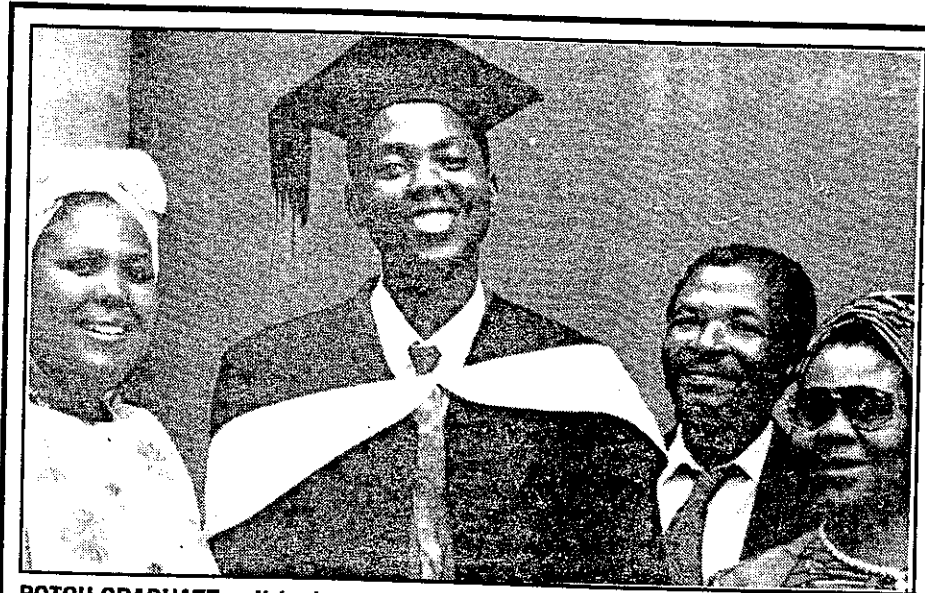
Zuma said Azapo and the PAC could be party to such a pact once the "broad Patriotic Front" - formed in Durban in October 1991 - was off the ground and functional.

Matter is receiving attention

No further details of the proposed pact were divulged, and the matter was said to be receiving attention among the different organisations.

Organisations represented at yesterday's meeting were the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Labour Party, KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement, Lebowa's United People's Front, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the governments of Transkei and Venda.

Following the meeting, it was announced that at least 100 organisations are expected to attend the PF conference to be held in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, towards the end of this month. - Own Correspondent.



POTCH GRADUATE ... It took many years of hard work and dedication for Mr Jacob Thamae (centre) to get his BA degree. Thamae was joined by his sister Mrs Julla Mashigo (left), Mrs Tickle Ntsibe and Mr Kaybe Ntsebe at the graduation ceremony at Potchefstroom University this week.

Social pensions to be equal

Sowetan 12/3/93

■ Budget announcement expected:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political correspondent

BLACK pensioners will receive the same pension as their white counterparts before the end of the year, possibly by October, Government sources have confirmed.

The announcement is expected to be made in Parliament next Wednesday when the Minister of Finance, Mr Derek Keys, tables the Budget for 1993/94.

The Budget then has to be passed by all three Houses of Parliament.

The present breakdown of pensions is as follows: Whites R345, coloureds and Indians R318 and blacks R293.

Besides parity, pensions are also expected to increase by the usual annual average of 10 percent.

Smoking curbs likely

Sowetan 12/3/93

■ **STRONG SIGNAL** Bill will include clause to

ban the sale of tobacco to under 16s:

LEGISLATION to control the use, sale and advertising of tobacco products is to be tabled in Parliament this session, the Minister of National Health, Dr Rina Venter, said yesterday.

The Bill will include a clause to ban the sale of tobacco products to persons under the age of 16, she said at a media conference.

It will also empower the Minister to prescribe by regulation the health warning and details of dangerous substances of a tobacco product which have to appear on the packet or in advertising and to determine which claims may not be used in tobacco advertising.

Anyone selling cigarettes to minors will be guilty of an offence punishable by a fine or

imprisonment, or both similar to that of selling liquor to a minor.

Venter said it would be difficult to impose the ban on selling cigarettes to people under 16.

"There has to be a strong signal sent out on this and I hope the community and all responsible adults will help by laying a charge against people who supply children with cigarettes."

To prevent young people smoking, it was necessary to both reduce access to tobacco and

inducements to smoke it.

Although a health warning has been displayed on cigarette packets since 1986, most smokers had become accustomed to it and ignored the warnings.

"For warnings to be effective, we need a series of clear, well-presented, sizable, rotating health warnings which stress the harmful health consequences and the benefits of giving it up." - Sapa.

The Janus face of confused 'super racists'

W/M Mail 12/3-18/3/93

MEETING Abe Williams, Frank Arendse and Joe Marx — the alleged student-cheat turned cabinet minister, the mayor who was refused a drink in his own town and the lapsed revolutionary who fondly characterises his community as the country's "super racists" — is to share in the quandaries afflicting those who might well be described as South Africa's "confused people".

"I'm a rugby man," says Williams, proudly flapping his Five Nations tie. He's a lot more besides; among other things a fisherman's son who wheeled and dealed his way to the most senior position held by a coloured in South African public life.

Three weeks ago President FW de Klerk appointed Williams minister of sport, the first coloured man to hold a cabinet portfolio.

Williams is a long-standing figure of controversy. If it was not as a "collaborator" in the staging of rebel sports tours it was as a landlord allegedly ripping off tenants. Only last year he was denounced by the University of the Western Cape as a student cheat. Incensed at the way he was allegedly running coloured education into the ground, university staff leaked the charge that he had been caught cribbing during an exam and claimed he had also tried to bribe a lecturer to give him the questions beforehand.

The cheating allegations he shrugged off as "amusing"; imperturbability is the political style of Williams. A former prop-forward gone chubby, he was the picture of bonhomie as he similarly shrugged off my suggestion that De Klerk only appointed him to the cabinet because of the colour of his skin.

He joined the Nats in 1991 and again shrugged off the charge of betrayal. "We must move forward, trying to forget the bitterness of the past," he says passionately. And he insists it is a view shared by the majority of coloureds.

The coloured community is at the centre of a tug of war for votes between the National Party and the ANC.

DAVID BERESFORD profiles three prominent members of the community

Tired of political violence — which they identified with the African National Congress — and scared by the influx of black squatters into the Cape, "they feel threatened. And that makes people feel the norms and standards of the white community is the best for their protection." It is a fear he predicts will translate into an 80 percent majority for the National Party among coloureds in a non-racial election.

The prediction is diametrically opposed by Arendse, who also claims another first in public life. Last September he was elected the first coloured mayor of a white town — Franschhoek, the centre of the country's most celebrated vineyards.

Arendse's rise has also been meteoric. The youngest of 10 children of a farm labourer, he recalls he first wore shoes at the age of 16. Today he drives a Mercedes. A former prison warder, he made his money by opening a pub and off-licence in Franschhoek's coloured township, Groendal.

Last year Franschhoek successfully petitioned the provincial administrator to allow a merger with the township management committee in the name of racial unity and, when two white councillors bucked their ethnic allegiance, Arendse found himself the town's First Citizen. Not all the citizens appreciated his status; a local hotelier refused to allow the new mayor and his mayoress on the premises for a drink on the grounds they were not "members".

Arendse is negotiating the purchase



Marike de Klerk was invited to tea in the coloured township of Atlantis, but...

of a local farm to build housing for indigent labourers being turfed out by local farmers in the face of rising costs. It happens to be the farm on which he was born and from which his family was ejected into penury when his father died 30 years ago. He does not revel in the irony, but says of his life story: "You can understand why the people are so hard against the white man ... I don't hate the white man. But I want to see other skin-coloured people rule."

It is a sentiment among coloureds which, he predicts, will translate into 75 percent support for the ANC.

The tales of the cabinet minister and the mayor earn guffaws from Joe Marx. The temptation is to compare Marx, with his white hair and beard, to his namesake, but the laughter and flow of expletives are too foreign to the British Museum reading room. Which is not to decry Joe Marx's revolutionary credentials. Once a prominent Marxist and executive member of the United Democratic Front, he had been detained twice and had served two years of a personal banning order when Mandela was released in 1990.

He is a fish and vegetable hawk who describes himself, without any sense of hubris, as "the most popular coloured in the western Cape". His

huge belly shakes as he chortles fondly over the coloured community: "When I was in prison I used to tell my interrogators: 'You people are going berserk for nothing. My people are bigger racists than you are. You hate me; my people hate the blacks'."

A cynical view? "No, no ... I only wish to God I could pronounce a different view," he says. His grandfather was a slave and slaves were made to sing praises to the whites for their supper. "If you sang well you got an extra dumpling of pig fat, or whatever," he says. "Our Dutch masters taught our people to respect the white man."

"Coloured people will vote for people like you, who are white, whatever you have done in the past. They have been completely indoctrinated."

But their radical tradition? "Coloured people are good actors," he burbles, breaking into expert mimicry which confirms the assertion: "If you come with an ANC T-shirt and ask, 'who are you going to vote for', they will say: 'Me? For the f-king ANC! Who do you think wants to vote for the f-king Boers? Never, ever!' Then he'll go to the gate and tell his friends: 'F-king mothers, they think you're going to vote for the f-king kaffirs. They must be f-king crazy!'"

Marike

By DAVID BERESFORD
THERE is a certain piquancy nowadays in recalling those unfortunate remarks by President FW de Klerk's wife, Marike, several years ago when she referred to the coloured population as "non-people". Vengeful enjoyment of the recollection lies in the fact that Marike de Klerk's own "people", the Afrikaners, are now arguably dependent on the "non-people" for their very survival as a "people".

As South Africa's fractious political parties continue to bicker over the country's constitutional future it is perhaps premature to anticipate the nature of the country's new dispensation. But to the extent that a drift can be detected it seems to be in the direction of some form of power-sharing related to percentages of the vote won at a non-racial election. Which means that more than three million of Marike de Klerk's "non-people" are likely to prove crucial to the ruling National Party — representative as it is of Afrikaner interests — remaining a significant political force in South Africa.

It is a perception to which the Afrikaner establishment has begun to

BY agreeing to answer regularly, spontaneously, a set of questions which he has not seen, President FW de Klerk has belatedly introduced greater accountability and openness in parliament in the dying days of his party's monopoly on political power.

If the African National Congress takes power, it is going to find a whole lot of practices in place that never applied to the National Party during the past 45 years.

We ought to be thankful to the NP for its expertise. Who else could be more aware of how easy it is to abuse political power, and who could be more capable of constructing a more abuse-proof system for its successor?

The NP has set up an ombudsman for civil service corruption, is fighting to ensure the impartiality of the SABC, has become an advocate of an enforceable Bill of fundamental rights, and is setting up a broad set of mechanisms to control government spending.

It's the principle that the best gamekeeper is a former poacher. As United States president Franklin Roosevelt said in 1933 when he appointed the notorious stock market swindler, Joe Kennedy senior, to head a new regulatory agency to tidy up the stock market: "It takes a thief to catch a thief."

While the NP is at it, perhaps it can go the whole way and hold public hearings on cabinet appointments, as is done in the US. I doubt whether many of the ministers of the past four decades would have been declared fit to hold public office had their selection been subjected to public scrutiny.

I suspect, though, that it's probably Joe Kennedy's telegenic son, president Jack Kennedy, whom De Klerk is seeking to emulate by exposing himself to the cameras in impromptu question time. It is a showcase for the president, clearly the Nats' hottest property in the election. De Klerk's qualities of seeming sincerity and affability, coupled with the art of the quick comeback, generally come across well.

Parliamentary open time is supposed to be based on the British system, but it heads South African democracy more in the US presidential style of election which, in the modern idiom, is the idiom of television.

Starting with last year's US election and developing under the Clinton administration, a "brave new world" is taking shape. The age of the electronic town hall meeting, the instant talk show, the overnight opinion poll is upon us. And South Africa has already gone some way down that road with Radio 702 leading the field.

The temptation is to welcome it as a valuable innovation in participatory democracy. Could an injection of pub-

The poacher makes the best gamekeeper

It has taken many years but FW de Klerk, spurred on by the fact that his party won't be in power for much longer, has decided to introduce substantial changes



By **PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**

lic involvement not help us to overcome the endemic boredom of the multi-party conference?

It would be great fun to mix the multi-party deliberations with the electronic town hall concept. Let people call in from all over the country and vent their feelings to the politicians.

Perhaps we could borrow talk show presenter Phil Donohue as the chairman, or host, storming around the room brandishing his microphone, raising an ironic eyebrow as Piet from Brakpan phones in on the car phone.

It could put some colour into the negotiations that was lost when the acerbic and witty judge, Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed, was hoofed out as co-chairman of the conference.

Instead of a seven-minute metronome, the leader of the Dikwankwetla Party would have 15 seconds — and would be brutally cut off if he failed to come to the point fast.

All eyes would be on the conference, transforming this most important moment in the life of the nation from a bore into something that could command the same audiences as international one-day cricket or soccer.

Unfortunately, it would play into two of the biggest weaknesses of politicians: the tendency to grandstand when given a platform, and cowardice in the face of opinion polls that determine what the public's alleged view on any topic under the sun could be.

And, given the delicacy of the negotiations, unpopular compromises could not be made in the full glare of electronic mob rule. Under such conditions the ANC would never have been able to offer a five-year post-

ponement of full majority rule and the NP would not have been able to scrap permanent power sharing.

Even the US constitution was drawn up in Philadelphia in 1787 behind closed doors. It was not until the final product was assembled that it was taken to the people.

But perhaps a more serious and more immediate hold-up is the unrepresentativity of many of the participants at the talks.

The ever-present danger last weekend was that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the Conservative Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — would walk out. This fear has been held over till the next round on April 1.

The clash over whether South Africa ought to be a unitary state with regional government or a federal state with regional self-rule still lies ahead. The debate is skewed because the 26 participants arrive at the negotiating table without an electoral mandate.

The IFP, for instance, shows a rather immature view of democracy. After the breakup of Codesa last year, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared that the federalist versus unitary state breakdown was eight-all at Codesa, as if it was a parliamentary tie, with the governments of QwaQwa and kaNgwane equal in vote to the NP and the ANC delegations.

This sort of thinking lies behind the insistence of having two delegations at the conference, one for kwaZulu, the other for the IFP. But even if the IFP had 10 delegations at the conference, it would not change the equation, or what is perceived to be the requirement of sufficient consensus.

A more fruitful approach would be to examine the latest polling information to estimate how representative the various positions are.

According to the Human Sciences Research Council figures for 1992, the combined total of the Cosag parties amounted to about 16 percent (10 for the IFP, six for the CP).

However, this was based on a fairly low estimate of the size of the electorate (14-million as opposed to the Department of Home Affairs' 22-million) and excludes Bophuthatswana and the pro-ANC Transkei.

Mark Orkin, of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, has extrapolated that if one includes Bophuthatswana and Transkei, and reallocates the HSRC's 10 percent undecided vote, the IFP and CP together would get 14 percent, with negligible support for the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments. The national figures would then be (with the original HSRC calculations in brackets): ANC 55 (43), NP 20 (21), IFP 9 (10), CP 5 (6), Pan Africanist Congress 2 (1), Democratic Party 1 (1).

According to a Research Surveys poll in November 1992, based on interviews with 3 850 respondents countrywide, the scoresheet looks like this: ANC 60, NP 17, IFP 5, CP 6, DP 4 and PAC 8. That puts the Cosag parties down to 11. Thus, the maximum range of Cosag, if it chooses to dissent, would be between 11 and 16 percent.

The only question then is whether they would have a regional veto anywhere. As Research Surveys have not yet done its regional arithmetic, one is left with the HSRC figures. Here, the IFP would have something resembling a veto in kwaZulu/Natal, with 37 percent against 21 for the ANC, 15 for the NP and one for the DP. The inclusion of the two for the CP would give Cosag a 39 to 37 advantage in Natal.

However, this contrasts with the polling data of Research Surveys which gives the IFP roughly half of the HSRC figures nationally and, one assumes, substantially less in Natal.

What it does reveal is that, on any of the available estimates, a deal between the NP and the ANC would amount to sufficient consensus nationally. While it is desirable that a settlement be as inclusive as possible, none of the other parties has the moral right to delay democracy.

And, if they don't like the deal, or don't believe the polling figures, they should put their money where their mouths are. A national referendum could give a genuine taste of popular opinion.

Time has come for the people to have their say

B/D my 12/3/93,

11A

WE POLITICIANS have all had our say. It is time now for the people to have their day.

For the past three years we politicians have spoken to each other, at each other and past each other. We have been in bilaterals and multilaterals. But beyond the walls of the World Trade Centre, there is a growing impatience with our speechifying. It is really time now for the people to have their say.

And the most immediate and direct way for the people to have their say is, of course, through an election.

Let the people elect their representatives to draw up a constitution. They will show clearly why it is that some of us are in no hurry to make progress in negotiations.

In moving rapidly, now, towards one person one vote elections, we will show those forces who have unleashed the violence in our country that they cannot stop the movement towards democracy with an escalating body count. But if we falter now, we will encourage ongoing carnage.

In moving forward, we must try to get as broad a consensus as possible. But, if some among us want to hold the process hostage, then — with or

without them — we must proceed. We cannot allow history to be stopped by the roadblock of personal ambitions and narrow, sectoral power play.

We must move rapidly towards elections. But these must be (and they must be seen to be) fair. This means that conditions for free political activity have to prevail everywhere including the areas under the control of some present at the multiparty planning conference.

I am absolutely convinced that across an extremely wide ideological spectrum, from free marketeers to communists, believers and non-believers, there is an emergent national consensus — in fact, a national impatience.

The great majority of South Africans, black and white, want a new, nonracial constitution, they want a multiparty democracy, they want a justiciable Bill of Rights, and, above all, they want progress.

In moving towards a new constitutional dispensation, the SACP is not talking about a "communist" or an "ANC" constitution. We want an SA constitution. We want a united SA that respects the diversity of cul-

RED ALERT

JOE SLOVO

tures, of languages and, indeed, of political beliefs.

But we also want an end to artificial barriers. We want an end to racial social engineering. We want an end to joke-states and petty fiefdoms. However, we do have a homeland policy. We want a homeland that most of us have never had. We want one homeland for all of us, from Cape Agulhus to the Limpopo; a homeland in which our unity will be enriched by our diversity.

Once more the eyes of SA are focused upon us. Those eyes are more and more impatient.

Most impatient of all are the 7-million unemployed, the 9-million who, according to Operation Hunger, are now in need of food aid, the homeless, the landless, the illiterate, the millions of women — black and

white — discriminated against at home and in society.

Those eyes remind us that fine words about "democracy" are not enough. There can be no delay in beginning the long haul to redress centuries of colonialism and decades of segregation and apartheid. We have to begin, in the transition itself, a major process of reconstruction and redistribution. Without such a process, our new constitution will become a dead letter, our new democracy an empty shell.

There is a reluctance to let go by those privileged by apartheid and by those in the black community who owe their positions to apartheid. We have heard endlessly about minority fears, about the need to reassure minorities. We have given these assurances almost beyond the call of duty.

But what about the majority? The majority have fears too. Indeed, their fears are even greater and more understandable.

These are the fears of the poor and oppressed. They fear that change will be cosmetic. They fear that power will remain the privilege of the few.

The people have very basic hopes

— they want a roof and no: just a new flag over their heads, they want clean running water, they want their children in school, they want to work, they want to live ordinary family lives.

These are their basic hopes. And they become fearful when they are told that these aspirations are "unrealistic". Of course, there are no miracle cures.

But let us ensure, though a major effort to redistribute opportunities, skills and resources, that the majority of our people will see not just a new constitution but a new life, in which they themselves are the main agents of change.

Yes, we politicians have all had our say. It is time now for the people to have their say, as voters and as builders of a new SA.

Our job as politicians is to facilitate that process, or to get out of the way. And the starting point is the reconvening, within weeks, of Codesa which must finish its business, sitting full time, within one month.

□ This was SACP chairman Slovo's opening contribution to the multiparty planning conference last weekend.

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

Wine industry should take lead in...

should know better) is quoted (Busi-

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

FM 12/3/93.

Smile on the face of the tiger

11A 43 3057

The country should not work too desperately for rapid political consensus, in case it masks problems that will only surface later. To be sure, we all feel comforted and relieved when Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa, the chief negotiators for government and the ANC respectively, emerge smiling from the latest round of "crucial" talks.

After so many disappointments and betrayals along the road already, there is anxiety for peace at any price. It is easy to get impatient when parties other than the ANC and government raise objections; we agitate for progress.

In particular, we become impatient (and nervous) when the IFP gets difficult. But consider what might happen if the legitimate objections of the IFP are ignored — and legitimate objections may be defined as those whose principles can be extended beyond the private political agenda of the IFP or its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The IFP has long objected to the idea that an elected constituent assembly should be entrusted with writing a new constitution. The basis for this objection has been best expressed by Herman Cohen, the retiring US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa — not a man renowned for taking sides in SA, least of all that of the IFP.

Cohen was quoted in *Business Day* this week as saying that he had no doubt about how a new constitution should be written: "If a constituent assembly, which is elected by one-man one-vote, makes all the decisions, then you have not had negotiations. And if you don't have negotiations, you have

severe insecurities on the side of minorities."

This is plain commonsense — so plain, in fact, that the only way the consensus-obsessed media have found to deal with it is to ignore it. Yet it can be argued that so important a creation as the national constitution should be the responsibility of experts — whose work would then indeed have to be ratified or rejected by an elected assembly. This was once, roughly, the view of the NP too — but such is its lack of bargaining power that it was forced to concede on this crucial point. No wonder Roelf smiles: he has no ammunition to speak of and must bluff his way as best he can.

It is all very well for the toiling negotiators to talk now about agreement being reached by the strange process of "sufficient consensus." We can be sure that when the members of an elected assembly take their seats, they will have the moral authority to decide by majority — simple, two-thirds, whatever — on any clause of any measure put before them. By then, the mysterious concept of "sufficient consensus" will probably have the status of a cute footnote in history books.

We do not need the IFP and Herman Cohen to tell us that an elected constituent assembly — whoever is in the majority — would be as qualified to write a new constitution as it would to perform the work of a rocket scientist.

Yet the ANC and the Nats have apparently reached consensus on this. Perhaps it is time for the rest of us to let them know it is not sufficient. ■

Jigsaw arithmetic

FM 12/3/93

~~SCPA~~ IIA



Donald Simpson is a leading election analyst attached to Potchefstroom University

An analysis of the 1991 census, recently presented by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar in parliament, reveals some important electoral facts.

There is only one area in SA which does not contain an indigenous "black" South African majority — that is, of course, the western Cape. The "coloureds" make up 58% of the population in this projected region (see box) and blacks only 15%; whites are an influential 26% and Asians 1%. The elections here could be the most exciting in SA, with the predominant coloured group deciding whether there will be an ANC majority in this area.

The ANC has proposed the creation of an additional, effectively Xhosa electoral region in the eastern Cape, which would mean 10 regions in SA — one more than the nine proposed by the Development Bank. If this proposal were accepted, it would leave the remaining eastern Cape vulnerable to attack from the ANC viewpoint, since blacks would make up just 50% of the electorate in the remaining eastern Cape area.

The National Party and the Department of Home Affairs favour only seven regions. The Nats basically accept the nine development regions but combine the western Transvaal with the northern Cape and the eastern Transvaal with the northern Transvaal.

There is an argument that the western Transvaal and northern Cape region — containing Bophuthatswana — could produce a surprise and that Natal might yet have an Inkatha majority on election night.

The tricameral electors (whites, coloureds and Indians) could be a decisive factor in five areas: western Cape (85% of population) and eastern Cape (50%), northern Cape (40%), Natal (21%) and the Witwatersrand (36%) and could be influential in the western Transvaal (19%). The degree to which the

African majority do not vote as a bloc for one party will give the tricameral electors a chance to elect parties that will hold the balance of power in a regional assembly. In Natal, for example, an even IFP/ANC split of votes could leave the tricameral electors able to decide the area's government.

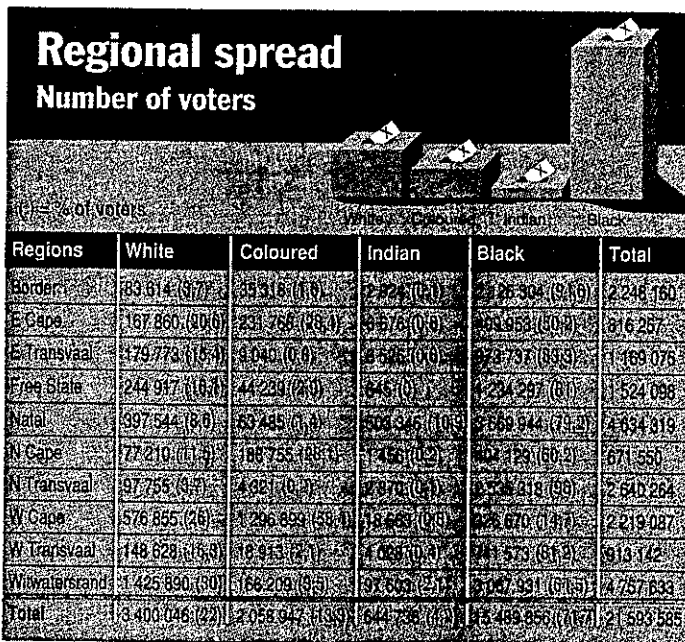
In the western Transvaal and northern Cape, a comparison can be made with the southern part of Namibia in its 1989 election. The liberation movement equivalent to the ANC (Swapo) failed to get even 20% of the black vote in southern Namibia. The

The regions the ANC can most likely count on in an electoral battle for SA are: Border, eastern Transvaal, northern Transvaal and the Witwatersrand. There will be a substantial vote, if not an easy majority, in the eastern Cape, Free State, Natal and the northern Cape and this will guarantee the ANC at least 50% of the total vote and, with proportional representation, the same amount of seats.

If five regions do not have an ANC majority — including the western Cape, northern and eastern Cape, Natal and western Transvaal — this would

present problems for the ANC, analogous to the position President F W de Klerk faced after the 1989 election when the Conservative Party controlled the northern, western and eastern Transvaal and most of the Free State and the DP had a substantial hold in Natal, Johannesburg and the Cape peninsula.

The proposed government of national unity will address the issue of decentralised power but it is already clear that strong regional governments disposed against the centre



Ovambos were seen as dominant in Swapo; similarly, the Ngunis could appear all-powerful in the ANC. The ANC has been careless in its treatment of this huge region.

The PAC and Azapo are dominated by Tswana- and Sotho-speaking leaders who will have an appeal in their home areas. The PAC's Dikgang Moseneke, from Mafikeng, like many black consciousness leaders, is a Robben Island "graduate" with all the credibility that gives. So, in the western Transvaal and northern Cape, the ANC faces a challenge from the Left, the Nats, Bophuthatswana leaders and the Ventersdorp/Potchefstroom rightwing presence.

and covering half the area of the country, could be formidable opposition.

Blacks comprise 72% of the total number of voters but this estimate, which includes many guesses in the TBVC states, might be too high. Black birth rate projections in the past 20 years have been overestimates.

The tricameral voters will provide the National Party with about 28% of all votes in SA and any black votes or votes for its allies will be a bonus.

The IFP is looking at about 10% of the total vote from these figures.

The ANC could score a maximum of 60% of likely votes — but it could be much less.

Star 1213193

IFP-ANC leaders trade accusations and insults

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Natal ANC and IFP leaders yesterday traded bitter accusations when they visited the sites where 20 people, including six children, have been killed in the past 10 days.

But despite the suspicion and acrimony, the two sides have agreed to talks to try to stem the bitter conflict in the Table Mountain area.

The agreement followed a visit by Law and

Order Minister Henus Kriel who, together with IFP and ANC leaders, flew by helicopter to sites where the recent violence occurred.

Sapa reports that bitter accusations flew thick and fast from the start, and the party leaders traded insults and accusations in front of journalists.

ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala accused parties to previous peace talks of talking peace during the day and kill-

ing at night.

IFP central committee representative James Ngubane criticised the ANC for refusing to hold bilateral discussions with the IFP.

In a separate development, Lawyers for Human Rights member Anne Strobe said international funding had made a witness protection programme for the area possible. The programme would try to find homes and jobs for witnesses.

Next week's Budget will not address the enormous economic and social challenges facing South Africa. These include extreme inequalities and poverty, economic stagnation and escalating corruption and inefficiency in the state.

The Budget represents a crucial instrument in addressing these problems. National budgets are not just about number crunching or balancing the books. They express the political priorities of the government of the day. From what we can learn, the 1993/4 budget will show that the government cannot:

- Eliminate racial and gender inequality in its own expenditures, much less on a broader scale

- Address inefficiency and corruption in government spending

- Design democratic and consultative processes for controlling the Budget.

In essence, the Budget will not change the pattern of spending. The largest vote is likely to be education, followed by interest on the deficit, health, defence, prisons and pensions.

Compared to most developing countries, South Africa spends heavily on education and health, in particular. Nonetheless most South Africans still suffer from inadequate provision of social services. South Africans are worse educated and less healthy than people in a score of poorer countries. If we could rigorously redirect spending in these areas, we could vastly improve health and education. We do not need more money, but a Budget which can set appropriate priorities and ensure the effective use of its resources for those in need.

Similarly, we need a clear development plan to ensure the effective and efficient use of government resources to restructure the economy to increase exports and generate productive employment opportunities. By improving tax revenues, growth would also provide a long-run check on deficit spending.

In the absence of a clear-cut development strategy, what does the Budget give us? Last year, the state spent R3-billion — almost three percent of the Budget — on the General Export Incentive Scheme, whose virtues remain debatable. Over the past decade it has also paid for costly strategic projects such as Mossgas.

By themselves, Budget allocations do not tell the whole story. Corruption and goal substitution run rampant through government. The central state has lost control over spending, while tax collection remains woefully inefficient.

The defence budget exemplifies how the Budget process generates corruption and inefficiency. This fiscal year, virtually half the defence vote — some R4,4-billion — went into a secret fund. The Budget gives no information on how that money was spent. Since it gives no goals or

Budget will merely bolster inequalities, says the ANC

W/M and 12/3 - 18/3/93

The forthcoming Budget will not redress the imbalances created by 48 years of apartheid, say NEVA MAKGETLA and LESETJA KHANYAGO of the ANC's Department of Economic Planning

targets, effective auditing cannot take place.

This secret defence vote was twice the housing budget or about half the national deficit. In itself, it proves the inability of the government either to break with its brutal past or to ensure the open and accountable use of public funds.

Inefficiency and corruption also plague collection of state revenues. Over the past 10 years, direct and indirect taxes on individuals have risen and, in part because of bracket creep, become more regressive. The introduction of Value Added Tax generated much lower revenue than expected. Meanwhile, company tax stands nominally at 48 percent. In fact, well under 20 percent of company income went for taxes through the 1980s and early 1990s. By contrast, in the United States, companies paid between 35 and 45 percent of their income.

Because of inefficiency, while the state budgeted for a 4,5 percent deficit this year, the actual deficit will probably come closer to nine percent. In sum, the government has used the Budget, not to address problems of inequity and stagnation, but rather to maintain the privileges of a minority. In the process, it permitted a few corrupt civil servants to loot the treasury.

State officials have virtually admitted their inability to overcome apartheid patterns in spending in the coming year.

They have no concrete plans to equalise spending on education. The so-called Education Renewal Strategy foresees an end to inequalities in this area only after 10 years.

The state seems to have no plans to ensure a real shift in health spending from high-cost, inefficient tertiary care to more appropriate primary facilities. It has given neither a clear definition of primary health care nor target dates for changes

in funding.

In housing, the state has still to establish institutions that can provide adequate shelter for South Africa's homeless and poor. An allocation of some R2-billion was made for housing last year; as far as we can tell, that sum led to the construction of fewer than 15 000 homes and a somewhat larger number of site-and-service plots. Much of the funding went through the racially separate houses of parliament, which makes us wonder how much of it actually helped the homeless.

In welfare, most observers expect the state to respond to the demands of the democratic movement by equalising spending on pensions for black and white pensioners. Similar expectations were raised last year, only to be disappointed. In any case, the level of government pensions remains low. And the bureaucracy dealing with black pensioners has proven insensitive and slow. As a minimum, we demand an equalisation of pensions.

The Budget process generates corruption and militates against democratic rule. Above all, the deep secrecy that surrounds the Budget ensures that, as in the past, a tiny group of white men controls the destiny of the entire nation.

True, Finance Minister Derek Keys and others claim they have consulted more widely. But they have never opened up the discussion within individual departments on the use of funds.

The state has repeatedly shown that, for obvious political reasons, it can move toward parity only by increasing overall spending, not by using existing resources more equitably. Only a democratic government can begin to reduce the privileged access to government resources that a minority now enjoys.

Accountable, transparent and fair government is not merely a slogan. It is the product of democratic, open and accountable institutions.

The ANC and others have proposed specific changes that can bring about a more appropriate and efficient Budget, one that can tackle the challenges facing South Africa today. These proposals include:

- A performance auditing agency. Like similar bodies in Europe and North America, it would assess state spending not only in terms of financial soundness, but also in terms of efficiency in reaching stated goals.

- An independent fiscal commission. The commission would: investigate the existing chaotic and unfair tax and expenditures structure, operate on the basis of open and full consultation and end all secret expenditures.

- A rolling multi-year budget with an overall development plan.

Only an active and representative parliament can ensure that bureaucrats allocate and use funds appropriately.

CROSS TALK

THE TWO-DAY planning conference for the resumption of multi-party talks, held at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg last weekend received mixed reactions from the media and political commentators.

The reactions expressed hope and scepticism.

There was hope because for the first time the conference included parties from both the left and right of the political spectrum. Five of them, including the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party, were newcomers to the forum.

There was scepticism because it became abundantly clear there were still a lot of differences among parties in finding a lasting solution to the country's problems.

Nevertheless, apologists of "negotiation politics" emphasised the fact that there were no walk-outs, and that all parties present, save for the CP, endorsed the resolution to resume multi-party talks within a month. All this, for them, indicated "progress" and a "sense of urgency" to reach a settlement.

Azapo was a notable organisation absent from this conference. According to some media reports, the ANC and the PAC, following last week's conference, are expected to try to persuade Azapo to join talks next time around so as to make them fully representative.

What is the essence of Azapo's objection to the present talks?

We have pointed out that for us negotiations should be, as a minimum requirement, about the formation of the Transitional Authority consisting of international representatives.

The task of this body would be to restrict and demobilise the apartheid armed forces, appoint independent election and media commissions and prepare the country for the election of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a democratic constitution.

Such talks must be presided over by a neutral chairperson to deny the regime the advantage of being a

Planning talks fall foul of Azapo

SOUTH
13/3-17/3/93

11A
11A

The planning conference is over and political groups are preparing for real negotiations. But Azapo, which boycotted the conference, wants some fundamental changes before it agrees to take part. The government cannot be player and referee and it is essential that talks take place on neutral turf, argues **SIPHO MASEKO**, Azapo chairperson in the Western Cape. He explains Azapo's absence at the talks:

player and a referee at the same time, and, might we also add, to prevent a mockery such as the one that occurred last week when all 26 participants at the conference wanted to be allowed to chair.

In addition, the talks should be held at a neutral venue so that the regime would be unable to use its dirty tricks such as tapping or bugging its opponents' telephone lines before and during the talks.

Only when these requirements are met will Azapo participate.

We envisage a settlement that will lead to two elections: one for the Constituent Assembly and another immediately after the drawing up of a constitution to form a government.

We are saying this because, con-

trary to the propaganda that is fed through the liberal press, the first elections in South Africa would not be like the recent British, Kenyan, Ghanaian, Nigerian or American elections.

In those countries people voted either to elect a new, or re-elect an old, government because they liked (or did not like) their policies on the economy, family values, health schemes, one-party systems etc.

In short, in those countries these were elections which normally take place after a five-year period, or as a result of pressures to extend or expand "democratic" practices where they have been previously denied.

Above all, these elections were taking place in independent,

It will only be during the second elections when people would consider as a primary concern issues of economic, health and education policies. Hence, we insist that the second elections must be held immediately after the task of a constituent assembly is finished.

In short, all we are saying is that the first elections in South Africa will be about the realisation of the goal which gave birth to the liberation movement in the first place. Otherwise, the second elections have no reason to exist.

It is against this background that Azapo is calling for the revival of a genuine Patriotic Front for the liberation forces to adopt a unified approach when dealing with the regime and its allies.

This approach will ensure that when we (as the Patriotic Front) campaign for the elections, the votes of black people in those election are not split unnecessarily among the different organisations of the broad liberation movement.

For in essence the casting of their votes will be for liberation. Such an approach would also strengthen our commonly shared positions at the negotiation table, such as having a unitary state based on majority rule, as opposed to a federal structure based on power sharing, even with the smallest minority parties.

We reiterate that "any negotiations that take place without the existence of such a front will keep on foundering or be weakened".

In the second elections, the status of the liberation forces will change into real political parties, and they might decide to part ways or stay together.

It is at that stage when there would be campaigning in a conventional sense, that is, canvassing votes on the basis of sensible economic, health and education policies, and also addressing the questions of how to combat unemployment, poverty, homelessness, etc.

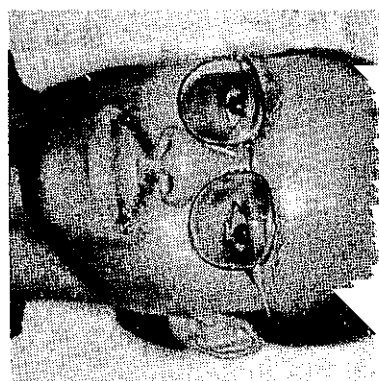
The task at hand now is to mobilise the vote that would lead to emancipation from oppression and exploitation.

We insist that a second round of elections take place immediately after the task of a Constituent Assembly is finished. It is only the second elections that will deal with policies'

sovereign states. South Africa is neither an independent nor a sovereign state. This is a fundamental difference we must acknowledge. Therefore, the first so-called non-racial elections will not be about politics *per se*.

These are going to be elections primarily for the liberation of black people, on the one hand, and the maintenance of the status quo, albeit in a revised manner, on the other hand.

Putting it differently, the value of every "black" vote cast will count as a vote for liberation, and the value of the majority of "white" votes cast will count for the preservation of "privileges", "rights" and "property". It is as simple as that.



'No' to summit (117)

The Azanian People's Organisation has refused to attend a Patriotic Front summit planned for Lenasia, near Johannesburg on March 27 and 28 if representatives of the homelands or tricameral parliament bodies such as the Labour Party, Solidarity and the National People's Party are to attend. — Sapa (117) 13/3/88

um — out where some say the lunatic fringe hang out

Azapo on talks and takeover

APR 13/3/93 (11A)

■ Both their organisations are regarded by many political commentators as verging towards the "lunatic fringe", and both are still humble — and gentlemen. **BRENDAN SEERY** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff spoke to them.



□ **Dr Gomolemo Mokae: Policy of non-collaboration.**

and observer force is in place to oversee the process and monitor the security forces.

"This forum is not at all neutral, it is an extension of the government's overall plan of 'divide and talk'," he remarks.

And while the talking is under-

way, the violence continues.

Dr Mokae believes that the BC ethos should be taken to heart by all black South Africans, regardless of political affiliation, as a way of reducing the violence.

"Apartheid has dehumanised us. The anger we feel about being weak in the face of the power of the system is directed to our brothers. We don't regard them as people and kill them like animals. BC is the antidote which would give us the heightened self-image which would make that wanton viciousness disappear."

And Azapo and the BC movements know the violence whereof Dr Mokae speaks.

While Biko may have died at the hands of apartheid, countless others perished in later strife within the liberation movements.

Dr Mokae regards the philosophies of white rightwingers as "unfortunate" and "born out of a fear of what black majority rule will bring".

There will be massive redistribution of wealth in Azapo's socialist Azania and land will be "restored to its rightful owners", but there is no suggestion all white land will be seized.

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IN Dr Gomolemo Mokae's surgery there hangs a picture of South Africa's Malcolm X, Steve Bantu Biko.

The man who died after horrible abuse by security police and who is synonymous with the Black Consciousness philosophy would not be unhappy with Azapo's decision to boycott the multiparty negotiations, says Dr Mokae.

"We are committed to a policy of non-collaboration with the structures of the system. Steve Biko would not have wanted to become involved in negotiating with a government which effectively holds all the trump cards."

Azapo feels that there can be no real negotiation until a foreign, multinational peacekeeping

Azapo says no to Front talks

CT 13/3/93
PRETORIA. — Azapo has given a firm thumbs-down to the Patriotic Front summit planned for Lenasia near Johannesburg on March 27 and 28. (11A)

Publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday that as long as the homelands and the parties currently in the tricameral parliament, such as the Labour Party, Solidarity and the National People's Party, were represented on the front, Azapo would stay out.

Dr Mokae added Azapo representatives would meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela next week.

Mandela to mourn with Buthelezi

ARLT 13/3/93



■ Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi will appear together today to mourn the lives of six Natal schoolchildren

MARITZBURG. — African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are likely to appear together in public for the first time since January 1991.

Both have announced their intention to attend today's funeral of six children slain in an ambush in Mboyi, near Pietermaritzburg, last week.

Mr Mandela yesterday told supporters at rallies in Wembezi and Bruntville, in Natal's Midlands, he would attend the funeral to grieve with the relatives of the children who were shot on their way to school.

Dr Buthelezi, meanwhile, announced on Thursday he would attend the funeral, scheduled for this morning in the tiny Mboyi settlement near Table Mountain.

Yesterday Mr Mandela claimed the killings were a deliberate attempt to heighten animosity between the two organisations. He also said the ANC's version of events around the massacres differed with that of the police and the organisation was carrying out its own investigation.

Mr Mandela is being accompanied by top ANC leaders on his weekend visit to the war-torn Midlands. His delegation includes SA Communist Party secretary general Chris Hani, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Cosatu's John Gomo.

Speaking at Estcourt, he called for the formation of a national peace force comprising a wide range of political, religious and

international organisations to stop the violence. He said the peace force should be located within the National Peace Committee and the commander should be appointed by the United Nations with other international organisations, like the Organisation of African Unity and the European Community, controlling him.

The planned visit by Mr Mandela to the Ladysmith area today has been cancelled after a further serious outbreak of violence yesterday in strife-torn Ezakheni in which a former ANC chairman was shot and killed.

The decision to cancel was taken after Mr Orbit Mapanga had been killed while he was making arrangements for Mr Mandela's visit.

He will address a meeting at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg tonight. — Sapa.

Beware the frustration of the youth

SOYTH 13/3-17/3/93

THERE is a popular misconception about who the destabilisers would be of a new order in South Africa. Many believe it would be right-wing groups, apartheid's bureaucracy and generally the old order at the forefront of resisting change to a negotiated solution.

But I disagree. I think it would be the frustrated sections of the oppressed, and especially the youth, who hold the greatest potential for destabilising the new system.

If the new dispensation fails to address the needs and expectations of the oppressed, the youth would become its worst enemies.

During the struggle, it was always the youth at the forefront of the battle.

This selfless choice was often at the expense of their self-development. It was they who chose to bear the brunt of savage state repression, it was they who sacrificed their childhoods in the fight against apartheid.

And what could they show for all their sacrifices?

Thus far, they have become spectators to the negotiating process that is essentially about them. They were forced to be Codesa watchers or passive recipients of talks reports.

Since negotiations started, and behind the scenes they started as early as 1986, the youth have not seen an improvement in their lives.

Even though we have had two years of negotiations, the situation must yet change on the ground. This has led to disgruntlement among the youth and a widespread disillusionment with the political process.

They do not feel that they belong, and until they become involved in the process, the potential for destabilisation remains.

No-one can talk about the future without taking the youth into account. After all, they have to live under the new order.

Their participation was not encouraged by any deliberate policy of any of the negotiating organisations. Some argue that this is unavoidable due to the nature of negotiations. But it is not and should not be the case. Negotiations should involve all those affected.

In many instances worldwide, transformation was aborted because changes were rejected by those for whom they were intended.

I do not agree with the concept of a "lost generation". It implies an army of street kids whose oppressed social position could always be justified because of the past.

No generation can give birth to another and then feel justified in trampling on them later.



SPEAKING OUT

Peter Mokaba

President, ANC Youth

League  

Their position should rather serve as an added motivation for a quicker transformation — and yet talks drag on without change.

In Zimbabwe, for example, within a year of independence negotiations started, elections were held and a new government installed.

But in South Africa people are no longer sure what is happening. An issue constantly bugging the youth today is whether negotiations are about the things they fought for.

There is a strong indication that the ANC might end up in bed with the NP.

On the one hand, it may be a correct strategy as we are all South Africans and must

find common ground. On the other hand, the majority still regards the NP as the enemy.

They were the orchestrators of violence and it was proved that they waged war against the ANC. Thus it is difficult to stomach a power-sharing arrangement between the two groups.

This is not simply youth militancy. It is a legitimate concern about the advent of democracy in this country.

We have no problem with parties contesting elections, and proportional representation is important — but it should certainly not extend into the make-up of the cabinet.

The period immediately following elections would be the most crucial in the country's history. With the country at its most vulnerable, we would need a strong government to execute a far-reaching package of reconstruction and renewal.

A government of consensus, as the NP wants, will never achieve this.

It would be just as dangerous to pamper the old bureaucracy and promise them that their jobs are safe for the future.

What would this mean for affirmative action and transformation if these organs of power are not addressed?

Why do these bureaucrats deserve special treatment over the oppressed of this country?

Any arrangement which does not lead to the introduction of majority rule will not be good enough. Any compromise that allows the present government to cling to power is threatening and should not be tolerated. Nowhere in the world has this worked.

Portugal and Chile are apt examples. In both cases revolutionary forces made many compromises with the old order, which laid the seeds of bloody counter-revolutions later.

We should not provide the space for counter-revolutionary forces to regroup so they can fight us later. They should rather be dealt with now. There is no reason why this has to be postponed.

These are all issues which the ANC Youth League is taking seriously and would be taking up with ANC leaders.

Don't get me wrong, I am not against a government of national unity. It is an important part of nation-building. However, democracy should not be threatened along the way.

If the NP is to be part of this temporary government, it should not be on the basis of force but of magnanimity on the part of the ANC — and we must mobilise to defeat the NP convincingly at the polls for this to happen.

Marike gets tea, but no sympathy

By Quentin Wilson

MRS MARIKE de Klerk tasted more than cream scones at her lavish Atlantis tea party on Wednesday. The state president's wife also sampled the anger of the coloured residents she was trying to woo.

Hundreds of ANC protesters thronged around the Saxonsea Community Centre, forcing Mrs De Klerk and her invited guests to be hurriedly escorted by police from their flashy cars to the function.

Many protesters attacked Mrs De Klerk for the anti-coloured remarks attributed to her in 1989.

Her host, Mr Abe Williams, the newly appointed sports minister, was also a target of the chanting demonstrators.

Before being bundled by police into the hall, De Klerk waved at the demonstrators while Williams grinned at his opposition.

Inside the hall the 70 guests, dressed in their Sunday best, sat at the tables and were served by waiters, who openly admitted to being policemen.

The police male choir provided the entertainment.

A few of the guests wanted to put questions to Mrs De Klerk after her speech but they were stopped.

This was a tea party, not a time for asking questions, said Williams.



ON THE TRIGGER: a plainclothes policeman reacts to jeering ANC protesters as Marike de Klerk tries to escape from her Atlantis tea party

Photo Yunus Mohamed

Some guests walked out in disgust, some even joining the demonstration outside.

"At the school where I work, there is a shortage of textbooks and other necessary facilities," Ms Mareldia Adams complained.

"I wanted to ask her what can be done. Now I'm not even allowed to say anything.

"What good is this tea party if we

can't even ask questions. Cakes won't solve these problems. Besides, as a Muslim, I'm fasting anyway."

During his speech, Williams claimed that Atlantis enjoyed the "best infra-structure on the West Coast". This also proved a sore point for many guests, who murmured in disbelief.

"How can he say such a thing?" asked Ms Olga Fortune, a guest

who later joined the ANC's demo. "In Atlantis, there is only one school hall that has to be used by all the schools in the area."

After the proceedings, Mrs De Klerk's chauffeured car struggled to pass through the crowd.

A portion of the crowd moved in on her car, blocking her way and shouting abuse. Police then moved in to clear the way.

20 Voter education

PR system favoured for SA ...

PROPORTIONAL Representation (PR), judging from media reports, seems to be a favoured option by parties deciding on a future electoral system for South Africa.

Proportional electoral systems are one of three major types of electoral systems, the other two being plurality and majority systems.

Proportional systems have the most accurate method of translating actual votes cast in a party's favour into the number of seats won by that party. Therefore this system is thought more effective in a multi-party situation.

From the above, some political researchers believe proportional systems work better in deeply divided or multi-ethnic societies than plurality and majority systems.

Overall, its strongest feature is that the party that comes to power will be the one winning most votes.

Proportional methods may be divided into two main types: party list methods and the single transferable vote.

Party list methods are used by all West European countries with the exception of Portugal and Poland. There are a number of types of list system.

The main difference between various list systems lies in whether the voter is given a choice in the candidate standing for a party.

Even if the voter is given some choice, all list systems mean the voter votes not only for an individual candidate, but for the party itself.

This means that if a voter's choice of candidate either had no chance of being elected or has more votes than needed for election, the vote cast may be used by the party to help another candidate on the list whom the voter may not even support or approve of.

Most lists reflect only one party's candidates. Of these, some allow the voter no choice regarding which candidate on the lists gets his/her vote. Some allow the voter to



VICTORY: Sam Nujoma being sworn in as Namibian president by United Nations secretary general Javier Peres de Cuellar

extend his/her choice of candidates in preferential sequence.

Some lists, however, contain the names of candidates from different

parties. This means a voter can still vote mainly for his own party, but also for people from another party.

The single transferable vote is

based on the premise that representation is of individuals, not parties or communities. The voter is therefore given the widest possible choice of candidates from all parties standing for elections.

Because voters vote on preferential basis, their first vote may be transferred to another candidate whom they also voted for if the first choice either has no chance or already has enough to be elected.

This means that, unlike party list methods, the voter's vote can never be used to help a candidate whom the voter does not support. The possibility of transferal needs to be authorised by the voters themselves. This system has shown itself less accurate in terms of proportional representation than plurality or majority methods.

Party systems simply refers to the number of parties a system contains.

People usually refer to two-party, multi-party or one-party systems. In two party systems such as America and Britain, two parties of equivalent size and with roughly equal prospects of winning, compete for power and usually one of them gains victory in terms of executive authority in parliament.

In multi-party systems a number of parties contest elections and government is usually done through

coalitions. However, sometimes one of the competing parties wins sufficient votes to constitute a majority on its own.

Government in this case may alternate between single party and coalition government.

Political scientists have had difficulty in deciding where the cut-off point between a two- and multi-party system actually arises, as in the case of Britain.

The reality is that more than two parties sit in parliament. However, only two of those parties have decisive impact on national issues.

Giovanni Sartori, a political scientist has given the following guidelines: a party is relevant to the classification between two- and multi-party if, firstly, it wins parliamentary representation and, secondly, it wields enough influence to form a coalition itself or drive its main opponent into forming a coalition.

In this sense the British system while not numerically a two-party system, is effectively one.

Sartori also noted that in multi party systems, the degree of polarisation between party coalition seems to become greater the more parties exist in the system.

This also is linked with the degree of ideological distance between the parties and the number of distinctly separate positions held by them.

... but can we afford it?

THERE are some political observers who believe the costs of a proportional representation system outweigh the advantages.

They believe the best way to overcome the weaknesses of the PR system in South Africa is to build a constituency basis into the election system while maintaining proportionality in parliament.

In this way, seats will still be awarded to parties in proportion to their percentage vote but voters would be able to choose individual candidates on the ballot paper.

With a pure PR system, if parliament consisted of 400 members and the ANC won 60 percent of the national vote, they would be awarded 240 seats.

Likewise, the DP would win 20 seats if they polled five percent of the national vote.

But, observers warn, the parties' MPs would not be accountable to the constituencies.

These are some of their other warnings:

- The PR system encourages factions to break from existing parties and compete on their own. PR always weakens the largest parties and strengthens small, minority parties.

In many countries with PR election systems no one party, or even a two-party coalition, gets a majority of votes in parliament.

Endlessly making and breaking coalitions means party elites trade-off compromises and shape and reshape party programmes every few months, as coalitions come and go.

PR can lead to paralysis of legislative programmes of reform and the blocking of even minor reforms for decades.

In South Africa, PR might smuggle in a minority veto through

the back door. Every time a government appeals to a tiny party to help make up its 51 percent of parliament, the minority might agree only on condition there is no land redistribution or affirmative action.

- The parliamentary opposition is also fragmented into many parties. This means any alternative coalition also falls apart soon. So the ruling party need not fear that growing corruption, dictatorial style or policy changes will make it lose power.

- While PR may paralyse a parliament, it does not paralyse the bureaucracy, military and police from action. In South Africa, these institutions are hostile to the majority and will take time to be transformed.

- PR means every electoral appeal must be nation-wide. This favours the wealthiest parties able to pay for TV and radio advertisements costing millions of Rands.

Express 14/3/93

Azapo says no to Patriotic Front

AZAPO has given a firm thumbs-down to the Patriotic Front summit planned for Lenasia near Johannesburg on March 27 and 28. (11A)

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokoae told SABC radio news on Friday that as long as the homelands and the parties currently in the tricameral parliament – such as the Labour Party, Solidarity and the National People's Party – were represented on the Front, Azapo would stay out.

TALKS GIVE RAY OF HOPE

Parties agree on the need for speed

Suppl to CIPress 14/3/93

"We're ready to roll!" That was the mood at the close of the multiparty planning conference, when 25 of the 26 delegations decided to get into real negotiations within a month.

It was agreed that the multiparty negotiating forum would start no later than April 5. Only the Conservative Party did not support this resolution at the end of the two-day gathering. However, it is expected that they will take part in the forum.

ANC delegation leader and secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa summed up the mood of the participants when he said: "This sends a ray of hope to the entire country".

Government delegation leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers said he was delighted with the outcome of the conference and that he was optimistic that negotiations were now on course.

"The talks went very well. I am satisfied with the conclusion," said De Villiers.

Minister of law and order, Hernus Kriel said he was encouraged by the PAC's commitment to end violence. He said the PAC endorsed a resolution in this regard and that he believed armed action by the PAC and APLA should or must come to an end.

The participants ranged from rightwing parties or organisations such as the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, to the PAC on the left wing of the political spectrum.

Earlier there were tense moments when it looked as if the CP would walk out of the talks.

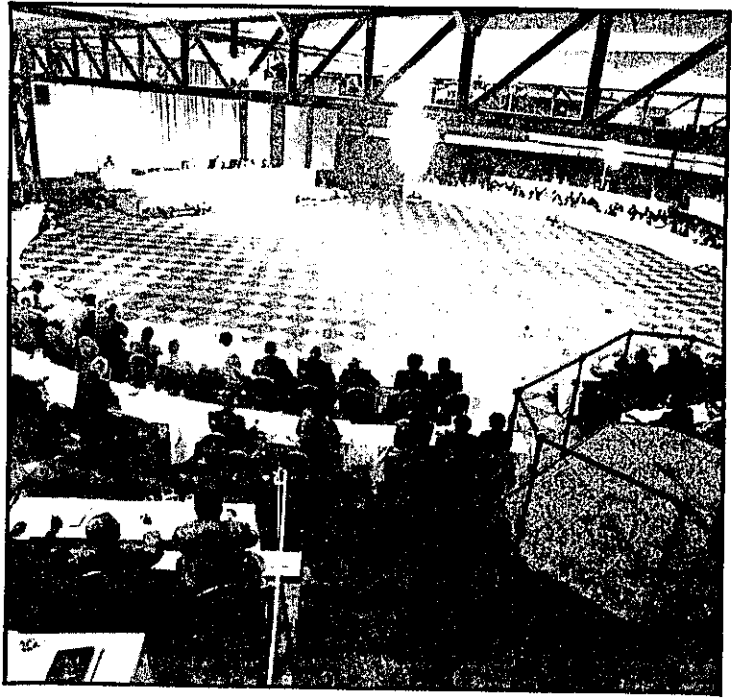
The CP insisted that the conference was about to review the failures and shortcomings of Codesa. Their spokesman, Tom Langley also said the question of

Umkhonto weSizwe, Apla and violence had to be discussed before a decision on dates for the start of full-blown talks could be made.

The only role player not present at the talks was Azapo, though both the ANC and PAC are likely to persuade the movement to take part in forthcoming talks.

Participants to the conference agreed that the negotiating forum will have a new structure and name.

A 26-person committee comprising all participating organisations - including the CP has been formed to facilitate the launch of the multi-lateral talks in April.



Parties ranging from the PAC to the Afrikaner Volksunie, gathered for talks about talks at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park.

DICTIONARY

Optimistic: to feel positive about something.

Endorsed: when you endorse something you support it.

Spectrum: entire range of anything arranged by degree.

Full-blown: actual or real.

DICTIONARY

Personalities: people who are well known are called personalities, for example Shado Twala, Darcen Morris and Muhammad Ali are all personalities.

Gymnasium: a place or building with appliances that help people to exercise.

Postponed: to postpone something means to put it off for a later time.

Misunderstanding: to take words or actions in the wrong way.

Ali to arrive in South Africa

Muhammad Ali, the champion boxer, will arrive in South Africa on April 10. His tour of the country could last as long as a month.

Ali will be the guest of three different groups, the SA National Boxing Co-ordinating Council (SANBCC), Southern Sun and the Boxing Development Network.

During his visit he will also meet local Muslim bodies.

According to SANBCC president Solly Selebi, Ali will go to Durban first. He will spend three days talking to boxing personalities and looking at boxing gymnasiums in the townships.

Selebi said Ali will be in Johannesburg on April 15 and will spend a few days here.

"We've planned a big function

in Ali's honour at Nasrec's Old Buck Auditorium where he will have a chance to meet boxing fans before touring the Soweto gymnasiums," said Selebi.

He said Ali would also be in East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Selebi said Ali would not be asked by the SANBCC to donate money towards the development of boxing in the country.

"But if he feels like donating something to us, he is most welcome to do so," Selebi said.

M-Net Super Sport have agreed that at least some parts of Ali's visit will be on television.

Ali was supposed to have come to South Africa in February, but his trip was postponed due to a misunderstanding between the SANBCC and the Development Network.

There must be no revenge, says Mangosuthu at funeral

C/Press 14/3/93

BUTHELEZI'S CRY FOR PEACE

By ELIAS MALULEKE and Sapa

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called for reconciliation and unity at the funeral of six children slain by gunmen near Maritzburg last week.

Buthelezi also urged his supporters not to revenge the deaths.

The service at Emboyi in Table Mountain for the six pupils - Thulani Mkhize, 19, Nduna Mkhize, 13, Thule Mkhize, 9, Ngce Mkhize, 10, Wanda Ngubane, 12, and Nomusa Gwala, 12, - was attended by over 2 000 people including UN peace monitors and other international observers.

At the funeral Buthelezi said the massacre in Natal's Table Mountain area last Tuesday and the two that followed must not result in further bloodshed... "it is now time that we embarked on a healing process; that we reach out in search of conciliation".

In a dramatic move Buthelezi addressed most of his speech to the six slain youths as if he was communicating with them directly.

"Your suffering will never, ever, be forgotten. To us the light of your lives will shine forever. Your laughs will ring again in these hills and other children will praise your names.

"There can be no finer moment to you than for the people of SA to join together as one... to put an end to the kind of terror to which you were so despicably subjected to."

Earlier ANC president Nelson Mandela had to



Earlier, ANC president Nelson Mandela had to cancel plans to attend the funeral. ANC executives said police had advised them that due to the volatile situation in the area Mandela's safety at the funeral could not be guaranteed.

Buthelezi touched down in a helicopter at the funeral at 11.30 am and gave a brief press interview in which he reiterated his call for joint peace rallies with Mandela to end the violence.

Buthelezi also said he was not aware of Mandela's intended presence at the funeral and pointed out that he and Mandela nevertheless shared the same anguish over the massacre of the children and other people.

At a rally at Bruntville township in Mooiriver on Friday, Mandela strongly condemned the massacre and called the killers "inhuman".

"The people who killed innocent children should not be called people. They are animals," he said.

He said if it was established that the killers were ANC members, they would be expelled from the ANC fold.

Mandela said it was wrong for the ANC and Inkatha to attack each other at public meetings, saying this practice only fuelled the violence because the "third force" exploited this friction to launch its own agenda and attack innocent people.

■ Meanwhile, Sapa reports that two people, including a KwaZulu policeman, were killed in an attack near KwaMakutha south of Durban on Friday night.

Their bodies were later set alight.

Police said the policeman and three friends had been driving through the township when their car went out of control and crashed into a nearby bush.

Four youths approached them and offered to get more people to help.

They returned later with a group of armed people who immediately opened fire on the occupants, killing the policeman and one of his friends.

The other two occupants of the car managed to escape before the attackers torched the car, burning the two bodies.

The names of the victims have not yet been released.

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Spe



LUXURY SMOKING FROM
COURTLEIGH OF LONDON,
MAKERS OF THE WORLD'S
MOST EXCLUSIVE CIGARETTES.

MADE IN
SOUTH AFRICA

By THEMBA KHUMALO

MANY white Afrikaners were like mussels - they had closed themselves tightly around their hurt and viewed everyone outside their shells as somehow less than human.

This was told to University of Pretoria students by ANC Afrikaner Karl Niehaus.

His presence on the campus evoked bawls of protest from CP youths, but Niehaus got his message across to applause.

His talk, on why the ANC did not recognise Afrikaaner national symbols and the white republic's anthem, *Die Stem*,

Niehaus ignores the CP hecklers

was occasionally disrupted by cries such as "Ver-aaiër" (traitor) from the crowd of about 150 CP youths.

They also sang snatches of *Die Stem* each time the ANC spokesman tried to explain the history of *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika*.

Niehaus was flanked by a few black ANC supporters.

He said Afrikaners' acceptance of apartheid flew in the face of the

abuse they had suffered historically. It was surprising that Afrikaners failed to understand why blacks hated apartheid's symbols.

"Maybe it's because we have, like mussels, closed up around our own hurt and find it difficult to regard those outside our small circle fully as people.

This evoked the loudest howls and yells from the hecklers.

An Afrikaans woman

who narrowly avoided a clash with the CP youths, said afterwards: "These CP guys are so infantile it's disgusting. I think the CP as an organisation are the most intolerant lot politically. This thing about them being suddenly prepared to negotiate their *boere state* is a mere farce."

In July Nelson Mandela's speech on the campus was aborted when rightwingers shouted him down and took over the platform.

The CP's behaviour was condemned by university official Professor CWI Pistorius and DP and NP student representatives on campus.

The pain of apartheid lingers on

THERE is no earthly or heavenly reason why we South Africans should be so lucky.

I am led to these thoughts by the savagery and blatant irrationality of the civil war in Angola.

I remind myself of similar acts of civic collapse in Mozambique and countries like Ethiopia, the Sudan and Somalia.

There is no reason why South Africa should be spared such chaos with its abominable civil rights record and pathological racism straight out of the Dark Ages.

Instead of our one continuous cry, we should be thankful for small mercies.

Most of us have forgotten, and thank God many of our children do not even know the type of evil that dogged our every step in the dog days of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd or Dr DF Malan.

What made the apartheid crimes even more abominable is that they were couched in "civilised" terms, and practised by people who claimed to be Christian.

There was a time when the regime and its priestly apostles believed they had Divine sanction to impose dehumanising restrictions on blacks, like the Pass Laws and Influx Control.

There was a time when those who were part of what we called The System believed they had God's right to murder people in jail, to attack our neighbours and generally deliver all sorts of mischief, injustice and damage on those who were not white like them.

It was made even more disgraceful because it was the iron fist inside the velvet glove that constantly stunned the oppressed.

The deepest irony is that the apostles of apartheid and others who benefited from such terrible ways are likely to get away with it.

... what is happening now is the

victims of apartheid seem to be suffering from the type of pain -- if things are fair -- that should have been the just desserts of the apartheid architects.

It is no small wonder that many young radicals cannot abide all the talk about the New South Africa.

It is no small wonder that those who have been in the struggle for so many years feel they have had the liberation rug pulled from under their revolutionary feet by the Machiavellian machinations of President FW de Klerk.

The irony becomes even more bizarre when you consider men like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Wilton Mkhwayi -- men who spent the best part of the lives in jail -- seem to have forgotten and forgiven the grave ills that apartheid heaped upon them.

The rest of us feel rather sheepish to be holding onto old gripes.

I guess some of us have the space to vent some of the spleen, as in this column, to make us feel better.

I can take all the imprisonment that the apartheid masters laid on me; the truth is I spent a lot of time breaking and spending time in jail for silly little laws like the Pass and Booze laws.

I can stomach all the uncertainties, the running away from the cops 24 hours a day.

The worst humiliation that still rankles was when some guys picked us up for a pass while I was taking my elderly mother to a doctor.

No sympathy.

Instead they seemed to be jeering more at the pain in my mother's face than the naked fear in mine.

I am, however, too lazy to hold a grudge against such people, both the physical perpetrators of such humiliations and the men who sat behind desks at the Union Buildings; or, wherever, thinking up these terrible and insulting edicts.

Sowetan 1st 3/93
The world, or rather life, is most unfair.

While most of the people on the continent who treated their people with contempt and cruelty seem to have been adequately repaid -- in a process that is alas also taking the victims down with them -- the evil people who ran the juggernaut

apartheid machine died fairly peaceful and happy lives.

One does not wish to sound revengeful, but those who were either silent or active participants of the evils of apartheid also seem to be spared the payment of their sins.

**Aggrey
Klaaste's**

**On the
LINE**



Rival leaders ready to meet

11A
Sowetan 15/3/93
RESOLVING CONFLICT Mandela and

Buthelezi call for peace and reconciliation in SA

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela on Saturday said the time was right for him to meet his arch-rival, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Interviewed by SABC TV news in the Natal village of Swayimane, where he attended a funeral for victims of recent violence, Mr Mandela said:

"One issue we're clear about as far as the ANC is concerned is no useful purpose will be served by me meeting Chief Buthelezi if he does not meet the conditions I have set and if we, as the ANC, do not meet the conditions that he has set.

"We must meet because we have now reached a consensus on the issues that are under dispute."

Working committees of the two organisations have for months been working on creating the right conditions for a face-to-face meeting between the two leaders, who last appeared in public together in 1991.

Feuding between the ANC and Inkatha has been identified as the main cause of South Africa's political violence by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation.

Mandela and Buthelezi on Saturday issued separate calls for peace and reconciliation in South Africa. — *Sapa*.

focus on Azapo

A GOVERNMENT run by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) would build a participatory democracy based on the principles of scientific socialism.

Explaining Azapo's economic policy, the head of the economics secretariat, Mr Mandla Seleoane, said the economy would be worker-centred and would be developed towards self-reliance.

The economy would be centrally engineered away from neo-colonialism, imperialism and world capitalist domination which, Seleoane said, did not serve the interests of black people in South Africa.

He said it was important that the economy was worker-centred and valued participatory democracy.

This would be a crucial political weapon in the process of transforming the white-dominated, racist, settler-colonialist and capitalist structures of production.

These processes, he argued, are essential ingredients in revolutionising the political and socio-economic orders.

They would also change and democratise social relations in an Azanian society.

Seleoane said other objectives of the document included the socialist framework for growth with social justice welded into the system.

Economic independence was an essential ingredient.

The repossession and reconquest of land through socialism constituted the historical and material basis for the complete liberation of black people in Azania.

"To obtain total liberation, black people must liberate the land completely from the system of white racism and settler-colonialism which have an adverse effect on the potential capabilities of black people as the rightful owners of the land," Seleoane said.

He argued that it was not possible to realise the liberation of blacks without "liberating the land".

"That is why we in the Black Consciousness Movement believe in the slogan of liberating the land in order to liberate black people."

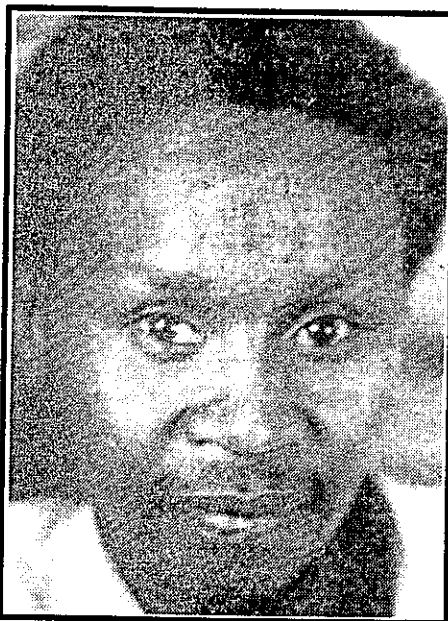
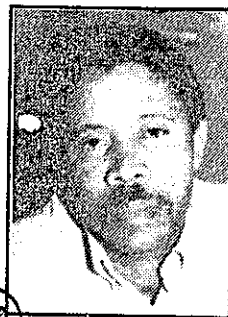
Seleoane said land, as a basis for development, constituted the foundation upon which various activities of the community could take place.

He said because of centuries of living a landless life, blacks had become passive in relation to their social environment.

"Consequently, the effective realisation of the policy of land repossession and reconquest by black people is primary to the total destruction of the passive relationship to the land."

The Economic Policy Document, he argued, made a case for the transformation of the *status*

Mandla Seleoane, head of Azapo's economics secretariat, spells out the implications of the party's economics policy to **Joe Mdhlela**:



Mr Mandla Seleoane, head of Azapo's economics secretariat.

quo, removing from the face of the earth "the racist capitalist social framework which dominates all spheres of social life, including the subservient tribalistic homelands which have historically ensured the maintenance of structural and political domination of black people".

He maintained that a "viable economic policy and strategy for dynamic social and human development in a socialist Azania must deal effectively with the sustained passive relationship of black people to their social environment".

He added that all this would depend "upon the ownership of the basic means of production that primarily serves as the source of national wealth creation as well as the principle of distribution".

Although black workers and peasants were responsible for the production of national wealth, their share of the fruits of their labour was minimal, he pointed out.

As a result blacks were impoverished.

Seleoane said the document did not mince words about the poor quality of life the majority

of blacks endured.

This confirmed the failure of South Africa's capitalist system, which thrived on black people's dispossession of land.

He said an Azapo government would, where necessary, adopt an economic strategy of expropriating land without compensation.

This land would be re-distributed on the basis of historical, political and economic considerations.

Not for the timid

He said organisations of the Black Consciousness Movement, including Azapo, were fully conscious of the "insuperable difficulties" usually cited by those against the socialist order.

"For the BCM, scientific socialism is not an economic policy and system for the timid," Seleoane argued.

He said the BCM rejected as garbage the notion that the redistribution of the land should be on the basis on economic gradualism.

"This notion was based on the premise that the Azanian people would obtain land gradually, depending on the willingness of the current landowners to sell.

"The BCM discards this economic strategy as unworkable and grossly misleading.

"This strategy is based on a false assumption that landowners, both foreign and domestic, would readily avail their land for sale to a socialist government in order for this land to be redistributed among workers and peasants."

The hypothesis overlooked that unequal distribution and private ownership of the land are the major sources of concentration of wealth and income, and social privilege and power in the hands of a small minority.

On agriculture, the BCM would give attention to a process of transforming capitalist farms in order to eliminate exploitation.

The rural villages, the document argued, would be organised into co-operative farms.

In addition, a BCM government would make available "politically committed cadres to mobilise Azanian farm workers to enhance their socialist consciousness.

Seleoane said a crucial aspect of the document was that socialism was not for the faint-hearted.

Meeting must be fruitful — Mandela

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday ruled out a meeting with IFP leader and KwaZulu chief minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi until he was convinced such a meeting would be fruitful.

Speaking at a press conference

after his three-day visit to strife-torn areas of Natal, he said he was not prepared to see Chief Buthelezi "until proper preparations" for such a meeting had been made.

He said ANC and IFP delegations were preparing for discussions but "I am determined not to make any move to see Chief Buthe-

lezi unless I am convinced that that meeting will be fruitful".

He said the ANC had already met Chief Buthelezi twice and took decisions, which, if implemented, would have put an end to the violence or at least reduced it.

"But we did not succeed and one of the reasons was the lack of preparation for the meeting."

Mr Mandela appealed to ANC supporters to engage Inkatha supporters in talks to try to end the killings which claimed 20 lives in three ambushes in the past 12 days and 1 500 in the province last year.

"We are devoted to peace, particularly with the IFP," Mr Mandela said. "Go to Inkatha support-

ers and tell them you are their flesh and blood.

"IFP members are our flesh and blood, there's no reason to slaughter one another," he said.

He said he had wanted to attend the funeral of six children slain in an ambush two weeks ago, but had not received co-operation from Inkatha.

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi also called for peace and conciliation after Saturday's planned meeting between himself and Mr Mandela was cancelled "for security reasons". — Own Correspondent, Sapa

●Vital to prevent civil war in SA — Page 2

CT 15/3/93

(111A)

THERE are two extremes in the black community: the radical black nationalist comrade and the "self-hating nigger" type who wants to be white. Andile Mzaidume tries to steer a middle course.

It is no easy task. As the Soweto chairman of the Democratic Party he has to run the gauntlet of militants who feel the DP has no right to operate in a black township. The 50 Soweto residents who attended a branch meeting at the Funda Centre in the township at the weekend, for example, avoided wearing DP T-shirts.

But Mzaidume insists the DP is not a white elitist party. "You might have Zach de Beër and Tony Leon in the leadership, but there are ordinary people in the party as well," said the 41-year-old computer programmer this week.

He attributes his "open mind" on political questions to the years he spent at the liberal, multiracial Swaziland private school, Waterford-Kamhlaba, where he wrote O-levels in 1970. He sends his own children, Mbeko and Noluthando, to the Holy Family Convent in the posh Johannesburg suburb of Parktown, lamenting the fact that they cannot get decent schooling in the township.

Mzaidume comes from a middle-class background — his father was the principal of Orlando High School and he was raised in what was then considered an elite Soweto suburb, Dube. He was accepted at Leeds University in the United Kingdom, but never went because his father wanted him to study in this country. But because he did not study Afrikaans at Waterford, he could not get into a local university. "In those days you needed a black language and Afrikaans."

Never a radical, he has nevertheless suffered all the petty humiliations to which black South Africans are heir. His refusal to learn Afrikaans was in part motivated by an experience in Brakpan where Afrikaners forced him to walk around them on the pavement.

And when he joined IBM in 1974 as "what they called customer engineer, but that really means a technician" he confronted polite corporate racism. "One came across the attitude that whites have towards the black man: they

Running the gauntlet of intolerance



Andile Mzaidume believes in democracy Photo: GUY ADAMS

Why would a black man join the Democratic Party?
BAFANA KHUMALO speaks to Andile Mzaidume, chairman of the DP's Soweto branch

believe you are automatically inferior."

Training for blacks took place over a period of two years, while that of whites was shorter. "There were instances where you would train a white person and he would end up being your senior," he said.

It was at this point that Mzaidume believes he became an activist. After trying unsuccessfully to tackle his problems by going to his senior, he wrote a letter to the IBM head office in Paris. A consultant was sent out to investigate, and confirmed Mzaidume's criticisms — causing friction between him and white employees. In 1986 he left IBM to go solo as a computer programmer, doing maintenance work and sales.

Why did Mzaidume join the DP? "Basically I believe in democracy and I looked around. Democracy as expressed by the DP falls within the range of things I believe in.

"The African National Congress has been too violent. In the past people said we blacks had no legal means to express ourselves. My contention is that you cannot make up for oppression by killing somebody."

Mzaidume does not believe mass mobilisation is necessary to achieve change. "I don't think that marching in the streets is going to achieve anything for us," he says. "Emancipation for black people will be through economic empowerment.

"What we should be striving for is black people sitting in boardrooms influencing those decisions that affect us at the end of the day."

He cites with approval agreements between trade unions and employers to give shares to workers instead of increases. "That was a step in the right direction."

Mzaidume is aware the DP "is perceived as a rich man's party". But he sees it as his duty to ensure that it represents "the interests of the man in the street". Conceding that the ANC will win an election, he insists "the DP will make a showing. How good it will be depends on how we address the perception that we are elitist.

"It's all very well having these fascinating policy documents, but for most blacks, economics is not about reducing government spending.

"It's about having a job and being able to send your child to school."

The DP had so far failed to translate its policies into accessible terms because "it is slow to react, which I think is a problem with most white institutions".

A victim of intolerance — he says his family house was petrol-bombed in 1977 because his father had incurred the displeasure of his students — Mzaidume is highly critical of the lack of openness in the townships.

"The people who give us problems when we walk in the streets do so in the name of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress. The top structures of these organisations preach tolerance, but it never filters down to the grass roots.

"This is an area where extensive education will have to take place. People will have to be taught that if a guy belongs to another party, it's no reason to chop his head off."

ANC, Inyandza in pact



THE Inyandza National Movement of KaNgwane has joined forces with the African National Congress.

The two organisations established an election pact after a meeting at the Songimvelo Nature Reserve in the Eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Both Inyandza and the Eastern Transvaal region of the ANC committed them-

Soweto 16/3/93.

■ Homeland party to help ANC in pending elections:

selves to an election front to be led by the ANC. The pact involves an undertaking by the Inyandza not to take part in the forthcoming elections as a separate party.

The meeting also resolved that Inyandza would participate fully in all

decision-making and campaigning structures relating to the elections.

Inyandza general secretary, Professor SS Ripinga, and ANC regional chairman Jackson Mthembu said they were committed to winning the forthcoming elections.

AS PART of its bid to convert the sword of sanctions into the ploughshare of economic assistance, the ANC hopes to sign a co-operation pact with the state of New York, to go into effect as soon as a "new multiracial government" is in place. The organisation may not see US-style federalism as the right model back home, but clearly it is interested in making use of the original.

A draft of the agreement, apparently readied for signature by Governor Mario Cuomo and ANC president Nelson Mandela when the latter was in the US for President Bill Clinton's inauguration, is circulating. With New York state legislators even now trying to pass a Bill to discourage US banks from lending to SA, the sooner the thing is signed the better.

In terms of cold resources, the agreement is likely to be pretty meaningless — the kind of symbolic gesture that local US politicians are prone to when they aspire to strut the international stage. However, its mere existence will perhaps encourage other state and local jurisdictions to stop boycotting American investment in SA when the ANC gives the word.

To say this is not to be rude to the ANC. Its heart is now clearly in the right place. But it must be realistic, or that heart is going to be broken, repeatedly.

New York has what it calls "international partnership programmes" with a number of countries. The agreement would extend such a programme to SA "in areas of economic development, education, small business development, trade and investment, culture, science and technology".

The text offers no guarantees that the state will do anything, only that it "may". Left unclear is whether this means it might, if it felt so inclined, or that it will, if permitted to do so by the new SA government. Perhaps

ANC should be driving a harder bargain with US

SDM 16/3/93

~~SDM~~ ~~16/3/93~~ ~~11A~~
SIMON BARBER in Washington (11A)

subsequent drafts will adopt a less subjunctive word.

Under the heading of economic development, what New York "may" do is "provide advice". Topics might include "the non-white majority's capability to own and control the means of production", "advancing the economic competitiveness of the new multiracial SA" and "structuring a civil service system". Whether New York has anything worthwhile to say on such issues, especially the last, is open to debate.

More importantly, however, the state undertakes to promote trade with and tourism to SA. If all that means is that it will get out of the way and stimulate others to follow suit, the pact is more than worth the paper on which it will be signed. If the state goes further, and provides tangible benefits like scholarships to its universities and technical schools and internships in its public health department, so much the better.

And maybe the ANC is asking for too little. Much of what New York "may" do seems to imply nothing more than busy work and travel excuses for bureaucrats. What about asking Cuomo to offer local tax incentives for firms that invest in SA?

Mandela should use all the moral suasion at his disposal while he still has it to squeeze substantive advantages out of this country. Remember, once elections are held and a new government is in place, he will be just another African politician.

The good news is that the ANC is trying to do the right thing. Less cheering are its prospects for getting it done. This is because other state and local authorities, and the campaigners who drive them on the issue of SA, continue to have a strange concept of what helping means. The ANC needs to get on their case.

Oregon ended its SA investment boycott last year while the state assembly was out of session. With legislators back at work, some among them are trying to make trouble. What's a little trouble in an obscure west coast state? A lot if it becomes trend, which it might well become, because, until recently, it was a trend the ANC was itself promoting.

A Bill is before the assembly which would reimpose the boycott until the ANC specifically says otherwise. What is dangerous here is

not the reimposition — that is just silly — but the accompanying proposal to keep the boycott in force for those companies that do not comply with the ANC/Cosatu guidelines for foreign investors.

This is one of those dangerous ideas that look unexceptionable to the innocent (after all, are not all companies going to have to abide by the guidelines?), but are in fact time bombs if the new SA is serious about attracting investment. For foreign investors, there is a major difference between abiding by a host country's regulations and answering to its authorities, on the one hand, and being hassled by bureaucrats and campaigners back home, on the other.

Let US companies believe that even if an ANC government welcomes them with open arms, their SA operations are going to continue being scrutinised by domestic pests, and they are going to look elsewhere. They are not going to waste time and money filling in reports to satisfy American watchdogs about their SA affirmative action policies when those policies pass muster in SA itself. There are plenty of other opportunities in other countries that do not entail this burden.

The ANC/Cosatu guidelines may well be a decent starting point for legislation or rules that a transitional government might adopt, as long as they are enforced realistically. Some of the standards may be a luxury SA cannot currently afford: there will be a limit to what investors can justify spending in terms of social work, adult education and on ramps and other facilities to ensure there is no discrimination against the disabled.

But that is something South Africans must work out for themselves. To let others do it for them would not only be impractical, it would be a humiliating concession of sovereignty. So call off Oregon, and find other work for the support groups who were asked to agitate for such initiatives at last November's Riverside Church conference in New York.

By the same token, douse the proposal in the New York state assembly to force banks to disclose their SA activities annually. Even more importantly, start letting the US Congress know that the election of a new government might be the time to drop the federal law requiring US firms in SA to abide by some variant of the Rev Leon Sullivan's employment code. Compliance is expensive and time-consuming, and some argue that it forces a misallocation of resources. Again, SA must set its own rules.

Finally, even with bits of paper like that to be signed with Cuomo, drumming up investment and assistance is going to be hard. When SA has a nonracial government, chances are it will cease to have any special draw on America's attention. Indeed, it may even be that some major US firms that have withstood the boycotts and shareholder activism of the past decade will leave, having stayed put out of sheer stubbornness and a belief that they were helping.

But that is not a reason to keep badgering them. It is one more reason SA will have to find other, more positive ways, to keep itself interesting.



CONFLICT ZONE . . . Mr Jeffrey Nongwe (centre), head of the ANC Crossroads branch, discusses the problem of spiralling violence in the area. He is seen here at a site where new shacks are being built. *ST 16/3/93* *(105)* *(11A)* Picture: STEWARD COLMAN

Struggle for Crossroads

Crime Reporter

MUCH of the violence in Crossroads can be attributed to a three-pronged power struggle between two ANC community leaders and the SACP, the head of the ANC Crossroads branch, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, said yesterday.

He was reacting to the news that another person had been shot dead, a person seriously injured, and at least three others wounded in four shooting incidents in the sprawling squatter camp at the weekend.

On Sunday afternoon a man in his 20s was shot dead and four others injured when men shot at a Section 2 shack, police said.

Jongisizwe Nyamankulu, 17, was in stable condition in Groote Schuur Hospital after being shot. The three others who were wounded in the attack are: Mr Kulile Qolweni, 22, Mr Vuyisile Mpande, 52, and Mr Monwalisi Ngalo, 18.

Mr Nongwe said: "The ANC leader in the 'white house' section as well as the SACP appear to be vying for our

members.

"There is also a lot of fighting within the community because people have become confused about the housing arrangements being provided for us by the Crossroads town council, through no fault of the town council. Many of the people are under the misconception that they will be done out of a home."

A spokeswoman for the ANC, Ms Sue de Villiers, said yesterday the ANC and the SACP were trying to resolve the conflict.

IFP chief rejects Mandela charges

(1/A) (1/B) CT16/3/93

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday hit back at suggestions by Mr Nelson Mandela that he had set preconditions for their peace summit, saying he would meet his ANC counterpart "any time".

"I am prepared to see the president of the ANC this afternoon or tomorrow without any preconditions," he told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Mandela said after touring Natal at the weekend he was not prepared to meet Chief Buthelezi until he was "convinced it would be fruitful".

He said the ANC put conditions to the IFP, including prohibiting the carrying of dangerous weapons and free political activity in KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi demanded the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing, Mr Mandela said.

However, the IFP leader said it was "utterly untrue" that he made the issue of MK a condition for their summit, which is being planned by a joint ANC/IFP working group.

"We say you cannot go forward with negotiations when there are private armies in existence ... it was raised by the Concerned South Africans Group (of which the IFP is a member) but it had nothing to do with my meeting Mr Mandela," he said.

He said the ANC's charge that traditional weapons were a threat to peace was "vile propaganda".

"Everyone knows the children at Table Mountain (outside Maritzburg) were mowed down with AK-47 rifles.

"I am saddened by this kind of posturing ... I would have thought Mr Mandela would have been more willing for us to put our heads together to work for peace," Chief Buthelezi said.

• The ANC yesterday said it was "most definitely not" about to disband MK simply to facilitate the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela. But the ANC confirmed Mr Mandela would meet Chief Buthelezi providing the right groundwork was laid.

● Over-ripe fruit — Page 6

Mandela 'guards' released on bail

The Argus Correspondent

ARG 16/3/93

DURBAN. — Three alleged bodyguards of African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela have been arrested by police at Umlazi and charged with possession of an AK-47 rifle and three full magazines.

High-ranking officials from the ANC made representations to the police at the weekend. The men were granted bail of R1 500 each during a special court sitting.

Police spokesman Major Hamilton Ngidi said today that members of the Internal Stability Unit had stopped a car at the entrance of Umlazi on Friday — the first day of Mr Mandela's visit to Natal — and that three men, Mr Sifiso Masikane, Mr Chris Lushaba and Mr Mondli Zuma, were arrested.

The men claimed they were personal bodyguards of Mr Mandela.

Star 16/3/93

Bilateral talks seek consensus

(B) (A) (11A) (102)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

In a further step in the negotiations process, a new round of bilateral meetings begins this week when the ANC and Government continue their ongoing constitutional discussions on Friday.

The Government and IFP are expected to resume their talks soon, but no date has yet been finalised.

The ANC-Government talks are aimed at achieving broad consensus on the transition. However, fundamental differences on regionalism and power-sharing remain between the two groups.

Friday's talks are expected to focus on regionalism, a government of national unity and legislation for a transitional executive council.

A crucial ANC conference on regionalism, where its draft document on regionalism will be discussed, takes place in

Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday. It will be attended by the organisation's 14 regions, which have proposed amendments to the draft document.

ANC negotiators said the draft document on regionalism had provided important impetus to ANC-Government talks and contributed to the breakthrough on a government of national unity.

ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha yesterday said no radical shifts from the draft document are expected. One of the areas of debate will be the number of regions in a new South Africa.

The draft document did not specify the number of proposed regions.

Botha said that once the document had been finalised, it would be presented to a proposed delimitation commission and a constituent assembly.

Negotiators indicated after the multiparty planning conference, held on March 5 and 6,

that bilateral discussions had become an integral part of the negotiations process.

They said the last round of bilateral meetings had contributed significantly to the success of the planning conference.

In another development, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — the IFP, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksumie and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — begins a two-day meeting in Pretoria today.

Cosag spokesman Rowan Cronje said the meeting would finalise positions and strategies for the multiparty conference on April 1 and 2.

Cronje denied that a rift had developed between the CP and other Cosag members.

"This is blatant political mischief-making with no substance whatsoever," he said.

Cronje made the statement after what he termed Cosag's "most successful meeting yet", held at the weekend in Ciskei.

Star 17/3/93

ANC drops St Lucia mining bombshell

Own Correspondent

(20)

DURBAN — The ANC dropped a bombshell on the St Lucia mining proposals last night, saying a final decision on the matter could be taken only by a future government of national unity.

(11A)

It would be "presumptuous in the extreme" for the present minority Government to take a unilateral de-

cision on an important national and international issue such as mining at St Lucia, the ANC said.

(32)

This boost for the anti-mining lobby appears timed to coincide with tomorrow's release of the long-awaited environmental impact assessment (EIA) report on the dune-mining proposals.

Until yesterday, the ANC had taken no firm position

on the Richards Bay Minerals proposals. It did not rule out mining in the future, but warned that St Lucia had to be protected and that many people in South Africa and abroad were deeply concerned about the environmental and tourist impact of mining the dunes.

Richards Bay Minerals MD Roy MacPherson said it was unfortunate the ANC

had chosen to comment on the issue just before the EIA findings were released.

"However, we are confident the fears of the ANC will be allayed by the findings contained in the report."

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett, who will make the final decision towards the end of the year, could not be reached for comment.

Star 17/3/93

MK cadres entitled to pensions – Modise

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Military pensions for Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were a top priority in bilateral discussions between the ANC and Government, MK commander Joe Modise said yesterday.

The ANC was unable to alleviate the social and economic problems of returned MK cadres because of a lack of resources – and MK cadres were entitled to military pensions. (11A)

However, the Government was “dodging” the issue by pointing out that SADF officers were receiving pensions because they had contributed to a pension fund, said Modise. (SADF)

“Those (in the SADF) benefited from the pension scheme and received salaries (which MK members did not receive) because of taxes, not only paid by the white man. (SADF)

“The Government is shouting the loudest about democratic change – change brought about by MK fellows who have nothing.”

Modise said still-exiled MK members would return to



Joe Modise . . . Government “dodging” MK issue.

camps in South Africa once a transitional executive had been installed, when armed formations would be under multiparty control.

The ANC would begin negotiations for pensions when a government of national unity had been established.

Duration of service in MK should be taken into account when pensions were determined.

After Modise's meeting earlier this year with SADF second-in-command General Pierre Steyn, follow-up meetings were held between MK, led by its chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda, and the SADF.

Star 17/3/93

Azapo seems likely to enter negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

11A

Months after criticising the ANC for negotiating with the Government, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) finally appears poised to enter the negotiations process itself, with a series of consultative meetings scheduled to take place between the Azapo leadership and the organisation's respective structures this month.

In an effort to reach a decision on entering negotiations, the Azapo leadership will consult its various affiliated structures, hold talks with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Zimbabwe, and hold a meeting of its 50-member extended central committee (CC) this month.

In a statement this week, Azapo secretary-general Don Nkademeng described the CC's March 27-28 meeting in Johannesburg as "a make-or-break strategic planning session".

Azapo stalwart and University of Fort Hare registrar Dr Ben Khoapa will present a paper "that seeks to reposition the Black Consciousness Movement within the current political and constitutional moves in SA," Nkademeng said.

Well-placed sources

within Azapo have indicated that the organisation's leadership was beginning to think that "perhaps the time is now right" for Azapo to get involved in negotiations.

The sources confirmed that the Azapo central committee took a decision on Friday March 5 to send a delegation to the two-day multiparty preparatory conference which started on that day. It had consequently phoned conference organisers to inform them about the decision.

However, Azapo was not given an assurance that it would still be given the seven minutes accorded to the other parties on Friday to address the conference if it went on Saturday, and so it did not attend.

In his statement, Nkademeng said:

● Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala and his deputy Pandelani Nefolovhódwe will travel to Harare for talks with the top leadership of the BCMA "later this month".

● Consultations within Azapo and its allied structures will culminate in a national council of the organisation in Bloemfontein on April 3 and 4, and that it was only after this meeting that Azapo's final position on negotiations will be announced.

ANC insider briefings to raise funds

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE ANC is hoping to raise at least R200 000 in cash for its general fund by offering an exclusive service to the business community: regular confidential political briefings hosted by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa has commissioned JSE stockbrokers Frankel Pollak Vinderine to set up the dining club to keep the financial community abreast of political developments and ANC policy.

Business leaders can join the "executive club" for R2 000 a year, in return for which Ramaphosa has guaranteed he will address members — over breakfast, lunch or cocktails — at least six times a year.

Frankel Pollak Vinderine CE Sidney Frankel said yesterday Ramaphosa undertook to provide "confidential, in-depth briefings of political developments and other topical issues of the day from an ANC viewpoint". Briefings would include "information and analysis not available to the Press or to the general public".

Frankel said the club would require at least 100 members to be a success, and an upper limit on membership would be imposed.

Ramaphosa's first date with the club is on March 29.

Large handouts for white farms

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Just under 40% of the Agricultural Development Department's 1991/92 expenditure was spent on subsidies, according to a report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The department, which is concerned with "white" agriculture, published its report on the 1991/92 financial year. *BIDAY 17/3/93*

Agricultural financing was the largest expenditure item of the department's R771,7m allocation, accounting for 40,3% of spending.

Almost all of the agricultural financing was devoted to subsidies.

Financial assistance consisted mainly of loans and subsidies made available to farmers from the agricultural credit account.

Aid for debt consolidation came to R98,7m, crop production loans were R157,1m. Land bought was R10m.

Subsidies paid came to R305,3m of which interest subsidies on carryover debt and new production credit accounted for R112,6m. Drought aid to stock farmers was R50,3m and farm labourer housing R16,5m.

ANC branches to thrash out regionalism policy

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC will hold a national conference at the weekend to finalise its position on regionalism and it is understood that the Consultative Business Movement's (CBM) report on the issue will be discussed.

All 14 ANC regions will meet in Johannesburg on Friday and Saturday to discuss amendments to a draft policy on regionalism, which ANC negotiators say has contributed positively in talks with government.

They claim positions in the draft document contributed to a deal on a government of national unity.

The draft did not specify the number of regions that should be demarcated. But the ANC has at other times proposed 10-region and 16-region demarcations. Experts gathered by the CBM favoured the smaller number of regions.

An ANC source yesterday said the draft policy was not expected to be altered substantially, although there would be considerable debate on the number of regions.

Another issue that will draw heated debate is the status of regions in a new SA. It is understood that some branches within the ANC would favour greater autonomy than others.

All the branches appear to favour a strong central government that would devolve powers to regions but retain ultimate control over them.

The source said the final proposal on regionalism would be presented to the proposed commission on delimitation, and then to the elected constitution-making body.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that the ANC yesterday called on government to unilaterally end the "independence" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The ANC warned that there could be no resolution of the SA conflict unless and until the TBVC homelands were reincorporated and citizenship restored unconditionally to their inhabitants.

It said there was no possibility of holding national elections without the participation of the millions of people in the TBVC homelands.

The ANC said it was disturbed in the light of this to learn government was "touting for the concept that Bophuthatswana should be treated as a special case and not be subject to agreements on reincorporation".

Bill modernises rights around movable goods

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — A Bill was tabled in Parliament yesterday aimed at modernising the rights of notarial bondholders of movable goods.

The Security by Means of Movable Property Bill also strengthens the rights of the grantors of credit compared to those of landlords where a lessee is in default.

The Bill notes that although pledge offers an excellent form of security, it no longer satisfies the needs of the modern commercial world, primarily because the pledgor loses the use

and enjoyment of the goods.

The Bill acts on a finding of the SA Law Commission which recommends changes that will mean goods will be deemed to have been pledged to the bondholder as if they have been delivered to him in pledge.

The Bill effectively extends to the whole country the situation that exists in only Natal.

Currently a notarial bond regis-

tered in Natal with regard to specified movable property has the effect of a real right, because legislation provides that the property is deemed to have been given in pledge even though delivery has not taken place.

A landlord currently has a tacit hypothec (a charge in property in favour of a creditor) over the lessee's property if the lessee is in arrears with rent.

The legislation proposes removal of this right in respect of most goods sold in terms of credit agreements.

Details on import sums disclosed

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — SA issued import permits for new clothing to the value of R237m and second-hand clothing to the value of R22m during 1992, according to the Trade and Industry Department.

In answer to a question asked by CP MP Andries Bruwer, the department said import permits were issued in monetary value only and no mention was made of quantities or tonnage. *BIDAY*

The question was asked in the context of complaints of the local clothing manufacturers that the comparatively high quantity of imports of second-hand clothing was affecting the viability of the local industry. *17/3/93*

The department said the rand value of imports issued for meat during 1992 was R262m.

Import permits issued for milk powder were valued at R21m.

Because of high import duties on meat, permits were often not fully used and actual imports amounted to only 42,8% of the total value of the permits issued.

Parties meet to plan talks strategy

BILLY PADDOCK

BIDAY 17/3/93

ALL THE major negotiating parties were locked in discussions yesterday to finalise their positions for tomorrow's meeting of the facilitating committee where the name, agenda and structure of the new negotiations forum will be decided.

The ANC's negotiations commission was meeting in Johannesburg, while government's team was meeting in Cape Town and the members of the Concerned SA Group, led by Inkatha, gathered in Pretoria for a two-day meeting.

Sources in the parties said the caucusing would not only focus on tomorrow's meeting but would also be developing strategies for the first meeting of the new multiparty forum on April 1 and 2.

The major decisions likely to come out of the meeting tomorrow are the endorsement of proposals thrashed out by a 10-man subcommittee last week on the structure of the new forum and how it will be run.

It is expected that the four-tier structure will be approved. It consists of a plenary, meeting irregularly when major decisions need full party ratification; a negotiating forum, meeting every two weeks; a negotiating council — heads of the negotiating teams and an adviser who will meet three to four days each week; and a planning committee of 10, meeting every day to ensure smooth functioning and help with dispute resolution.

There is likely to be some contention

over the name of the new forum. Government and the ANC want to retain Codesa for continuity while Inkatha, the PAC and some other smaller parties want another name. A suggested name is the Negotiating Forum of SA (Nefsa) or a combination of Nefsa/Codesa.

Another likely point of contention is the proposal that foreigners not be allowed to advise delegations and be part of technical committees. Associated with this is the proposal that all delegation members and advisers be full members of the parties and not be "foreign constitutional experts".

Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government are protesting that this proposal is aimed at them and designed to deprive them of the best possible advisers.

The agenda for the first meeting of the new forum may be finalised.

Inkatha and its pressure group consisting of the Ciskei government, Bophuthatswana, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, among others, wants regionalism and federalism to be the first item while government and the ANC would like to defer negotiations on this until later.

Meanwhile government and the ANC sit down on Friday for "at least a one-day bilateral meeting" to seek common ground and a similar approach on regionalism.

Another meeting between government and Inkatha is also scheduled before the resumption of multiparty talks.

Star 17/12/193

ANC wants to start club to brief business community

By Magnus Heystek

(11A)

The ANC has commissioned the stockbroking firm Frankel Pollak Vinderine Inc to form an "executive club" to help promote closer ties between the organisation and the financial community.

This club intends holding six confidential in-depth briefings a year on the ANC's viewpoint on politics and other topical issues.

It will cost members R2 200 a year. This fee will cover the cost of food and drinks at the meetings.

According to a letter sent to top businessmen by Sydney Frankel, chief executive officer Frankel Pollak Vinderine,

the club will need a minimum of 100 members to succeed.

However, the letter adds that the maximum number of members will be restricted to preserve exclusivity and ensure confidences.

Contacted by The Star last night, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus could not confirm that such a letter had been sent to businessmen. He said there had been discussion within the organisation on the need to brief businessmen.

Niehaus said such an exercise was "perfectly legitimate" as businessmen had in the past attended ANC-organised banquets where they heard ANC speakers explaining policy.

ANC to launch election
plans on Sharpeville Day

JOHANNESBURG. — The PWV region of the African National Congress said yesterday it would use the commemoration of the March 21, 1960 Sharpeville shootings to start its election campaign.

ANC regional general secretary Mr Paul Mashatile said here the organisation would hold 10 rallies to commemorate the deaths at Sharpeville.

ANC members would "launch a major door-to-door campaign in all areas of the region to promote voter education, disseminate ANC policies on health, jobs, housing, violence and education, and start a recruitment drive", the ANC said. — Sapa

Star 1713193

(CA) (S)

Economic upliftment plan needed, says Hani

A negotiated political settlement should be accompanied by a major programme of social and economic upliftment, says SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani.

Speaking to a group of Afrikaners in Pretoria last night, he said that for the SACP such a programme involved "a major effort at redistribution".

He said the envisaged redistribution did not involve puni-

tive confiscation of property but a coherent social and macro-economic programme of growth through redistribution.

Hani told the group his party believed that the negotiations process would entail compromises. For this reason the SACP's central committee last month endorsed the ANC's package for the transition. — Political Reporter.

Star 18/3/93

Cosatu, ANC slam increased VAT rate

By Mike Siluma

(1A)

(1A)

(23)

The Budget received mixed reaction from the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the ANC yesterday.

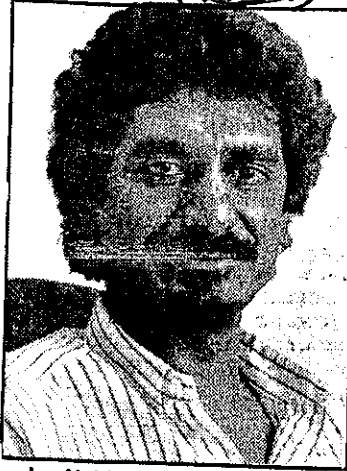
Cosatu said Minister of Finance Derek Keys's presentation contained both "regressive" and "progressive" measures.

The ANC said the Budget was a product of the National Party, drawn up with an eye on the proposed general elections.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo deplored the increase in VAT from 10 to 14 percent, which would have "a major impact on South African society".

But the introduction "of a system of taxation which encouraged investment, growth and job creation" was welcomed.

"The Budget addresses only revenue collection and budgetary allocations to State departments, yet during the last 12 months there has been evidence of widespread corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement of public funds in the TBVC states



Jay Naidoo . . . Budget both regressive and progressive.

and the rest of South Africa," said Naidoo.

"The fuel increase will be inflationary. We believe that the unilateral imposition of a 5 percent salary increase for public servants undermines collective bargaining and shifts the problems of deficit reduction on to workers in the public sector."

But Cosatu welcomed the ex-

emption of taxation on retrenchment packages, as proposed by unions, and the attention to social services.

The ANC added: "The average citizen will find his disposable income further undermined by the effective increase in income tax as a result of continuing bracket creep. And the consumer will be able to buy less for his money because of the increase in the VAT rate and higher excise duties.

"There is no indication in the Budget that discipline goes beyond aggregate expenditure cuts. Poorly targeted and inefficient delivery of social services will, by and large, continue through wasteful apartheid structures."

It also called for the immediate equalisation of social pensions, rather than in September as proposed by the Government.

● The Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation will issue their responses today, but both were critical of "an apartheid Budget" unilaterally decided upon by the Government.

'Fear must be addressed'

LLOYD COUTTS

MORE Afrikaners would find a political home in the ANC if the organisation was given an opportunity to convey its views without distortion, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting at Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Niehaus said support from Afrikaners would come if the ANC could address fears about the preservation of the Afrikaans language and culture.

"There is no other political organisation in SA with a longer and stronger history of struggle for a non-racial and democratic country. But even if you are not prepared to vote for us we still have a duty to address your fears so that you do not refuse to participate in the democratic process out of fear," he told students.

A settlement was needed soon on democratic elections. Broederbond control needed to be wrested from the SABC and security forces.

New York state set to push investment in SA

WASHINGTON — New York state is talking to the ANC about ways to stimulate investment in SA once a multiracial government is in place, an aide to Governor Mario Cuomo said.

The final draft of a co-operation agreement to be signed by Cuomo and a new SA government would be ready soon, the executive director of Cuomo's advisory council on black affairs, Charles Moses, said. "I hope we will take the lead. New York is uniquely equipped to carry out this mission."

Moses had been working on the text with ANC representatives and with the office of New York city mayor David Dinkins.

The agreement would extend New York's International Partnership Programme to SA. Countries currently participating included Poland, Lithuania, Ireland and Japan.

Benefits outlined in a draft now circulating include internships for SA blacks in New York's public health department, scholarships to state universities and technical colleges. The

SIMON BARBER

state might also establish a trade mission in SA, and would be on the record favouring investment.

Areas in which assistance would be offered included small business development, trade and investment promotion, education, science, public health, medical care and agriculture.

"When we get this thing signed, you're going to see a lot of exciting things happen," Moses said.

He said he had begun discussing the idea with Cuomo in 1991 as an alternative to sanctions legislation which the state assembly had refused to enact.

Moses said the date of signature, January 18 1993, had nothing to do with ANC President Nelson Mandela's presence in the US for President Bill Clinton's inauguration.

He said it would be up to Mandela and the ANC to decide whether it could be signed by the transitional executive expected to take power this year, or to wait for an interim government.

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ANC and Inkatha to march in same area

(11A)

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5/10/93 18/3/93

RAY HARTLEY

POLITICAL tolerance in East Rand townships will be seriously tested on Sunday when the ANC and Inkatha hold marches and rallies in Vosloorus and Katlehong on the same day.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday a groundbreaking decision to have a joint ANC and Inkatha "marshalling structure" at both rallies had been taken to lessen the chance of violence at the rallies.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would address Inkatha supporters in Vosloorus, while ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had been asked to address an ANC rally in Katlehong, he said.

Mamoepa said the PWV regional dispute resolution committee had decided on joint monitoring mechanisms which involved police and independent monitors, and it had been agreed that the routes for the marches to the rallies would be identified beforehand and strictly adhered to.

The ANC rally would launch the organisation's election campaign in the region and it was therefore even more important that a tone of peace and political tolerance be generated, he said.

He said ANC supporters would begin door-to-door campaigning immediately after Sunday's rally and would also canvass the area in which the Inkatha rally was being held.

"We are in touch with the regional dispute resolution committee and the national peace secretariat, we are making approaches to the Commissioner of Police to minimise confronta-

tion on Sunday.

"This is the litmus test of political tolerance. Maybe the tone set over the weekend in Natal (where ANC and Inkatha leaders issued reconciliatory statements) will come to the East Rand," he said.

□ LLOYD COUTTS reports that the DP will venture into Soweto this weekend following successful forays into the northern suburbs in pursuit of the hearts and minds of Johannesburg's domestic servants.

MP for Yeoville Douglas Gibson will address the Soweto branch of the DP at the Funda Centre on Saturday on "the DP plan to save SA".

Observers from the UN and the greater Soweto dispute resolution committee will attend the meeting.

DP city councillor Jack Bloom said recent threats from civic organisations to prevent "white" parties from holding meetings in the townships would not deter his party.

"At the end of the day it's a question of political tolerance. If we can't have ordinary meetings, what are we coming to? As far as democracy is concerned, it's not just our right to have a meeting that is at issue, it's free political expression for everyone."

Bloom said disruptions of DP meetings in Guguletu near Cape Town had attracted many new members to the party.

Saturday's meeting will be chaired by Soweto chairman Andile Mzaidume, and will start at 2pm.

Goldstone appeals | Row over invites

NEWS IN BRIEF

'Punish SA' call

MOZAMBICAN National Assembly Speaker Marcelino dos Santos, in Maputo, called on the UN Security Council to punish SA and other African countries for what he termed their continued support for Mozambique's Renamo movement, Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency reported on yesterday.

Dos Santos said Mozambique had "proof" that some countries supported Renamo even after they had signed a peace accord with the Frelimo government.

'Twin' law societies

SA's Association of Law Societies and Namibia's law society are to work to foster closer co-operation between the two organisations.

Both societies have agreed to join the International Bar Association's "twinning" programme.

Zero-rated foods

BOPHUTHATSWANA has added to its list of zero-rated VAT foods, with the new list coming into effect at midnight on April 6, the homeland's information service announced yesterday.

Additional foods which no longer attract VAT include raw vegetables, fruit, vegetable oil, cultured milk, brown wheaten meal, eggs and edible legumes.

ANC works for peace

The ANC was trying to resolve the situation in Angola, spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki had met Angolan government and Unita representatives recently to propose a peace plan.

Mbeki travelled to Portugal this week to enlist the support of Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Barroso.

Workers and TPA sign

A RECOGNITION agreement had been signed between the SA Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu) and the TPA, the TPA said in Pretoria yesterday.

Procedures for the regulation of labour relations are included in the agreement.

REPORTS: Sapa, Business Day Reporters.

18/3/93

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Failure to enforce fiscal discipline, complains ANC

BIDAY 18/3/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys was criticised by ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel yesterday for failing to introduce measures into the Budget to enforce fiscal discipline.

"There is no indication in the Budget that discipline goes beyond aggregate expenditure cuts. Poorly targeted and inefficient delivery of social services will, by and large, continue through wasteful apartheid structures," Manuel told a media briefing on the Budget.

He criticised the absence of clear objectives which would allow the measurement of performance. He said the nature of the internal budgetary process encouraged departments to build fat into their estimates.

"The budgetary process undermines the good intentions the Minister may have on exerting fiscal discipline," he said.

Manuel challenged Keys to provide the ANC with all the relevant data that went into the calculation of the Budget so that it could produce a costed development plan for social expenditure within three months.

He said the theme of the Budget — discipline and growth — was inappropriate at this stage.

Furthermore, there was nothing on the revenue side of the Budget which would promote economic growth. The effective personal tax rate had been increased and the higher VAT rate and excise duties would contribute to the contraction of consumer spending. These measures would contribute to a 2% rise in inflation.

At the same time, government expenditure would be kept constant or decline slightly in real terms and as a proportionately higher amount would be used for interest payments, expenditure on goods and services would be reduced in real terms. Neither would the change in company tax have the



desired supply-side impact on economic growth, Manuel said.

Our political staff reports that opposition parties slammed Keys's Budget for further milking taxpayers while failing to curtail government expenditure.

Government efforts to relieve unemployment were also criticised.

But there was praise for the equalisation of pensions for all races and efforts to stimulate the growth of emerging and small businesses.

The DP said the Budget came as "a great disappointment" because the government had placed the burden "almost entirely on the public's shoulders".

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said the "glaring omission" in the Budget was the "totally inadequate way in which the massive and dangerous problem of unemployment" was addressed.

The CP said the 16c/l fuel price hike and the increase of VAT to 14% meant that the "ordinary man-in-the-street" would have to dig much deeper into his pocket.

CP finance spokesman Casper Uys said no allowance had been made for fiscal drag or bracket creep.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo lashed out at government for unilateral decision making and criticised Keys for missing an opportunity to address corruption.

Sapa reports he said the 40% VAT increase was the most significant feature of the Budget and would have a major effect on society. But he said Cosatu supported progressive taxation.

Goldstone's initial
Apla probe complete

CT 18/3/93 (11A) (227)

JOHANNESBURG. — A preliminary investigation by the Goldstone Commission into the activities of the PAC's armed wing, Apla, has been completed and the findings will be released soon, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said.

Mr Justice Goldstone said in a statement yesterday recommendations on curbing violence adopted by the UN Security Council in August included that the Goldstone Commission investigate the army and police force, uMkhonto we-Sizwe, Apla, the KwaZulu Police and certain private security firms. — Sapa

IFP welcomes Gwala peace call

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The IFP yesterday gave a veiled welcome to a call by ANC Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala for joint efforts to end warfare in the Midlands.

In a statement the IFP said Mr Gwala's approach "marks a refreshing break from his pre-

vious vitriolic and inflammatory statements".

The IFP was responding to Mr Gwala's plea for ANC and IFP leaders to hold joint rallies at flashpoints to show their commitment to peace.

Alleging he had promoted "the ANC's policy of violence" in Natal, the IFP added: "We

are encouraged by Gwala's realisation ... that violence can never provide lasting and genuine solutions."

In an interview printed yesterday Mr Gwala said: "It is not the leaders who are fighting, it is the people on the ground ... I think that starting from below is a proper solu-

tion to the violence."

● A "peace mission" of ANC and PAC leaders, businessmen, unionists and clergy met KwaZulu legislators at Ulundi yesterday to seek the Zulu king's help to end violence. A joint committee of the visitors and KwaZulu government was formed.

275 (11A) 483

et 18/3/93



ANC, IFP to pull together

CT 18/3/93
JOHANNESBURG. — A ground-breaking decision to have a joint ANC and IFP "marshalling structure" at two rallies in East Rand townships at the weekend had been taken to lessen the chance of violence at the rallies, according to ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa. (IA) (P) (S)

Political tolerance will be seriously tested on Sunday when the ANC

and IFP hold marches and rallies in Vosloorus and Katlehong.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address supporters in Vosloorus, while ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had been asked to address an ANC rally in Katlehong, he said.

Mr Mamoepa said the PWV regional dispute resolution committee had decided on joint monitors

Star 19/3/93

What the ANC wanted in the Budget

CAPE TOWN — An increase in value-added tax to 12 percent, enlarging the basket of zero-rated goods and a two percent reduction in the company tax rate were some of the alternatives African National Congress economist Tlo Mboweni proposed to Finance Minister Derek Keys' Budget.

Responding to a question at the Old Mutual/Nedbank Budget Forum in Cape Town yesterday Mboweni said VAT, after its initial increase, would be raised over two to three years "to 15 percent but with a differentiated basket of

commodities".

A multiple-rate system would be introduced, keeping VAT on essential goods lower and increasing the tax on luxury goods.

The company tax rate would be reduced from 48 percent to 46 percent, and not by eight percent as announced in the Budget.

However Mboweni said the direction of company tax rates would be downward over a number of years.

He said Keys's handling of the deficit to reduce it from 8,6 percent to 6,8 percent was commendable, but there was no

clear mechanism to restrain government expenditure within the set R114 billion.

He was against raising government expenditure but there needed to be clear mechanisms for monitoring and ensuring that state spending remained within its Budget estimates.

"The problems which have bedevilled public finances are still there," he said.

In addition to setting up an independent fiscal commission to monitor state spending, Mboweni also proposed a different approach to the Budget.

The Budget would not focus on a single year of fiscal planning but would rather approach fiscal expenditure and revenue over a three or four year period.

This multi-year Budget would set the imperatives for yearly budgets and would also outline government's approach "so that people can see what my development strategy is," he said.

Mboweni believed this would create policy consistency and encourage business and investor confidence.— Sapa.

At the same seminar, reports Sven Lunsche, the Reserve Bank's senior deputy Governor, Jaap Meier described the budget as "mildly deflationary".

He said inflation could rise by up to two percentage points in the short-term following the rise in VAT to 14 percent and the 16c per litre increase in the petrol price.

"In the longer term, however, this Budget follows the monetary guidelines set by the Normative Economic Model and should be slightly deflationary," he said.

His analysis was supported by a number of economists who argued that the Budget would serve to suppress consumer spending over the next few months, thereby reducing demand inflation.

Despite the deflationary scenario, Meier indicated a further cut in interest rates was not on the cards.

"The recent sharp decline of the gold and foreign exchange reserves and the dwindling surplus on the balance of payments are a new constraint on our interest rate assessment," Meier said.

EXECUTIVE CLUB

Cereal with Cyril 19/3/93.

Frankel Pollak Vinderine's latest offering costs R2 000 and guarantees a return on investment. That is, if ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa carries through his promise to share the most up-to-date ANC thinking on topical issues with the 150 members of the new Executive Club.

According to a letter sent last week by the brokerage firm to prospective members, the club is an effort to "help promote closer ties between the ANC and the financial community."

The letter says Ramaphosa "has promised that the briefings will include information and analysis not available to the press or to the general public. The idea is to ensure that business community leaders are fully informed about ANC strategies, policies and views and to foster closer relationships between the ANC and the business/financial world."

It also says Ramaphosa "commissioned" the firm to organise the club. CEO Sidney Frankel, however, will not say whether the idea was his or Ramaphosa's.

The way the club works is that up to 150 members each pay R2 000 a year, excluding Vat, and get a minimum of six "confidential, in-depth briefings" from Ramaphosa. He is expected to talk about "political developments and other topical issues of the day from an ANC viewpoint." The first meeting, a breakfast at the Transvaal Automobile Club, is set for March 29.

The R300 000 raised from membership fees, minus expenses, will go to the ANC's general fund. "The money is not really of significance," Frankel adds. "All the political parties need millions for the election."

He will not say how many members have signed up, though he adds that there is "strong interest" and he expects it to be fully subscribed. "It's important for my clients, for the investment community, to know what the ANC is doing and for the ANC to know the feelings of the corporate community."

"I believe that in SA it is important to exchange ideas. It's better to get something working than to sit back and do nothing. I am pro-active in exchanging ideas." *cont.*

BUSINESS & TECHNOLOGY

FM 19/3/93

Frankel says businessmen are not looking to score brownie points with the ANC; even people with rightwing sympathies want to join so that they can challenge Ramaphosa's views.



Ramaphosa

He says that in addition to his well-publicised support for get-togethers between the business community and the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, he has provided exposure for politicians such as President FW de Klerk and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He says the briefings will be off the record, though members of the press were sent invitations to join.

As for exclusivity, with so many members, it's hard to believe that they will all be able to keep quiet about Ramaphosa's confidences. "Then they've got themselves to blame if, next time, he won't say as much," Frankel says.

WHEN the Constitutional Committee of the African National Congress began the task of drafting the Bill of Rights in September 1990, there was no election on the horizon. Our task was to prepare a document which would become the fundamental anti-apartheid statement and we were specifically told that it had to be inclusive, addressed to all South Africans, and not simply an ANC negotiating text.

This process did not take place in a vacuum. The history of struggle in our country, the rights claimed and gained in struggle and the international context provided the inspiration for our drafting. We drew on the internationally accepted rules established by a series of human rights documents and conventions, beginning with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, and culminating with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in 1989, developments in which some of us had participated but from which apartheid South Africa had been isolated.

More important, we drew on the remarkable record of the liberation movement's own culture, texts developed over a period of 50 years. First, there was the historic 1943 Bill of Rights, a unique and precocious document drafted by the ANC in the crucible of the struggle against fascism and Nazism. The Freedom Charter, adopted in Kliptown in 1955, is the greatest source of any Bill of Rights in our country. It did not indicate how the rights it proclaimed were to be guaranteed but it did set out a firm vision of an apartheid-free future.

In the light of the degenerate behaviour of the apartheid regime and in the midst of the horrors of the state of emergency, the ANC in its January 8 statement of 1987 declared its commitment to a Bill of Rights that would be justiciable. As a result, in 1988, the national executive committee issued the constitutional guidelines which gave an important position to a Bill of Rights.

These guidelines were extensively discussed inside and outside the organisation, which enriched the text. The comments received insisted on discrete treatment of women's rights, vigorously proposed that social and economic rights be spelt out

ANC Bill was not drafted in a vacuum

WMail 19/3 - 25/3/93

*It's not just 'bloodless lawyers' who will decide our rights, says ANC executive member **KADER ASMAL**, taking issue with Phillip van Niekerk's recent assessment of the organisation's draft Bill of Rights*

The poacher makes the best gamekeeper



illegitimate and a logical absurdity. We have consistently stated that only a constituent assembly could adopt such a document, openly and through a transparent process where some of the issues Van Niekerk refers to could be debated. Lawyers have a limited role to play in such a process.

Such a debate would show the basic differences of opinion between the two sides on the following issues: the abolition of capital punishment; outlawing discrimination on the ground of sexual orientation; legal aid in criminal cases; establishing freedom of the press as a constitutional right; the indivisibility and inter-dependence of rights so that there is no conceptual marginalisation of economic and social rights from political rights; ensuring that rigid provisions on property rights do not become a licence for maintaining the race-free status quo and combating discrimination actively.

There is a need for a genuine debate on human rights because world views and theories of reconstruction and development are relevant. But such a discourse is not helped by quoting the egregious Tony Leon as an authority on motivation or by raising "Aunt Sallies" as Van Niekerk does.

One example of such an "Aunt Sally" will suffice, and this concerns the declaration of a state of emergency. When our November 1990 draft was published, *The Weekly Mail* criticised the ANC for not identifying the circumstances when rights could be derogated when there was a frontal assault on the institutions of the state.

This we did in 1992, on the basis that not only Martians may wish to destabilise a new democratic order. We followed the international debate now enshrined in the Syracuse Principles and proposed the most restrictive provisions on the state's competence to abrogate certain rights when fear stalks the land. Rights are not self-enforcing. A new Constitutional Court will interpret all restrictions and determine the constitutionality of state action. Van Niekerk ought to have contrasted the apartheid regime's statist and Draconian approach to this area.

●Kader Asmal is professor of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape and a member of the national executive committee of the ANC

specifically and that access to land receive fuller attention. These comments provided the insights for the draft Bill of Rights published in November 1990.

Such a background is necessary to counter Phillip van Niekerk's choleric attack (WM March 5-11) on the ANC's draft Bill of Rights. Our debate is not being conducted exclusively by political parties and "bloodless lawyers" — some of whom have been detained and imprisoned in the past. The latest draft was not adopted in February 1993, to coincide with the National Party proposals, but in May 1992, following a special conference of more than 500 delegates. An editorial error concerning the date on the cover may have induced Van Niekerk to believe that the ANC and the regime have chartered a hegemonic course to fix the human rights agenda.

Nothing could be further from the truth. We do not want an "interim" Bill of Rights, as the government does, because it will be

Mandela faces action 11A

Soweto 19/3/93

By Joshua Raboroko

■ Bill amounts to R19 000:

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela might be prosecuted if the outstanding telephone bill amounting to R19 000 is not settled.

Telkom has cut off the phones at his estranged wife's Soweto mansion at Mandela's request.

Telkom's Witwatersrand communications manager Mr Gert Schoeman yesterday said a final account would be sent to Mr Mandela within a few days.

He said if Mandela failed to pay, the matter would be referred to Telkom's

legal adviser who would take appropriate action, including prosecution.

Schoeman said Telkom received a letter in February from Mr Mandela's lawyers, saying he had asked the company in writing in August last year to cut the phones as he had moved out.

Mandela said in the letter he would not pay accounts run up by "the occupant of the dwellings," referring to his estranged wife, Winnie. Schoeman said as far as Telkom was concerned, Mr Mandela was responsible for the bills.

Sharpeville 1960 ^(11A) Sowetan commemorations 19/3/93

VARIOUS political organisations will hold rallies throughout the country on Sunday to commemorate the shooting in Sharpeville of 69 anti-pass protesters on March 21 1960.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu will lead a march from Sharpeville Cemetery to the local stadium where he will address a rally with another official, Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is not expected to make any appearance at any of the rallies because of other commitments. Senior ANC members, Mr Joe Slovo, and Mr Joe Modise will address a rally at Miami Beach, Sharpeville.

The ANC will also hold rallies at the following venues, with names of speakers in brackets:

Alexandra Township: Alexsan Kopano Centre, (Mr Ahmed Kathrada); Soweto: Elkah Stadium, Rockville, (Mr Saki Macozoma and Mr Essop Pahad); Katlehong: Huntersfield Stadium, (Ms Cheryl Carolus); Sinaba Stadium, (Mrs Albertinah Sisulu); Mohlakeng Stadium; Medunsa Stadium, (Mr Ray Suttner); Enkangala Stadium, (Mr Rapu Molekane and Mr Jeremy Cronin); Warmbaths: Belabela Stadium, (Mr Paul Mashatile).

The Azanian Peoples Organisation will hold rallies at the following venues, with names of speakers in brackets:

Dobsonville: Kopanong Centre, (Mr Molathlegi Tlhale); Welkom: SMT Hall, (Mr Thabo Ndabeni); Umlazi: Executive Hall, (Dr Nchauphe Mokoape); Thlabane: Lutheran Church Centre, (Dr Gomolemo Mokoae); University of Zululand, (Mr Nkosi Molala); Medunsa Hall, (Mr Mandla Selecoane); Komatipoort: Tonga Village, (Mr Fundile Mafongosi).

● See also page 8.

focus on Sharpeville

Sowetan 19/3/93.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

ON March 21 1960 police in Sharpeville opened fire on people who were protesting outside the local police station against the carrying of passes and 69 were killed.

The day will be remembered again this Sunday.

But since February 2 1990, March 21 has become a source of rivalry between the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

These two "main" liberation movements were banned soon after the massacre 33 years ago.

Thereafter reports of the shooting at Sharpeville could only be told by word of mouth by survivors, many of whom still bear the scars of injuries sustained on that day.

Literature on the massacre was scarce. Books and newspapers on that day's events were read in secret, away from the prying eyes of the security police.

During those three decades March 21 was known simply as the day to remember when white policemen shot dead 69 unarmed blacks to uphold apartheid laws.

On Sunday the PAC will again commemorate Heroes' Day and the ANC will mark Sharpeville Day.

Before detailing the ANC and PAC's 1993 programmes on Sharpeville, let's go back two years.

March 21 1991: PAC leaders and supporters reluctantly use the shabby Sharpeville Hall because the adjacent George Thabe Stadium is filled with ANC supporters.

Then, just after ANC national executive member and main speaker Joe Slovo had shouted "Amandla" and the crowd had roared back "Awethu", the heavens opened and most of the people in the stadium dashed across the street into the hall. Some remained and listened as the PAC commemorated Heroes' Day.

March 21 1992: This time the PAC secured the use of the stadium. There was no opposition from the ANC.

So, after the traditional cleaning of the 69 graves, PAC president Clarence Makwetu led a group of supporters in a march to the stadium for the main service. But the crowd behind him was unusually small.

This was because most Sharpeville residents were being given a rare treat: the ANC had arranged a picnic on the banks of the Sharpeville Dam.

The legendary Mirriam Makeba topped the bill and Blondie Makhene was there too. What a treat!

It was a free festival coupled with the visit to the township by Oliver Tambo, who was given the "Freedom of Sharpeville".

Exactly 33 years ago on Sunday police opened fire on Sharpeville residents who were protesting against the carrying of passes, killing 69. **Themba Molefe** reports on the commemoration of the day:



IIA



PAC President Clarence Makwetu.



ANC National Chairman Oliver Tambo.

Even survivors of the 1960 shooting who attended the PAC's service the previous year were sitting at the main table here.

This year things are different. Fully-fledged multiparty negotiations seem set to take off.

Also, the ANC and PAC are poised to reconvene the Patriotic Front and both are trying to get the Azanian People's Organisation into the mainstream negotiations.

But the ANC is in a different mode, one up, so to speak. It has already embarked on an election campaign.

This week the ANC's most powerful region, the PWV, announced it would use the commemoration to start its election campaign.

It would also hold 10 rallies to commemorate the deaths at Sharpeville.

ANC members would "launch a major door-to-door campaign in all areas of the region to promote voter education, disseminate ANC policies on health, jobs, housing, violence and education, and start a recruitment drive".

The ANC region said March 21 would also be known as "Flag Day", when it introduces a new flag intended mainly for its election campaign — the ANC's black, green and yellow colours with an ANC logo in the centre.

The commander of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, Joe Modise, will address a rally in Sharpeville and will later lead a procession to the local cemetery.

PAC supporters will leave for the cemetery at 6am to clean the graves. Then Makwetu leads them in a march to the stadium to retell the tragedy of 33 years ago.

The PAC will put March 21 1960 "in a historical perspective because a positive action campaign was launched on that day by founder-president Robert Sobukwe with the anti-pass protests".

This led to the PAC's armed struggle and the formation of the Azanian People's Liberation Army. That's what the PAC will emphasise as it stresses it has not abandoned the armed struggle.

Greed, intolerance spark taxi wars

PRETORIA — The intolerance, selfishness and greed of minibus taxi operators are partly responsible for outbreaks of violence in the industry, the Goldstone commission has found.

In its fourth interim report on violence in the industry, the commission said a variety of factors had contributed to the serious loss of life, injury and damage in the Groblersdal area since 1988.

These included the existence of too many taxis, a power struggle between operators, economic pressure as a result of high vehicle and maintenance costs, and a culture of lawlessness.

"There is a high degree of intolerance, selfishness and greed which militates against co-operation and bedevils attempts at mediation," the report said.

Among recommendations made by the commission were the appointment of neutral taxi rank marshalls operating under a

ADRIAN HADLAND

code of conduct agreed upon by all taxi companies. Fair, consistent but sympathetic law enforcement from the authorities and a more accessible town council were also required, the commission's report said. *5/10/88 19/3/93*

Taxi operators and drivers should obtain further business and driving skills, while those involved in the industry needed greater empathy, less selfishness and more respect for the rights of other operators, the report recommended.

The commission stressed that all participants in the industry should be committed to the peaceful resolution of grievances.

"Unless every person in the minibus industry wants peace and works towards it, all efforts to combat violence are doomed to failure."

ANC and Inkatha plan rallies

MORE moves were made yesterday to prevent violence on the East Rand, where Inkatha and the ANC are scheduled to hold rallies and marches in Katlehong and Vosloorus townships on Sunday.

Johannesburg hostel residents' peace initiative committee official the Rev Mvume Dandala said his organisation had called on 500 Vosloorus hostel dwellers to mark Inkatha's rally in the township with "peaceful behaviour".

Inkatha and the ANC have agreed to a joint marshalling arrangement for the two rallies, which will be addressed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Dandala said the committee had been invited to address the hostel residents "on the need for peace in

RAY HARTLEY

these difficult days. A special call was made to those who will be travelling long distances to get there, to ensure that they observe the efforts for peace and do not disturb the community in any way," he said.

"A plea was made to the township residents of Vosloorus not to be surprised or overcome with panic when they see people in traditional dress on this day, for people have been alerted to observe peace," Dandala said.

International observers and regional dispute resolution committee officials will monitor Sunday's marches and rallies.

Meanwhile, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association would meet shortly to

strengthen an accord signed in October last year.

Mamoepa said the bilateral agreement had substantially reduced violence and not a single incident of political violence between hostel dwellers and surrounding communities had been recorded this year.

He said the meeting would look at ways of putting pressure on government to make funds available through the National Housing Forum for the upgrading of hostels and surrounding areas.

The two organisations would also discuss ways of involving businesses and churches in the upgrading process.

"Business can play a role in providing technical and financial resources for upgrading and development," Dandala said.

● Comment: Page 8

Telkom gets bill as Winnie holds the phone

TELKOM technicians have been prevented from entering Winnie Mandela's Soweto home to remove a telephone switchboard system following non-payment of a R19 000 phone bill.

Telkom Witwatersrand spokesman Gert Schoeman confirmed yesterday that Mandela's telephone service had been suspended since January, and that her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, was refusing to pay a bill unpaid since October.

Guards at the home had refused to allow technicians access to the property to remove the equipment, including handsets

B/DOM 19/3/93
LLOYD COUTTS

and a mini-switchboard, he said.

Although the telephone is registered in his name, Nelson Mandela has not lived in the house since the couple's estrangement last year.

Schoeman confirmed Telkom had received a letter from Nelson Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, which said the ANC leader had requested the service be terminated in August last year. Mandela had also notified Telkom that he would not pay accounts run up by the occupants of the

house. (11A)

Schoeman said Telkom had not received the initial request but had suspended the service after receiving the letter from Ayob in January.

Schoeman said that as the equipment could not be retrieved, its cost would be included in the final account. "If the final account is not paid we will hand it over to our legal department, which will take various factors into account and decide on whether to prosecute or not."

Ayob yesterday refused to comment and Winnie Mandela could not be reached.

Dizzy ride on the roller coaster

GOOD and evil are perhaps intrinsic to all political parties. But when the extremes are as vividly on parade as they are in the African National Congress, it makes for something of an emotional roller coaster.

Take, for example, an experience at the weekend. First there was the burial of the Mboyi children — the six high school pupils, from an Inkatha community, massacred two weeks ago by ANC members near the Natal capital of Pietermaritzburg. Although motive is not certain, it is probable that it was the culmination of a series of tit-for-tat killings in the course of which ANC members, or at least its supporters, were responsible for two other massacres over recent months, in which another 10 children died.

A couple of hours after that awful Mboyi funeral the other face of the ANC was on display. Sitting in a hall on the Pietermaritzburg campus of the University of Natal, in the noisy company of

several hundred students, I was reflecting morosely on the likely fate of a country set to be governed by the murderers of children when a side door opened and the man walked in.

Nelson Mandela is impressive. There is something studied in his demeanour, in the dignity of his walk and speech and the pitch of his smile, which in others might seem the mannerisms of the political poseur. But in Mandela's case it comes across as the style of a man merely playing to the role in which history has cast him.

Speaking slowly and smiling on cue, he entranced his audience for 77 minutes with a reasoned and yet moving appeal for reconciliation, peace, and a commitment to the civilised standards of democracy which are far removed from the slaughter of children.

Unfortunately electorates do not enjoy the facility of correspondents in leaping communal divides. The outcome of the political power struggle in South Africa is likely to be determined more by prejudiced views as to which is the "real" face of the ANC than a balanced assessment of the good and evil intrinsic to a political organisation.

In the key province of Natal in particular, as the killing fields take on the additional aspect of electoral battle grounds, the outcome of the regional power struggle is difficult to anticipate. Polling assessments are confused. A recent survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) gives Inkatha 37

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South Africa's political power struggle is likely to be determined by prejudiced views about which is the 'real' face of the ANC

per cent support in the province, a clear lead against the ANC's 21 per cent and the ruling National Party's 15 per cent. But the government-funded HSRC is regarded as pro-conservative and a more recent poll by an independent group, Research Surveys, shows Inkatha with 45 per cent support nationwide (against 11 per cent estimated by the HSRC) and, although a regional extrapolation is still being completed, it is expected to give it about 15 per cent in Natal.

However, the relevance of conventional polling to political realities of Natal is doubtful. Anti-apartheid activists engaged in various projects to "educate" inexperienced black voters in South Africa report that one of the major

difficulties they face is the foreignness of secret balloting to tribal tradition, where the right of a community to know where individual allegiances lie is regarded as self-evident.

In an area like Natal, where the demands of survival have made physical polarisation so extreme on the ground, support at the polls is like to be delivered more by way of territorial block votes than individual judgment.

Another dimension of black inexperience in the electoral tradition is the disproportionate effect on political organisation of white support. Mandela told his student audience at the weekend a story of how a referendum was staged recently in a Transvaal township — an ANC stronghold — on whether the name of a local school should be changed to honour a hero of the liberation struggle. The Nationalists decided to contest the vote and, to the astonishment of the township, won. ANC officials belatedly realised they had forgotten to campaign.

Word circulating in political circles has it that the National Party is quietly panicking over internal polls showing whites flocking to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's standard. There is no confirmation of the figures but Inkatha is said to be able to claim 10 per cent of the white vote country-wide. Certainly Inkatha officials say they have signed up some 100,000 white members in the Transvaal alone and that they have not even got around to recruiting Natal's whites, among whom Chief Buthelezi tends

to be idolised. The capacity of such numbers of white supporters, including farmers and employers to help the chief garner the black vote, is likely to be considerable.

If these figures are accurate there are grounds for panic on the part of the Nationalists, because it could herald the loss of their entire party in Natal. There is speculation that it is precisely that fear which has saved the cabinet position held by the party's provincial leader, George Bartlett — currently Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

Bartlett has now been implicated in several major scandals surfac-

ing from his earlier time as Minister of Transport. These are said to have cost the taxpayer billions of rands and reduced the ministry to a state of financial chaos. Opposition politicians have been baying for his blood: last week one MP demanded his resignation on 17 different occasions in Parliamentary debate.

President F W de Klerk has continued to protect him but he is accused of doing so solely out of fear that if he fires him, Bartlett — who has previously expressed unhappiness at the government's handling of Chief Buthelezi — will lead a mass defection to Inkatha.

It is a moral dilemma for the president. But just another of the ugly faces now to be seen in the struggle for power in South Africa.

What the ANC would have done

By GAYE DAVIS

IF Derek Keys was to take up the African National Congress challenge and give it the necessary data to produce a social spending programme, what would be its key elements?

Continuing to reduce the country's deficit — now standing at 8,6 percent of gross domestic product — would be a major concern, according to ANC economics head Trevor Manuel, but it would also seek to redress glaring inequities.

Manuel, answering a question at a post-Budget press conference in Cape Town on Wednesday, briefly spelt out key areas where money would be allocated. These would include:

●Housing — in an effort to reduce a national housing shortage currently

standing at around 1,2-million urban units.

●Gender equality ~~(ET)~~ (IIA) by helping empower women through such measures as making provision for child-care.

●A major electrification programme.

●Land issues — such as giving small-scale farmers access to land long denied them.

●A job-creation programme, which would not be the sole responsibility of the fiscus but would involve both government and the private sector.

"Only three percent of school leavers in 1992 were absorbed into the economy, according to the South African Chamber of Business," Manuel said. "Unless we grasp this nettle, the potential for instability will remain."

Star 20/3/93

Kriel: PAC must say if it was responsible

(11A) 

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and the National Party have demanded that the Pan Africanist Congress state whether or not it was responsible for the Walkerville terror attack.

This follows reports

PETER FABRICIUS
Political
Correspondent

that a member of the PAC's military wing, APLA, claimed responsibility for the atrocity.

"The PAC must now confirm or deny that this is so," Kriel said yesterday, announcing a reward of R200 000 for information leading to conviction of the killers.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadziwehanani said the PAC could not comment on the alleged involvement of APLA in the attack yesterday until it had received information from its structures.

"We are busy with an NEC meeting. It is difficult for us to comment because we don't know the motive for the attack ... it could just as well have been the AWB trying to discredit us."



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POLITICS, someone once said, is the art of the possible. Thus, when one looks at what needs to be done, at what is realistically achievable in South Africa today, one must do so from the standpoint of people who are involved in the struggle.

It is all too easy for those not involved and who do not carry the burden of responsibility for genuine transition to assume stances or outline a series of hypothetical scenarios.

In a political and social climate where there is work to be done, this becomes an academic exercise, a luxury, as it is the reality of the struggle which dictates what needs to be done, and what can or cannot be achieved.

The guidelines underpinning the negotiations process flow from the OAU (better known as the Harare) Declaration of July 1989 and the UN Consensus Resolution on Apartheid of November the same year. It was from these documents that the ANC identified the focus for negotiations: the struggle for a democratically-elected body — the constituent assembly — to draw up a new constitution.

This became the ANC strategy, central to which is non-racial elections based on one person, one vote and involving everyone, including the homelands.

This is our vision that gave rise to the need to negotiate on the procedures to ensure free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

For this vision we entered Codesa, and also left it in June 1992 when it became clear other forms of pressure were needed to make the government accede to the demands of the people.

For this vision, therefore, we engaged in countrywide mass action until, at last, we brought the NP to the realisation that it would not be allowed to continue clinging to power at all costs.

Since then, we have come a long way to victory, to winning the clear demands we set over three years

CROSS TALK

Taking stock of victories

SOUTH 20/3 - 24/3/94

Although major hurdles have to be overcome on the way to democratic elections, NEC and ANC constitutional committee member **Advocate Dullah Omar** argues those in the struggle should look back at what has been achieved before continuing:

(IP) @DADA

ago. It is a victory that has been won through negotiations and mass struggle. Mass struggle has always been an integral part of the ANC's negotiations strategy.

On September 26 a document of much significance was signed. The Record of Understanding symbolised the first time ever that the NP government was compelled to agree that the constitution of this country would be drawn up and adopted by an elected constituent assembly. It was a triumphant moment and a great day in the history of the struggle for liberation.

But the government was compelled to agree to more than that. It agreed to the mechanisms that should be put in place to level the

political playing field to create a climate for free political activity.

Once again, there was huge government opposition to our proposals and it is testimony to the success of ANC strategy, together with mass action, that they were forced to agree to the setting up of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The function of the TEC is to take charge of those aspects of government — law and order, defence and aspects of foreign affairs — that would affect the creation of an environment in which free and fair elections should be held.

There were other victories too. The government, despite its efforts to the contrary, was forced to agree that it could not be player and ref-



'The Record of Understanding symbolised the first time ever that the NP government was compelled to agree that the constitution of this country would be drawn up and adopted by an elected constituent assembly. It was a triumphant moment and a great day in the history of the struggle for liberation'

eree and that elections would have to be conducted by an independent electoral commission.

Another crucial issue was that of control of the electronic media — of television and radio. The ANC, together with the democratic movement, has fought a long struggle to remove the SABC from government hands and place it under independent control. Despite numerous setbacks, agreement was finally reached that an independent media commission should be established.

Much was won. While it is true we have not won everything we wished for, we need only look back

to appreciate just how much was achieved.

Some fifteen years ago, when we started to build the democratic movement, there were many who thought we were trying to achieve the impossible. It was believed then that the government was so strong that its power could not be challenged.

Today, we are on the point of starting to dismantle that "unchallengeable" power. And today, ironically, many of those who said we would never, in the foreseeable future, win against the forces of oppression and apartheid, criticise us for having conceded too much.

Apla ^{CT 20/3/93} claims highway ambush

THE PAC's armed wing Apla has claimed responsibility for the Vaal highway ambush yesterday in which a 14-year-old boy and his 35-year-old-mother were killed.

Two pupils and a man — the husband and step-father of the dead — were wounded.

The victims were among a party of white children on their way to school.

Within hours of the ambush Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel offered a R200 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers.

A man claiming to be an Apla PWV commander telephoned Sapa in Johannesburg early yesterday afternoon to claim responsibility. He said: "My people carried out the attack as part of the organisation's 'Year Of the Storm'."

The caller refused to divulge his name.

Before ringing off, the man said: "White people can expect more such activities this year."

The leaders of Apla's parent body were not available for comment.

The car in which the victims were travelling was riddled with AK-47 bullets by four to six gunmen. All the windows were blown out.

The members of the school lift club were travelling on the N27 between Vereeniging and Johannesburg early yesterday morning.

In the hail of bullets, Mrs Sandra Mitchley and her 14-year-old son Shaun Nell, from her first marriage, were killed.

The driver, Mr Norman Mitchley, sustained serious gunshot wounds.

The other two wounded were Claire Silberbauer, 13, and 16-year-old Craig Lambrecht.

All the victims were from Walkerville.

Shots were also fired at another car but the bullet missed the driver, Ms Erika Leukemans, by centimetres.

Police believe the shots were fired from a green BMW. The driver of the car was later arrested, but claimed he was hijacked in his car and was forced to drive the gunmen from place to place, including to and away from the scene of the attack. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

GROUNDS FOR HOPE: *Two steps forward, one back – but we have come a long way towards inclusive democracy in three years*

SA's age of miracles

(11A)

Star 20/8/93

IMPATIENCE is the enemy of a hopeful future and is the last thing South Africa needs in this critical stage in the run-up to its first fully multiracial elections, writes COLIN LEGUM. The only positive approach lies in adopting a hopeful attitude – and there is much reason to be hopeful.

SOUTH Africa is truly a land of miracles. Where has it happened before that 36 parties, ranging from hard-core right-wing parties with a stubborn belief in the necessity of their own homeland to radical far Left groupings committed to armed struggle and the right to expropriate all white-owned land, have sat down to discuss a country's future?

And where, after 341 years of a racially exclusive power system, has its white pre-

state last? And where will it lead to? There is indeed much to trouble the minds of South Africans, not least the dismal state of the economy, the unemployment, homelessness, and so little change as yet in the living conditions of a majority of the population.

Because so few people anywhere have any understanding of the dynamics of historical process – of the time it takes, and of the ups and downs, the stops and goes – it is hardly

surprising that the national mood here changes rapidly from optimism, even eupho-

Because so few people anywhere have any understanding of the



along with proposals for a constitution that firmly rules out any promise of an independent Boerestaat. They will withdraw in anger.

SO, TOO, there can be no high expectations that the Pan Africanist Congress, with its sharply differing views from the ANC about "power-sharing", will stay the course, even if it should agree to suspend the armed struggle as the ANC has already done. And there is always the maverick, Chief Buthelezi, with his own agenda about a devolutionised federation.

However, even if these predictable developments do occur, the strong probability is that the "centre" will hold – the major players who are striving to achieve a reasonable consensus. And if the two compromising Afrikaner parties – the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Afrikaner Volkstigting – succeed in winning support for one or two regions in which Afrikaners will find themselves comfortable as part of a non-racial South Africa, then the

It is miraculous that the stage has now been reached where a consen-

And where, after 341 years of a racially exclusive power system, has its white president envisaged serving under a black president within a year or two?

All the changes so far have involved the acceptance of the need to convert an undemocratic racist society into an inclusive democratic one, and have taken place

at breath-taking speed: just more than three years. White and black society have been shaken to their foundations, and both are struggling to adjust to the new situation.

A remarkable feature of this process is not that there has been so much political violence, but that there has been so little — and, as yet, hardly any of it coming from a traumatised white community. This achievement of truly revolutionary change by relatively peaceful means is probably without parallel.

It is all going so fast and so well that it is hardly surprising that people of all races are still waiting for the other shoe to drop — the jackboot of white resistance or the scuffed sneaker of the black proletariat.

And since the miracle owes so much to two men — President FW de Klerk and the president-in-waiting, Nelson Mandela — anxieties about their state of health and the likely duration of their political ascendancy within their own electorates have become something of a national obsession.

How long can this peaceful process of dismantling the centuries-old white supremacist

Because so few people anywhere have any understanding of the dynamics of historical process ... it is hardly surprising that the national mood here changes rapidly from optimism, even euphoria, to pessimism, and even despair. These swings of mood could be helped if the key people in the media themselves had a clearer understanding.

change are an untaught science.

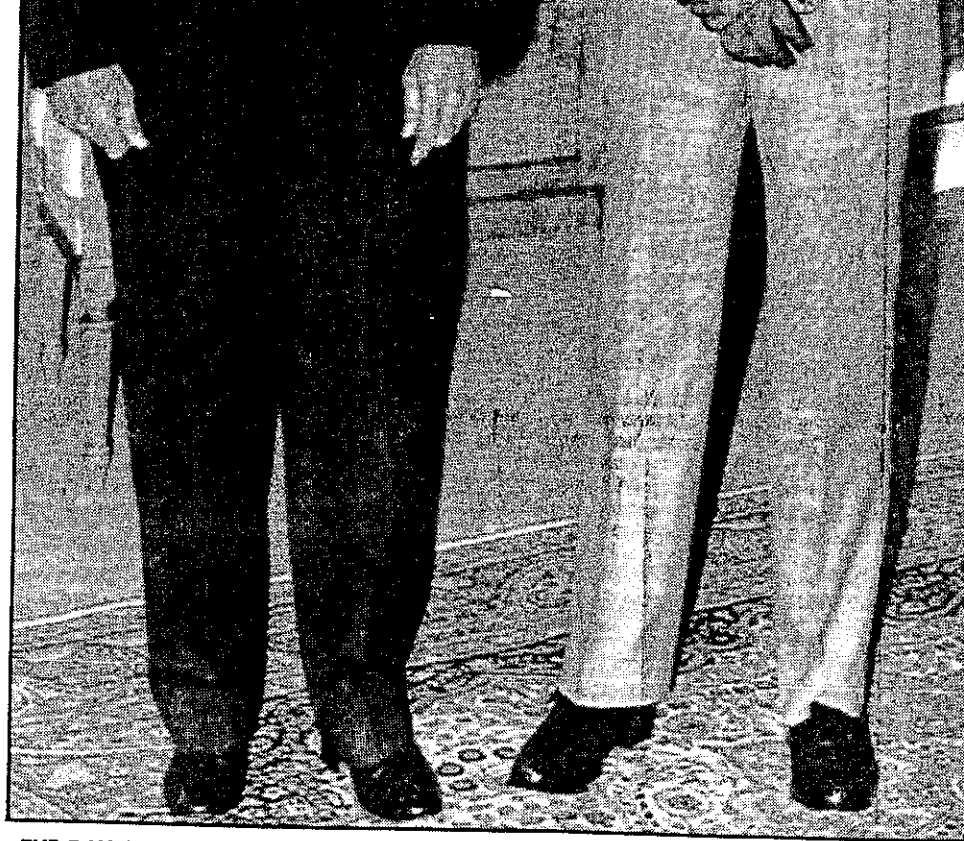
So, the media themselves set the tone for alternating moods between highs and lows. Each promising step is treated as if the new dawn had already broken; and each setback is represented as if it were the end of the dream.

What has happened in the three short years since President de Klerk's historic speech pronouncing the end of apartheid is that there have been a succession of two steps forward and one step back. But the step back is reported as if there had been no step forward.

The reality is that the country has come a long, long way forward from De Klerk's speech and the release from prison of Nelson Mandela. Indeed, if one looks back at the ground that has been covered since those early days of 1990, it is miraculous that the stage has now been reached where a sense of realism has driven all the major antagonists in the conflict to agree to sit down and discuss the shape of a transitional interim government, the conditions for the country's first fully enfranchised elections and the principles of a

surprising that the national mood here changes rapidly from optimism, even euphoria, to pessimism, and even despair. These swings of mood could be helped if the key people in the media themselves had a clearer understanding of historical processes which, sadly, few possess. The phenomena of fundamental transi-

tional



THE DAY SOUTH AFRICA CHANGED: President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on February 11 1990, shortly after Mandela was freed and nine days after De Klerk's historic speech in Parliament put South Africa on a course towards a new democratic dispensation, with equal rights for all. Just three years down the line, De Klerk envisages serving under a black president.

Breathtaking pace of change amid relative peace is without parallel

nonracial democratic constitution.

Because of this sensational coming together of 36 delegates and observers, the country is currently on a high. Everybody is keyed up to a possible climax when the all-party negotiations start in earnest next month.

Yet, what is predictable — but discouragingly not being predicted — is that there is going to be an awful let-down when the negotiations proper get under way. Then the headlines will again speak of breakdown and setbacks; pessimism will return to the land.

What the media and politicians should be telling the country — instead of treating it to the present hype — is that not all the participants will stay aboard the negotiations.

For example, there seems to be no way that the right-wing Conservative Party will go

It is miraculous that the stage has now been reached where a sense of realism has driven all the major antagonists in the conflict to agree to sit down and discuss the shape of a transitional interim government, the conditions for the country's first fully enfranchised elections and the principles of a nonracial democratic constitution.

far right-wing Afrikaners can be expected to lose ground quite substantially.

Meanwhile, because of the state of the economy and the recognised reality that there is no hope of recovery until there is agreement on a new political dispensation, there are serious voices, especially in the media, who urge the need for a "quick solution even if it is a bad one" — as if a "bad solution" is a sound basis for restructuring the political and economic systems of the country.

IMPATIENCE in this situation is the enemy of a healthy future. The other two enemies are optimism and pessimism. The only positive approach lies in adopting a hopeful attitude. And there has been so much progress in what has already occurred over the past three years as to give genuine cause for being hopeful.

● *The author is editor of Third World Reports, which he publishes from West Sussex in England. He wrote this article while on a visit to South Africa this month.*

MP Tarr predicts ANC, IFP merger

Political Staff

A MERGER of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress could happen one day, says the new IFP Member of Parliament Mr Mike Tarr. **ARC 20/3/93**

Speaking in the Own Affairs budget debate in parliament, Mr Tarr, MP for Maritzburg North who recently defected from the Democratic Party, said he was sending out "as strong a message as I can to my colleagues in the ANC and South Africa as a whole".

"Why do I say this? There is a remarkable degree of agreement right now on a wide range of issues. We both agree on a bill of rights. I have stud-

ied both versions. Our versions are not irreconcilable.

"We both agree on a sovereign constitution. We both agree on an independent judiciary with testing powers. We are now much closer on the question of strong regional government. We both want elections as soon as possible.

"We both want to end the violence," said Mr Tarr.

"Our differences are rooted in the past and not on what we want in the future. Any differences that still exist can be accommodated within any normal political system.

"This country now needs leadership that can join hands and go together into the future."

NP ducks Boesak debate

SOUTH 20/3-24/3/93
By Rehana Rossouw

THE National Party was displaying a huge vote of no-confidence in senior NP member Mr Jac Rabie by refusing to set a date for a debate between him and ANC Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC claimed yesterday.

Following a debate on TV1's Agenda last month which Rabie claimed was biased, Boesak challenged him to another debate.

However, NP federal information officer Mr Piet Coetzer said the NP was being "forced" into a debate on the coloured issue which it considered "racist and of the past".

Coetzer said the NP would prefer a debate on economic issues with another member of the party.

ANC regional treasurer Mr Ebrahim Rasool said Coetzer's claim that the ANC was forcing the NP into a debate was "an outrageous piece of nonsense".

"In the light of NP indignation at what they claimed was a piece of biased television favouring the ANC, this would seem to present an ideal opportunity for Rabie to save face after a debate he clearly lost," Rasool said.

"The SABC agreed, Rabie agreed and Coetzer agreed the debate should go ahead as soon as possible."

Since then Coetzer was "at great pains" to avoid the ANC.

He said the NP was finding electioneering in the Western Cape coloured community a lot harder than it predicted. Last week in Macassar, Touwsrivier and Atlantis, halls were packed with ANC supporters.

When Mrs Marike de Klerk and Mr Abe Williams visited Atlantis, crowds of people gathered outside, demonstrating against the visit.

"No wonder the NP refuses to enter into further debate about the coloured community. It must know by now that this is a debate it has no hope of winning," Rasool added.

Fuzzy distinction between federal and unitary rule

STAR 20/3/93.

(TIA) (3/93)

THE line separating unitary and federal states is frequently blurred, and slogans tend to further distort the debate, says the ANC's Thozamile Botha. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

THERE is a need to shift away from slogans, remarks Thozamile Botha, the amiable but determined head of the ANC's department of local and regional government.

His comment is made with reference to the debate over whether South Africa should have a centralised unitary or a decentralised federal system of government. These labels or "slogans" oversimplify and distort the debate, Botha reckons. The line separating unitary and federal states is frequently blurred, he adds.

An ANC discussion document on regional policy supplements his point: "Many unitary states have federal features and many federal states have unitary ones; the Federal Republic of Germany thus has a more centralised state system than the United States of America..."

ANC regional policy — which proposes to recognise and protect regions and regional government powers in a founding constitution — should be seen in that context, Botha says.

All the main political organisations espouse regionalism in one form or another; all favour regional government, although Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party still talks of federalism.

Botha, who rose to prominence in the early 1980s as the chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, identifies salient differences between ANC regional policy and those of its political rivals. These differences relate primarily to the balance of power between the centre and the regions: the ANC, wary of the danger of encouraging centrifugal forces, wants a strong and ultimately dominant central government to hold the country together; its rivals, apprehensive of a tyrannical centre imposing its will on the regions, want stronger regional government.

Botha states: "The ANC's position begins from the premise that South Africa must be one united country. There must be a single constitution, from which regional powers and functions derive." Regional powers, he adds, can be entrenched.

The ANC, however, wants the central government's hand strengthened by giving it concurrent and overriding powers, Botha says. He cites education to illus-

trate his point. Regional government can be given power to formulate education policy but, since education is a "national asset", concurrent power will be vested in the central government to ensure there is a required level of uniformity on issues such as certification and curricula.

If there is a contradiction between regional and central government policy, the overriding power of central government will come into operation. Its policy will prevail. Botha gives two examples: if the central government lays down that education should be compulsory for at least nine years, regional governments would not be free to offer less; if the central government ruled in favour of nonracial education, regional governments would not be allowed to establish segregated schools.

ANC policy envisages, Botha says, a pivotal fiscal role for central government.

NP and IFP regional policy is based on the "principle of subsidiarity", Botha says, then elaborates on what the ANC understands by that. "The regions decide what powers and functions they want. Anything they don't want goes to the central government. In our view, that is premised on confederation. It can create the conditions for the fragmentation of South Africa. They want to develop regional constitutions which the central government would find difficult to amend or change."

Botha reiterates his fear that it is a formula which could lead to the disintegration of South Africa. Seemingly forgetful of his admonition against sloganising, he says: "The principle of subsidiarity is a confederal concept."

It would, Botha adds, make it difficult for the central government to deal with imbalances in wealth between the different regions and to address the historical inequalities of apartheid.

Agreement on the need for regional government in the future clearly masks differences over what regionalism means. Botha, however, is hopeful that a compromise can be reached.

"We should be able to agree that the establishment of regions is not intended to divide the country but to unite it by devolving democracy to the people."

● *An important ANC conference aimed at refining its policy of regionalism ends today.*

Strict US rules hold up cash for ANC, IFP

Times 2/13/93
STRINGENT accounting requirements are slowing disbursement of US "democracy" money to the ANC and the IFP.

Responsible for lading out the \$10-million (R32-million) initially appropriated by Congress in 1990 to help the ANC and other parties prepare for democratic elections is the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep), a respected private group.

Its Washington-based director, Robin Hoen, admitted last week that it was having difficulty pushing the money, which includes R12-million for

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

the ANC, out of the door to recipients.

"It's going very slowly," Mr Hoen said, "because the purpose is very restricted. It's hard to spend the money in accordance with the terms and conditions."

These include a fully documented accounting for expenditures by recipients.

The lifespan of the so-called "Transition to Democracy Project" — which should have been almost complete by now — has had to be extended by 15

months. When initially proposed by the Congressional Black Caucus, the project was supposed to be a slush fund to help the ANC build up its political operation in South Africa after years in exile.

After months of haggling between the sponsors, Congressional Republicans and the State Department, it was finally decided that most of the money should be divided between the ANC and Inkatha, with the former getting the larger share.

The funds were to be spent on office expenses, and further delays were

generated in a debate over whether the parties could use the funds to pay salaries.

It was finally agreed that they could not.

Expenditures would be limited to equipment and furniture.

Mr Hoen downplayed suggestions that there were problems with the accounts submitted by the recipients, preferring to stress the stringency of the accounting rules laid down by the US government.

Ussalep and the parties were also discussing using remaining funds for voter education programmes.

Front regroups to fight NP

S/T/mb 2/13/93
By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Patriotic Front, consisting mostly of black liberation forces is planning to regroup into a pact to confront the NP at the forthcoming elections.

But by late last night, the PAC had not yet responded officially to the invitation to attend from the PF Convening Committee, although sources said it was likely, since it participated in talks for a replacement body for Codesa.

A PAC official said last night the PAC was still "debating the issue" and would respond next week.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, which boycotted the original PF conference, has not been invited to the conference, which is to be held in Johannesburg, but an-

other boycotter, the Azanian Peoples Organisation, has been sent an invitation.

Azapo has indicated it was unlikely to accept.

Azapo Western Cape regional chairman, Mr Siphon Maseko, said yesterday: "Nothing has changed in the composition of the PF since it was first started in 1991 and nothing has changed about our objection to homeland leaders, tricameralists and other non-liberation bodies being part of the PF."

The Patriotic/United Front — which comprised 93 parties and movements when they met in Durban in October 1991 — failed to meet "within six months" in terms of its Durban resolution.

This was the direct result of the PAC, a major component of

the PF, walking out of the first Codesa preparatory talks held on November 30, 1991.

Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, a member of the ANC executive and of the PF convening committee, confirmed yesterday the PF could not meet earlier because of the absence of the PAC.

He said next weekend's conference could be the last big united PF meeting before next year's elections and it was, therefore, "most important that all liberation forces in the PF should participate".

Mr Ebrahim said despite the absence from Codesa talks, the PF liaison committee continued to function and has felt the time was now ripe to regroup since the PAC was now part of the new negotiations forum to replace Codesa.

Wanted: Fair people



RICHARD GOLDSTONE



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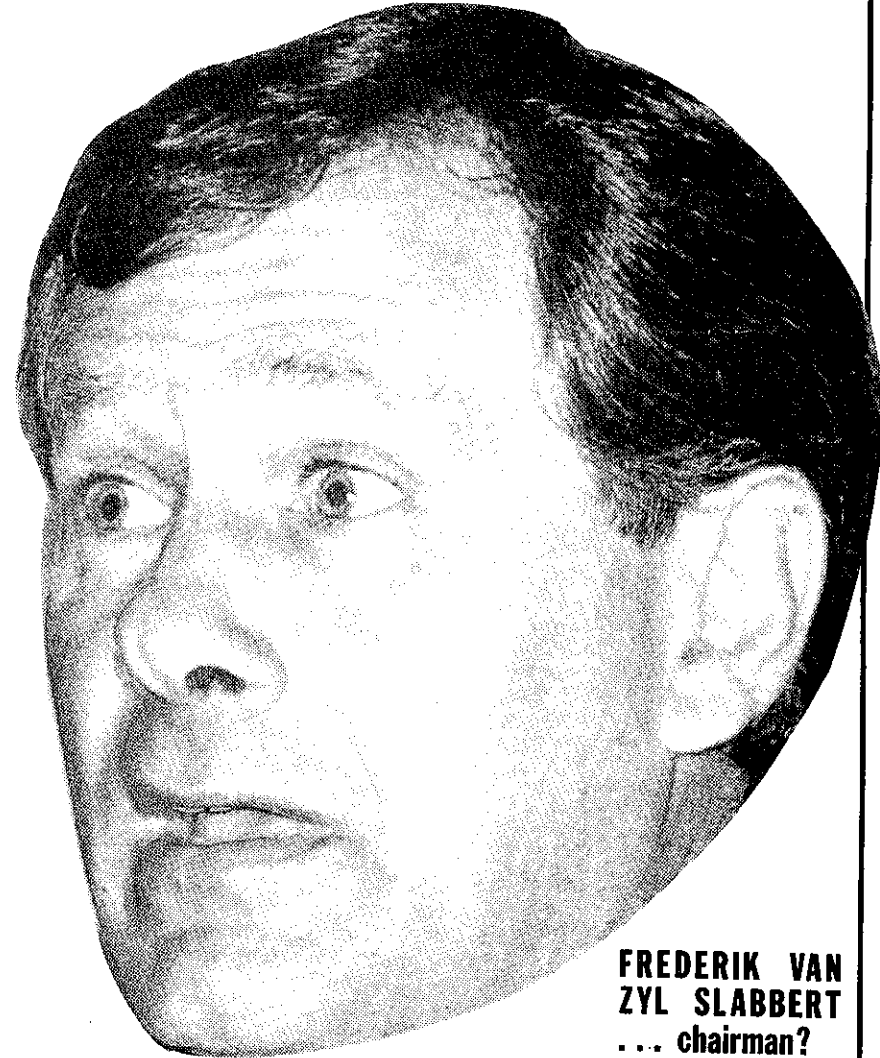
DESMOND TUTU



SHEENA DUNCAN

A powerful electoral body will soon be making important decisions affecting the lives of all South Africans.

But who is going to serve on it?
CARMEL RICKARD reports



FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT
... chairman?

for free elections

TIPPED as the most powerful body in the country during the forthcoming elections, the proposed Independent Electoral Commission could have a major impact on the lives of all South Africans. Yet few people have heard of it. Fewer still have thought about its powers or who should serve on the commission.

Under the present electoral law the Department of Home Affairs runs elections through its director-general, who serves as the chief electoral officer.

The department has wide experience of overseeing elections, first through years of whites-only polls; more recently through elections for the tricameral houses. However, most parties involved in negotiations would argue against the department as an acceptable authority for the forthcoming elections because of its government links. So alternatives are needed: both a new electoral law and a generally respected body to oversee the polls.

Little has been published about the parties' proposals, but it seems that the National Party and the ANC share the view that an independent commission must be in charge of the elections. Some body would need to certify whether the elections were free and fair. If the certification came from a group of people widely accepted as eminent, experienced and themselves fair, the outcome would have greater local and international credibility.

All the other questions about the commission must still be answered by the Codesa parties, but it seems likely that the IEC will be given significant authority.

Powers of election commissions can vary widely. In some countries they might be strictly limited and have a purely administrative function like preparing ballot papers and boxes. Where commissions are given more power, they could have an additional quasi-judicial role with the authority to enact regulations.

The IEC would have the responsibility of setting up a countrywide network to hear complaints about election irregularities, including breaches of the code of conduct. Decisions of the IEC

about irregularities would be final. Sources within the ANC say this is a vital issue: if appeals were allowed to the courts against decisions of the IEC it would cause lengthy delays and might even put the elections in jeopardy. Some of these suggestions appeared to find acceptance by delegates to a conference held in Cape Town last week on Free and Fair Elections, convened by the centre for development studies at the University of the Western Cape and the US-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

The ANC view is that the IEC should also deal with security, ensuring that the "appropriate bodies" provide enough protection to parties and the public. It should also obtain agreement from all the political parties to campaign peacefully and abide by a code of conduct — the existing code or a new one.

The IEC would also be responsible for ensuring fair access to the broadcasting media by the parties; deciding whether political advertising will be allowed on television or radio; and seeing that the electronic media were used for an intensive voter-education campaign.

PARTICIPANTS from a broad range of political parties and non-governmental organisations heard suggestions that would extend the powers of the IEC even beyond the powers proposed by the ANC. One such idea came from UWC public-law lecturer John Murphy. He proposed that the IEC should not act against only those election practices which were "unlawful" in the strict legal definition. The commission should be empowered to investigate and prevent activities it believed were "unfair", even if in all other respects these actions were lawful.

This, like many other questions about the IEC, must still

AT THEIR most powerful they might, under unusual circumstances, be asked to draft the electoral law, setting out the detail of how the elections will be conducted. They might even have full judicial powers, with the right to adjudicate on complaints relating to the elections.

The ANC's model would give an IEC the widest possible powers. Its supporters argue that this is necessary to ensure that the election results have broad support from all political groups.

The ANC suggestion is for an uneven number of commissioners, probably between seven and 17. They would be chosen by the Codesa parties from names submitted by the parties themselves.

According to sources within the ANC, their proposal is that these commissioners should be people with a record of non-partisan public service. They should not hold party office, nor be candidates in the election. They would also have to be available full-time during the election period.

They would have the responsibility of drafting an

21/3/93
Should the IEC have the power to deregister parties which persistently intimidate voters — even if this means the election process cannot go ahead or has to start again?
Should international eminent persons be included on

the IEC? What should be the relationship of the IEC to other bodies if their jurisdiction intersects? For example, the planned independent broadcasting authority would also have the task of ensuring fair access by the parties to the media.
Similarly, the Goldstone commission recently asked for representations about how to prevent intimidation and violence during the elections, a task which might fall under the IEC. One way round this particular

difficulty might be for the commission's chairman, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, to be asked to serve on the IEC. Other names mentioned as possible commissioners include Frederick van Zyl Slabbert (tipped to take the chair), Oscar Dhlomo of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, former MP Helen Suzman, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoeba of the National Peace Committee, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Mamphela Ramphele, Unisa

law expert Marinus Weichers, University of Zululand law professor Charles Dlamini, South African Council of Churches senior vice-president Sheena Duncan and "possibly some other judges".
An IEC should be in place as soon as an election date is officially announced. However, judging from the blank response to questions about the commission put to members of the public and even politicians, it seems that few people have given the IEC serious thought apart from some academics and a select group from the party hierarchies.
If the election and its outcome are to gain wide support, then there needs to be vigorous public discussion about the IEC and the individuals trusted to serve on it.

SI 11 w 23
21/3/93

(11/4)

ANC is
STimes 11A
invited
to help
21/3/93
in 1994

BUDGET NEWS

By MIKE ROBERTSON

IN A break with tradition, Finance Minister Derek Keys has called on the ANC and other interested parties to join him in drawing up next year's budget.

Because the budget is a ruling party's most important policy instrument, its preparation is normally a closely guarded secret.

Mr Keys's offer is a recognition of changing political circumstances in South Africa and a partial recognition of the validity of opposition party complaints that money allocated in the budget is not getting to the people for whom it is intended.

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Mr Keys responded to an ANC call by saying he had a better idea than their suggested appointment of an independent fiscal commission to trace and audit how money allocated in the budget is actually spent.

"They are concentrating in the wrong place. I think the audit side is in tip-top shape. Witness the reports of the auditor-general."

His idea, Mr Keys said, is that members of the National Economic Forum, which includes the ANC and trade union federation Cosatu, should instead serve on "function" committees overseen by the Department of State Expenditure.

Priorities

"A function committee will take, for example, the question of health and then apply itself to every level of government where health expenditure is taking place.

"It looks through the cross-section and then tries to apportion priorities and settles the basis of the allocation for the next year's budget for that item.

"We have already decided that we would like to see outside representation on those function committees. They will look forward, ensure that spending is planned right."

In this way, Mr Keys said, outside parties, should they believe corruption is taking place in a particular area, would be able to have "an immediate effect on how much money is sent down that channel and in whose hands it ends up. I think that is a much better way of getting an immediate result".

The Finance Minister said that he had already raised this suggestion with certain parties.

"The natural people to be represented (on the function committees) would be the economic forum."

Mr Keys said he was prepared to meet ANC economic head Trevor Manuel's challenge to give the organisation information at his disposal in drawing up this year's budget so that it could, within three months, produce a costed development programme for social expenditure.

"I would love to give him the figures. I would like to have his input," he said.

Star 22/3/93

PAC to continue armed struggle

(11A) (SFA)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

UMTATA — The Pan Africanist Congress national executive council has decided not to suspend armed activities as requested by the Government, national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivhanani said yesterday.

"Our view is that, as long as the regime is armed to the teeth, there is no reason for us to

place a moratorium on the armed struggle," he said after a three-day meeting in Umtata.

He said the PAC did not know whether its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for attacks on whites near Walkerville on Friday and in Fort Beaufort on Saturday.

However, it was not PAC policy to kill children.

Nmadzivhanani said the NEC would send representatives to April 1 and 2 multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, in spite of Pretoria's objections.

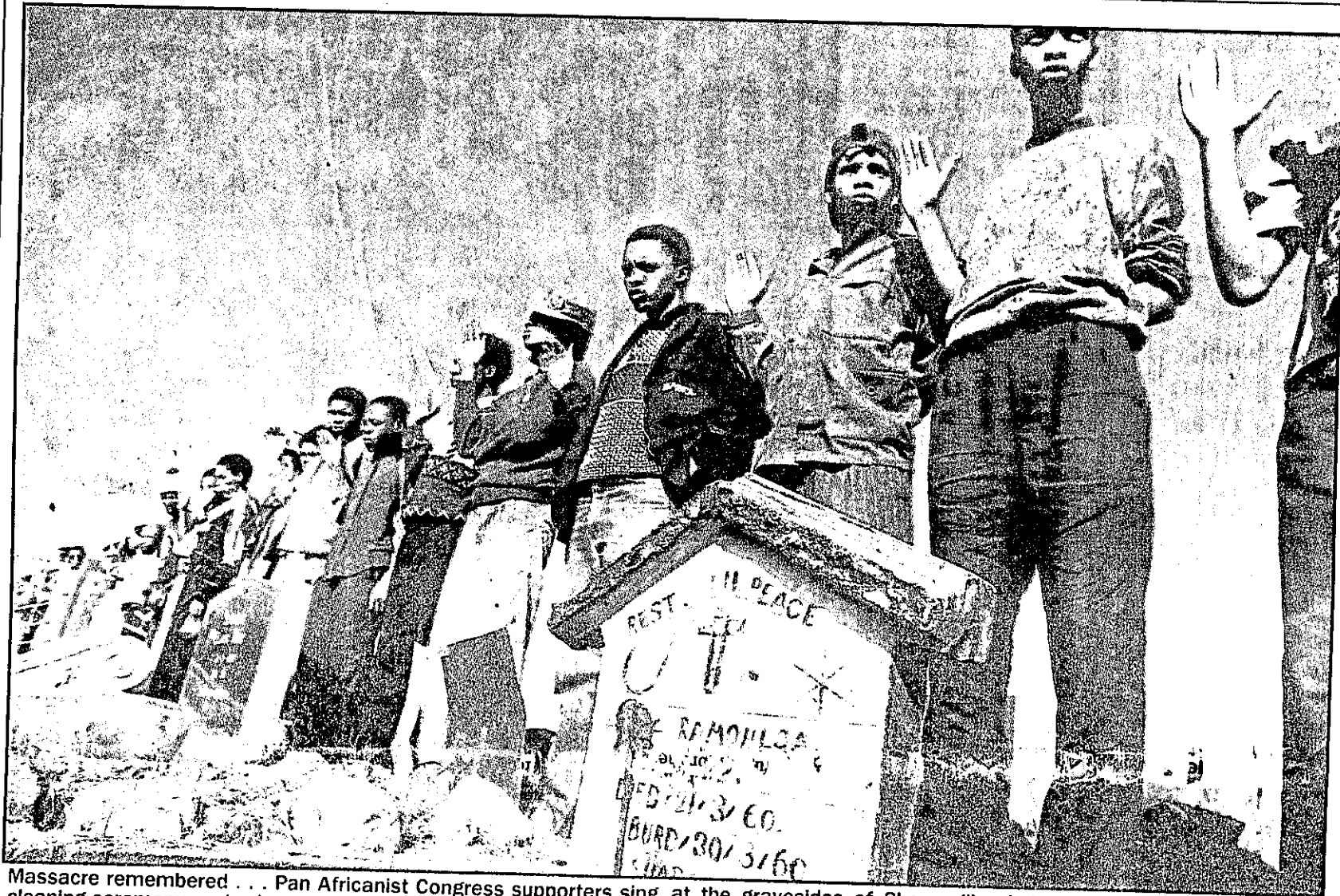
The Government has said only organisations that have suspended armed action should take part.

Nmadzivhanani said the PAC leadership had also decided to attend the Patriotic Front (PF)

conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, on Saturday and Sunday.

However, it had reservations about the way in which the ANC had "unilaterally organised" the summit and would express its "annoyance" in writing to the ANC.

ANC sources say more than 120 organisations have been invited to the conference, and at least 100 are expected to attend.



Massacre remembered . . . Pan Africanist Congress supporters sing at the gravesides of Sharpeville victims during the annual grave-cleaning ceremony yesterday.
Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

Rallies *Star 22/3/93* mostly peaceful

By Montshiwa Moroke,
Phil Molefe
and Gien Elsas 11A

In contrast to past years, Sharpeville Day rallies across the PWV area attended by tens of thousands of people passed relatively peacefully in a day of celebration marred by the death of a man and the wounding of at least two others in Katlehong on the East Rand.

Angry marchers also stoned a car carrying members of the European Community peace monitoring team in the township. No one was injured.

A potentially explosive situation was defused in the Vaal Triangle outside Sharpeville police station yesterday evening when police placated angry ANC supporters by supplying them with a pole or which to hoist their own ANC flag.

The relatively peaceful day was preceded by a historic pact between the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the SAP and the SADF on Saturday in which all parties

Star 22/3/93

Man dies on relatively peaceful Sharpeville Day

● From Page 1

agreed to co-ordinate their activities yesterday.

A statement of intent at the beginning of the agreement called on all parties and supporters to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner and abide by the tenets of the National Peace Accord.

Although words of reconciliation were spoken at the IFP and ANC rallies, PAC president Clarence Makwetú told supporters in Sharpeville to prepare for a "bitter struggle" and Azapo leaders in Soweto called on supporters to intensify the armed struggle for the "repossession of our land".

In Katlehong, ANC national executive committee member Cheryl Caroulas said if all armed forces, including the SADF and AWB, laid down their arms, Umkhonto we

Sizwe would do the same.

SA Communist Party central committee member, Ronnie Kasrils, said the ANC fought a "just war" and did not dirty itself with the blood of "innocents" such as the 69 people shot in Sharpeville 33 years ago.

At a rain-interrupted rally in nearby Vosloorus, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged ANC leader Nelson Mandela to join him in a series of public appearances "to show that the ANC and IFP are seriously joining forces to eradicate violence from our midst".

When the rally ended, peace monitors persuaded IFP marchers to change their route to avoid oncoming ANC supporters from the rally in Katlehong.

However, a man was shot

dead later in a house and a bystander was wounded by shots fired from a passing minibus.

Witnesses said an IFP supporter, who was part of a group of 300 men returning from Vosloorus, ran into a house at Everest section and opened fire on three men and a woman identified as Betty Khoza. The situation became extremely tense, but after a sudden downpour the crowds dispersed.

The ANC last night condemned the incidents of violence, but said the behaviour and conduct of members and supporters of both the ANC and IFP on the East Rand represented a major step in the creation of a climate of peace and political tolerance in the region.

At Sharpeville, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander-in-chief Joe Modise urged supporters to accept the movement's pro-election campaign.

Later he led thousands of supporters through the township conducting a door-to-door election campaign in preparation for the country's first democratic elections.

After the rally, thousands of placard-waving ANC supporters toy-toyed in the rain outside the Sharpeville police station.

Colonel Tienie Halgryn, police liaison officer for the area, said the organisers of the rally suddenly ignored the prearranged programme and entered the Sharpeville police station at 4.15 pm.

They demanded that the South African and police flags

be lowered so that the ANC flag could be hoisted to show how the police had changed. The crowd of about 4 000 became agitated.

Brigadier Flores Mostert, Deputy Regional Commissioner of Police in the Vaal Triangle, realised that the situation was on a knife's edge and gave instructions that a flagpole be placed outside the police grounds so that the ANC could raise their own flag.

The crowd raised their flag, lowered it after a while and dispersed quietly.

"Brigadier Mostert definitely defused an extremely tense situation," Halgryn said.

At the PAC rally, PAC president Clarence Makwetú told supporters at George Thabe Stadium to brace themselves for a "bitter struggle".

Sicr 22/3/93

Women threaten protest 1/A

The ANC's Women's League on Saturday threatened to engage in large-scale protest action unless the rights of women were recognised. Secretary-general Baleka Kgositsile said she was reacting to male political party leaders who jeered at the recent multiparty planning meeting when the ANC proposed that women should be part of their delegation as advisers. 351

NEWS Chief Minister implicated in alleged shady dealings ● Accident claims six lives

Desai slams 'race war'

■ PAC sends condolences to victims:

A RACE war against whites was counter-productive and was not Pan Africanist Congress policy, the movement's information chief Mr Barney Desai said yesterday.

Speaking on his return from a PAC national executive meeting in Umtata in Transkei, Desai said the organisation wanted to convey its condolences to the victims of an attack by AK-47 rifle-wielding gunmen.

Desai said the organisation was outraged by calls to the media, and the South African Press Association in particular, claiming responsibility on behalf of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, for the attack in which a white woman and a 16-year-old schoolboy died.

"It is not our policy to conduct a race war against whites and we don't know who these guys are," Desai said.

"That kind of thing is counter-productive and we are outraged. In fact we want to convey our condolences to those involved. Our policy is not to fight a race war but to bring about democracy," he added. - Sapa.

'Corruption' exposed

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

Sowetan 22/3/93

■ Top Lebowa government official blows the whistle:

LEBOWA Development Corporation (LDC) chairman Mr Willie Ramoshaba has blown the whistle on alleged corruption by members of the cabinet in the homeland.

A few hours after he went public, however, he was replaced as chairman of the board, which is appointed by the cabinet he was complaining about.

Ramoshaba told a media briefing in Johannesburg that the alleged corruption included Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike who, he claimed, bypassed structures of the corporation to secure a R245 000 loan for his brother.

Approached for comment on Friday, Ramodike denied that he had applied for a loan from the LDC.

He announced that Ramoshaba had been

demoted from chairman to an ordinary member of the LDC board. The new LDC chairman is University of the North acting rector Mr John Malatji.

Ramoshaba said attempts to stop the corruption had been unsuccessful because the board could only report its concern to the same cabinet it was complaining about.

Board members who complained were kicked out. He mentioned Mr Matome Maponya as the most recent example.

He said Ramodike had approached him personally last year for a loan to buy a farm.

"I told him it was not possible as rules prohibited cabinet members from receiving loans. He then put together what amounted to a loan proposal for his brother, Mr PZ Ramodike, who was to buy the chief minister's bottle store for the same amount the chief minister needed to buy his farm."



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Peace calls at



Members of the Inkatha Freedom Party brandish their less threatening traditional weapons in what turned out to be a peaceful rally at the Vosloorus Stadium on the East Rand yesterday.
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

rallies

Sweeten 22/3/93

11A

By Themba Molefe, Musa Zondi, Mkgadi Pela and Sapa

THE FOUR MAIN black political organisations yesterday held separate services to commemorate the massacre in 1960 when the South African Police gunned down 69 unarmed "dampas" demonstrators in Sharpeville.

The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Inkatha Freedom Party rallied their supporters to rededicate themselves to the memory of those who died on that fateful day in the Vaal Triangle.

Emotions ran high but no serious incidents were reported, with the exception of one in Vosloorus when an unidentified man was shot and injured from a passing minibus after the IFP rally.

● At the rally IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi reiterated his plea for a meeting with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for the sake of peace.

"It is crucial that the leadership of the ANC and the IFP get together and solve the issue of violence," he said.

After a short interlude, because of the rain, Buthelezi called on Mandela to "stop posturing and commence a series of joint appearances with me at public meetings, so that we can show strife-torn areas in the whole of the nation that the ANC and the IFP are seriously joining forces to eradicate violence in our midst".

A bystander was shot as IFP supporters returned from the rally.

● In Sharpeville PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said his organisation would not declare a moratorium on its armed struggle yet.

He said the Azanian People's Liberation Army would stop its mission once the Government had agreed to "a mutual cessation of hostilities". This was the agreement they reached at

two meeting outside the country

Asked to comment on claims that Apla was responsible for the killing on Friday of three whites in the Grasmere-Eikenhof area, Makwetu said: "I am not able to do so as I have no information."

In Kaitlchong the ANC called on its supporters to be tolerant in the run-up to elections. In a speech that was more of a campaign speech, NEC member Ronnie Kasrils called on the party faithful to go out, door-to-door, and educate the people about voting.

● At an Azapo service at the Kopanong Community Centre in Dobsonville Youth Club recited poems that said the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 and the killings of hundreds of other black people since then had produced people determined to overthrow white domination.

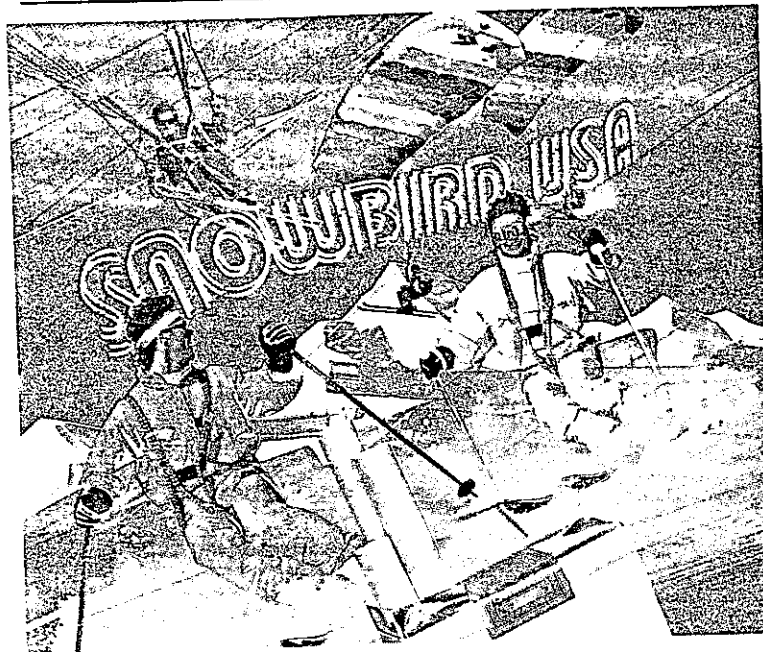
Azapo deputy political education officer Molathegi Thale called on the black youth to openly associate themselves with the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

He said blacks were tired of being victims of State violence and would use any means to defend themselves.

● In another development the Sebokeng home of the PAC chief of protocol and former UN representative Mr Count Pieterse was raided by the police at 3am yesterday.

His 25-year-old son, Mr Musa Sulundwana, was arrested on unspecified charges.

Pieterse said about 12 policemen entered his home through the roof.



ANC firms up policy on regional function

THE ANC ended a crucial meeting on regionalism on Saturday night in Johannesburg with a firm commitment that a future constitution should provide for a maximum of 10 regions.

Attended by more than 200 delegates and observers from 14 regions countrywide, the decisions of the ANC national consultative conference on regional policy now becomes part of the organisation's political firmament.

"This is now official ANC policy as this was a special conference called to deal with the issue after we had to postpone several meetings on the matter last year," said Zola Skweyiya, legal and constitutional affairs spokesman.

Noting that regional policy could only be finalised as an integral part of a national democratic constitution, ANC delegates decided that such a constitution would set out the powers, functions, roles and responsibilities for all three tiers of government.

Final and binding decisions on regions, including their powers, functions and boundaries, should be decided upon by the constituent assembly, which draws up the new constitution, the conference decided.

The resolution said a future constitution should provide for a maximum of 10 regions, a compromise for some delegates who wanted eight.

It called for elections for regional representations in a constituent assembly on the basis of electoral regions, "preferably the

four provinces based on the 1910 constitution".

The conference rejected "attempts by the Nationalist government to unilaterally restructure regional and local government policies and administrations".

The 10 regions accepted by the conference, with a rider that they could become eight entities should certain areas wish to join with others, were: the western Cape; eastern Cape; Border/Kei; Natal; Free State; northern Cape; western Transvaal; Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vaal; eastern Transvaal; and northern Transvaal.

Conference sources said northern Cape and western Transvaal regions might merge, as might Border/Kei and Eastern Cape regions.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the policy was adopted unanimously.

Meanwhile, more than 50 anti-apartheid movements, development agencies, church bodies and trade unions are to campaign for international supervision, monitoring and verification of elections in SA.

The initiative will be launched today by the UN-designated International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

The liaison group of EC Anti-Apartheid Movements said in London the appeal would mobilise opinion in support of a sizeable presence by the UN in conjunction with other intergovernmental bodies. — Sapa.

Stealing a march on opposition

THE ANC was hoping that an early campaign start would give it a decisive advantage in coming elections against opposition that had experience and superior resources, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

The regional election campaign was launched last month and the ANC yesterday unveiled its new regional flag at rallies across the PWV.

Sexwale said in an inter-

RAY HARTLEY

view that the ANC's PWV region would get a "sizeable portion" of the R300m the ANC planned to raise for its election campaign.

"We need as many people as possible to put up money because without a proper constitution, in which everybody has participated, people won't respect the first law of the country. And in that case, they wouldn't respect criminal law either," he said.

The northern Transvaal, eastern Transvaal, Border, Transkei and OFS regions of the ANC would not face much election opposition, but the PWV was where most opposition parties had their headquarters and an organisational presence.

"The NP and other parties are strong on admini-

stration and management, the ANC is strong on support. We would like to transform that political support — with good management — into voter support," Sexwale said.

Sexwale said the election campaign would be the ANC's "biggest mass action ever. This time we are not putting pressure on government; we are removing the government" he said.

He was unambiguous about the ANC's election platform in the region: "It is about winning power — the power that all along they have tried to get through marches, petitions and the armed struggle. We want a transfer of power to a democratic elected government. The election is about commencing the process of reconstructing lives," he said.

'Dismal' human rights year

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE past year has been gloomy for human rights in SA, the Human Rights Commission says in its annual review.

It said security force covert operations, vigilanteism and repressive state legislation "continued to notch up a litany of human rights violations and abuses".

Retaliatory action compounded the situation, and "attacks on policemen and innocent civilians did nothing to advance the cause of human rights in SA", it said.

These activities led to the deaths of more than 3 500 people, 35% more than during the previous year.

The report noted the deaths of 280 train commuters, 129 policemen and 97 political activists.

More than 120 deaths in police custody were recorded, most taking place before the deceased came to trial.

During the year, 58 magisterial districts were declared unrest areas, more than during the State of Emergency in 1985/6. More than 450 people were detained without trial, the commission said.

Political arrests stemming from democratic protests continued apace. More than 10 000 such arrests took place, accompanied by the deaths of 160 people.

At least 200 political trials involving 4 000 people took place. The review listed 250 political prisoners.

About 300 people were on death row, many of whom had been there since hanging was suspended in 1990. In spite of this, another 34 death sentences had been passed down in the past year, the commission said.

Racist Khan suspended

Staff Reporter

(11A)

THE ANC has suspended Regional Executive Committee (REC) member Mr Dawood Khan yesterday for making an anti-Semitic statement at a demonstration last Friday.

Jewish Board of Deputies national chairman Mr Mervyn Smith welcomed the ANC move, but called for Mr Khan's summary dismissal and expressed concern over the ANC's link-

ing of the incident with the Palestinian issue. CT 22/3/93

Mr Khan shouted "Hitler should have burned all the Jews" outside the Israeli embassy on Friday, before the funeral of Sheikh Abubaker Najaar.

Regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said: "Mr Dawood Khan, whose racist remarks outside the Israeli embassy on Friday have deeply shocked the ANC, has been suspended from the regional executive."

Calls for ~~the~~
more Apla ~~III~~
attacks in SA

CT 22/3/93

JOHANNESBURG. — A Pan-Africanist Congress Sharpeville Day commemoration held in Sharpeville itself turned into a pro-Azania Peoples Liberation Army (Apla) rally yesterday as several thousand people chanted Apla slogans and called on the PAC's military wing to increase attacks in the country.

"I appeal to you, our supporters, to brace yourself for a bitter struggle," said PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, who added, however, the PAC was ready for a "mutual cessation of hostilities".

The militant crowd openly called to be armed with AK-47s and Scorpion sub-machine pistols. — Sapa

IN MEMORY: PAC/Apla supporters sing at the gravesides of Sharpeville massacre victims after the annual cleaning of the graves.

Sharpeville Day passes peacefully'

ARG 22/3/93 (11A)

The Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — Apart from the death of one man and the wounding of two in Katlehong on the East Rand, Sharpeville Day rallies across the PWV area — attended by tens of thousands of people — passed relatively peacefully compared with past years.

Marchers also stoned a car carrying members of the European Community peace-monitoring team in the township. They were not injured.

A potentially explosive situation was defused in the Vaal Triangle outside Sharpeville police station when police placated angry African National Congress supporters by supply-

ing them with a pole to hoist their flag last night.

The relatively peaceful day was preceded by a historic pact between the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the police and the Defence Force on Saturday, in which all parties agreed to co-ordinate their activities yesterday.

A statement of intent at the beginning of the agreement called on all parties and supporters to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner and abide by the tenets of the National Peace Accord.

Although words of conciliation were spoken at the IFP and ANC rallies, PAC president Clarence Mkwetu told support-

ers in Sharpeville to prepare for a "bitter struggle" and Azapo leaders in Soweto called on supporters to intensify the armed struggle for the "repossession of our land".

SA Communist Party central committee member Mr Ronnie Kasriels said the ANC fought a "just war" and did not "dirty itself with the blood of innocents such as the 69 people shot in Sharpeville 33 years ago".

In a rain-interrupted rally in nearby Vosloorus, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to join him in a series of public appearances "to show that the ANC and IFP are seriously joining forces to eradi-

cate violence from our midst".

When the rally ended, peace monitors persuaded IFP marchers to change their route to avoid the oncoming ANC supporters from the rally in Katlehong.

But a man was later shot dead in a house and a bystander wounded by shots fired from a passing minibus.

The ANC last night condemned the incidents of violence, but said the behaviour and conduct of members and supporters of both the ANC and IFP on the East Rand represented a major step in the creation of a climate of peace, reconciliation and political tolerance in the region.

ANC raises its flag at police station 11A

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC flag was raised in front of the Sharpeville police station after a rally to commemorate the 33rd anniversary of the massacre.

About 4 000 placard-waving ANC supporters yesterday toyi-toyed in the rain outside the police station, scene of the 1960 Sharpeville killings.

Police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said the organisers ignored the pre-arranged programme and entered the police station.

As the crowd became agitated, the organisers demanded that the South African and police flags be lowered and

ARCT 22/3/93
that the ANC flag hoisted to show how the police had changed.

Brigadier Floris Mostert, deputy regional commissioner of police in the Vaal Triangle, realised the situation was on a knife-edge and gave instructions for a flagpole to be placed outside the grounds so the ANC could raise their flag in front of the police station, Colonel Halgryn said.

The crowd hoisted the flag but after a while lowered it and dispersed quietly.

“Brigadier Mostert definitely defused an extremely tense situation by allowing the flag to be hoisted,” Colonel Halgryn said.

ANC member suspended for anti-Semitic remarks

Political Staff

FORMER Cape Town City councillor and ANC regional executive committee member Mr Dawood Khan has been suspended for making racist remarks during a demonstration outside the Israeli embassy.

On Friday Mr Khan shouted: "Hitler should have burned all the Jews." He was taking part in a Muslim demonstration against the Israeli conquest of Jerusalem during the six-day war in 1967.

He was suspended by the ANC yesterday.

In an initial reaction, ANC (Western Cape) chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the movement was outraged by Mr Khan's remarks, which he condemned as blatantly racist, totally unacceptable and offensive to all civilised people.

Dr Boesak apologised to all who were offended by Mr Khan's remarks, especially the Jewish communities.

Announcing his suspension after an ANC general council meeting yesterday, Dr Boesak said the ANC had been deeply shocked by Mr Khan's remarks.

(IA) ORG 22/3/93

Star 22/3/93

Boesak condemns racist jibe

Dr Allan Boesak has condemned an ANC regional executive committee member who was heard shouting "Hitler should have burnt all the Jews". The statement was made by Dawood Khan on Saturday during a march on the Israeli embassy to protest against the oppression of Palestinians. Western Cape ANC chairman Dr Boesak said: "We are absolutely outraged by Khan's remarks and we condemn them as blatantly racist, totally unacceptable and offensive."

(11A)

There is still suspicion about SA's involvement in Angola, reports Colin Legum

Star 22/3/93

Can Pretoria be believed?



LAST week a message went from Abidjan in the Ivory Coast through a Unita agent directly to Jonas Savimbi proposing a fresh initiative to end the fighting and return to the negotiating tables. Within days a positive reply came back. His quick response was remarkable since for more than a month he has cut himself off from all contacts with Pretoria, Lisbon and Washington, which has led to suspicions about his whereabouts.

The message from Abidjan was signed by Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's foreign affairs spokesman, who was on a different mission in Abidjan. In essence it warned Savimbi of total world isolation if he continued the war and put off returning to negotiations.

Savimbi's reply was that he would respond to a new initiative if it was proposed by President Houphouet-Boigny, King Hassan of Morocco and Nelson Mandela. The first two are long-time supporters of Savimbi, while Mandela has been a staunch supporter of the MPLA government in Luanda.

Savimbi's proposal is now being followed up through diplomatic

channels.

The ANC's involvement has come about through its concern about Luanda's allegations that the Pretoria regime is still engaged in clandestinely sending arms to Unita. Before visiting Luanda to learn more about the MPLA's grounds for suspecting South African involvement, Mbeki is known to have had exploratory talks with the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Pretoria to get an explanation of its current policy towards the Angolan conflict.

Whether or not he was convinced by Pretoria's denial of any involvement is not known; but he was told that the South African Government had emphatically informed Savimbi before the recent elections that he could expect no further assistance from them.

The question is why, despite Pretoria's disavowal of support for Savimbi, the Luanda government still remains unconvinced. A spokesman for the South African Foreign Ministry told me it understood why Luanda should remain suspicious in view of the substantial support it had given, militarily and otherwise, in the build-up

of Unita's strength in the past.

This suspicion was strengthened by the fact that shortly before the elections, Savimbi had paid a visit to South Africa. His explanation of the visit was that he had come to thank President de Klerk personally for the help he had received in the past. He surprised De Klerk by his confidence that he would win the elections.

This confidence was not supported by South African military intelligence, which reported to De Klerk that Savimbi was unlikely to win. But Savimbi brushed aside De Klerk's warning that he should not take his victory as a foregone conclusion.

Relations between Savimbi and Pretoria appear to have cooled off after Savimbi's defeat at the polls. The last communication Pretoria received from him was a telephone message on January 27.

Nevertheless, it remains a fact that a number of air and other operations have taken place from South African soil. These have taken two forms — airlifts by private South African registered aircraft carrying supplies, and the recruitment of mercenaries.

South African air operations have been conducted by commercial firms ostensibly enlisted by international aid agencies to fly in food under the World Food Programme. It seems some operators gave false destinations for their flight operations and of the cargoes they were carrying.

One company was under suspicion since it has in the past been contracted by the South African military to fly supplies to Unita during the time they were engaged in supporting Savimbi. When reports were received that this company was flying into Angola, Pretoria stopped its flights.

However, the South African Government has failed to stop all flights going to Angola because of the large number of private airfields in the country and because of the falsification of destinations reported by air operators.

The recruitment of mercenaries is a different matter since they are all destined to go to support anti-Unita forces and have been recruited by a well-known company in Pretoria which has confirmed that it had instructions from an agent acting for multina-

tional oil companies operating in Angola who were seeking security guards to protect their properties after Unita had occupied Soyo and other key areas in the oilfields.

When documentary evidence was produced to show that the recruitment of mercenaries was taking place, 300 had already left the country. President de Klerk ordered that an immediate stop be put to this recruitment.

However, there was a hitch when the Angolan embassy in Pretoria insisted that a number of former members of the 32 Commando, which gained notoriety in the war in Angola, were Angolans of Portuguese origin who had asked to be repatriated. He said they had a right to return.

Meanwhile, too, the 32 Commando Association, which represents the interests of its demobilised members, condemned the recruitment of its former members to go help "communists" in Angola against whom they say they had fought and suffered in "the cause of democracy". But, clearly, the offer of \$10 000 a month (R30 000) was too tempting for these "anti-communists" to turn down.

It seems likely these mercenaries were engaged in the successful operation to drive Unita's forces out of Soyo.

My own inquiries lead to the following conclusions. First, that clandestine operations originating from South African soil have gone to support both sides in the Angolan conflict.

Second, that despite Pretoria's interest in wishing to live down its past support for Unita, it failed to stop private commercial operators from flying in supplies to Unita territory because they misrepresented their destination and because some had initially been contracted by international agencies to carry food to Angola.

Third, that the South African Government seems genuinely concerned not to become involved in the Angolan conflict and supports United Nations and ANC efforts to help end the fighting and achieve a negotiated settlement.

Since the Angolan government does not accept Pretoria's *bona fides*, it would help to clarify the situation if the South African Government were to agree to a UN observer mission examining the allegations on the ground. □

NEWS Tuata members on epoch-making march ●

Azapo to brief BCMA

Southern 22/3/93.

(11A)

By Lulama Luti

THREE senior officials of the Azanian People's Organisation left for Zimbabwe yesterday for a meeting with leaders of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, deputy Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe and assistant general secretary Mr Lybon Mabasa, will brief the BCMA on po-

■ Three officials to meet exiles in Zimbabwe:

litical developments in South Africa.

The meeting takes place a few days before a strategic planning session at which Azapo will present a working document that seeks to outline the position of the BCMA in current political developments.

Azapo's national council meets in Bloemfontein on April 3-4.

Azapo has so far refused to enter into negotiations with the Government.

● Meanwhile, the African National Congress proposed at a meeting on regionalism at the weekend that a future constitution should provide for a maximum of 10 regions.

The organisation is to reveal its decisions, arising from the conference, today. The conference, held in Johannesburg, was attended by 14 regions.

Star 23/3/93

Protest threat from ANC women

The ANC Women's League is threatening "large-scale protest action" against the exclusion of women at the negotiating forum.

League secretary-general Baleka Kgotsile said women constituted 53 percent of the population and "no stone would be left unturned in the battle for the rights of the majority".

The League said men attend-

ing the multiparty planning conference earlier this month "literally jeered" when the ANC proposed that women should be included in delegations.

"This attitude proves that the male leadership who signed the Codesa Declaration of Intent are not committed to the principles of non-sexism and democracy," said Kgotsile. — Political Reporter.

ANC pledges govt of 'minimal interference'

THE ANC was committed to a central government which would interfere in regional government only when the latter acted in contravention of the national constitution, Bill of Rights and national legislation, local and regional government co-ordinator Billy Cobbett said yesterday.

However, the ANC still insisted that central government could override regional legislation in certain specified areas and have concurrent powers in others.

At a media briefing yesterday to discuss the organisation's weekend conference on regionalism, he said the aim was minimal interference in regional government but the central government was obliged to act if the constitution was contravened.

He emphasised the contravention had to be a proven one and not just a disagreement by the central government with the regional government's policies.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said finality had not been reached in the national negotiations on the form of a constitutional court or which particular body would be guardian of the constitution. "There will be a constitutional court and there may also be either a commission, legal body or review body that would evaluate the actions on agreed criteria and adjudicate on alleged contraventions," she said.

ANC local and regional government head Thozamile Botha said where regions' functions and powers were entrenched in

BILLY PADDOCK

the constitution, central government would have overriding powers if contraventions occurred. Other authority, such as control over education, would see central government holding concurrent powers.

"We have to ensure that there is a uniform standard throughout the country."

But the ANC rejected any notion of regions drafting their own constitutions as this would be tantamount to confederation.

Botha said the organisation believed regional policy could be finalised only as part of a national democratic constitution.

Under the ANC's proposals, regional policy would be implemented in phases.

Powers and functions of the interim regional government would be agreed on before the elections, it was disclosed. During the runup to elections the transitional executive council and its sub-councils could be extended to co-ordinate administration and begin rationalising services.

The ANC did not envisage direct regional elections until after the final constitution had been adopted. Representatives to regional executives could be appointed on the basis of proportional votes received during national elections. Each region would have the same number of seats.

Botha said the ANC had opted for 10 regions because "more than this would be too expensive and too much government".

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Goldstone hears again of ANC/SAP distrust

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ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The uncertainty and suspicion which have characterised the relationship between the SAP and the ANC was highlighted again at a Goldstone commission hearing yesterday.

Echoing previous testimony, police officers giving evidence to the commission confirmed that few channels of communication existed between the two organisations for preventing violence or identifying perpetrators' motives or political allegiances.

In evidence before the commission, Capt Johan Böning of the SAP said Bongani Khaba — who is charged with throwing a handgrenade at a police Casspir in September last year, injuring 14 people — was believed to be an ANC leader.

However, Böning agreed with ANC legal advisor Azhar Cachalia that the only grounds for proposing Khaba was an ANC leader had been "people in the area held him in high regard" and that ANC supporters had attended his trial.

Böning confirmed that Khaba had never spoken at a political meeting, and it was not known whether in fact he had ever attended one. But he was assumed to be an ANC leader due to his standing in the community.

Cachalia expressed surprise that where people who claimed to be members of the

ANC were believed to have carried out attacks on the SAP, the ANC was not requested to confirm the suspect's membership.

Neither was the ANC approached when the police had been given information in advance that some alleged ANC or MK members were planning attacks.

Cachalia said he was concerned that the police accepted as fact details which had not been verified even though those details could portray the organisation in a negative light.

"When you come to a commission such as this and make an allegation, is it not important that you try and confirm that information which you have?" Cachalia asked Böning.

Sgt Daniel Day of the Benoni SAP said four murder suspects had admitted membership of the ANC or MK following an incident in the eastern Transvaal last year. He added that he had not attempted to establish the truth of their claims, nor knew whether other branches of the SAP had followed up the matter.

The committee, chaired by Gert Steyn, has been investigating the causes of escalating attacks on security force members over the last two years.

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A POLITICALLY stable and economically prosperous post-apartheid SA "is unquestionably Africa's most promising long-term hope for renewal". So writes Council on Foreign Relations fellow Marguerite Michaels in the latest annual America and the World issue of Foreign Affairs.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha had perhaps read that sentence before arriving in Washington last week. Do right by SA, was his message, for the continent's sake.

Naturally, he has a particular view of how a stable and prosperous SA is to be achieved, namely that it will require the full participation of the NP. He was here to ensure that the new administration — the first Democratic one he has had to deal with since 1980 — at least tacitly accepts this notion, and therefore will not tilt towards the ANC in the difficult constitutional negotiations that lie ahead.

Key issues remain to be resolved, he reminded the Americans, among them the distribution of power between central and regional authorities and, just as important, the specifics of how power sharing will be implemented after the first election. He wanted to make certain that Washington would throw its weight behind the right solutions, even if that meant having, on occasion, to stick up for the *ancien regime*.

The news that President Bill Clinton is ready to receive President F W de Klerk is evidence the Minister succeeded. Not that it was a tough sell. His fears of a tilt were exaggerated. And he perhaps read too much into ANC president Nelson Mandela's encounter with Clinton at an inaugural ball last January and subsequent meeting with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. But Botha cannot be blamed for wanting to make sure. After all, the last time people like Christopher and Clinton's security adviser Anthony Lake were

Pik woos the US with the fervour of a reformed sinner

BIDAY

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SIMON BARBER in Washington

in office, SA was at its worst.

"I cannot imagine your president supporting nationalisation (or) a human rights charter that is not in line with modern concepts (or) not supporting a market-oriented economic system," Botha told an interviewer. Actually, he could imagine all these things, though the reference to nationalisation was a bit gratuitous seeing as how the ANC has abandoned the concept. He added: "What we are asking the president of the US is to forget the past and to help us build a future, based on the merits of the parties. We are now in line."

Botha has a shrewd appreciation of the uses of the past, shrewder than many of his colleagues. In theory, it is the ANC's friend and the Nationalists' burden. In practice, however, the contrary may be true, especially in the US, where reformed sinners are often more warmly received than those they sinned against. Racial angst notwithstanding, this is a society that combines a short memory span with a readiness to forgive and embrace the reborn.

In remarks prepared for his appearance at the National Press Club last Thursday, Botha was to have said: "Apartheid was a mistake. It was an attempt to create separate

freedoms in an ethnically divided society, and it failed." He departed from the text to add that it was also "based on racial prejudice" and "morally indefensible". This was neatly done. More weight is often attached to what a politician says when he ad libs, and confession is more convincing when it does not seem to have been scripted.

Another aspect of SA's past is its nuclear weapons programme, or at least the well founded suspicions that it had one. This became an issue on Botha's first day here when the Washington Post reported US and Russian doubts about whether Pretoria had come completely clean on its highly enriched uranium inventory since acceding to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1991.

In the past, such a story might have had Botha chewing carpet, especially since it guaranteed he would be asked about little else to the detriment of the points he really wanted to make. On this occasion, however, he seems to have spotted a grand opportunity (though it remains

to be seen whether his view is shared back home).

The world has a pretty good idea of the suffering inflicted by apartheid. SA's nuclear weapons history, by contrast, remains shrouded in secrecy. Nor, under the terms of its treaty obligations, is Pretoria required to disclose that history so long as it stopped whatever it was doing upon signing the treaty. Admitting guilt to a known set of actions is one thing. Confessing to past activities that may legitimately remain hidden is quite another. Indeed, it is hard to conceive a more persuasive demonstration of sincerity and good faith.

"As from the date of signing the treaty, we have completely conformed and the (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspectors confirm this in terms of our commitments," Botha told SA reporters after reading the Post article. Carefully choosing his words, he continued: "Whatever doubts or suspicions there might be as to what the position was before SA signed the treaty, they will be removed within the next two weeks."

To be sure, the phrasing was convoluted. Some may see it as weaselling. But the matter is delicate and it is entirely conceivable the Minister

was making policy on the fly. If so, more power to him.

The US intelligence community has informed Congress that SA may be in violation of articles II and III of the treaty. If all the community suspected was that SA had undeclared highly enriched uranium and might possibly seek to sell it to others, only article III need have been cited. Article II, on the other hand, bars not only the possession of nuclear weapons but the receipt of components, technology, even "assistance" from third countries. In other words, there is a very real possibility that full disclosure on SA's part may implicate third parties, including a close American ally.

Chances are, therefore, that SA will not be making everything public. However, what Botha is suggesting is that its books be opened fully to the US and others, probably through the International Atomic Energy Agency. That should not diminish the disclosure as an extraordinary gesture in itself, one that will do the government a world of good internationally. No country in SA's position has done anything like it.

The intent, and effect, of the move (assuming Botha can pull it off) is clearly to strengthen the prestige of the government as it heads into the final critical rounds of negotiation. This is highly creative use of past sins, all the more so since the ANC can only harm its own prestige if it gets in the way — as it might if it tries to block sales of SA's highly enriched uranium stockpile to the US or otherwise prevaricates. After all, an important reason the Americans are worried about SA's nuclear capacity is the thought that the capacity will soon be under ANC control.

The ability to get "in line", whether it be by supporting US objectives in places like Angola and Mozambique, or setting an example on nuclear proliferation matters, or simply by forthrightly admitting the error of past ways, is one of the government's most potent assets. Botha used it well last week.

PAC's political egg-dance continues

By Mathatha Tsedu
and Esther Waugh

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday continued its political egg-dance over whether its armed wing was responsible for the latest wave of attacks on white motorists near Johannesburg and the ruthless slaying of a student in an eastern Cape pub.

After a denial on Sunday by PAC information head Barney Desai that the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) had been responsible for Friday's attack in Eikenhof, PAC and Apla spokesmen yesterday repea-

tedly said they were still waiting for field commanders to report if they were responsible.

According to the PAC the man who claimed responsibility on Friday for the Walkerville attack — the first of four attacks since the weekend, in which five whites have died — might have been a false caller.

PAC political secretary Jaki Seroka said the man who had telephoned Sapa apparently did not use a password which would have identified him as an Apla cadre.

Seroka said the Apla high command had stopped

claiming responsibility for attacks three weeks ago, and would only confirm in "special cases" if approached by the media. (IA)

Field commanders had also been banned from communicating with the media about operations, he said. Asked whether this meant the call to Sapa was a hoax, Seroka said: "The decision to change tactics and policy of claiming responsibility was communicated to us by Apla high command just before our meeting with (Law and Order Minister Herman) Kriel in Botswana (three weeks ago).

"Whether these new operational rules have sufficiently filtered down to the ground forces is unclear, so we cannot say for sure that it was not an Apla operation because some of them may not know the new rules yet."

Seroka said the PAC had always refrained from claiming responsibility for attacks, but this had changed when operatives started phoning the media.

A man at Apla's high command in Dar es Salaam, who identified himself as "Bafana", yesterday said Apla

● To Page 3

Egg-dance continues

● From Page 1

members allowed to speak to the media were out of town. (IA)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday only Apla's high command could confirm or deny the activities of its members. PAC president Clarence Makwetu on Sunday said Apla's high command had not yet informed the PAC leadership. (IA)

The Law and Order Ministry and police spokesmen have implied Apla was responsible, and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said his efforts to contact the PAC had failed.

Responding to Kriel's call on Sunday for participants in the multiparty negotiations forum to consider the PAC's continued participation, senior ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said the PAC should be allowed to continue taking part.

Apla should not be allowed to become an insurmountable problem, he said.

The issue could be constructively addressed in multiparty discussions on all armed formations.

Mandela's 'lover' in court

Winnie Mandela's controversial alleged lover, Dali Mpofu (31), appeared yesterday in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court in connection with cheque fraud of R50 000. No charges were put to Mpofu, who was sacked from his post as deputy head of the ANC's welfare department last May. The case was postponed to April 22.

(11A)

561 23/3/93

PERSONALITY *Fiery ANC leader denies he has undergone a change of heart or that he is a racist*

Gwala still a man of war

Sowetan 24/3/93

STRUGGLE CONTINUES *Enemy in*

the form of apartheid must be crushed first:

CONTROVERSIAL Harry Gwala, leader of the ANC in the strife-torn Natal Midlands, raised eyebrows recently with reported talk of joint ANC-IFP peace initiatives at grassroots level. In an interview with Keith Ross of our Pietermaritzburg Bureau he explained that he was still the same old firebrand:

IN THE recent years of political violence in the Natal Midlands accusing fingers have been pointed at the African National Congress's fiery leader in the area, Mr Harry Gwala.

He has been accused of being an araving radical who has—at best—failed to use his considerable influence to stop the violence.

He has also been branded a militant who favoured violence as a means of preventing a Peace Accord he felt was not in the best interests of his followers.

He has been the ANC's "man of war". But of late—and quite suddenly—his name has been linked with talk of peace initiatives and some news reports suggested he had changed his militant stance.

bring about a new government in this country.

"I have never advocated killing people."

Gwala denied the ANC had sought conflict. He said opponents who had died were people who had tried to resist the advent of democracy.

"They tried to kill us and got themselves killed in the process."

He spoke passionately of his people who had died at Richmond, of the devastation at Table Mountain and of the homes smashed at Wembezi. And he blamed apartheid.

"Most of those killed at Richmond were killed by the hidden hand of the security forces in the guise of Inkatha."

Gwala denied he was a bitter man in spite of the great suffering he had endured at the hands of the apartheid system.

His conflict with apartheid goes back many years. He was detained a number of times without trial and was imprisoned for 20 years on Robben Island. His health suffered in the long years of imprisonment and he is now paralysed in both arms.

"But we suffered a lot in prison and it was tantamount to torture. We were hardly clothed, got very poor food and had extremely poor bedding. And some of the cells were extremely damp."

He was serving a life sentence for "terrorism" in 1988 when he was released because of his ill health. "My one remaining ambition now is to see my people liberated," he said. "I have no political ambitions."

Gwala said he was a fighter, not a politician, and would not consider a position in the new government. His thoughts were still with retirement. "I

11A

I will call for peace one day but only when apartheid has been finally destroyed. Only then will our people — black and white — no longer fight among themselves



Harry Gwala

He had previously lived in Longmarket Street, near the Maritzburg city centre, an area that also became "white".

This still hurts and Gwala spoke with feeling of the way blacks had been treated over the years by whites: "I have seen many times how black people have been abused by white farmers and police. My heart bled."

But he strongly denied he was a black racist. "I hate racism. I see myself as a South African."

am fond of gardening and love poultry farming," he said.

He started a small poultry farm once, at Ockertskraal near Maritzburg, many years ago. But then Ockertskraal was declared "white" in terms of the Group Areas Act and he was forced to move.

That was the second time he had fallen victim to the Act.

He reportedly twice proposed joint ANC-IFP peace rallies in Natal, starting on Maritzburg's Market Square.

These reports were put to Gwala in an interview and were met with a sharp denial that he had undergone a change of heart. "I am still a man of war," he said.

"I will call for peace one day but only when apartheid has been finally destroyed. Only then will our people — white and black — no longer fight among themselves."

But Gwala, who is now 72, admitted he was torn by mixed emotions nowadays: he yearned for peace but felt he had to fight on until the enemy was completely crushed.

The enemy — as he saw it — was the whole system of apartheid and all the injustices that went with it. He believed the end of the system was now near and he hoped to be able to retire soon.

"I would like to retire at the end of this year," he said.

"I would like to get some rest and become a good grandfather to my five grandchildren."

He smiled, something he rarely does, and for a moment he looked the benign grandfather.

But his retirement is not yet certain. "In a liberation struggle you don't decide your own fate. The people take these decisions for you. And they might decide I must carry on ... against my own will."

Gwala believed the end of the struggle was now near. He is uncompromising and bitter. "I am bitter against the system, not against individuals," he said.

He felt he had been badly misrepresented in some newspapers as a blood-thirsty ogre.

He said he often talked of "war" but this did not mean he favoured physical conflict.

"I am speaking of the struggle of the people to

ANC to discuss Khan action

Staff Reporter (11A)

THE suspension of ANC regional executive committee (REC) member Mr Dawood Khan for making an anti-Semitic statement at a demonstration will be discussed at a meeting next week, says a spokeswoman.

She said there was no deadline attached to the suspension and the REC had to investigate.

Mr Khan allegedly shouted "Hitler should have burned all the Jews" outside the Israeli embassy last Friday.

CP 24/5/93

Calls mount to ban PAC from multiparty negotiations as whites react

Terror attacks: F

set to get to

24/3/93

11A

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff
PRESIDENT De Klerk will today make major announcements expected to include tough measures to deal with the crisis caused by attacks on white civilians, allegedly by Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

White reaction to the continuing attacks is mounting and consensus is growing among political parties to exclude the PAC from negotiations unless it distances itself from the attacks.

Mr De Klerk will address a special joint session of parliament at 4.45 pm and will hold a Press conference afterwards.

A Tuynhuys spokesman said the speech would cover "a wide range of issues".

Political and security sources said it was likely Mr De Klerk would tackle the Apla issue as Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel had already announced this would be discussed in Cabinet today.

Mr De Klerk's address and Press conference follow the weekly Cabinet meeting, indicating he will announce measures decided in Cabinet.

Nationalist MPs have been left in the dark, but they believe Mr De Klerk will deal with security matters.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said today there was shock among Mr De Klerk's supporters following the weekend shootings of whites, and many doubted whether events since 1990 had been worthwhile.

In the circumstances Mr De Klerk wanted to be seen to be doing something.

Today's address will also coincide with the release of the Goldstone Commission's report on the activities of Apla.

Sources believe Mr De Klerk will announce tough measures to try to frustrate further Apla attacks, although the possibility of a ban on Apla is generally being ruled out.

But security sources said the government was poised to take a hard line.

Government sources have indicated Mr De Klerk might seek consensus among his negotiating partners for measures against the PAC.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk met on Monday. This might have been to review the prospects for the resumption of multilateral negotiations.

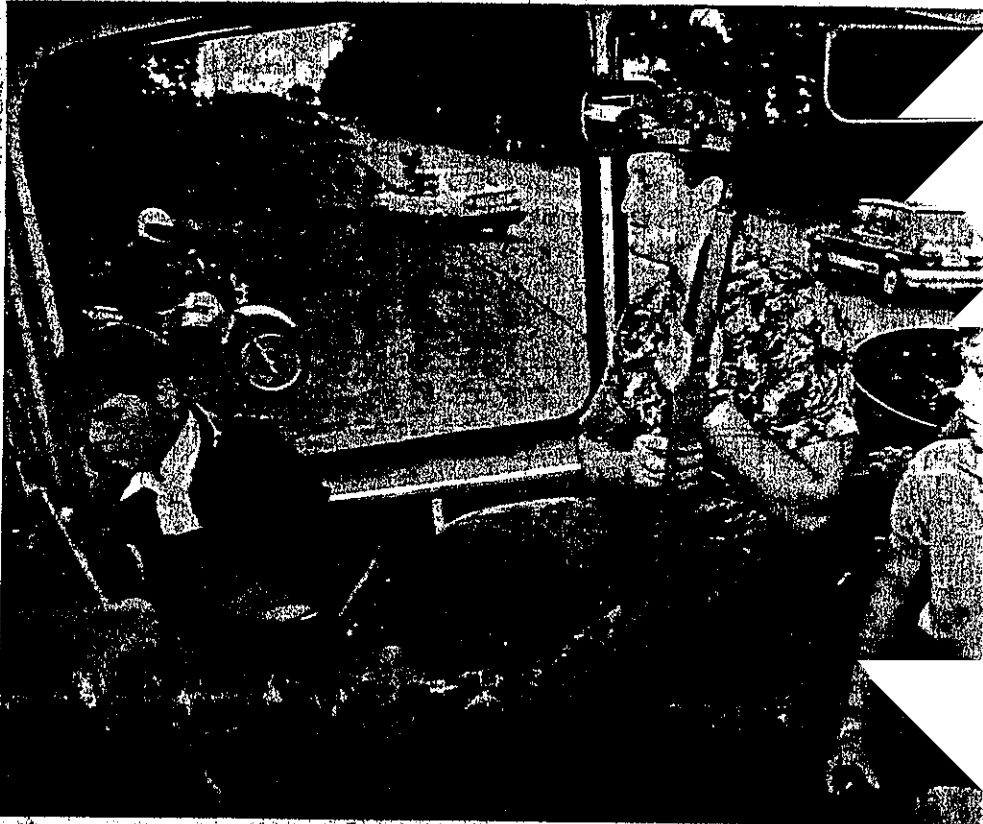
ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus rejected the suggestion that Apla had been discussed at all, or that the ANC had been canvassed by the government to adopt a common stand on the organisation.

Mr De Klerk and his negotiating team met at Donkergat, Langebaan yesterday and are returning there tomorrow before attending next week's multilateral talks.

Pressure has been mounting on the government — even from within National Party ranks — since the weekend to take stronger action against armed attackers to bar the PAC from talks if it failed to distance itself from Apla attacks and to bring back hanging for killers.

The Democratic and Conservative Parties have both issued strong statements saying that if Apla was found to be responsible for armed attacks — with the blessing of the PAC — the PAC should be cast out of the negotiation process.

And the Conservative Party warned that if the government did not act firmly against Apla it should not blame whites in the Eastern Cape "if they take law and order into their own hands".



RIDING SHOTGUN: Bus routes to more than 30 schools in the Vaal Triangle are being patrolled by "the sky" helicopters, armoured vehicles and patrol vans. The campaign is aimed at preventing a re-

Calls mount to ban PAC from multiparty negotiations as whites react to shootings'

Terror attacks: FW set to get tough

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11A

ARG 24/3/93

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ANC spokesman Mr Carl



RIDING SHOTGUN: Bus routes to more than 30 schools in the Vaal Triangle are being patrolled by police, assisted by the army, "eye in the sky" helicopters, armoured vehicles and patrol vans. The campaign is aimed at preventing a repetition of attacks on motorists.

Picture: JOAO SILVA, Argus Group Picture Service

ANC 'unaware' of meeting with IFP

DURBAN. — ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala said yesterday he was unaware of a planned meeting with Inkatha aimed at forging a peace initiative in the strife-torn region.

Mr Gwala was responding to Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman Mr M Pretorius, who said the ANC Midlands chairman and his IFP counterpart, Mr David Ntombela, would meet soon to plan a formal meeting aimed at securing peace in the region.

"This is the first time I hear of it," Mr Gwala said.

He said the ANC was prepared to hold a joint rally with the IFP in Maritzburg but had not arranged to attend any other meeting.

Mr Ntombela was not available for comment yesterday. — Sapa

ET 24/3/93

Star 2413193

ANC opposes new US sanctions

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

(11A)

(282)

WASHINGTON — The ANC distanced itself yesterday from moves to expand sanctions against South Africa.

The organisation claimed in a statement released in Washington and Johannesburg that "the delays in setting up the Transitional Executive Committee and the evident inability of the Government to put an end to the continuing violence have influenced opinion in the international community in the direction of further sanctions".

But the fact remains that those pressing for new sanctions in the states of New York, Massachusetts and Oregon are all supporters of the ANC, and in their lobbying effort to get the new measures in place as a matter of urgency they have claimed to be acting with the

support of the ANC.

Furthermore, groups which support the ANC have visited several leading US banks in recent days to urge them to sever their correspondent links with South African institutions.

They have also visited US corporations which are known to be considering plans to invest in South Africa, warning them that to do so could unleash the sort of shareholder resolutions which finally persuaded many US companies to withdraw from South Africa.

The ANC's statement denying that it has called for new sanctions suggests that there is a profound difference emerging between the organisation and some of its supporters in the US who have been accused of desperately trying to keep alive the anti-apartheid crusade even as the ANC moves closer to calling for an end to sanctions.

"The ANC has made no call for increasing sanctions," the statement said. "Our national executive committee did recently, however, pass a resolution recommending that on the announcement of an agreed date for elections, and on the establishment of the TEC and the independent electoral and media commissions, as well as the enactment of the Transition to Democracy Act, sanctions affecting diplomatic relations, gold coins, trade and trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial links should be lifted.

"The lifting of most sanctions was therefore brought much closer than ever before..."

There was no immediate comment from groups pressing for new sanctions, although it is understood they were aware of the ANC's intention to issue a statement on the matter.

Star 24/3/93

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(11A)

(6-3)

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● 18 Apla members held

● Death penalty may be restored

Star 25/31/93

Call-up to combat terror

(S) (S) (11A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Spurred by fears of a looming race war, President de Klerk yesterday took a wide range of strong measures against the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and others suspected of political violence.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament in the wake of a spate of political revenge murders of white and black children, he said that 18 Apla members had been arrested and that he had launched a major call-up of troops to stabilise hotspots.

And he is poised to reimpose the death penalty and to act against Transkei following the Goldstone Commission's findings that the Transkei government had armed Apla members who used the homeland as a springboard for terror attacks into South Africa.

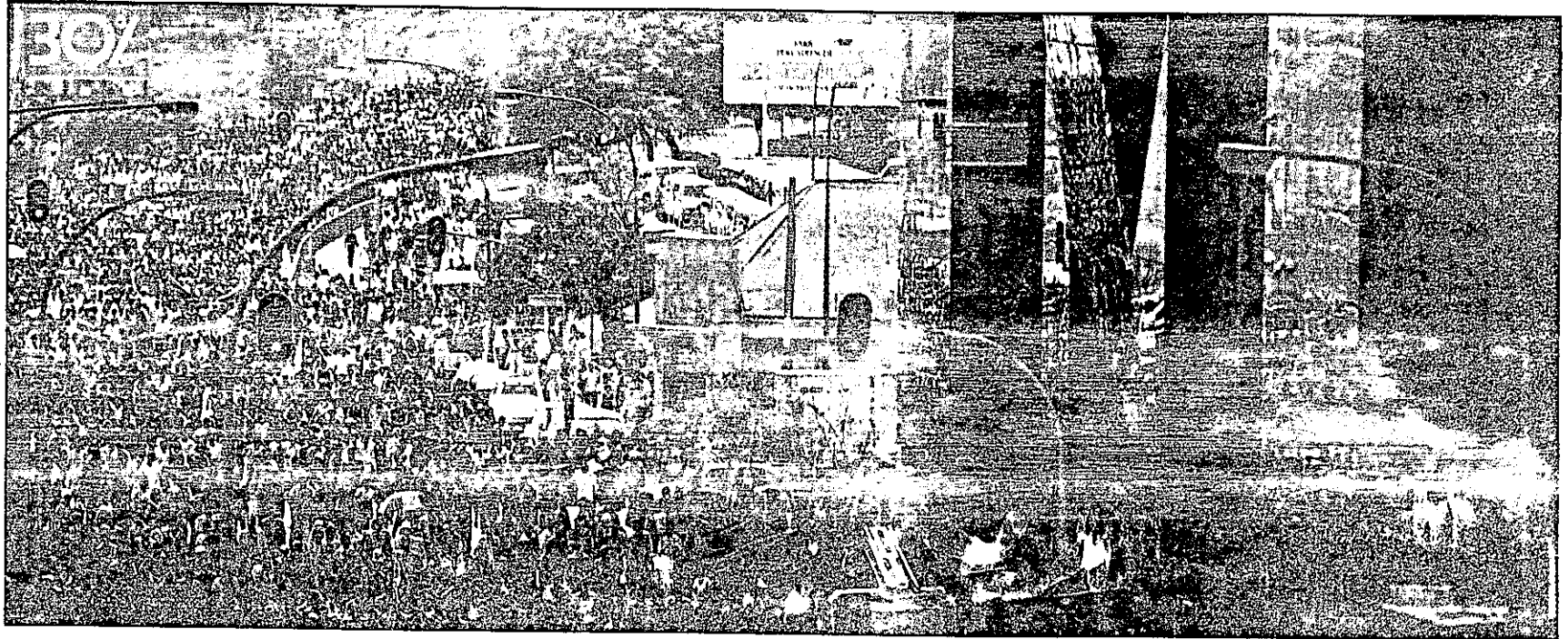
More reports —
Pages 3 and 5

He said the SA Police would soon unveil a 10-point action plan to control the widespread violence.

The President also disclosed a political initiative which could lead to the expulsion of the Pan Africanist Congress — political head of Apla — from negotiations.

He said the Government would try to persuade other parties in the negotiation process that no party could take part in negotiations unless it signed the National Peace Accord and distanced itself from violence.

De Klerk was spurred into



Unruly marchers . . . close to 40 000 pupils paraded in the Johannesburg city centre yesterday in a one-day protest against exam fees. Picture: Etienne Rothbart

Pupils terrorise Jo'burg

Star 25/31/93

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

Nearly 40 000 pupils protesting against exam fees went on the rampage in Johannesburg yesterday after a march to the offices of the Department of Education and Training.

in the vicinity of Sauer, Bree, President and Diagonal streets as pupils damaged cars, looted shops, stole goods from hawkers and smashed about 300 cases of cold drink (provided by a soft-drink company for the marchers' benefit).

Some white onlookers

photographer was assaulted. Police had to use teargas near the library.

White motorists trapped in their cars were abused by pupils shouting "one settler one bullet" and spitting at their vehicles.

The ANC condemned the actions of what it called a

“When an invitation reads, “Dress formal” I am never quite sure whether it means I must wear evening dress or whether a lounge suit is acceptable.”



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More reports — Pages 3 and 5

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He said the Government would try to persuade other parties in the negotiation process that no party could take part in negotiations unless it signed the National Peace Accord and distanced itself from violence.

De Klerk was spurred into action by the rising tide of public anger about the senseless killing of children.

Much of the anger among his own supporters has been fanned by the spate of murders of white civilians, allegedly by Apla.

But De Klerk was careful to avoid any accusation of bias. He mentioned several incidents involving both black and white victims, including the murder of six black schoolchildren in the Table Mountain area of Natal this month, the killing of two white schoolchildren and their mother at Eikenhof on March 19 and the so-called "revenge" wounding of a black child in Nigel.

He said these incidents showed the potential for polarisation between different race groups and some seemed to be the work of militant political organisations such as Apla and others.

He denied accusations that

● To Page 3 ■

Call-up to combat terror

● From Page 1

the Government was more concerned about white deaths than black deaths and said these accusations helped foster racial tensions.

His moves on curbing violence were generally backed by the Democratic Party but reservations were expressed on the reintroduction of the death penalty.

The ANC demanded that the arrested Apla members be charged or released immediately, regretted the reintroduction of the death penalty and expressed concern about the 10-point plan.

Various organisations today expressed opposition to any increase in citizen force call-ups, Michael Sparks reports.

End Conscriptio
Campaign Johannesburg
chairman Chris de Vil-

liars said he did not believe the call-up would in any way affect the levels of violence in the country and described it as pandering to De Klerk's constituency.

He added that since the military had been scaling down call-ups over the past few years, more people were likely to ignore the call-up.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation had always opposed forcing people to serve in a military capacity, protecting an undemocratic Government.

"If the attitude and credibility of the Defence Force is no different from in the past, the people in the townships are not likely to co-operate any more than before," he said.

The main measures De Klerk announced to curb

violence were:

● 18 "identified" members of Apla had been arrested and more arrests would follow.

● A comprehensive action plan to stabilise all problem areas, including a "reasonably drastic" increase in the manpower of the security forces. This would require the SADF to issue urgent call-ups.

● A motion calling for the reimposition of the death penalty would be put to Parliament as soon as possible. National Party MPs would be given a free vote on the motion — something the NP has not done for over 30 years.

● De Klerk said the PAC could not escape from its direct connection to Apla. Government would demand they focus on the ending of violence.

A White House welcome would harvest more than just prestige for the NP or ANC

US invitation no ordinary prize

STAR 25/3/93

WHY Pik Botha should have survived to become the world's longest serving Foreign minister is not difficult to see. He has personal charm, he knows how to exploit the mercurial moods and competing interests of the media, and his occasional outbursts make for lively television. His visit to Washington last week allowed his talents to bloom in profusion.

But behind it all, he was also the Transvaal leader of the National Party, a party which, he told the National Press Club, fully intended to win a majority in South Africa's first free elections. It was the NP side of Pik Botha — the side of the loyal party man and skilled Government representative — which was not always easy to distinguish in Washington from his diplomatic persona.

Take, for instance, his announcement that an invitation had been extended to President de Klerk to visit Washington on a date to be arranged between the two countries. At face value it gave tremendous international stature and apparent US approval

to the man set to lead the NP in the coming elections. There was nothing wrong with that, except that one's political instincts suggested it probably was not the full picture.

Would the US lend the enormous prestige of an official visit and a meeting with President Clinton to only one of the major parties likely to compete for power in South Africa's elections? Or is it more likely that there would be a visit also by, for example, ANC president Nelson Mandela, who clearly has Clinton's personal admiration and whose standing in the US capital seems unassailable?

Given Clinton's commitment to the black community in the US, and his need to forge a strong alliance with the Congressional Black Caucus, would he forgo an opportunity to receive Mandela — who has become an icon to American blacks — while receiving De Klerk alone?

All this is not to say that Pik Botha misled anyone with his announcement of the invitation to De Klerk. It was his duty to repre-

Hugh Robertson



sent the Government, not the ANC, in his talks with US officials. It is likely, too, that the subject of a visit by Mandela never arose. But with his political background, his knowledge of the US political system and his diplomatic nous, the idea might just have occurred to him that Clinton would have an interest in meeting a wider range of South African leaders.

Which gets to the point raised by Pretoria even before Botha's arrival in Washington, of whether or not the Clinton administration is going to tilt this way or that in favour of any of the parties who, hopefully, will soon be competing in South Africa's first fully democratic elections. While the Clinton team is still settling in at the State Department, there is every indication that they will maintain a policy of scrupulous neutrality,

at least as far as the major parties are concerned.

That is why it would not be surprising if they moved sooner rather than later to remove confusion that may have arisen over the issue of official visits to Washington. They might even go a step further, if the ripples of approval which greeted the NP-ANC agreement on power-sharing were anything to go by. They may well seek to reinforce the power-sharing concept by suggesting, for instance, a joint visit by the leaders of the major parties once a date has been set for elections.

Or, since an open invitation was extended to Clinton to visit South Africa, it is possible that by the time power-sharing actually is in place, he may visit the country to demonstrate his support of the major parties working together.

Certainly there appears to be keen interest, if not fascination, in the Clinton camp with the concept of the ANC and the NP actually pulling together in a government of national unity after so many decades of mutual animosity.

As for the smaller parties, there

appears to be a far less sympathetic mood in official Washington to Inkatha than there was during the Bush administration when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a regular visitor to the White House. And Chief Buthelezi's plan for a form of autonomy in Natal and KwaZulu has persuaded many here that he is, after all, a regional leader with a localised following rather than a credible national leader.

Also, the persistent images on American television of Inkatha supporters carrying weapons at their rallies — images shown again over the weekend — has tended to diminish sympathy for the organisation here. Likewise, the PAC's egg dance over the recent apparently random shooting of whites and the role of Apla, has left it with little public sympathy in the US, although the administration is careful not to condemn out of hand either the PAC or Inkatha — or, for that matter, the far Right.

It is the Democratic Party which may be a dark horse in winning support in the US. In spirit,

ethos and philosophy it most closely parallels the major parties in the US, although it is almost universally seen as a minor element in the South African equation. Nevertheless, there is a grasp, and respect, for its role as the cutting edge of change in white thinking and as a champion of civil liberties. If this does not translate into an invitation to the White House, at least it ought to facilitate some financial assistance from sympathetic Americans in the coming elections.

And that, in the end, may be the ultimate prize for South African parties seeking influence in the US. As Mandela has warned his American supporters many times, a lack of funds may prevent the ANC from fulfilling the expectations of its followers in the election. And whispers would have it that the NP is hard at work raising dollars to fulfil Mr Botha's prophecy that it will win a majority.

To either group, the prestige of a visit to the White House would be more than just a political bonanza. □

Kriel, Kotze must resign - SACP

Star 25/3/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC and SACP have condemned the new cycle of racial killings, and the ANC has appealed to people to remain calm.

The SACP further called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and his spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze.

The ANC slammed the Government for its "racially biased response" to the killings, saying that it was not showing equal concern for murders in black areas.

In separate statements, the organisations yesterday called for immediate multiparty supervision and control of all armed formations.

Both black and white citizens were the victims, and such racially motivated attacks affected everyone in the country, but the Government had yet to demonstrate an equal concern for the murders in black areas.

The ANC commended Kriel for visiting Eikenhof and Walkerville, where four whites have been killed. But, the organisa-

tion said, the SAP took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation" by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging demonstrators along the Johannesburg-Vereeniging highway, where "black commuters were being harassed and threatened with violence" on Monday.

The SACP said Kriel had consistently shown his incompetence in restoring peace and security: "Both Kriel and Captain Kotze constantly succumb to the temptations of politicising, and premature finger-pointing, when even their own SAP investigating officers are more cautious about attributing premature blame."

The ANC noted that it was still uncertain whether Apla was involved in the ambushes on whites.

It was opposed to calls for the PAC to be excluded from negotiations: "Pandering to emotional calls for the PAC's exclusion is counter-productive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

A negotiated settlement was the best guarantee of an end to the violence. This would involve multiparty control of all armed formations, said the ANC.

Wide-ranging responses to FW, Goldstone

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The PAC came under heavy fire yesterday — in the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on Apla and President F W de Klerk's address to Parliament — but its leaders would not comment on the charges last night.

PAC sources said the organisation would hold a press conference today after studying the commission's report and De Klerk's speech.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa last night rejected the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on Apla which implicated his government.

In its response to De Klerk's announcements, the ANC expressed concern over the Government's as yet undisclosed 10-point plan of action to stabilise "problem areas".

The organisation said the arrests of 18 unnamed Apla cadres raised concerns about detention without trial, and said they should be charged or released immediately.

The ANC called on the Government to give public guarantees that no coercive measures would be used to extract information. Their names should be released immediately and their families informed so that they could arrange proper defence for the Apla cadres.

It reiterated its principled opposition to the death penalty.

"President De Klerk could demonstrate his serious intent to make addressing the question of violence the major priority on the agenda by acting against those who were implicated. Despite the recent revelations (Military Intelligence chief) General Joffel van der Westhuizen and (Local Government Minister) Dr Tertius Delport remain in their posts," the ANC said.

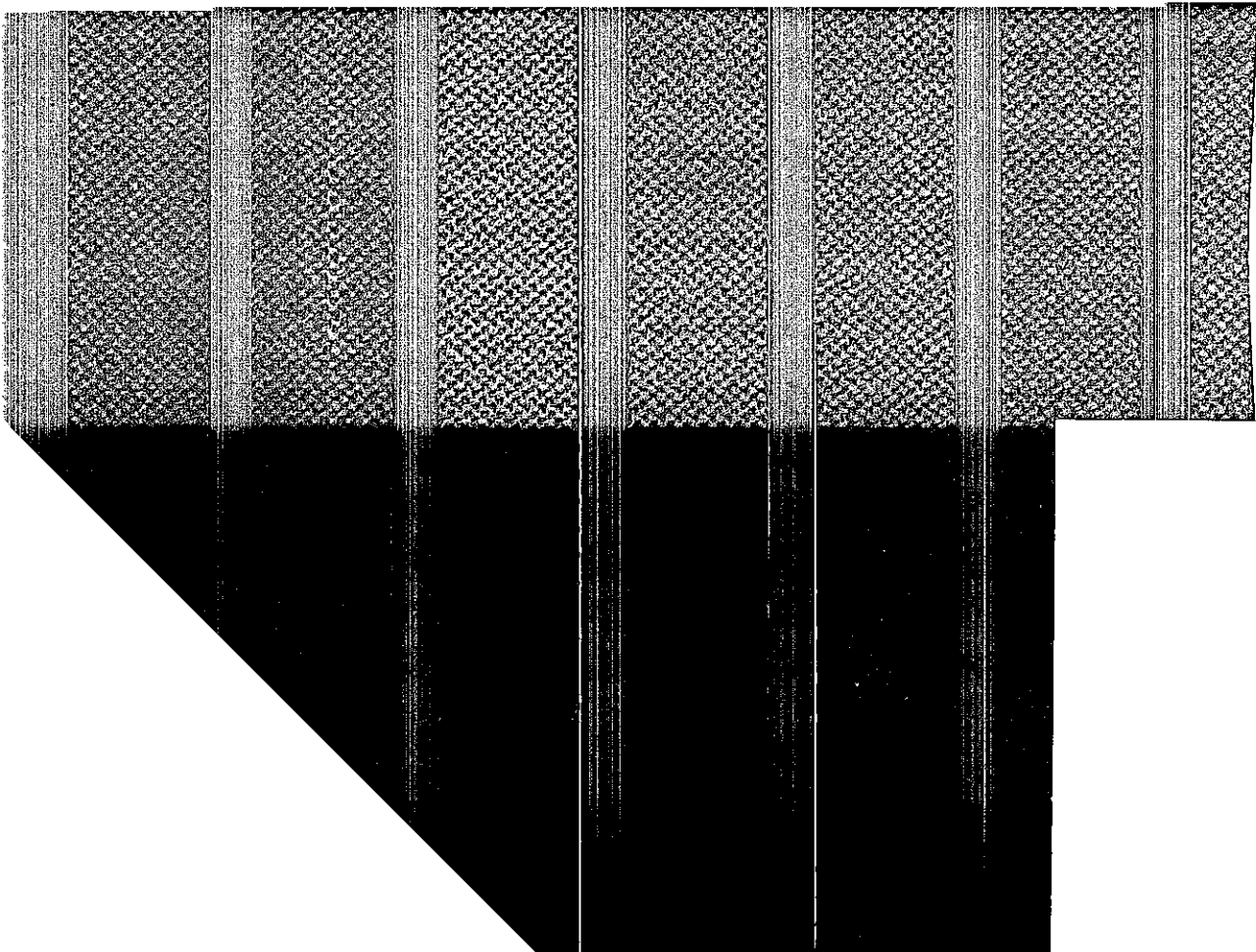
Responding to the Goldstone Commission's report, Holomisa said: "The Transkei Government is adamant that there are no Apla bases in Transkei. Since South Africa refused the offer to send a judge to head the

(Transkei Government's proposed) Commission of Inquiry into Apla, we regard the matter as a closed affair."

Referring to 12 secret SADF files he has in his possession, Holomisa said they show that some covert activities have been executed since De Klerk came to power in 1989.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin said Parliament as it was presently constituted had no moral right to debate the death penalty and decide on it unilaterally.

"The (execution) of the death sentence in the circumstances will probably be more inflammatory than constructive," Currin said.



Ronnie Kasrils speaking at Katlehong.

Chief dries up in the rain

Sowetan 25/3/93
■ BRIMMING OVER *Nothing could*

dampen joy of young and old at rally:

By Musa Zondi

THE THUNDER roared and women ululated.

"It is fitting there should be thunder when the chief speaks," said one of the party faithful.

Droplets began to fall. People started shifting from one side to the other. Then the drops became bigger. People walked up to the tent where the dignitaries were sheltered and started pushing. Then it poured.

This was the scene as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was addressing a rally at Vosloorus.

He bellowed, trying to drown the screams as women felt the cold rain.

He was in turn drowned out. The rain did not discriminate and left no dry patches. It clouded the leader's spectacles. He gave up.

The youth brigade members stood up and danced the toyi-toyi in the rain. Some men, as if trying to prove their manhood, stood in the rain in full Zulu regalia — ibheshu with feathered hats and skin armbands. One, a healthy looking man, stood and chatted to a number of people proving they were resilient and macho.

Then women joined in the fun and danced

in the rain with the young ones.

About 10 kilometres away, in the dusty stadium of Huntersfield in Katlehong, another rally was taking place. The makeshift podium contrasted sharply with that at the Vosloorus Stadium.

There were more people at the Vosloorus Stadium than at Huntersfield. Most sat comfortably on the lawn and on the grandstand. Outside the stadium gate, "holy water" — beers in crates, sorghum beer — flowed and the spirit was more like that of a carnival than a political rally.

When the rains came, the people started to dance as if they remembered the days when they were young.

Only a slight drizzle fell at the ANC rally in Katlehong. The crowd was relatively small and much more subdued.

But there were similarities. Izimbongi (praise singers) sang praises to their leaders and parties — quite a rich piece of contemporary history at that. Women ululate and men whistle when the praises are sung. This happened at both rallies.

Also, when the thunder roared and Ronnie Kasrils was spitting fire, the crowd loved it. With the chief, it was the same story. There were many similarities — and some differences — but since in the world of politics there is so much dirt, differences gain the upper hand.

Attacks not on front agenda

THE patriotic front conference in Lenasia this weekend would discuss constitutional negotiations and strategies which front members should employ at multiparty negotiations, ANC official Ebrahim Ebrahim said yesterday.

He said attacks on whites allegedly by the PAC's armed wing Apla would not be discussed even though the PAC planned to attend. It was not the "right forum" to discuss the issue. *(11A)*

BI DA-1 25/3/93

Thursday, March 25 1993

Transkei govt taken to task over Apla

BIDAY 25/3/93

PRETORIA — The Goldstone commission has called on the Transkei government to answer allegations that it had supplied Apla guerillas with arms and allowed the organisation to operate freely within its territory.

In the report of the preliminary Goldstone investigation into the activities of Apla, committee chairman Gert Steyn said the organisation had used the Transkei for launching attacks on SA citizens.

Arms and ammunition were stored in Transkei for use by Apla units, the Transkei police knew of the existence of Apla members and the Transkei government had even supplied Apla with arms, the report contended.

Steyn called on the SA government and all political parties to press Transkei into prohibiting "the use of any part of their territory as a springboard for attacks against SA citizens".

The committee also requested the international community to withhold assistance to Apla and to put pressure on the PAC to join negotiations, reject violence and participate in the national peace accord.

It was intolerable that an organisation should "commit acts of violence and wanton killings in order to promote its own political aims," Steyn said of the PAC.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Experience had proved that acts of violence invited retaliation until a never ending cycle of violence had been established, the report said.

Tanzania's government should also be approached to answer allegations that it had allowed the training of Apla members at a formal base in that country.

The findings of the investigation, which took place in Pretoria and Port Elizabeth earlier this year, were only provisional as the PAC, Apla and Transkeian representatives had refused to participate.

The commission expressed the hope that these groups would reconsider their attitude.

"If no response is forthcoming, however, those parties cannot be heard to complain if these provisional findings are regarded as conclusive by the local and international communities."

According to SAP evidence, Apla had about 120 members who had undergone training abroad with 2 700 members still residing outside SA.

The SAP, which said 16 people had so far been killed in Apla attacks, had informed the committee that it expected further attacks on the SAP, the SADF and white civilians in general.

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2 BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, March 25 1993

Oppose violent campaign to derail talks, ANC urges

BIDAY 25/3/93 (11A)
WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC yesterday appealed to all South Africans to stand together and ensure the process of negotiations was not undermined by perpetrators of violence.

The organisation was commenting on the recent killings of whites in Walkerville in the Vaal Triangle.

The ANC said the planners of such atrocities knew that racial conflict, precipitated by their actions, would derail the peace process.

"The ANC unequivocally condemns these killings. We call on all South Africans to register their outrage (at these crimes) and stand together to ensure that those who are trying to undermine the negotiating process are isolated and called to account to the full extent of the law."

The ANC lashed out at Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and the SAP. It said while the Minister had to be commended for visiting Walkerville residents "it is disturbing that he allowed himself to be photographed

on the site of a demonstration of the AWB along the M27 Johannesburg/Vereeniging highway where blacks were being harrassed and threatened with violence".

The organisation said while Kriel distanced himself from the AWB's actions, police took no action to stop "blatant acts of racist intimidation".

It was also "significant that no arrests had been made so far, particularly in the area where police reportedly have a wide network of covert operations".

The ANC said there was no certainty that the attacks on whites were carried out by the PAC's armed wing Apla. "Whoever the killers are, and whether they attack blacks or whites, they are criminals of the worst sort. The facts about these senseless killings can only be established through intensive investigation that is not motivated by political agendas."

The ANC was opposed to the exclusion of the PAC from multiparty negotiations because of Apla's alleged activities. "Pandering to calls for the PAC's exclusion is counterproductive and will only add to polarisation and lack of communication."

The ANC also said the newly established AWB "secret units" should be exposed and prevented from implementing threats to attack blacks.

Sapa reports a man was killed yesterday and two women injured when shots were fired from a minibus at Soweto's Baragwanath taxi rank.

Police said a white minibus carrying between eight and 12 men drove along the road and occupants opened fire on bystanders.

And on Tuesday Magarnale Buthelezi was accosted by a group of men and fatally shot at Ven Rhyn train station in Benoni. This brings to two the number of people killed on trains or at stations this month.

Call for calm after Inkatha official's murder

DURBAN — Peace accord and ANC officials yesterday moved to defuse potential violence in Umlazi outside Durban after the assassination of local Inkatha dispute resolution committee official Ephraim Ndebele on Tuesday.

Ndebele was killed just days before he was to participate in a meeting to discuss the return of refugees to an area of the township which had been evacuated after attacks by hostel dwellers this weekend.

A Natal dispute resolution committee statement described Ndebele as a man who supported peace moves with "energy and vigour".

Ndebele's killing has fuelled speculation that forces opposed to the growing reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal are deliberately planning violence to derail

BIDAY 25/3/93
RAY HARTLEY

peace initiatives.

A well-placed source said militant elements of the ANC, who may have been behind the recent killing of school children at Table Mountain, were actively working at destroying the growing trust between ANC and Inkatha leaders in the region.

The source said the killing of an Inkatha-supporting hostel dweller in Umlazi last Saturday, may have had similar motives.

In an effort to calm tensions in the community, the ANC said in a statement that "Ndebele distinguished himself among Inkatha local leaders as a man who sought peace".

Meanwhile, tension in the Port Shepstone area — where violence

claimed 40-70 lives a month late last year — rose yesterday, with local Inkatha leaders rejecting plans for a joint rally with the ANC.

Sapa reports that Inkatha said it had not been involved in the planning of the "peace festival".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said Inkatha objected to a perceived bias towards the ANC in the Port Shepstone local dispute resolution committee which, he claimed, had recently made a submission to the Goldstone commission on violence in the area without Inkatha's consent.

Our Durban correspondent reports a KwaZulu policeman is expected to appear in court today in connection with an attack on a bus at Swayimani on March 8 in which four people were killed.

Winnie's leadership role 'swayed judge'

BLOEMFONTEIN — Winnie Mandela's leadership position and the public concern aroused by her trial had unduly influenced the judge who sentenced her to six years for kidnapping, it was argued yesterday.

Her counsel, George Bizos SC, made this submission to a full Bench of five judges headed by Chief Justice M Corbett in the Appellate Division.

The other judges hearing Mandela's appeal against her conviction and six-year sentence are J Milne, J W Smalberger, J Ecksteen and A J Botha.

Bizos said the overemphasis placed on

SUE RUSSELL

her leadership position explained some of the findings of fact made against Mandela by Judge M J Stegmann in May 1991.

The judge sentenced her to five years' imprisonment for her involvement in the kidnapping of Stompie Seipei and three other young men in December 1988. She was sentenced to a further one year's imprisonment after the judge found her guilty of being an accessory to assault.

Mandela is appealing against both her conviction and sentence.

The State, however, is cross appealing and is asking the court also to find her guilty of assaulting the four after they were kidnapped and held on her premises against their will.

Seipei, 14; Gabriel Mekgwe, 22; Barend Mono, 21, and Kenneth Kgase, 31, were abducted from the Methodist manse in Soweto by Mandela's two co-accused Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan and Mandela United Football coach Jerry Richardson on December 29 1988. Stegmann found that the four had been kidnapped with

To Page 2

Winnie Mandela

Mandela's authority as part of a conspiracy to oust the Rev Paul Verryn from the manse.

Bizos submitted yesterday that Stegmann had seriously misdirected himself by finding that there had been a conspiracy to which Mandela had been a party. There had been no evidence of a conspiracy during the trial, he said, nor had it been put to any of the witnesses.

The judge had been incorrect in finding that Mandela was part of this conspiracy, which included kidnapping the four to answer questions about homosexual activities and allegations of sexual abuse by Verryn at the manse. Bizos submitted that the judge had also misdirected himself by rejecting Mandela's evidence that the four were staying on her premises of their own free will because of incidences of sexual abuse by Verryn.

It was also submitted that the judge

should have accepted Mandela's testimony that she was not involved in the assault of the four. The evidence that she had no contact with the people living in the rooms behind her house was uncontradicted.

Bizos said the judge had approached Mandela's evidence and actions by over-emphasising her leadership position.

"He bears it in mind when assessing how he believes she should, or should not, have behaved and also in making important decisions in relation to the conduct of the case."

Bizos said the judge had also gone out of his way not to be seen to be treating Mandela differently from Falati.

"People in leadership positions are entitled to be treated equally, not adversely."

There was a heavy police presence outside the Appeal Court. The public gallery was also full, but Mandela did not attend. Argument continues today.

From Page 1

BIDAM 25/3/93

40AM 25/3/93

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Azapo to review policy on talks

Star 25/3/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba (UFA)
Political Reporter

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold a consultative conference in Johannesburg at the weekend to review its policies, including its position on negotiations, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday.

The Star understands that the two-day meeting, which Mokae called "a strategic planning session", will bring the organisation's policies under the most critical review in years.

Mokae said former Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape, who now heads the organisation's strategic planning division, will facilitate discussion at the meeting.

Azapo, the only organisation on the Left still not involved in negotiations, is rethinking its stance and is engaged in internal consultation.

Following this weekend's consultation will be a meeting of Azapo's policy-making body, the national council, in Bloemfontein on April 3 and 4.




Aubrey Mokoape . . . chairman of the conference.

Azapo sources say that at this meeting the organisation's new position on negotiations will be spelt out.

Mokae confirmed that his organisation would not attend this weekend's Patriotic Front conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

But high on Azapo's priority list, he said, was improving relations between itself and the other liberation movements — the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Holomisa rejects findings on Apla

CT 25/3/93


APLA is using the Transkei as a "springboard" for attacks on civilians and security force members in South Africa, the Goldstone Commission's preliminary investigation into the PAC's armed wing has found.

However, the Transkei has rejected the preliminary findings, and denied that its territory has been used as an Apla springboard.

Military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa also denied the commission's finding that Apla members were receiving training in the Transkei.

Gen Holomisa said yesterday: "They (Goldstone Commission) must bring the evidence."

Only the SA Defence Force and SA Police had accepted invitations to make submissions, and the report was therefore a "one-sided story".

The Transkei still upheld its non-aggression pact with South Africa.

Asked about the commission's finding that Apla's internal high command was based in Transkei, he said the PAC and other liberation organisations were unbanned in 1990 and their members were free to go where they wanted.

"Untested evidence"

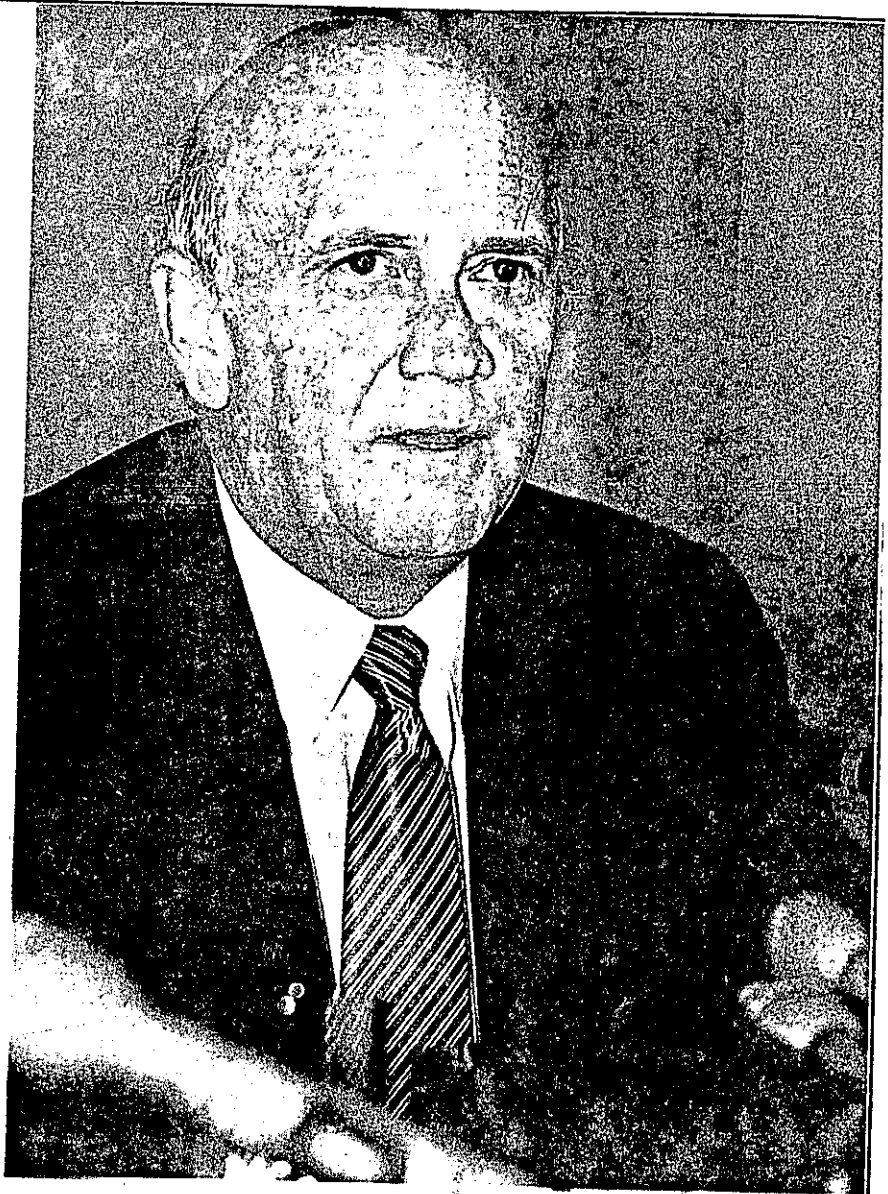
The Goldstone committee recommended that the commission ask the South African government and all political groups to get the Transkei's response to the SADF and SAP allegations, and "if they are confirmed or not denied, to bring pressure to bear on the Transkeian authorities to prohibit the use of any part of their territory as a springboard for attacks against South African citizens".

Gen Holomisa said: "We reject the findings of the Goldstone Commission which condemn Transkei in view of the ... untested evidence."

He also provided a copy of a letter from the South African government, dated February 24, which said an offer to provide a judge for the Transkei's own inquiry into Apla had fallen away after "indications" that the Goldstone Commission report would be "comprehensive and sufficient and will become available soon".

"Since South Africa refused the offer to send a judge to head the commission of inquiry into Apla, we regard the matter as a closed affair." — Political Staff, Sapa

● Summary of Goldstone report — Page 8



NUCLEAR NO MORE ... President FW de Klerk faces the press yesterday after disclosing South Africa had the Bomb.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

APLA attacks:

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday announced an "urgent" large-scale military call-up and the arrest of 18 Apla members as part of a major security crackdown aimed at curbing political killings.

He warned Transkei if it failed to adequately respond to a Goldstone Commission report pointing to col-

lusion between it and Apla, "firm steps" would be taken.

"They (the Transkei government) must not underestimate the seriousness of the situation if they try to play politics with us."

In a special address to Parliament he said police would unveil a 10-point plan to stabilise the areas worst hit by violence.

Mr De Klerk lashed out at the

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OAU support for just ideals

21 25 13 13
A SENIOR Organisation for African Unity official could not comment on whether or not the organisation still funded the PAC and the ANC.

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday chairman of the Foreign Ministers' Council Mr Djibo Laity Ka said the OAU had supported the ANC and the PAC politically so that their ideals for a just, democratic society could be realised.

As President F W de Klerk was "going in this direction" the OAU was also lending him support.

He is to meet PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.



OAU VISITOR . . . OAU official Mr Djibo Laity Ka with with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Cape Town yesterday.

Picture: STUART COLMAN

**'A-bomb
Star 25/3/93
project (IIA)
was risky,
ridiculous'**

By Julianne du Toit

The ANC and Democratic Party last night welcomed the fact that the Government has finally come clean on its nuclear weapons programme, while the Conservative Party said the reasons for a nuclear deterrent still existed.

"It's so ridiculous," said DP energy affairs spokesman Roger Hulley. "Billions of precious rands were spent on an ill-conceived concept that could never have been used.

"What were we going to do? Defend apartheid with an atomic bomb? And in any case, our unrest was national, we were not being attacked by any countries far away."

Hulley said the Koeberg project was probably a smokescreen, since nuclear energy would only really be needed when fossil fuels ran out in the next century.

The costs of making enriched uranium alone ran into hundreds of millions a year. It was a very high-cost technology that was unnecessary at the time, he said.

The ANC welcomed De Klerk's disclosures, but said it insisted the Government reveal what has happened to every gram of the stockpile of weapons grade uranium, which international experts estimate at between 200 and 325 kg.

The organisation also demanded the release of Professor Mouton's report on the dismantling of the weapons in Armscor's possession. The organisation said it could not believe there was no testing of weapons, since a double-flash, indicative of a nuclear test, was sighted in the South Atlantic Ocean in 1979.

It could also not believe there was no foreign assistance for the weapons programme.

Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party said the Government had bowed to overseas pressure and had brought South Africa into a situation where its defence was weakened.

The mere fact of having nuclear weapons was a deterrent to attackers, he said.

The need for these weapons had not disappeared, he added.

NEWS IN BRIEF

BIDAM 26/3/93
Cabinet to act on labour law

THE Cabinet would decide next week on labour legislation for farm workers, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels said in a statement yesterday.

The SA Agricultural Union and Cosatu have failed to agree on what the legislation should be, and Wessels has said government will have to decide for them.

BIDAM 26/3/93
Transfer of Groot Constantia

INTRODUCING the Groot Constantia Trust Bill yesterday, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk told Parliament the measure authorised the formation of a non-profit trust which would take over the estate.

He said the historic estate was being transferred to the wine industry, thereby relieving the state of a financial responsibility.

BIDAM 26/3/93
Mandela meets delegations

ANC president Nelson Mandela met a visiting European Commission and Afro-Caribbean-Pacific Group delegation in Johannesburg yesterday. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said they held "general discussions about the political situation".

At a separate meeting immediately before, Mandela met Azapo president Prof Itumaleng Mosala. Both leaders said their talks, which were routine, had focused on "the unity of liberation movements".

BIDAM 26/3/93
Teacher cuts outlined

A TOTAL of 5 045 teachers were retrenched or retired early during 1992, House of Assembly Education and Culture Minister Piet Marais said in Parliament yesterday. He said 486 teachers who qualified at the end of 1992 — and were bursary holders — could not be employed as they were unable to obtain posts. However, 5 405 white student teachers had bursaries at present at a cost of R22,6m to the state.

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Political Staff, Sapa.

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Interest on late VAT payments decreased

BIDAM 26/3/93 TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Legislation was introduced in Parliament yesterday that decreases the rate of interest payable on late VAT payments by vendors from 1,5% a month to 1,2%.

The amount payable according to the Value-Added Tax Amendment Bill by Inland Revenue to vendors when refunds are due is to be 16% per annum, a reduction of 4%.

The legislation also empowers the Finance Minister to change the rates of interest from time to time, which may become necessary when prevailing interest rates in the financial sector increase or drop.

The laws comes into effect as from the beginning of the calendar month following the month during which the amending Act is promulgated.

The legislation also clarifies what VAT rate is applicable when the rate is changed, stating that according to the principle Act, liability arises on the date on which a supply of goods or services is made.

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TERRORISM FM 26/3/93.

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Speaking with forked tongue

A compelling reason for the swift establishment of an interim government of national unity is that it would immediately be vested with the legitimacy needed to crack down hard on those — like Apla and its political masters in the PAC — who are at best ambivalent about the murder of civilians, including children.

Until then, the NP government and security forces to some extent labour under political restraint dictated by the need to keep the precarious negotiations process on track.

We suspect that an ANC-dominated administration, faced with the kind of grotesque killings carried out at Eikenhof on the Johannesburg-Vereeniging road last Friday, would act ruthlessly — possibly invoking emergency powers — to stamp out such actions.

It seems the attackers at Eikenhof intended shooting up a schoolbus ferrying white children, but having missed the vehicle, opened fire on parents taking their children to school by car. Sandra Mitchley (35), her son Shaun Nel (14) and a friend, Claire Silberbauer (13), died as a result of the attack. Norman Mitchley (47) and Gary Lamprechts (16) were wounded when AK47-wielding gunmen fired repeatedly on their car.

Monday saw the third gun attack on whites in the Vaal Triangle, when an Iscor employee, Tony Concer (55), was shot dead near Boipatong after his car was ambushed. Vanderbijlpark police, who launched an air and ground search in the area, said they had no evidence of Apla involvement in the attacks.

Persons claiming to be Apla members have claimed responsibility in calls to newspaper offices. Among the attacks was one at a hotel near Fort Beaufort in the eastern Cape last Saturday night, in which a student, Frederick Jerling (18) was killed.

Police spokesmen are probably correct in pointing out, in response to calls from the CP and others for the banning of Apla (as well as MK), that banning was not an option since it would only drive the organisation underground.

According to police Captain Craig Kotze, the SAP "strongly suspect" Apla is behind the latest wave of racist attacks on whites. He said the PAC was "not interested" in repeated attempts by Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel to contact the organisation following the Eikenhof and other fatal shootings, which have provoked fears of a "race war". Apparently there has already been at least one counterattack by ultra-rightwing elements in which a five-year-old black girl was shot in Nigel.

Kriel warned against rightwing over-reac-

tion to the attacks on whites and appealed for cool heads during a visit to the Eikenhof/Walkerville area on Monday. He announced measures for greater police protection and the establishment soon of a police station there.



Kriel also says the Cabinet will meet this week to discuss the PAC's "dualism" — a reference to the organisation's reiterated policy of simultaneously negotiating and fighting the "armed struggle" — and indicated that "a clear undertaking" would be required of the PAC regarding the use of force.

The SAP's Kotze said that despite the wave of killings "the broad mass of people want peace, reconciliation and reconstruction" and that society had to unite to control this violence. He was echoing a theme in State President FW de Klerk's speech at a Sandton function this week, in which he called on all South Africans to stand united in an effort to bring the violence in the country to an end.

The PAC leadership, meanwhile, persists in trying to justify what is an untenable policy, not least because (themselves victims of an identity crisis) they are trying desperately to hold together what has always been a fractious little movement. There was Benny Alexander, PAC general secretary, disingenuously insisting that "only the Apla high command" in Tanzania could say whether or not Apla was behind the terror.

After a meeting of the PAC national executive committee in Transkei at the weekend, national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani, said that though all forms of violence must be ended, Apla "is still engaged in a revolutionary struggle for liberation."

Reiterating the stance of PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he explained: "The PAC would not lay down its arms until a new army incorporating all private armies had been established."

Wheeled out in preference to Alexander to face the press, PAC information chief Barney Desai, wriggling uncomfortably, as well he might, said that a race war against whites was counter-productive and not PAC policy. On its behalf, he even conveyed the PAC's "condolences" to those killed in the attacks. It was unedifying to watch this man shedding such crocodile tears. He said his movement was "outraged" by calls to the media, which "anyone" could make, claiming responsibility for the attacks on behalf of Apla.

"It is not our policy to conduct a race war against whites and we don't know who these guys are," said Desai in a call to Sapa. He seemed unaware of both the PAC's dangerous slogan "one settler, one bullet" as well as of the history of PAC men opportunistically calling in to claim responsibility.

Saying the PAC has no policy to murder women and children, Desai pointed out that Apla's high command "has been taking its time commenting on these instances (of callers claiming responsibility)." The PAC, he went on, wanted a constituent assembly with voters on a common voters' roll. "We will continue to project that position and when we have a positive move to democracy in this transitional phase, we will say bury the bullet, here is the ballot."

Desai added that a number of murders had been committed on the Golden Highway, south of Johannesburg, over the past 18 months, "and nobody has featured Apla in those killings." He implied that *agents provocateur* were hoping to pin the blame on Apla at a time when the PAC is about to enter into negotiations. If that's the case, why has the PAC not condemned outright the wave of senseless murders?

Desai gave it away when he stated on television: "If there's a transitional authority in June, you'll have the end of the armed struggle from the PAC." The statement is remarkable also for implying that a formal split between Apla and the PAC could well be on the cards once an interim government is set up. ■

EDUCATION FM 26/3/93

As fast as possible

Government's refusal to increase civil servants' salaries by more than 5% is upsetting black teachers. But spending on black education has leaped and the Department of Edu-

- continue -

Marx quits ANC, SACP for Democrats

By IAN CLAYTON

(1/A)
FORMER political detainee and vice-president of the United Democratic Front in the western Cape, Joe Marx, this week resigned from the African National Congress and South African Communist Party and joined the Democratic Party.

Marx is a leading figure in Cape Town civic politics, especially in the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), and his decision is a blow to the ANC, particularly in its campaign to persuade coloured people to support it.

Marx cited "the problem of accountability" as the main reason. Despite the fight for

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democracy, decisions were made at the top and then brought to the bottom for rubber-stamping.

"What I have experienced is the forcing of top-down solutions on the people, in which they have no say and where they are denied democratic choices.

"That is one of the things that hurt me most," Marx said.

"Increasingly I have felt that my membership of the ANC is no longer compatible with my lifelong service to my community."

Marx, who was detained three times in terms of the Emergency regulations and Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and who

served a banning order for two years until February 1990, is presently chairman of the Steenberg/Retreat Housing Action.

Marx, while critical of the DP's efforts in the townships, said it had "unrelentingly opposed apartheid, even when it, as a white party, had nothing to gain by it".

He shared the DP's vision of a human rights society, a social market economy determined to eradicate the poverty of all people and a country where all the people were South Africans first.

"In the transition to democracy, I believe that the DP will be the party of the ordinary people, and not a part of power."

NEWS 'Bite the bullet'

Hani gives Apla, PAC a mouthful

Sowetan 26/3/93

(TIA) ~~SECRET~~

■ Killing whites not on says ex-MK chief:

Sowetan Correspondent

FORMER Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani has urged the PAC leadership to bite the bullet, accept negotiations and scale down or suspend the actions of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a hard-hitting interview, the SA Communist Party secretary-general on Wednesday also criticised the PAC leadership for not denouncing the killing of white school-children. "It is counter-productive and outrageous."

He also urged the PAC to drop the slogan "One settler, one bullet" because it was not only racist but gave the impression it was correct to kill whites.

"We are involved in negotiations for democratic elections and cannot condone any form of killing."

Killing innocent civilians served only to fuel the emotional outbursts of rightwing and leftwing extremists.

"I can't understand why it would be in the interest of our struggle to look around for a school bus carrying white children or to open fire on a highway used by everybody.

"Such attacks are very cowardly and not revolutionary at all. Revolutionaries value human life."

During its armed struggle, the ANC had always expressed its regret about civilians killed in the crossfire.

He said he agreed with PAC information and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai that the movement had nothing to gain from killing children.

"I can't understand why the PAC is not reinforcing what Barney Desai said."

BRAY 2/13/83

Conference on culture

THE ANC will be hosting a culture and development conference in Johannesburg starting on April 25. Its aim is to "redress past imbalances resulting from government's appropriation of culture to reinforce apartheid".

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White victims, more than one target

A power struggle among PAC leaders is a major factor in the recent upsurge of anti-white attacks.

By **ENOCH MTHEMBU** and **EDDIE KOCH**

BEHIND the recent attacks on white civilians — believed to be committed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — lies a bid by radical cadres to oust what they see as the "moderate" Pan Africanist Congress leadership.

The shootings are part of a bitter struggle, supported by the Apla military leadership in exile, to stop the PAC leadership from taking part in negotiations.

Apla soldiers, supported by allies in the youth and student wings of the PAC, have devised a plan to oust PAC president Clarence Makwetu and other perceived moderates in the political leadership of the movement.

PAC youth leader Ntsie Mohloai told *The Weekly Mail* a militant group of Africanists — made up of Apla supporters as well as activists in the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) and Azanian National Youth Union (Azanyu) — had formed a "steering committee" that would press for the PAC congress to elect new leaders.

The interview, together with information supplied by other sources close to the PAC, provide a rare glimpse into the internal workings of the organisation blamed for the recent upsurge of anti-white attacks.

The internal militants — backed by Apla commander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo, defence secretary Sabelo Phama and other members of the PAC military leadership in exile — are involved in a bitter struggle with more pragmatic political leaders in the PAC



Vicious cycle ... Weeks of harsh security force action in the Vaal Triangle preceded the latest wave of attacks in the area
Photo: GUY ADAMS

who are pushing the movement into negotiations.

Armed operations launched and supported by the militant group are aimed as much at undermining plans by the moderate wing of the PAC to join multi-party talks as they are against the white regime.

The extent of the split is evidenced by the fact that Azanyu and Paso commemorated Sharpeville Day this week with a rally at Lethukuthula Hall in Katlehong on the East Rand, while the official PAC event took place at the cemetery in Sharpeville.

Indications are that the wave of terror attacks against policemen and white targets are the work of small but highly motivated bands of Apla guerrillas who received professional training in Libya as part of a recent shake-up in Apla. They operate with logistical and other support from township

youth groups loyal to the militant bloc, who go by the name Revolutionary Watchdogs.

There are also growing signs that militant youths in the townships, increasingly disillusioned by the involvement of their leadership in parleys with Pretoria, are gaining access to weapons and carrying out copycat attacks inspired by the Apla programme.

Another PAC source, who asked not to be named, said the moderate wing of the movement was made up of internal figures as well as Africanists who have returned from exile. They include Clarence Makwetu, Patricia De Lille (PAC secretary for relief aid), Mark Shinnars (transport secretary), publicity secretary Barney Desai and general secretary Benny Alexander who, despite the militant rhetoric, believe armed struggle is no longer a

pragmatic path to power.

This group is opposed by diehards in the external wing, formerly based in Dar-es-Salaam, who initially refused to return to South Africa because the government has not met Organisation of African Unity conditions. They include Johnson Mlambo, a survivor of the Poqo insurrection in the early 1960s, and exiled Apla high-command member Joe Mkhwanazi, acting with their militant allies inside the country.

The source said Dikgang Moseneke, the advocate who was the PAC's deputy president, resigned earlier this year because of conflicts with Mlambo, whose faction was making Moseneke's position increasingly untenable.

"The externals cling to the PAC's traditional Maoist perspective that fundamental change can only be achieved by revolutionary overthrow of the

state," he said. "Having passed through the camps, in which Mao was the approved reading, Apla cadres share the externals' ideological perspective. It is also shared by the PAC youth, notably Azanyu, and the student wing, Paso.

"The internals, as a result of being in the country longer and assessing the PAC's support levels of township consciousness and the balance of forces in the country, have come round to the view that there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement and no prospect of a successful armed struggle."

The moderates had refused to suspend the armed struggle and to distance themselves from the recent attacks because they feared widening the rift in the PAC and wanted to position themselves to the left of the African National Congress, he added.

"Their aim is to go into talks and push for a sovereign constituent assembly, on which they consider the ANC has sold out. About half the 30-strong national executive committee are moderates, and the internal-external split closely mirrors the divisions over armed struggle and negotiations."

Though the radical youth-exile bloc controls the organisation's military operations, the moderates were able to put their candidates into most key NEC positions at the PAC national congress held in Transkei last year — to the chagrin of the Revolutionary Watchdogs.

The source said the Mlambo-led faction launched Apla's eastern Cape terror campaign in December last year to strengthen its hand and undermine its opponents in the NEC, prompting Moseneke to resign.

"The eastern Cape attacks led to acrimonious debate within the NEC, as a result of which instructions went out to Apla cadres to cool it. Hence the fact

Whites are not the only target

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● From PAGE 2

that there were no attacks for three months — until last weekend.”

The recent wave of attacks appears, however, to have taken on a new dimension: spontaneous attacks by youth and student groupings which have access to arms and are disillusioned by the negotiations, escalating violence in the townships and the continued education crisis.

Many of the recent attacks, particularly those in the Vaal townships, were probably not ordered by the Apla high command, as were the eastern Cape operations last year.

This would explain why Apla's external commanders have been unable to confirm or deny their members' involvement in these attacks.

“The latest attacks are a spontaneous eruption of grassroots militancy, which may or may not involve

Apla cadres,” the source said. “There may be a copycat element in the attacks: there are a lot angry young men around at the moment.”

The attacks by black gunmen on whites in the Vaal Triangle were also preceded by weeks of harsh security force action in the area.

CHRIS LOUW reports that Vaal township dwellers say they have been subjected to “harsh and brutal” treatment by mostly white policemen since the beginning of February.

According to the Human Rights Commission, a large number of township residents were arrested and injured during the security force operations.

Incidents were reported, for instance, where residents in Evaton and Sebokeng were assaulted, sexually harassed and given electric shocks by policemen.

A large number of ANC Youth League and self-defence units (SDU) members have allegedly been harassed for several months by police in connection with the deaths of policemen.

Asked to comment on this yesterday, the SAP's Major van Deventer rejected the claims as “absurd” and refused to respond to specific cases put to him. He said this was “possibly another incident” in which *The Weekly Mail* “and papers of like mind ... falsely accuse the SAP of various atrocities”.

The SDUs in most Vaal townships comprise members of both the ANC and PAC. Many of the ANC members in the SDUs are trained Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres with easy access to weapons, and whose renegade behaviour has thrust them into an internecine feud with the ANC's national leadership.

Execution a hanging question

w/mant 26/3 - 1/4/93.

By CHRIS LOUW

BROAD support is sought by the government for the reimposition of the death penalty following an unprecedented wave of cold-blooded murders in the country, including the recent attacks attributed to Apla.

The death penalty was suspended by President FW de Klerk during his February 2 1990 speech in which he announced the unbanning of all political organisations. The moratorium was kept in place pending the completion of an interim charter of fundamental human rights which will be in effect during the transition phase.

Although parliamentary consent is not necessary to revoke the moratorium, De Klerk announced on Wednesday that the issue will be debated thoroughly in parliament before a decision is taken.

His announcement followed a press release by National Party MPs Hennie Smit (chairman of the NP's law and order study group) and Ray Radue (chairman of the study group on justice) in which they pleaded for the reimposition of the death sentence.

In his announcement De Klerk said that NP MPs — now dominating all three houses of parliament — would be allowed to vote on the

issue according to their conscience.

Nat MPs are, as a rule, expected to toe the party line, although similar "conscience votes" have in the past been allowed, for instance, where liquor laws were concerned.

According to party officials there is a very strong feeling among ordinary MPs that the death penalty should be brought back.

This will definitely be supported by the Conservative Party and some individuals in the Democratic Party, making it a foregone conclusion that parliament will overwhelmingly vote for the revoking of the moratorium.

However, tensions may be created if the extra-parliamentary groupings, and more specifically the African National Congress, could not be persuaded to support the continuation of hangings.

De Klerk has already indicated that the government will embark on "an intensive consultation process with leaders of extra-parliamentary parties and organisations" to solicit their support.

Last year alone 20 135 people were murdered in South Africa.

The ANC was not available for comment at the time of going to press.

See PAGE 22

Women's place in the House

w/mant 26/3 - 1/4/93.

By STEPHEN LAUFER

RILED by the all-male composition of the planned multi-party forum, women from across the political spectrum plan to disrupt next Thursday's crucial management committee meeting which is preparing for the talks.

The demonstration is being planned and co-ordinated by African National Congress Women's League leader Baleka Kgositsile. She hopes that women from all 26 parties involved in the negotiations and other women's groups will take part.

Inkatha women appear to be interested in participating, but at least some National Party women say they neither believe in demonstrations, nor that many women are currently up to the job of governing the country.

What has made ANC women and their allies particularly livid is the flippant response by male negotiators to proposals for an expansion of the negotiating forum to accommodate a female adviser from each of the participating groups.

This would give women a more direct voice in the process than under Codesa II, where a gender action committee was the only forum for women's issues.

The proposal, adopted by the ANC executive, was put forward by secretary general Cyril

Ramaphosa at last week's meeting of the facilitating committee preparing full talks.

He was met by loud jeers from the all-male group around the table, says Kgositsile, as well as comments such as "We are all here on merit!" and "This is reverse discrimination!"

The ANC Women's League wants to put the point more forcefully to the negotiators when they meet again next Thursday.

They plan a 1 000-strong "welcoming committee" for negotiators arriving at the World Trade Centre and are looking at including women advisers, at least temporarily, in sympathetic delegations.

Says Kgositsile: "If we knew that the negotiators were all sleeping in one place the night before, they'd get a very early visit."

Lilly Coetzer, wife of Springs MP Piet Coetzer and a National Party Women's Action Committee activist, says she doubts members of her organisation will participate.

"We don't believe in demonstrations, we prefer to find other ways of putting pressure. I believe that if this country is to uplift itself, women will do it. But I feel that most women are not yet up to standard. Women must be chosen on merit.

"We don't want puppets appointed."

NEWS 'Bite the bullet'

Hani gives Apla, PAC a mouthful

Sowetan 26/3/93



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Sowetan Correspondent

FORMER Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani has urged the PAC leadership to bite the bullet, accept negotiations and scale down or suspend the actions of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In a hard-hitting interview, the SA Communist Party secretary-general on Wednesday also criticised the PAC leadership for not denouncing the killing of white schoolchildren. "It is counter-productive and outrageous."

He also urged the PAC to drop the slogan "One settler, one bullet" because it was not only racist but gave the impression it was correct to kill whites.

"We are involved in negotiations for democratic elections and cannot condone any form of killing."

Killing innocent civilians served only to fuel the emotional outbursts of rightwing and leftwing extremists.

"I can't understand why it would be in the interest of our struggle to look around for a school bus carrying white children or to open fire on a highway used by everybody."

"Such attacks are very cowardly and not revolutionary at all. Revolutionaries value human life."

During its armed struggle, the ANC had always expressed its regret about civilians killed in the crossfire.

He said he agreed with PAC information and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai that the movement had nothing to gain from killing children.

"I can't understand why the PAC is not reinforcing what Barney Desai said."

NEWS Holomisa tells of order to 'wipe out' Apla

'18 not Apla cadres'

Sowetan 26/3/93.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ **TWENTY ARRESTED** PAC says the detained men are its members:

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said the police had arrested 20 of its members and not 18 cadres of the Azanian People's Liberation Army as announced by State President FW de Klerk.

And in another development, *Sapa* quotes Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa as saying that De Klerk personally gave an order that people identified as Apla members should be "wiped out" as a matter of urgency.

The report said Holomisa was reacting to a diplomatic note from the South African Government yesterday following the Goldstone Commission findings on Apla which point to alleged involvement of Transkei in Apla activities.

"I would like to alert you to the fact that our intelligence is aware of the order personally given by you to the effect that certain persons deemed to be Apla members resident in the Transkei be wiped out as a matter of extreme

urgency," Holomisa said in a six-page letter to De Klerk, reports *Sapa*.

Meanwhile, the PAC said the 20 members arrested were all aged between 17 and 24 years. Fourteen were schoolboys from Ficksburg.

Schoolteacher Mr Musa Msulundwana (24), of Sebokeng, is the son of PAC chief of protocol and former PAC United Nations representative Dr Count Pietersen.

One of the two members arrested in Bloemfontein was a construction worker and the other was a full-time PAC regional organiser, Mr C Mbelembele.

Two brothers who are high school pupils, Solomon and Joseph Masango, were arrested in Boipatong the same day as Azanian National Youth Unity member Buti Gilbert Ntuli.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said

it was clear that the 20 people arrested were not Apla members.

"Mr De Klerk is playing cheap political games by harassing schoolboys. We demand the immediate release of all arrested members of the PAC.

"Emotions are running high in Ficksburg in the Free State where the black community is demanding the release of the schoolboys."

In another development, Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe announced an anti-violence plan costing about R10 million and involving at least 21 000 reservists.

This is part of the 10-point plan announced in Parliament by De Klerk on Wednesday.

● The PAC announced yesterday it would not attend the Patriotic Front conference at Lenasia tomorrow because it was a meeting of the ANC-Codesa allies.

Apla is 'public enemy number 1'

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Their hands are full of the blood of the African children."
Nemadzivhanani.

"I'm very worried if I'm going to be killed for crimes that I've not committed."
Neil, Johannesburg

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

By **Lulama Luti**



with **Tim Modise**

THE Azanian Peoples Liberation Army was not engaged in a racial war but in a legitimate armed struggle for liberation, a senior member of the Pan Africanist Congress said last night.

Speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, PAC's national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said it was not his organisation's policy to kill white women and children.

"It is unfortunate if they get caught in the crossfire. We have no policy to kill women and children. War is a crude situation and we know that in any war, women and children do die," he said.

Nemadzivhanani said the 20 people who were arrested by the police were

not confirmed members of Apla.

A spokesman for the Department of Law and Order Captain Craig Kotze said the Government regarded Apla as "public enemy number one".

He said it posed danger to the non-racial society currently being mooted.

Referring to Apla as war-mongers, Kotze said the organisation had the potential to start a racial war that could give rise to a spiral of violence.

"In view of Apla's previous modus operandi, we believe that the violence in this country is perpetrated by Apla," said Kotze.

Most of the callers accused the Government of applying double standards in dealing with violence.

"The primary source of violence in the country is the regime itself.

"We will not allow the AWB to murder our citizens no matter what their colour. That goes for Apla too."

Kotze.

"The Government has been saying let bygones be bygones while our people in squatter camps continued to die."

Ricky, Actonville

"The SAP are the last to condemn anyone for the violence in this country."

Hope, Berea

"I think the SAP and the Government are hypocrites. I can't believe there's so much outcry over the death of a few whites."

John.

next *Talkback* topic

THE Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback on Monday will be an open line. Share your view by phoning Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

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Suspects belong to PAC, not Apla'

WILSON ZWANE

THE PAC yesterday denied that the 18 people arrested this week in connection with attacks allegedly carried out by Apla, were members of its armed wing.

The PAC also reiterated that it would not allow anyone, including Judge Richard Goldstone, to probe Apla activities.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu told a news conference in Johannesburg that those police had arrested were PAC, not Apla, members. Seventeen were schoolboys. He said President F W de Klerk was "playing cheap political games by arresting schoolboys".

He said emotions were running high in Ficksburg, where 14 of the schoolboys were arrested. A rally protesting against the arrests was to be held yesterday.

Sapa reports Makwetu proposed the signing of "a mutual cessation of hostilities agreement by all parties with armed formations". But the PAC could not immediately consider abandoning the armed struggle. "The PAC can only consider abandoning the bullet in overthrowing the regime when the ballot is secure," he said in reaction to De Klerk's condemnation of the armed struggle's continuation.

At the news conference, Alexander slated the findings of the Goldstone commission's report on Apla's activities, saying it was "not a credible solution" as it was based solely on input by the "regime".

He stressed, however, that his organisa-

□ To Page 2

Suspects

tion would not allow the commission, or anyone else, to probe Apla's activities.

Makwetu said there was no way his organisation would change its attitude towards the Goldstone commission. The PAC had never recognised the commission.

The organisation was evasive on several issues, including the funding of Apla. When asked if the PAC funded its armed wing, Makwetu said Apla was capable of raising its own funds.

Makwetu also criticised De Klerk, saying his statements to Parliament on Wednesday sought to isolate the PAC and Apla.

In a report of its preliminary investigation into Apla's activities, the commission asked the international community to withhold assistance to Apla and to put pressure on the PAC to join negotiations,

reject violence and participate in the national peace accord. The commission also expressed hope that the PAC, Apla and the Transkei government would reconsider their attitudes to it.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has repeatedly said he did not recognise the commission, which he described as a creation of the peace accord. Transkei is not a signatory to the accord.

When asked what the PAC would do should government act against Transkei in the event of the homeland's failure to respond to a Goldstone commission report suggesting links between it and Apla, Makwetu said his organisation would consider "the situation as it develops".

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□ From Page 1

focus on PF meeting

Sowetan 26/3/93.

The ANC and PAC men discussing the patriotic front meeting in Johannesburg tomorrow are keeping mum - but the draft agenda gives a clue as to who will be running the show, **Themba Molefe** reports:



‘The Patriotic Front’s formation had indeed sent a chill down the spine of the ruling National Party for this had meant it would have to look elsewhere for allies after its obvious partners - the homelands - had thrown in their lot with the new-found unity’

11A

ban, was dead, in spite of the PAC’s insistence. Significantly, the weekend conference is intended to be a report-back meeting on political developments as resolved at the Durban conference.

Therefore this weekend’s conference at the Nur-ul-Islam Centre in Lenasia will be attended but the ANC and its allies.

A draft agenda sent to other parties from headquarters excludes the PAC as joint convenors.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is scheduled to be the only keynote speaker as opposed to the Durban conference where PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu was also a main speaker.

The ANC negotiations commission is billed to report on the negotiations process. The PAC does not feature, nor is its status as co-convenor acknowledged.

This the PAC says is in breach of the Durban decision that the two organisations should jointly prepare for it.

A series of meetings were held this week between the two organisations at the PAC’s insistence but the outcome was still forthcoming at the time of going to press.

The conference comes a week before full-blown multiparty negotiations begin at the World Trade Centre on April 1

Indian Congress and homeland parties, excluding QwaQwa.

This group has been meeting regularly under the PF banner. In fact, the ANC has never conceded that the PF, as it was formed in Dur-

THE FIRST conference of the patriotic front of anti-Government organisations as formed in Durban in October 1991 has been planned to begin in Johannesburg tomorrow.

But yesterday, hopes that all the signatories to the Patriotic Front would attend the two-day meeting were dashed. The pan Africanist Congress which jointly convened the Durban meeting with the African National Congress announced that it would not attend after it had failed to resolve differences between the two organisations.

The Durban meeting brought together 90 organisations and parties, those within the tricameral system, homelands, groups allied to the main liberation movements and the two major trade union federations, National Council of Trade Unions and Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Absent were the Inkatha Freedom Party-KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands.

The Azanian People’s Organisation, which was to co-convene the PF with the ANC and PAC, did not attend after being “expelled” from the steering committee by the other two.

Azapo had on its own written letters to parties it saw as working within “apartheid structures” to declare their intention to resign as a condition for joining the PF. This angered the ANC and PAC. Azapo later said the PF was a “pathetic front”.

The PF’s formation had indeed sent a chill down the spine of the ruling National Party for this had meant it would have to look elsewhere for allies after its obvious partners — the homelands — had thrown in their lot with the new-found unity.

The IFP thought the PF aimed to gang up against whites and would not be party to it.

However, the Democratic Party was a participant and one of the 90 groups that signed a declaration of intent denouncing apartheid and endorsing the call for a constituent assembly.

But the PF, which spelled hope to many South Africans and was supported throughout the world, was to split down the middle with the advent of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa in 1992.

The PAC withdrew from the PF and from the preparatory stages of Codesa and accused the ANC of treachery. It claimed the ANC had already reached agreement with the NP on the negotiations process and was using the PF to endorse them.

PAC spokesmen used the words “ram agreements down our throats”.

Thereafter emerged what was to be known as the ANC’s PF alliance at Codesa, comprising the ANC, South African Communist Party, Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal

Uphill struggle for Patriotic Front

OCTOBER 26 1991: Patriotic-United Front of 90 political parties opposed to NP rule is formed in Durban. They sign a declaration of intent and programme which would lead to elections for a constituent assembly.

NOVEMBER 29: PF convenors ANC and PAC meet the Government in Johannesburg to prepare for multiparty talks.

DECEMBER 1991: PAC pulls out of preparatory talks for Codesa. Accuses ANC of having made agreements with NP over negotiations. PF falters. ANC allies itself with 11 parties, including six homelands. Known as Codesa PF

alliance.

AUGUST 1992: Frontline States chairman President Robert Mugabe fails to bring Mandela and Makwetu together.

NOVEMBER 1992: Mandela, Makwetu, Mugabe meet in Harare but Mandela refuses to commit himself to reconvening the PF.

MARCH 1993: ANC issues invitations for PF conference to be held March 27 and 28. PAC objects to ANC ignoring its status as co-convenor.

MARCH 25 1993: PAC announces it will not attend what it calls Codesa PF.

De Klerk still holds the key to successful talks

B/DAY 26/3/93

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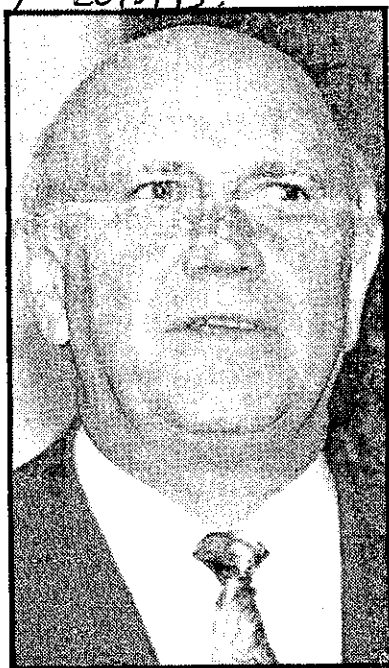
THREE years ago, by opening negotiations with the ANC, President F W de Klerk overrode conventional NP wisdom that it was wrong to negotiate with a party committed to the armed struggle. Now he is set to repeat this with the PAC, hoping to reduce levels of violence and the possibility of a white backlash.

In his address to Parliament on Wednesday he handled the emotive issue of Apla carefully. He did not terminate negotiations with the PAC but took up the veiled olive branch so cautiously held out by the PAC's Benny Alexander the previous day.

At the same time he broke government out of the corner into which its chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, and Law and Order Minister Henus Kriel had painted it. Both Ministers firmly stressed that government would not negotiate constitutional issues with the PAC until it had suspended the armed struggle; Kriel in Gaborone during talks with the PAC and Meyer just before the multiparty planning conference.

The PAC has not suspended the armed struggle, probably because of a range of dilemmas it faces — one of them being a lack of control over its armed wing.

Government negotiators then found themselves in the invidious position of not being able to kick the



□ DE KLERK

PAC out of the negotiating process. As one observer put it, the government did not "own" the process, and therefore would have to lobby other parties to get sufficient consensus to oust the PAC. And other major par-

BILLY PADDOCK

ties — including the ANC and Inkatha — would not co-operate. The ANC said it would not support government in using the PAC's "failure to suspend the armed struggle as a reason to squeeze it out".

Government's only recourse, hardly feasible, would have been to withdraw from the process itself.

The PAC, meanwhile, which appears to have a renewed resolve to negotiations, has called for a "sober and structural" approach to ending the violence. Alexander said it wanted a technical committee of the new negotiations forum to be formed to investigate the best way of placing all armed formations under joint multiparty control.

This is nothing new. Government and the ANC have been locked in bilateral talks for more than two years trying to achieve this. The ANC last week said it wanted this issue debated in the multiparty forum in the open.

De Klerk implicitly grasped Alexander's call, and said violence and armed formations should top the multiparty forum's agenda. He said government would try and persuade

other parties in negotiations to adopt the stance that no party could take part in talks unless it signed the national peace accord and distanced itself from violence. All military wings, private armies and militant sub-organisations would have to be effectively and visibly bound to the curbing of illegal actions.

De Klerk has, in the SACP, a strong ally for this course of action. Yesterday SACP chairman and ANC executive member Joe Slovo said that when the ANC suspended the armed struggle it did so with its eyes open and "because it is inconsistent to negotiate with someone and at the same time open fire on them".

He said suspending the armed struggle was the correct thing for all parties to do if they wanted to negotiate change. But he stressed this had to be achieved at the negotiating table and not resolved through unilateral action by government.

Slovo said the resolution adopted by the planning conference abhorring the killings at Table Mountain near Maritzburg should be extended and the structures of the negotiating process "must state clearly its absolute abhorrence for violence. Then, at the negotiating table, the PAC will have to indicate clearly its attitude."

But Slovo also argued that, in large measure, the onus of controlling violence and the proliferation of

illegal automatic weapons rested with government.

Government was the chief culprit in delaying the implementation of phase one of the transitional programme — the implementation of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils, one of which would exercise joint control over all armed formations.

Negotiators across the spectrum, including government, say that the process cannot move forward until there is agreement on the joint monitoring of all armed formations.

Slovo says that after two years of negotiations between the ANC and government on this issue there has been no progress. "There is a reluctance on the part of government to share control over its security forces. We seem to find common ground in talking, but as soon as it comes to signing agreements where effect is given to joint monitoring, they pull back."

Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei homelands also reject the notion of joint control over their security wings.

Unless the parties can reach agreement on this crucial issue, where arms caches and their contents are identified and cadres and their camps are opened to inspection and monitoring, De Klerk's strategy will fail. He holds the key.

LETTERS

PAC will *Star 26/3/93* not attend conference

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

(11A)

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) will not attend this weekend's Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

PAC executive Mark Shinnars told a press conference in Johannesburg that the PAC had decided against attending the meeting.

The two-day conference, expected to be attended by 100 organisations, will start tomorrow with a keynote address by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Shinnars said the conference had been unilaterally decided upon by the ANC and its allies within Codesa, and the PAC had only heard about it "a few days ago through the media".

The PAC had subsequently received an invitation from the ANC, and had since held unsuccessful meetings with the ANC to resolve their differences.

● Not all is well
with the Front — Page 16

Easy roads to freedom

FM 26/3/93



Pieter Joubert is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Potchefstroom University.

Though there is a whole spectrum of political parties and movements in SA, each with its own purported solution and socio-political vision of the future, the society is still fundamentally characterised by a profound dualism: black versus white, haves versus have-nots. This fundamental division will be exploited and inflame emotions in the coming election.

Of more than 20m potential voters it is really only the white minority segment (about 2,3m) which has really had the advantage of participating in elections. We have to accept that our pseudo-democratic dispensation, in which a small minority of coloured and Indian voters participated during the tricameral parliament, can be regarded only as a transition model.

Many white and black potential voters already have overlapping interests in terms of party political membership but there are nevertheless profound fears.

The broad white electorate hopes that the process of transition will culminate in a stable democracy. In spite of the fact that an interim government of national unity, in which the winning parties will have representation, is expected to rule for about five years after the first election, most white voters implicitly accept that the ANC will probably be the majority party.

Rampant crime

The implications of this have caused many whites to harbour fears and anxieties, revolving around expectations of negative discrimination (revenge for apartheid), unfair quota systems in the application of affirmative action, a socialist-leaning economic policy, rampant crime, the nature of future regional governments and deteriorating social and educational standards.

The large degree of ambivalence to be found among white voters at present is fur-

ther supported by statistics produced in the Human Sciences Research Council's quarterly *Information Update*.

Whereas almost 70% of whites declared themselves (in the March 1992 referendum) in favour of a socio-political negotiation process, only 50% believe that black and white share enough interests to be able to establish a "new SA."

More than 85% of whites believe the ANC cannot be trusted when it maintains that, should the ANC come to power, black dominance over whites will not be tolerated. The fact that most whites distrust the ANC is also reflected in the fact that the ANC, according to opinion polls, at present could rally only 1% of white electoral support. (The majority of coloureds and Indians also do not appear to support the ANC.)

Now we turn to the black electorate. Members of the Soweto generation of 1976, who became bound inextricably to the struggle, are now between 30 and 40 years old: it is a generation sympathetic in some degree to "no-education-before-liberation" and "the-struggle-is-my-life."

At present there are more than 4m young blacks who (according to opinion polls) have an unrealistic conception of what a new SA will yield. It is a group increasingly impatient with the ANC — after all, ANC president Nelson Mandela has now been out of prison for more than three years!

Opinion polls indicate that the young blacks in the electorate have the following attitudes and expectations:

- More than 60% believe that they will receive houses once a new government is in place and that the State will supply houses;
- Another 65% believe that a university degree will become accessible to them through a new government; and
- More than 65% believe the whites are "advantaged" by the violence in the country, while about 30% believe the NP and the SAP are jointly responsible for the violence.

Just as whites do not trust the ANC, so blacks are suspicious of the NP, though to a lesser extent: whereas only about 1% of whites support the ANC, polls suggest that about 7% of blacks support the NP (compared with 55% of Indians and about 60% of coloureds).

The political elite in SA can learn from the

new US President Bill Clinton about how to land in trouble rapidly should promises made during an election campaign not be met afterwards. And the nature of SA politics is volatile, far more complex than the US situation as we negotiate a highly emotional transition to the hoped-for democracy.

It is precisely because of the emotional nature of SA politics (essentially, white fears and black expectations) that the political elites will carry a double burden. On the one hand they will have to defuse and manage the fears and expectations of their own traditional supporters; on the other they will need to be sensitive to the image that other voters in the country have of them.

Political leaders, of course, are often responsible for creating unrealistic expectations. The PAC's Clarence Makwetu, during a recent TV interview with Sir David Frost, maintained that the PAC would "without doubt" win an election, while regular countrywide polls confirm that the PAC has less than 3% of the support of voters.

In the same vein, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Frost that opinion polls are unreliable, that anything can happen during an election, and that it is not excluded that the IFP can win an election — in spite of the fact that the IFP could at present draw about 11% of the electorate's support.

Individual support

In his turn, Foreign Minister Pik Botha last year maintained that the NP could win an election, in spite of polls indicating it can at present claim about 25% of the total electoral support. Yet regular polls indicate that the ANC can claim about 55%-65%.

Though both President F W de Klerk and Mandela have, according to the polls, more individual support than their organisations (the NP and ANC), there are hints that the NP and the ANC are both losing support.

Many ANC supporters are becoming impatient and frustrated by the perception that the ANC leaders — to use Winnie Mandela's words — "are getting into bed with the elite of the oppressors in order to enjoy the luxury of the satin sheets with them."

Politics is about choosing between difficult options but most leaders seem to be pretending at the moment that there is an easy way.

CBM team of experts. But whether it is enough to satisfy the full-blown (con)federalist demands of Inkatha and its Cosag allies is open to question. They do at least go half-way in that direction, and indications are that government will be able to do business with the ANC on this key matter.

To ensure that regional governments will be adequately financed to implement national and regional policies, the ANC says, provision is made for an independent advisory commission on fiscal decentralisation "to ensure equity, transparency and objectivity in the distribution of national resources."

It was further resolved that the country

will be divided into "no more than 10" regions. The draft policy document includes an option of 16 regions, now scrapped; word is that the ANC may eventually settle for eight regions — one more than government has proposed and one less than the nine outlined by the Development Bank. However, final and binding decisions on this matter, as well as on the powers and functions of regions, are to be reserved for a democratically elected constitution-making body, says the ANC.

There was much concern at the conference regarding interim arrangements on regionalism, with anxiety over what are perceived to be unilateral efforts by government to restructure local and regional policies and ad-

ministrations. This seems unfounded in view of the Local Government Negotiating Forum launched this week by Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont, which includes SA National Civic Organisation leader Moses Mayekiso, an ANC man. Bottom-up negotiations of this kind, parallel to the national talks, are strongly advocated by Inkatha, which goes further in wanting regions to determine their own constitutions.

The ANC describes regional policy in the negotiation process, as well as in the future democratic constitution, as being of critical importance. It believes that a democratically elected regional government will have a vital role to play in promoting democracy, recon-

Continue →

REGIONALISM
Fm 26/3/93
Inching to consensus

The ANC endorses the listing in the constitution of those regional powers agreed to by an elected constituent assembly — subject to the retention by the central government of concurrent and overriding legislative powers.

"Concurrent powers" allocate different responsibilities with regard to one function, to different levels of government. The modern growth of government functions, and the complex linkages and interdependencies that have developed, particularly in the economic and social spheres, have made it unrealistic to think of allocating all or even most functions exclusively, explains a recent report on regionalism by the Consultative Business

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 26/3/93

struction and development. The ANC has also resolved that elections for regional representatives in a constituent assembly (the interim phase) should be conducted on the basis of electoral regions, "preferably the four provinces based on the 1910 boundaries."

ANC head of local & regional government and housing Thozamile Botha says a delimitation commission (comprising specialists, those with a vested interest in regionalism and party representatives), should be set up to make recommendations on future regional boundaries in an integrated SA. Final decisions on these borders, powers and functions should, however, be left to an elected body, as regional policy could be finalised only as part of a national constitution, setting out such powers for all three tiers of government.

The ANC envisages regional policy being implemented in phases, with the TBVC and self-governing states "collapsing" after the elections. According to Botha, interim regional government would operate on a basis of the powers and functions agreed before the elections. (It is perhaps a pity that the ANC won't accept those very principles as binding on the constitution-making body as well.) Dismantling structures before the elections would be difficult, says Botha, but a Transitional Executive Committee could create a provincial-level structure to start the process of rationalisation.

In an interview in the latest issue of the ANC journal *Mayibuye*, Botha says: "It is agreed that different tiers of government need political, economic and developmental powers and powers to levy taxes. However, a certain degree of authority for the centre should be kept, to ensure the maintenance of stability and standards throughout the country."

He adds: "Our starting point is that SA is one united country. We therefore believe that everything must be based on a single national constitution. Regional variety will need to be provided for within that constitution, but we want to ensure that the constitution does not take away the principle of a single united country."

'Winnie a co-perpetrator' state

(117) ~~117~~

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Mrs Winnie Mandela should have been found guilty of being a co-perpetrator in the assaults of teenage activist Stompie Seipei and three others and not merely an accessory.

State counsel Mr Jan Swanepoel, SC, made this submission yesterday to the full bench of the Appeal Court hearing

Mrs Mandela's appeal against her conviction and six-year sentence for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault.

Mr Swanepoel also submitted that the trial judge should not have accepted that her alibi for her whereabouts when the assaults took place "was reasonably, possibly true".

The state is asking the court to confirm

Mrs Mandela's conviction and sentence on four counts of kidnapping.

The state is asking the court also to find her guilty on four counts of assault and to increase her sentence appropriately.

Concluding his argument earlier Mrs Mandela's counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, asked the court to acquit her on all charges.

CT 26/3/93

Blow to ANC as activist joins DP

CT 26/3/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

11A
20/11/93

THE Democratic Party in the Western Cape received a boost yesterday when prominent activist Mr Joe Marks resigned from the ANC and the SA Communist Party and joined the DP.

A former vice-president of the United Democratic Front in the region and a member of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (Cahac), Mr Marks is a former ANC branch chairman.

His decision to join the DP is a setback to the ANC in its campaign to persuade coloured people to support it.

Mr Marks said at a press conference there were many reasons for his decision, but "the problem of accountability" was the most basic reason.

Decisions were being made at the top and then brought to the bottom for rubber-stamping.

He said the DP had been "unrelentingly opposed to apartheid, even when they, as a white party, had nothing to gain by it". He shared their vision of a human rights society and a social market economy.

PAC firm: No one will probe Apla

CT 26/3/93

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday reiterated its position that it would not allow anyone, including Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, to probe the activities of its armed wing, Apla.

It also denied that the 18 people arrested this week in connection with attacks allegedly carried out by Apla, were members of the armed formation.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said in an interview investigations into Apla's activities would not bring peace. The only solution, he said, was the mutual cessation of hostilities by all the parties, including the government.

At a news conference earlier, Mr Alexander slated the findings of the Goldstone commission's report on Apla, saying it was "not a credible solution" and was based solely on input by "the regime".

He stressed, however, that his organisation would not allow the commission, or anyone else, to probe Apla's activities.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said there was no way his organisation would change its attitude towards the Goldstone commission. The PAC had never recognised the commission, he said.

He would not say whether the PAC funded Apla.

Mr Makwetu said the people police had arrested were PAC, not Apla, members. Seventeen of those were schoolboys, he said.

● KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has repeated his demand that uMkhonto weSizwe be disbanded, saying he had evidence that MK and Apla were co-operating in the killing of IFP supporters. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Like-minded groups will dominate the PF meeting writes Kaizer Nyatsumba

Star 26/3/93

Not all is well with the Front

11A

413

FOR a while in the past two weeks it looked as though the Patriotic Front conference scheduled for Lenasia, south of Johannesburg, tomorrow might go some way towards healing the rift which opened between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress late last year.

This would have injected a new lease of life into the PF, formed in Durban 17 months ago.

For the first time since October 27 1991, the two co-conveners of the Durban conference, the PAC and the ANC, were going to bring together the other 90 members of the PF to assess political developments since then.

This should have taken place six months after the launch of the PF, at the end of last April, according to a resolution adopted at the time of the launch.

Since then the PF — which has tottered on the brink of collapse — has by and large existed only in name. And when the PF has been mentioned in media reports, it has usually been in reference to the ANC's coterie of allies within Co-

desa, mostly homeland governmental parties.

But when the PAC accepted an invitation to a caucus meeting of the ANC's "Codesa allies" during the recent multiparty preparatory conference at the World Trade Centre, observers were quick to suggest that perhaps the PF — called the Patriotic United Front by the PAC — was not dead after all.

For, once the PAC was part of the "Codesa PF", the point could be made fairly convincingly that the Durban PF was finally up and running.

After all, as the ANC has often pointed out, those it considered its allies within Codesa had also attended the launch, and consequently were members of the PF.

And when it was later announced that the "broad PF" — to distinguish it from the "Codesa PF" — would meet in Lenasia to discuss a range of issues, including common strategies to be used in negotiations, speculation grew bolder.

Some observers suggested this broad alliance, now including the PAC and possibly the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) — which was expelled from co-convenership of the PF only days before the launch — could enter into some kind of an election pact "to avoid dividing the black vote".

These observers were running way ahead of developments. As unpublicised events this week confirm, much arguing and arm-twisting remained to be done, and controversy continued to embroil the PF as late as yesterday.

Only 48 hours before the conference, the PAC had still not ironed out its differences with the ANC, and was unsure whether or not it would attend.

At the centre of the row is the status of the organisations attending the conference, and the role of these organisations in arranging the conference.

The PAC feels the ANC has excluded it in organising the conference, in sending out invitations and in drawing up the agenda. Most of the decisions regarding the con-

ference were taken at an hotel in Johannesburg last week, at a meeting attended only by the ANC and its "Codesa allies".

It was that meeting which decided, among other things, that ANC president Nelson Mandela should deliver the keynote address — and the PAC is aggrieved. Mandela can do that, says the Africanist organisation, but PAC president Clarence Makwetu should also be accorded an opportunity to address the gathering.

And to this the ANC says no, according to PAC sources.

Although the PAC was still frothing at the mouth yesterday, its national executive committee decided at its meeting in Umtata, Transkei, last weekend to send a delegation to the conference. Should the organisation reconsider that position, the Lenasia conference will be nothing more than yet another gathering of the ANC and its allies.

While it could be argued that that alliance has a better-than-average chance of entering into an election pact without the PAC, it is also true that the Africanist or-

ganisation — and Azapo when it finally joins negotiations — will make stronger allies for the ANC in a multi-party forum.

With the new forum divided into three distinct groups — the Concerned South Africans Group led by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the "Codesa alliance" led by the ANC, and the Government standing on its own — the ANC would no doubt be happy to have a voice such as the PAC's on its side.

Not only would that eliminate for the ANC the worry about sniping from the touchlines by the PAC and Azapo, but it would also strengthen the ANC's hand on some issues on which these three organisations agree — and there are many such issues, despite the well-known differences.

This explains the ANC's insistence that the PAC should be allowed to attend multi-party negotiations, regardless of the activities of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

And so the success of the Lenasia conference will be gauged not

only by the resolutions adopted there, but also by the quality of the organisations attending it.

For it matters little to have an array of insignificant groups coming out with fine-sounding resolutions, if they lack the capacity to help implement them or their voices do not add weight to the debate.

A meaningful unity or front is not one which involves already like-minded organisations trying to curry the favour of the big one in their midst who might one day be in a position to dish out goodies to those who stood by it when it needed allies.

Instead, it is the one which involves adversaries or organisations which differ with one another but who, for some greater common cause, agree to put their differences aside and co-operate. Such a front would include social, professional, church and sports organisations, but, more importantly, it would also involve the important political players on the Left, notably the ANC, the PAC and Azapo. □

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Star 26/3/93

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(119)

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INSIDE APLA

W/Mail 26/3 - 11/4/93

BEHIND THE SHOOTINGS

How a radical plot to topple PAC leaders led to killing spree



Too moderate?
Embattled
PAC leader
Clarence
Makwetu

BEHIND the recent attacks on white civilians lies a bid by radicals in the Azanian People's Liberation Army to oust the "too moderate" Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leadership led by Clarence Makwetu.

The shootings are part of a bitter struggle, supported by the Apla military leadership in exile, to undermine the PAC leaders and stop them from taking part in multi-party talks.

A militant group of Africanists made up of Apla supporters as well as youth activists have formed a militant bloc called the "Revolutionary Watchdogs" which aims to elect a new leadership at the next PAC congress.

Indications are that the wave of terror attacks against policemen and white targets are the work of bands of Apla guerrillas who received training in Libya and operate with logistical support from township youth groups loyal to the "Revolutionary Watchdogs".

● Full details on PAGE 2

THE African National Congress faces a daunting task in winning electoral support from South Africa's Indian community. Opinion polls show that the National Party commands huge support in the million-strong community.

Observers also question whether Indian workers — who make up the majority of the community — can be counted on to vote for the ANC, despite the fact that many are members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and its affiliates.

But the polls also show that many Indians are still undecided.

A veteran ANC-supporting political observer commented this week: "To put it bluntly, I think the majority of Indians would vote for the NP. For them it would be a question of choosing between the devil you know and the devil you don't."

Opinion polls conducted by the parastatal Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found that NP support among Indians ranged between 56 percent and 69 percent during 1992, while ANC support ranged between eight and four percent.

The surveys showed there were many undecided voters, and that these had grown during the year from 11 percent in February to 20 percent in October.

The Inkatha Freedom Party may have lured some tricameral MPs, but its support in the general Indian community is negligible, ranging last year between zero and one percent.

"It is early days to draw conclusions," says sociologist Yunus Karrim, a member of the ANC Natal Midlands executive committee. "At this stage, based on recent house visits and other considerations, it seems at least 60 percent of Indian people are undecided. Others have made firm decisions — and of these, the majority seems to be for the NP."

University of Durban-Westville academic Adam Habib expects the Indian vote to fracture along generation lines: "The NP might receive stronger support among older sectors of the community and businessmen, as it is these sectors which are concerned about the survival of tradition and traditional values, and respect for property rights." Students, young professionals and workers are more likely to vote for the ANC, he says.

There is doubt about whether the Indian working class — tens of thousands of whom are women belonging to the Cosatu-affiliated South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union — would vote for the ANC.

Karrim believes only a "small strata of socially aware workers" support the ANC. "It is an open question as to who the mass of workers support," he says. "A significant section belongs to Sactwu and other Cosatu affiliates, but unless a concerted campaign is waged there are no guarantees they will vote for the ANC."

Roll over, Gandhi: NP's chief among the Indians

*Surprisingly, 100 years
after Mahatma Gandhi's
arrival in South Africa,
the Nats appear to be
winning the hearts and
minds of the Indian
community.*

FAROUK GHOZIA
reports



Contrary to widespread perceptions that Indians are a mercantile elite, most are workers. Phoenix and Chatsworth outside Durban, where close to half the community is concentrated, are overwhelmingly lower-income areas.

Why would a community involved in the struggle for democracy since Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in South Africa a century ago even consider voting for the NP? The support seems spontaneous, since the NP is not canvassing door-to-door in the community.

Comments Habib: "It is partly the result of the apartheid legacy — the sowing of distrust between Indians and Africans — and partly a product of the failure of the liberation movement to address adequately the ethnic question."

Habib argues that the ANC should not simply pander to the fears of Indians in its bid to woo their support. "Rather, progressive parties need to address these concerns and fears, to foster a non-racial consciousness within the Indian community."

Since the ANC's unbanning, a fierce debate has raged over the fate of the Natal Indian Congress.

NIC leaders and some activists are adamant it should continue, arguing that Indians will identify more readily with an organisation founded by Gandhi than with the ANC, and that the NIC has accumulated a wealth of experience of working in Indian

areas.

An equally strong lobby, which has fallen out with the current NIC leadership, insists it should disband, arguing that it has failed to make inroads in the community, will perpetuate ethnicity and is undemocratic.

The ANC has publicly adopted a neutral line, saying that only the NIC can decide its own fate. Some ANC leaders, who privately called for the NIC's disbandment in 1990, have shifted their position and now support its continued existence.

Moves in the Cape to revive the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), and the 100th anniversary this year of Gandhi's arrival in South Africa, suggest the NIC will continue operating, at least until a general election is held.

Inkatha Freedom Party leaders have effectively shot themselves in the foot by repeatedly expressing anti-Indian sentiments. In 1977, for instance, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened Indians with a repeat of the 1949 Cato Manor riots after being heckled by UDW students, although he later denied making the statement.

Habib says some Indian businessmen and residents of Natal's north coast may vote for the IFP "out of genuine support or fear".

The IFP appears to be trying to repair the damage: Farouk Cassim, the first Indian MP to defect to the IFP last month, has been co-opted to the IFP's central committee.

ANC activists in the field say they are confident of swinging the polls their way. They point out that ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, have made concerted efforts to tour Indian areas, drawing thousands of supporters. In contrast, President FW de Klerk has failed to visit Indian areas, possibly fearing a hostile reception.

The ANC activists are driving home the point that the NP has been the torch-bearer of apartheid, which uprooted Indians from their homes and discriminated against them in education and the workplace.

Also to the ANC's advantage, they stress, is that activists involved in civic movements are remembered in the community for successful battles on bread-and-butter issues such as rents and tariffs. And it will be the Indian MPs, against whom many protests have been directed, who will carry the NP flag at local level.

The fact that few Indians voted in the tricameral elections, they add, may have been due to apathy — which could work in the ANC's favour — or it reflected support for the ANC.

The NP, however, is now addressing "bread-and-butter" issues. In his Budget speech, Finance Minister Derek Keys announced that parity of pensions would come into effect from next month, and there are moves by the House of Delegates to start a new housing project.



Pumping their performance ... Marching Inkatha members veer past the line of peace monitors

Photos: KEVIN CARTER

Fragile peace along a thin orange line

Wmanc 26/3 - 1/4/93. (11A) (11B) (11C)

In the end, it is a thin orange line which saves the peace in Thokoza-Katlehong.

A handful of African National Congress and Inkatha peace monitors wearing orange Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat stickers on their chests and backs join hands with international observers in the blues of the United Nations and the Commonwealth and the green of the Organisation of African Unity to stop the surge of red-shirted Inkatha marchers.

Disaster seems near. Inkatha Freedom Party supporters are determined to force a straight route while police and monitors believe the only way they will avoid ANC marchers returning from a rally is to turn left.

The monitors finally turn the tide at the corner demarcated by the police as their final cut-off point — the point at which security forces will open fire if reason does not prevail.

But the peacemakers, neighbours from across the ideological and ethnic divide, prevail, sending a fragile new message of genuine peace to their leaders from the weekend Sharpeville day rallies.

Working within a strategy agreed with security forces, 32 peace monitors from each of the rival organisations at least twice prevented bloodshed in the battle-scarred east Rand townships, as a written agreement to separate the marchers broke down and it appeared that armed members from the IFP and the ANC were about to clash.

The treaty, brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, created mobile ANC/Inkatha conflict-resolution teams which, on several occasions, found themselves in the front line separating marchers armed with steel axes, pangas and firearms. And, as about 10 000 participants from all sides returned to their homes and hostels on Sunday evening, it became clear

Violence seemed imminent as the African National Congress and Inkatha held rallies commemorating Sharpeville. But a small group of peace monitors averted disaster.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER** and **DAVID ZARING**

that despite a shooting incident it was the sheer willpower of the monitors, rather than their physical numbers, which had saved the day.

The monitors got to know and respect each other in several preparatory discussions in the weeks leading up to the rallies.

The first test of their newfound strength and unity of purpose came as they faced down a critical situation prior to the rallies.

Apparently determined to take the shortest route to their meeting with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Voskorus stadium, about 500 Inkatha supporters organised in three disciplined groups and brandishing a variety of weapons surged up a road reserved for participants in the ANC rally at Huntersfield stadium in Katlehong.

Approaching a curve in the road, they caught sight of several buses filled with ANC supporters heading towards them.

Informed by radio of what was happening, peace monitor Gertrude Mzizi of Inkatha and Alfred Woodington of the ANC rushed to the scene with the police captain commanding operations in the area.

With the tension at the thought of



Restrained but ready ... Policemen ensure marchers follow their designated route to prevent confrontation

coming showdown visible in her face, Mzizi talked en route about her four children and her wish that South Africans could find a way to express political differences peaceably.

And she told Woodington that it was time he taught her some Afri-kaans.

Arriving, the monitors find passions running high, weapons drawn, and the rival groups within 100m of each other. Police have just manoeuvred armoured vehicles between them, donned bullet-proof vests and loaded automatic rifles.

Frail and intense, her voice sometimes breaking with tension and effort, Mzizi implores the Inkatha leaders to halt their marchers. They fail to respond at first, but Mzizi is unde-

terred. "We won't be told where we can march," taunts the crowd.

Clutching at one IFP man's naked shoulder, she pleads with him to slow his marchers down at least long enough to give the ANC monitors time to talk to their side.

Meanwhile, Woodington and other ANC peace monitors are cajoling their people — who are outnumbered but ready for a fight — back into the buses, explaining to them that allowing Inkatha marchers right of way will be less painful than loss of life.

Minutes later the situation has been defused. The ANC buses have turned around and the Inkatha marchers are on

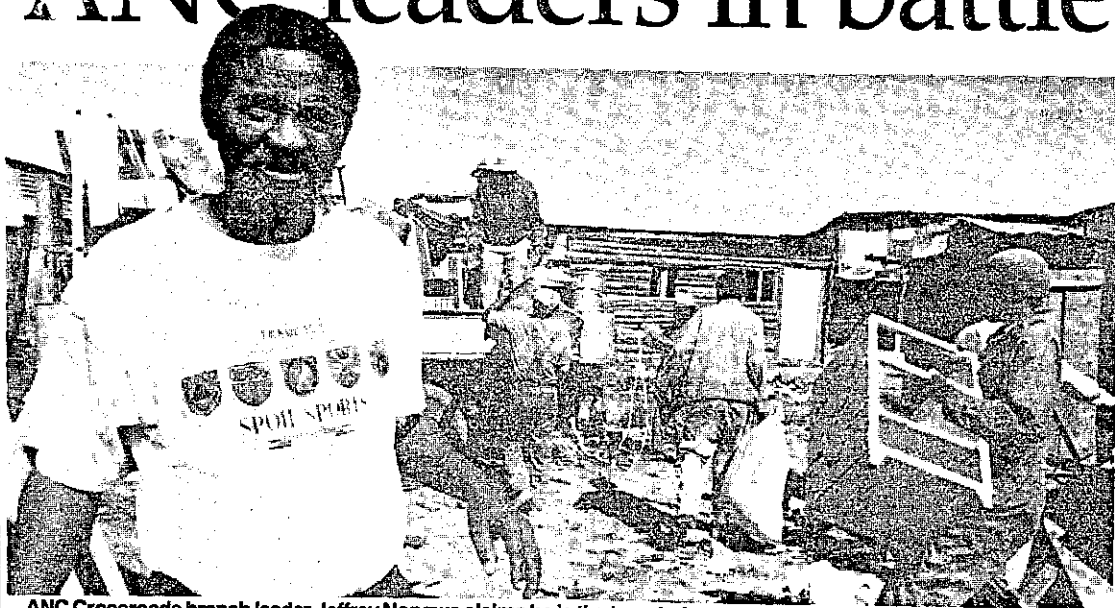
their way.

But for the peace monitors, the respite will only be temporary. The real test is due after the rallies, when marchers on both sides return to their homes. And indeed, the showdown comes at a crossroads in Katlehong. Troops in full battledress are deployed and the police confirm that they will open fire if there is no resolution of the situation.

But the thin orange line averts disaster.

●The keeping of the peace on Sharpeville Day is the subject of *Ordinary People*, The Weekly Mail Television programme screening on Sunday at 9pm. See PAGE 32

ANC leaders in battle for the shacklands



ANC Crossroads branch leader Jeffrey Nongwe claims he is the target of a power struggle Photos: YUNUS MOHAMED

W/Mail 26/3-1/4/93.
Two men who head two of the largest branches of the African National Congress in the western Cape stand accused of turning themselves into warlords.

By GAYE DAVIS

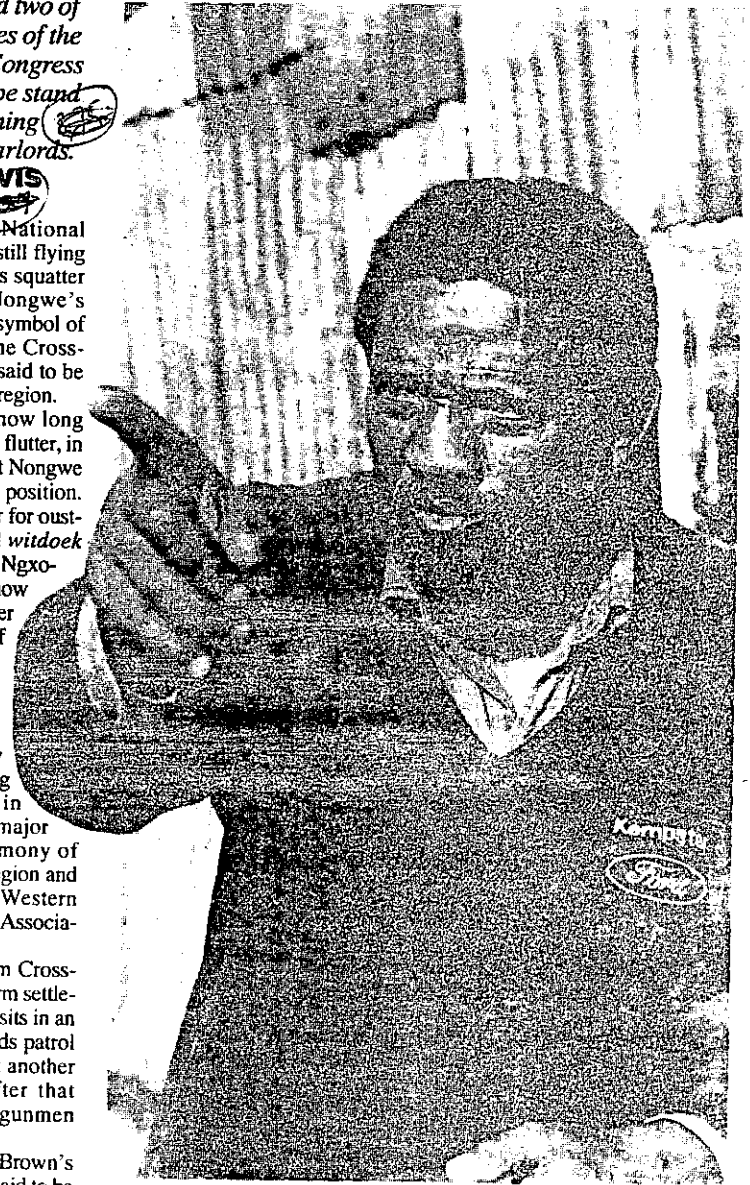
THE African National Congress flag is still flying above Crossroads squatter leader Jeffrey Nongwe's three-roomed shack, a symbol of his chairmanship of the Crossroads ANC branch — said to be one of the largest in the region.

But the question is how long that flag will continue to flutter, in the face of demands that Nongwe be stripped of his ANC position. Once hailed as a saviour for ousting former mayor and *witdoek* vigilante leader Johnson Ngxobongwana, Nongwe is now accused of being no better than his predecessor, of ruling "with an iron fist" and using hitmen to eliminate those who oppose him.

Nongwe is not the only squatter leader fighting for political survival in what is emerging as a major challenge to the hegemony of squatter leaders in the region and their organisation, the Western Cape United Squatters' Association (Wecusa).

A few kilometres from Crossroads, in the Brown's Farm settlement, Christopher Toise sits in an office while armed guards patrol outside, vigilant against another attempt on his life after that launched by unknown gunmen earlier this month.

Toise, chairman of the Brown's Farm ANC branch, also said to be one of the largest in the region, faces mounting criticism from dissatisfied residents about his style of leadership, monthly collections of R2,50 from each shack, and headmen who allegedly confiscate residents' belongings and

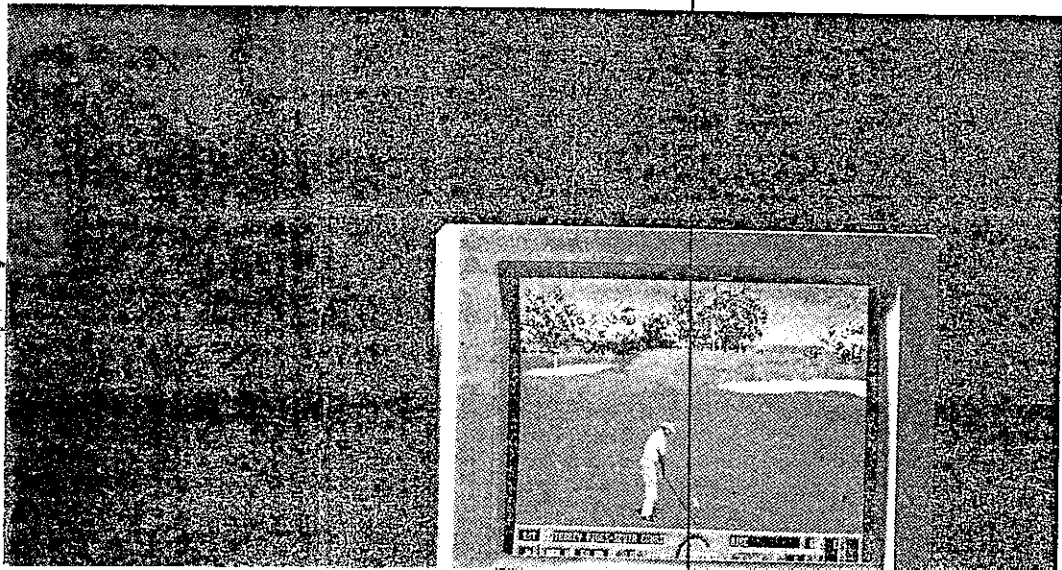


Jeffrey Nongwe ... Accused of ruling with an iron fist

was forcing them to move under threat of being shot or having their homes burned, fuelled discontent, offering fertile ground for those organising opposition to Nongwe.

preferable that the community does this so that it is a natural process. The ANC needs to be guided by the community."

Van Eck sees it as the end of an



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Both Toise and Nongwe, who deny the charges against them, claim they are targets in a power struggle launched by "certain organisations" and "people living outside" their areas, who they claim are exploiting residents' grievances for political gain.

Both chair ANC branches, but are accused of not holding meetings and devoting themselves instead to Wecusa, of which Nongwe is the head and Toise an executive member. Wecusa has long been at loggerheads with civic structures over its claim to the exclusive right to organise among shack dwellers.

Now, both Nongwe and Toise are having their political control challenged.

Nongwe identifies his opponents as ANC activists based in brick-built houses in the settlement, the people he fought in 1991. It was agreed then Crossroads would have one ANC branch serving the built houses and another for shack dwellers — but the tensions remained.

Recent confusion about an upgrading scheme in Crossroads, with people claiming Nongwe



Jeffrey Nongwe ... Accused of ruling with an iron fist

was forcing them to move under threat of being shot or having their homes burned, fuelled discontent, offering fertile ground for those organising opposition to Nongwe.

Crossroads headman Amos Nhakatyha, who helped Nongwe oust Ngxobongwana, defected and is now organiser of the new South African Communist Party branch in the settlement. For Nhakatyha, this political leap was predicated on his own survival rather than ideological preference: he was losing the support of his own followers, who wanted to know where the money they handed over each month was going and why Nongwe was driving a new four-by-four vehicle when they knew he hadn't worked in years.

For Crossroads residents, the SACP branch provided an outlet for their grievances and the promise of protection.

Depoutch Elles, chairman of Crossroads' Buntubakhe ANC branch, whose aunt was among three people shot dead at his home last Friday, said: "Nongwe joined the ANC to boost his own position only. He blocks people from organising in the youth, women's league and other organisations, and is the cause of these deaths and burnings. He says he is ANC but holds no meetings, no report-backs on negotiations.

"The ANC must come with a firm position that Nongwe must be expelled because he's making the name of the ANC dirty," Elles said.

"Obviously we are not going to tolerate squatter leaders turning themselves into warlords," said ANC MP Jan van Eck. "But it's

preferable that the community does this so that it is a natural process. The ANC needs to be guided by the community."

Van Eck sees it as the end of an era: no longer deemed illegal aliens, newly urbanised people no longer need to group themselves around a leader for protection and security of tenure.

"Many leaders became corrupted by the power they wielded," said Van Eck.

Challenged by their own people, who were "fed up with little dictators", such leaders were also facing a challenge from without — from organisations wanting to recruit and organise in their areas. "There is a groundswell in the squatter areas of people wanting to join civic and other progressive structures — be they ANC, SACP or Sanco."

He believes squatter leaders have been trying, through Wecusa, to fight a rearguard action to retain their power bases and source of income. "They are no longer serving their communities, but serving themselves. There are no democratic elections and they are not accountable," he said.

Both Toise and Nongwe are ANC leaders, but as Van Eck pointed out, for many squatter leaders joining an organisation has depended less on ideology and more on whether it could strengthen their position and give them access to resources which they could then bestow as patronage. Now that the leaders are no longer delivering, people feel it is time to take things into their own hands.

Violence

Star 27/3/93

a threat

to talks

THE recent cycle of violence could threaten the negotiations process which will be formally resumed on Thursday at the World Trade Centre.

The matter is likely to be discussed by the negotiating council on Tuesday and at the two-day multiparty negotiating forum starting on Friday.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa want violence to be discussed in a "constructive" and "structured" way.

Attacks

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday that APLA's activities were not discussed at a meeting of the planning committee.

APLA has not claimed responsibility for the attacks during the last two weeks, and the PAC's leadership has been unable to confirm or deny that its military wing could be responsible.

Although the PAC was concerned about "threats to attack the Transkei", Alexander did not raise the matter at yesterday's meeting.

He said the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings on APLA, released on Wednesday by President F W de

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

Klerk, did not form a basis "for the regime to act on".

Should the Government decide to attack Transkei — which was implicated in the Goldstone Commission report — the PAC could mobilise support in the Frontline States and launch a programme of mass action, Alexander said.

"We will not sit down and fold our arms," he said.

Alexander said the PAC was still involved in the negotiations process and dismissed calls this week for the organisation to be kicked out of constitutional talks until it had suspended the armed struggle.

He said parties negotiated to solve problems, not to solve problems in order to negotiate.

Alexander dismissed a report that the latest attacks were carried out by APLA cadres operating with logistical support from a militant group of supporters known as the "Revolutionary Watchdogs".

The "Revolutionary Watchdogs" had only one branch in Katalahong and did not form part of the PAC's structures.

It was therefore impossible for this group to be plotting to oust PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Alexander said.

ANC demands

Star 27/3/93
all the details

(11A) (11A)
FULL disclosure of South Africa's nuclear weapons programme is being demanded by the ANC.

"If President de Klerk does not come completely clean on the extent of the nuclear weapons programme, his pronouncement in Parliament must be regarded as a misguided attempt to make party-political gains out of an issue of global importance," Roger Jardine, science and technology policy co-ordinator of the ANC, said in a statement yesterday.

"All South Africans need to know what has been done in their name, on what their hard-earned taxes have been spent, and information about the command structure. We need to know who held the trigger."

The ANC said De Klerk had said the nuclear weapons programme cost R700 million, but the ANC believed it was nearer R7 billion. It felt it was important to know which budget votes were used for the programme and how the R3,7 billion secret vote allocated to defence would be spent.

"It is laughable to state that South Africa developed its nuclear weapons capability without outside help," Jardine said.

It was well known that the SAFARI-1 reactor was provided by the US in 1965; Koeberg was provided by the French-based Framatome; uranium enrichment technology by West Germany; and that Israel and SA collaborated on military and nuclear issues.

The ANC said it was deeply dismayed over the role of certain countries in arming the Government with weapons of mass destruction.

It also registered dismay at the treatment of opposing views in the local media, especially by the SABC, which it accused of presenting the Government's version of the nuclear issue on *Agenda* without interviewing anyone from the ANC.

Jardine said a future ANC government would be committed to a policy of full disclosure on nuclear matters.

Women — getting onto the political agenda

WOMEN occupy an unenviable position in society. Liberation struggles throughout

Africa have shown that despite the fact that women fight, die, are jailed, tortured, banished and exiled just like their male counterparts, unless they organise themselves into formations that lobby for their rights, they find themselves back where they started, even after independence and the installation of the new government they fought for.

At least the process has begun in South Africa. When Codesa was formed, there were hardly any women involved in the negotiation process.

Only after intense lobbying from organisations concerned about the role of women was a Gender Advisory Committee established within Codesa.

The role of this body was to advise working groups about specific problems facing women and to monitor Codesa resolutions to ensure interests of women were considered.

Outside Codesa the Women's National Coalition was formed in April 1992. Women from different political parties and individuals came together in recognition of the fact that they share the same problems irrespective of political or ideological differences.

The aim of the Coalition is to



DOWN BUT NOT OUT: ANC women members were defeated at the organisation's national congress last year when they attempted to introduce a gender leadership quota system

South 27/3-31/3/93
ensure women's rights are included in the laws and constitution of the "new" South Africa.

The Coalition plans to draw up a charter outlining women's needs and requirements of a new government, as perceived by women.

Most organisations which formed part of the mass democratic movement do not have women's structures within their organisation. Many of the structures which did exist faded into the background because women themselves were not taking their issues seriously.

There are still areas in South Africa where women cannot do simple things like open credit accounts or apply for loans without their husbands being signatory to the agreement.

Married women are still taxed more than their husbands, who are referred to on tax forms as 'married persons', giving the impression that women are not regarded as persons.

The irony is that it is based on the assumption that the bulk of a married man's earnings gets ploughed into maintaining his family. The reality is that most families cannot survive without the wife's income. Yet tax discrimination creates the impression that a wife's earnings are pocket money while a husband sweats to maintain the home.

Surveys prove women tend to be more conscientious about performing tasks, more careful, more considerate and more dedicated than men.

11/4
Yet in all fields of employment there are few women at management level.

The power of the vote can be used to improve women's lot.

Women must realise the vote is an individual right. No-one has the right to tell them how to vote. If a husband tries to do so, a woman can still conceal her choice.

Her voting preference is her own secret. If the only means to maintain peace in the home means agreeing with her partner, when a woman enters a polling booth only she will know where she made her cross.

Women also need to examine the policies of parties contesting elections and see how adequately they deal with women's rights.

In fact, women should start lob-

bying within organisations long before election day to ensure their demands are represented in the policies and programmes of their organisations.

Women constitute about 53 percent of the South African population. This means the majority of votes in an election can be cast by women if they all vote.

Women therefore have considerable leverage to ensure their needs and concerns are addressed by a future government.

The time for South African women to make themselves heard is now. Waiting until a new government is in place will be too late. It is time that women all stood up for themselves instead of griping in corners about the hard lot they bear.

A crucial time for women's power

SOUTH 27/3 - 31/3/93

SOUTH African women can achieve more political power in the next five months than they could in the next 10 years, an American political scientist believes.

Mr Robert Darcy, co-author of "Women, Elections and Representation in Democratic Nations", said it was difficult to understand why democratic political institutions have managed to thoroughly exclude women from political life.

Women are in the majority in many countries, have the same political ability as men and achieved political rights in most democratic countries 50 or more years ago.

Political leadership

"The result should have been the full incorporation of women into positions of political leadership — not their almost complete exclusion.

"Women have the kind of characteristics desirable for politics. Men are violent and argumentative while women desire to negotiate, have empathy and are able to understand two points of view," Darcy said.

In Anglo-American countries — the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand — women got the vote at the turn of the century.

Womens' suffrage movements were among the strongest grassroots organisations with membership numbering millions.

"What was interesting was how the women used their vote. They didn't enter into political life," Darcy said. "Their organisations did not turn their real political muscle into political power."

Darcy said one of the key reasons for this was that women achieved the vote in these countries when democracy had already been established for years and politics was an "old game".

"Politics was regarded by the women as corrupt, violent and rotten and party politics was regarded as the most corrupt, violent and rotten," he said.

"The women did not want to get involved in this. They used their right to vote but they avoided party politics. Some women thought of starting their own political party but

this idea didn't wash."

It was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that women writers like Betty Friedan and Simone de Beauvoir admitted that women had successfully marginalised themselves from politics of power.

Women admitted that their strategy had failed and that the remedy was electing women in substantial numbers to political office.

"So it has only been 20 years since women came into mainstream politics and this is reflected in the low numbers of women in power," Darcy said.

New democracies

"However, in countries where there were brand new democracies this century, women played a major role in government.

"Political parties were viewed as an instrument of democracy when women moved into politics."

Darcy said this is why in Finland, for instance, women formed 38 percent of the National Assembly while a year ago they were six percent in the United States, 16 percent in new Zealand and 12 percent in

Canada. Another reason for the low percentage of women in Anglo-American politics was the political stagnation in those countries in the past two decades.

The same political parties were returned to power after elections and the turnover rates for incumbents were very low. A major factor slowing the movement of women into political offices is that for each seat gained by a woman, a seat must be lost by a man.

Election systems do not favour women and when they are changed, like in the past US election, women win significantly higher numbers of seats. The US Voting Rights Act, which created more voting districts saw women's representation in Congress double last year.

"Quota systems have been effective in ensuring women are represented in political office, especially when coupled with list proportional systems which ensure that women are not placed at the bottom of a list in a proportional representation election," Darcy said.

"But there are no textbook solu-

tions to the problem. Women have to act at the level of practical politics and force their male colleagues to take their concerns seriously.

"In South Africa women have to identify the problems affecting their participation in political parties and start nibbling away at those problems to work to success in the future.

Solutions

"Shift the burden of the problem to the men. Let them come up with solutions. On the eve of an election no political party is going to want to be seen as unfriendly to women. Women can make more progress here in the next five months than in the next 10 years.

"Centralise the women's demands to one issue — like a 40 percent quota — and campaign to the point of women walking out of the party.

"Play the same political game as the men. If they say they are a women-friendly party, they are not going to want angry protests from women. They are going to solve the problem quickly to get it off the agenda."

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Apla issue 'threatens' political talks

By Quentin Wilson

THE ARREST of 18 suspected Apla operatives could be expected to impact on negotiations, President FW de Klerk said on Wednesday.

The PAC's dualistic approach to peace and its refusal to sign the Peace Accord threatened negotiations, he argued.

De Klerk also announced that a 10-point police plan and a stepped up call-up of SADF personnel to curb violence — particularly violence perpetrated by Apla and "other lunatic fringe elements".

"The PAC can no longer escape responsibility for the actions of Apla," the state president told a special session of parliament.

De Klerk's pressure on the PAC may, ironically, serve to unite the currently divided organisation — and increase its popular appeal.

And if the pressure leads to negotiations taking place without the PAC, the ANC will be unable to revive the Patriotic Front against the government.

A Goldstone commission report released on Wednesday said PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu and the organisation's first vice-president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, serve on Apla's high command.

The Goldstone report urged all nations to withhold assistance to the PAC and Apla and singled out the Transkei government for allowing the Bantustan to be used as an Apla springboard.

Transkei denied this, pointing out that only the SADF and SAP had given evidence for the report.

At the time of going to press, the PAC could not be reached for comment.

However, the ANC expressed concern at the "undisclosed 10-point plan and implicit increase in the powers of the police and army".

It called for the detained suspects to be charged or released, while also saying that the culprits of recent violence had to be brought to book.

"These murders are an act of provocation designed to derail the negotiations and peace processes."



STICKING TO ITS GUNS: PAC supporters were prominent at a march by pupils in Cape Town on Wednesday, demanding that exam fees — increased from R72 to R105 — be scrapped. The march was later marred by students who throw bricks, threatened people and damaged cars in Nyanga. The ANC said its leader Mr Tony Yengeni "was witness to a disgraceful incident when, after he stopped to try to restore order amongst the students, they surrounded his car and threatened him". The ANC, which had supplied marshalls for the march, condemned "hooligan behaviour" Photo: Yunus Mohamed

'Bok Tobias crash tackles council in building row

SOUTH 27/3 - 31/3/93

By Quentin Wilson

MR ERROL Tobias, the first coloured South African who played in a Springbok rugby jersey, has threatened to sell his Caledon plot to the ANC if the local authorities do not grant him permission to build a housing complex.

Tobias, who in 1981 came under fire from anti-apartheid organisations for participating in a Springbok tour to New Zealand, is now trying to crash-tackle the town's white town council and coloured management committee.

After they turned down his building plans earlier this month, Tobias said he would offer the half-acre to the ANC for use as a squatter camp

if they do not reverse their decision.

"It could very well happen if they don't allow me to build," said Tobias. "I know the whites here don't want the ANC in Caledon, so they would have to choose between them or my building."

Plans for the complex, which would accommodate 20 families, were initially rejected by the white Caledon municipality and the coloured management committee because the building covered too much of the plot.

After redrawing his plans to suit their requirements, Tobias' scheme was still rejected.

"They still have not given me any reason for refusing the redrawn plans. It does not make sense. The venture would provide employment for builders in the area, it would

improve the suburb of Bergsig, where I live, and it would help to address the housing shortage.

As someone who was seen to legitimise apartheid sport in the early 1980s, Tobias has turned to fighting apartheid structures from the outside.

Apart from his run-in with the authorities over his housing scheme, Tobias is furious that they have failed to provide the necessary services for Bergsig.

"The park in Bergsig has been neglected over the years and so have the roads. When they tried to retar a road last year, they did not even flatten it beforehand — so it's useless.

"We need to build a civic in the area to put pressure on these people. In fact, the whole management

committee should resign. They do nothing to upgrade this area," he said.

Caledon town clerk Mr J Huisamen said the municipality still had to decide on Tobias' plan.

"I wish he would tell the whole truth. It is not the plan that is under dispute, but whether that area could be used for a housing complex.

"There have been objections from neighbours to the idea, and we are waiting for Tobias' response to their objections before we finally decide," Huisamen said.

Huisamen said he had "no problems" with Tobias' plan to sell the land to the ANC for use as a squatter camp.

"He can do what he likes with the land, that is none of my business — it's his land," Huisamen said.

PAC hits back at Hani's call to 'bite the bullet'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress reacted "with great exception" to a reported call by South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani for the PAC leadership to "bite the bullet", accept negotiations and scale down or suspend actions by its armed wing, Apla. (11A) ARCT 27/3/93

Interviewed by a Johannesburg newspaper, Mr Hani — former chief-of-staff of the African National Congress' armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — criticised the PAC for not denouncing the recent killing of white children by black gunmen and urged the organisation to drop its racist slogan "One Settler, One Bullet", as it gave the impression that it was correct to kill whites.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said in a statement yesterday he wanted to remind Mr Hani that blacks were engaged in a liberation struggle against "a racist colonial/settler regime, which maintains its position through military might".

Many more blacks than whites had become victims of random attacks by hit squads, he said.

"Under these circumstances, the armed struggle is a form of self-defence, which is just and legitimate. The PAC emphasises that the armed struggle must be led by political objectives and cease only when the ballot has been secured.

"The PAC has no political or military policy to attack women, children and the aged," said Mr Seroke.

A white woman and two white children were killed when black gunmen opened fire on a car at Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, last Friday and a white man was shot dead in a car in Vanderbijlpark on Monday.

It was later alleged that a schoolbus carrying white children had been the original target of the unknown assailants at Eikenhof.

Apla's high command in Zimbabwe and the PAC have been unable to confirm the armed wing's involvement.

Mr Seroke also reacted to Mr Hani's call for the PAC to accept multi-party negotiations towards democracy.

"Revolutionaries . . . do not depend on a single throw of the dice and expect a suitable outcome. The struggle is multi-faceted and it is also protracted," he said. — Sapa.

Probe No 5 into ANC camp 'atrocities'

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has appointed another commission of inquiry to investigate alleged atrocities in former ANC detention camps in Angola and Tanzania.

(U) ANC 27/3/93
The commission members appointed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela are Pretoria businessman Dr Sam Motsuenyane (chairman), Associate Justice Margaret Burnham, and Mr David Zamchiya.

This will be the fifth commission to investigate the ANC's detention camps and the third appointed by the ANC itself.

Dr Motsuenyane said the commission would investigate the alleged complicity of ANC members named in allegations brought before previous investigations.

These included people allegedly involved in acts of cruelty towards detainees, those in authority who purportedly failed

to stop the atrocities, those who allegedly breached the ANC's code of conduct, and ANC members who could have brought the organisation into disrepute through their actions.

Human rights organisations from home and abroad would be invited to observe the proceedings and ANC members implicated would be asked to appear in person.

The commission would brief the Press from time to time on

its progress. The statement did not say whether the Press would be allowed to attend.

Its final report would be submitted to Mr Mandela and the commission would recommend that all of its findings and recommendations be made public.

Anyone with information which may assist in the inquiry is asked to contact the commission at Khotso House, Anderson Street, Johannesburg, or telephone (011) 832 1182. — Sapa.

PAC claims members detained in Apla arrests

(118)
ANC 27/3/83

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Weekend Argus Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress claims police have arrested 20 of its members — 14 of them “schoolboys” — at Ficksburg in the Free State.

The PAC’s angry claims, made at a media conference in Johannesburg by its president Clarence Makwetu, followed Wednesday’s announcement by President F W de Klerk in Parliament of the arrest of 18 “Apla members”.

Mr Makwetu disputed President De Klerk’s announcement, saying the 14 “schoolboys” arrested in Ficksburg in the early hours of Wednesday morning were first detained and then released in October last year after the Free State Attorney General had “found that their arrests were frivolous and unwarranted”.

Mr Makwetu said emotions were running high in the area as a result of the arrests and that the local community was planning a mass rally to demand their release.

Soon after Mr Makwetu’s briefing, SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe told a press conference in Pretoria that the suspects — who were “not school children” — had admitted to police that they were Apla cadres.

“As far as I know, they are not school children, and we have sufficient information at our disposal legally to charge them,” General Van der Merwe said.

Mr Makwetu released the names of 18 PAC members he said had been apprehended, and General Van der Merwe challenged him to identify the remaining two. Mr Makwetu said those arrested included Bloemfontein construction worker J Jikila — who was also detained in October last year for possession of firearms for which he had licences — PAC Bloemfontein regional organiser C Mbelebele and Sebokeng teacher Musa Msundulwana, son of the organisation’s former representative to the United Nations, Dr Count Pietersen.

“From the aforementioned facts, it is clear that the 20 persons arrested are not known Apla members, and De Klerk is playing cheap political games by harassing schoolboys. We demand the immediate release of all 20 arrested members of the PAC,” Makwetu said.

The other names he released at the press conference were Themba Lenyatsa (16), Moshuti Lipadi (15), Desmond Thabiso Mohala (22), Clement Molefi Libada (20), Esia Senapo Maseko (17), Hector Paseka Tsolo (16), Esia Tajane Chaotsane (20), Hendrik Paseka Motsoenyane (23), Charles Biljoen (21), Phatswa Mosae (13), Lawrence Sematla (19), George Teatea (21), Gilbert Ntuli, Solomon Masano and Joseph Masano. The last three’s ages were not given.

He challenged the PAC to furnish the names of the two additional detainees.

Commenting on the alleged Apla attacks on whites since last Friday, Makwetu said it was not his organisation’s policy to kill women and children.

The PAC, he said, was “not involved in a race war against whites”. The PAC would only consider suspending the armed struggle once “the ballot is secure”.

Makwetu proposed that the multiparty negotiations council should establish a technical committee to investigate all “armed formations” and that a transitional authority involving the international community should control such formations.

Makwetu was twice asked if he condemned the attacks on whites in Walkerville last week, and twice he responded: “We regret any killing, irrespective of colour.”

Mr Makwetu has proposed the signing of “a mutual cessation of hostilities agreement by all parties with armed formations”. But the PAC could not immediately consider abandoning the armed struggle, he said.

“The PAC can only consider abandoning the bullet in overthrowing the regime when the ballot is secure,” he said in reaction to President De Klerk’s condemnation of the continuation of the “armed struggle”.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said Mr Justice Richard Goldstone’s Commission had merely “taken the regime’s allegations (against the PAC and Apla) and had given them back to the regime . . . The recommendations he made were first made to him by the regime and he is giving them back to them (the government).”

Commenting on Mr Makwetu’s statement, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said the PAC had finally admitted that it had lost control over Apla.

Dr De Beer said Mr Makwetu’s statement at a press conference that “the PAC has not been informed by the Apla command structure whether Apla was indeed responsible for the Walkerville incident” confirmed what he had long suspected — that the PAC was simply not in charge of Apla.

■ The PAC has said it will not attend this weekend’s Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

PAC executive Mark Shinnars told a press conference in Johannesburg that his organisation had decided against attending the meeting.

The two-day conference, expected to be attended by around 100 organisations, will start today with a keynote address by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Shinnars said the conference had been unilaterally decided upon by the ANC and its allies within Codesa, and the PAC had only heard about it “a few days ago through the media”.

'Plot to unseat Makwetu'

A RADICAL plot to unseat PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu is behind the spate of black guerilla attacks against white civilians, the Weekly Mail newspaper said yesterday.

Quoting unidentified sources, the newspaper named Apla commander Mr Johnson Mlambo and defence secretary Mr Sabelo Phama as key figures in the insurrection against older PAC leaders seen to be too moderate.

Apla has been blamed by the government for the murders since December of at least 10 whites, including two schoolchildren.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said in a report to President F W de Klerk earlier this week that Apla troops operated partly from the Transkei.

The Goldstone Commission said Apla could be linked to at least 16 killings.

"There are growing signs that militant youths in the townships, increasingly disillusioned by the involvement of their leadership in parleys with Pretoria, are gaining access to weapons and carrying out copycat attacks inspired by the Apla programme," the newspaper said. — Reuter

(S) (I) (P)
CT 27/3/93

Front 'regrets' PAC decision

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC's decision not to attend the weekend Patriotic Front conference was regretted by the PF liaison committee yesterday.

The PAC announced on Thursday it had decided to withdraw from the meeting after the ANC's "unilateral" action to proceed with the conference in violation of a previous agreement.

Delegates from more than 69 organisations were expected to attend the meeting at the Nurul-islam Centre in Lenasia outside Johannesburg today. — Sapa

CT 27/3/83

(111)

9pm with a weekly programme called "Ordinary People".

The programme allows people in the street to share their feelings. Should be riveting stuff.

South Newspaper

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By Rehana Rossouw

THOUSANDS of National Party supporters this weekend are expected to flock to the Cape Showgrounds at Goodwood for the party's "Family Fair".

The event promises to be a "multicultural" affair, aimed at traditional white supporters and those of the darker-skinned variety.

NP MPs in 24 coloured constituencies in the Western Cape have been advertising the event widely and have arranged hundreds of buses to transport supporters.

From Mitchells Plain alone, 38 double-decker buses will ferry people to the fair.

Not only will the traditional koeksusters and boerewors be on sale, but Halaal and Chinese food as

'Multicultural koeksusters'

SOUTH 2713-3113/93.

well. Of course, a potjiekos competition is included in the day's events.

Cultural activities include a boerewors, drum majorettes, coons and a disco.

There will be a number of sporting activities including rugby, soccer, a tug-of-war, golf and Iron Man contests.

A highlight of the day will be the choice of "Miss National Party". It remains to be seen whether the judges follow in the footsteps of the

Miss South Africa contest and choose a winner who is not blonde and blue-eyed.

Saturday's programme starts at noon with stalls and competitions. At 2pm, the sport and beauty contests begin and at 4.30pm the drum majorettes get their turn, along with those in the parachute displays.

An hour-long meeting starts at 5pm with an address by President FW de Klerk and the day's programme ends with the disco.

● Belhar NP MP Belhar Mr Stan Simmons could face disciplinary action after he used parliamentary letterheads and envelopes to send thousands of invitations to the family fair to residents in Delft and Belhar.

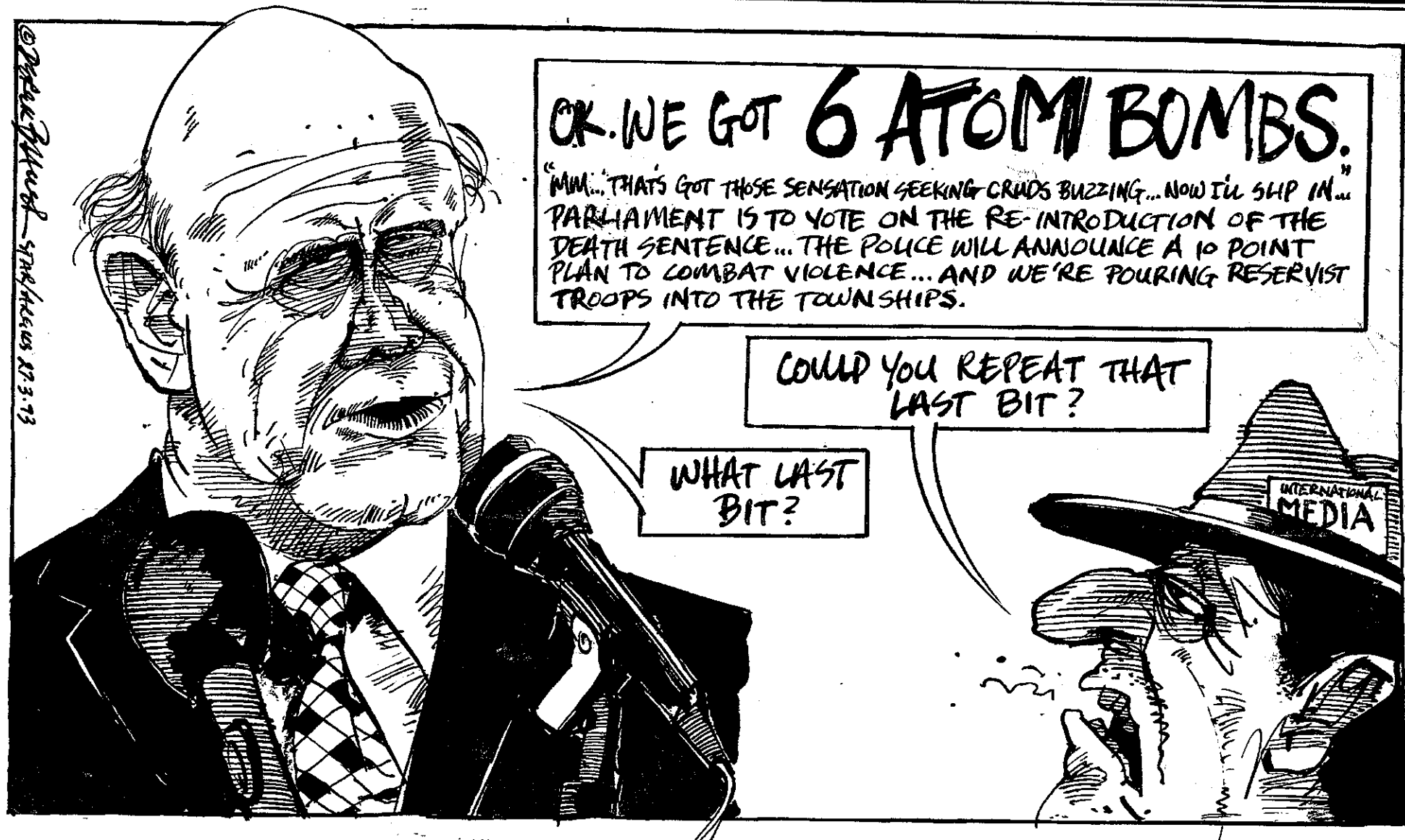
By using parliamentary stationery, Simmons did not have to pay postage for the mail.

It is against parliament's rules to use its stationery for party political work.

Simmons said he was aware that his actions were against the rules, but said he was aware of at least one occasion when this was done before.

"I have submitted a sworn affidavit and it is up to parliament to decide whether action will be taken against me," he said.

~~11A~~
11A



ANC at the Crossroads

Squatter
leaders
provoke
controversy

(11A)
APR 27/3/93

VIOLENCE in some of the squatter areas on the Cape Flats has brought the African National Congress to the crossroads — literally and figuratively.

The ANC is walking a fine line in its efforts to ensure democratic rule is applied to the letter in the trouble-torn Crossroads and Brown's Farm areas, yet it must do so without isolating controversial squatter leaders.

As it ponders ways to stop the "ANC-on-ANC" conflict in these squatter camps, the ANC clearly has one eye on the forthcoming elections, in which it hopes to harness the squatter power-bloc with its one-million-plus potential voters.

But its task, especially in Crossroads, is not made any easier by the alleged undemocratic tendencies of the controversial leaders.

Both Mr Jeffrey Nongwe of Crossroads and Mr Christopher Toise of Brown's Farm are accused of being warlords who rule their areas as if they were their personal property.

Last week Mr Toise narrowly escaped death when several gunmen sprayed his hideout with bullets.

In the past weeks the ANC has been attempting to placate the demands of angry "young lions" in Crossroads who are calling for the summary removal of Mr Nongwe, claiming he "is not a true comrade but a warlord who is bent on ruling with an iron hand" and is given to harrasing those opposing his policies.

In spite of the ANC's efforts at mediation by pursuing a negotiation strategy, the violence has continued. Last week, three people, including the organiser of the ANC Womens' League, Ms Joyce Elles, were shot dead in their homes.

The peace in the camp was shattered in January after Section Two residents refused to move to a temporary site so that the area could be upgraded. They claimed Mr Nongwe had failed to honour earlier promises to provide houses for those who moved from their areas.

Several activists, including South African Communist Party members who opposed the move, were attacked by alleged supporters of Mr Nongwe. Angry marchers handed a petition to the Crossroads police

This week, the African National Congress moved to quell the "ANC-on-ANC" violence in the squatter areas of Crossroads and Brown's Farm. Weekend Argus reporter **VUYO BAVUMA** investigated.



□ **IRON FIST** ... Controversial Crossroads squatter camp leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

station, demanding the arrests of the culprits.

As violence worsened, the residents' anger deepened — and the calls for the removal of Mr Nongwe grew louder. But Mr Nongwe has denied any knowledge of the killings and called for mediators from the ANC's national office.

Though the current conflict is over housing, the cause of the clashes are rooted in "the young lions'" challenge to Mr Nongwe's alleged despotic rule.

In August 1990, Mr Nongwe was elected chairman of the local ANC branch amid fanfare and pomp after he deposed the strongman, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana, in violent clashes.

Importantly, Mr Nongwe retained his power-base within Weccsa (the Western



□ **BROWN'S BOSS** ... Leader of Brown's Farm squatters, Mr Christopher Toise.

Cape Squatters Association), a body that refused to let Sanco (the South African National Civics Organisation) operate within the squatter areas.

But activists complained that Mr Nongwe merely paid lip service to the struggle while he perpetrated his selfish agenda by extracting money from the residents and ruling with an "iron hand".

The "progressive" resistance against Mr Nongwe sparked off a violent backlash against the youths, largely because the traditional followers of Mr Nongwe regarded the ANC youths as "boys who can't have a say in the running of affairs of the household".

Mr Nongwe and his supporters made life for the progressives harder and harder. He "banned" the ANC Women's League and

Youth League from operating in the camp because he did not want to be ruled by "women and children".

Fearing an even tougher clampdown, most of the ANC members in the corrugated-iron shacks fled the area and set up their own branch in the "suburbs" section of the camp in Unathi.

Using their branch as a vehicle, the Unathi youths continued to challenge the autocratic rule of Mr Nongwe and alerted the regional leadership about Mr Nongwe's excesses. In the Unathi shack area, residents favoured Sanco, not Weccsa.

In 1990, the ANC's attempts to bring peace in the camp floundered amid allegations that the leadership were being feted by Mr Nongwe at lavish parties.

Privately, some ANC leaders conceded Mr Nongwe was acting contrary to the movement's beliefs but they favoured a less radical approach to solving the problem.

This pragmatist approach won the day — and the members of the Unathi branch were furious. They accused the regional leadership of dragging their feet.

Later the movement assigned three peace envoys to work for peace in the area. After countless meetings peace was finally restored in the sprawling camp.

During the calm, Mr Nongwe forged close ties with the Crossroads town councillors and was regularly seen with them. In January, he announced the people in Section Two would be moved so that the area could be upgraded.

This is what sparked the latest round of renewed violence.

Unlike Crossroads, Mr Toise's rule in Brown's Farm, though it was criticised for being undemocratic, has been relatively peaceful. As is the case in Crossroads, the Weccsa branch in Brown's Farm does not allow Sanco to operate there.

This week, however, the tranquility was shattered by gunmen who sprayed Mr Toise's hideout with bullets. The ANC praise-singer was saved by the furniture.

What now?

The ANC's peace initiatives continue and, at present, there is relative calm in the two squatter camps.

Tomorrow, residents of both Brown's Farm and Crossroads are expected to meet to discuss the conflict.

Whether the ANC can inculcate the democratic spirit into the leadership factions in Crossroads and Brown's Farm remains to be seen.

If they fail, it is certain that the areas will be engulfed by more violence.

Key political heavies shape up for talks

STAR
27/3/93
ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

NEGOTIATIONS get under way again next week, and key politicians are trying to alter their profiles in time — their physical profiles, that is.

For some unfathomable reason, some famous names are making a concerted effort to get into shape, after months during which their main exercise was talking.

The political heavyweights' weightwatchers programme cuts across party lines, and promises to produce a lean and mean negotiating team when talks start at the World Trade Centre on Thursday.

Leading the get-fit brigade is African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who has shed a whopping 11 kg. (He appears to have a side bet with South African Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani — not directly involved in negotiations — who has lost 10 kg.)

Ramaphosa told Saturday Star that in addition to solving all the country's problems, his ambition was to lose another 4 kg. The secret of his success thus far, he said, was 40 minutes of exercise daily. Ramaphosa avoids red meat and starch and eats vegetables, chicken and fish.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander revealed that he has shed three unwanted kilograms, and wants to get shot of another six.

He is transforming the garage at his Ennerdale home into a gymnasium. "I don't believe in diets. I believe in exercise," Alexander said.

Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was exercising 10 minutes daily.

Mdlalose said he did not know how much weight he had lost, but was pleased to report that he could now fasten his jacket. He's given up eggs and bread, and enjoys fruit these days.

"I want to lose sufficient weight so I can jump around with ease," Mdlalose said.

Asked about his dietary doings, the Government's Constitutional Development Minister — the rake-like Roelf Meyer — could afford to be calm. His weight has remained constant since he left school (a fact he attributes to a highly efficient metabolism), and he doesn't need to follow a diet.

Mandela trial threats not our policy - ANC

Star 27/3/93

(114) (23)
THE African National Congress has distanced itself from reports that members had said "all hell would break loose" if the Appeal Court confirmed Winnie Mandela's prison sentence. Bloemfontein's Volksblad newspaper yesterday reported that 100 people, including ANC members, warned of chaos should Mandela's six-year sentence be upheld.

"Any remarks made outside the Appeal Court can only be regarded as the views of the individuals concerned. They in no way reflect the policy or opinion of the ANC," the congress said yesterday. "We would like to place on record the fact that none of the ANC members, supporters and even regional executive committee members (of the southern Free State) are authorised to speak to the press on Mrs Mandela's appeal hearing." — Sapa.

Poll shock for ANC?

SOUTH 27/3-31/3/93

THERE are several key reasons to be pessimistic about the ANC's performance at the polling booths. Firstly, the level of violence and oppression in certain regions, most notably Natal and the Ciskei, has made it extremely difficult for the ANC to organise in these areas.

As the election nears, the level of violence could increase dramatically unless the state is willing to stamp it out. At present, the impartiality of the South African police and army is suspect.

Mr Popo Molefe, who with Mr Terror Lekoto heads the ANC's election desk, is concerned the violence could affect the holding of free and fair elections.

But he is confident "the next multi-party talks will produce an agreement which would result in joint control of the army and the police."

This could be extremely difficult, in view of the number of police and army forces on both sides of the apartheid divide.

There are seven armies — the South African Defence Force, uMkhonto weSizwe, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) and each of the "independent homelands" — Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei and the Ciskei.

There are eight police forces which historically crushed opposition to the authority they represented. It is unlikely the KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana administrations would be prepared to surrender authority over their forces to a central command. It is even less likely that Apla would agree to a central command structure.

The forces on the ultra-right say they will take up arms if it becomes apparent an ANC-led government will assume power. There is a strong possibility they will find support from dissident members in the SADF and SAP.

● A second reason why the ANC may fare badly is that it is up against one of the government's most vital weapons — the state media.

Over the decades, the SABC propagated the ideology of the NP. Molefe is positive an independent media authority will be in place soon to rectify the imbalance, but that may be more difficult than it appears. A change of personnel and ideology at the top may not readily change the entire organisation.

One might expect an easy election victory for the ANC, the central combatant of apartheid and the primary representative of the black population.

But some polls indicate the ANC would be fortunate to obtain a majority of votes. A special correspondent examines the electoral obstacles facing the ANC:

(11A)

Besides the state-controlled media, most of the private media are not supportive of the ANC.

However, the ANC hopes to launch its own newspaper in June.

It also hopes to educate its potential constituency with mobile television and video units. These would travel countrywide and show ANC-produced educational material on the coming election.

● A third possible obstacle to the ANC is inadequate voter registration.

The NP wants to require each voter to have an official identification (ID) book. It is estimated that 20 to 30 percent of the African adult population are not in possession of one. This works out to approximately 3 to 4,5 million people.

Molefe is confident an alternative system could be worked out by an independent election committee. The most likely solution would be to issue voter cards to anyone who can prove citizenship.

● Another factor impeding the ANC is the unequal distribution of resources.

The NP is a well-oiled political party with an abundance of resources. Molefe reckons the National Party has about 170 offices nationwide with skilled staff and office equipment. In addition, it has close to 200 MPs who could, as the election drew closer,

became full-time organisers.

The NP also has an abundance of cash. In the Namibian election, the NP government spent about R100 million supporting anti-SWAPO parties.

In contrast, the ANC has only 15 offices nationwide, a limited amount of skilled personnel and not much money.

Molefe said the ANC is doing its utmost to rectify the situation. They aim to raise R150 million (20 percent would be raised locally) to enable the ANC to reach its target of setting up 94 sub-regional offices and several more local offices. Each office would have two trained people responsible for all aspects of the election campaign in that region.

In addition, the ANC intends to train some 30 000 monitors to oversee the voting as well as 2 700 election co-ordinators to work on media liaison, fund-raising, educational work and the monitoring of violence.

● Poor education of voters could also prejudice ANC election chances.

"For decades, black people rejected political structures created by the Nationalist government and were frustrated by the ineffectiveness of the structures that the government offered them," says Molefe.

He says "an intensive motivational campaign should get underway to begin to persuade people that this election is different from all other elections".

An education campaign is also needed to counter widespread ignorance of the electoral process. Many people have no idea what an election means or even how to cast a vote. Furthermore, it is estimated that about half of the black adult population are illiterate.

The ANC's National Executive Committee has agreed to the formation of a small committee to direct the election.

Molefe argues that a small committee rather than the National Executive Committee will be in a far better position to respond flexibly and rapidly to the issues and challenges of the election campaign.

Molefe is confident that if their plans come to fruition, the ANC could win between 67 to 70 percent of the vote.

What is clear is that the legacy of apartheid hangs heavily. Although apartheid legislation has virtually been dismantled, its myriad of monstrous creations and consequences will continue to haunt the ANC right up to election day and beyond. — AIA

Plan to curb power of 'warlords'

By Quentin Wilson
and Rehana Rossouw

THE ANC plans to limit the power of local squatter camp leaders.

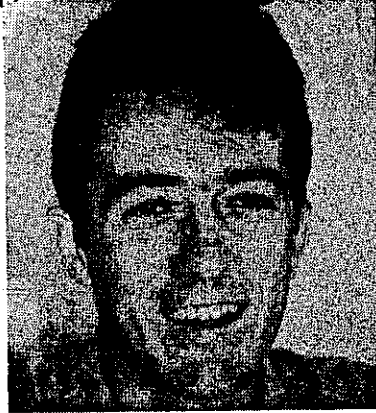
This follows recent show-downs between Crossroads ANC chairperson Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and Brown's Farm branch chairperson Mr Christopher Toise and their respective supporters.

Three people died, a number were injured and shacks were gutted as tensions rose between the squatters and their leaders.

The squatter leaders were branded "autocratic warlords" by Crossroads and Brown's Farm residents who expressed unhappiness with their leadership. They claim the two use their positions in the ANC to consolidate their personal power.

Although this is not the first time tensions between the squatter leaders and their members resulted in violence, the ANC was reluctant to take firm action against the two.

Two years ago, the ANC established a commission of inquiry



CAMERON DUGMORE

when tensions between Nongwe and the ANC Youth and Womens' League led to violence.

Although residents asked the commission to consider splitting the Crossroads ANC branch into smaller branches, no action was taken following the commission's report.

Now the ANC is considering limiting Nongwe's control over the 3 000 ANC members in Crossroads by breaking up the branch into

smaller units.

"The ANC national and regional offices launched a programme whereby all branches with high membership have to be broken down into smaller, more manageable units," said ANC organiser Mr Cameron Dugmore.

"By doing this, new levels of leadership would be developed and more members would be able to get involved in the running of the branch," Dugmore said.

The ability to call regular meetings was limited by the size of the Crossroads branch. ANC members in the camp said Nongwe was completely unaccountable to the them.

The ANC plans to hold educational programmes to teach residents how to establish democratic practices in their branches.

"A political education drive is planned to keep people active in politics and to show them that it is not necessary to resort to violence to solve problems," said ANC Western Cape vice-chairperson Mr Lerumo Kalako.

'ANC against chaos if Winnie loses appeal'

C/Press

28/2/93

THE ANC leadership which supported Winnie Mandela during her trial in the Rand Supreme Court in 1991 on allegations of kidnapping and assault this week distanced itself from any demonstrators who might react if she loses her appeal against her six-year sentence.

In a statement on Friday the ANC said: "The ANC is concerned about a press report that ANC supporters and other people will act in an unbecoming manner should the verdict be unfavourable to Mrs Mandela. This impression is incorrect and should not be promoted."

The statement followed a report in a Bloemfontein newspaper that supporters of Mandela attending the appeal warned of chaos if her six-year-sentence was upheld.

The appeal of Winnie Mandela and her two co-appellants, Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan, was heard over three days in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court.

At the conclusion of argument on Friday judgment was reserved.

Mandela's counsel, George Bizos SC, argued that the finding by Judge MS Stegmann in the Rand Supreme Court - that Mandela was party to a conspiracy to seize youths and hold them prisoner in the backyard of her home in Soweto - was arrived at without any direct evidence against her.

Jan Swanepoel, SC for the state, argued that Mandela was not only an accessory after the assaults as found by Stegmann but was a co-perpetrator of them and that her conviction should be changed and her sentence increased.

Fourteen-year-old Stompie Seipei - who was murdered by Mandela Football Club "coach" Jerry Richardson - and three other youths, Kenneth Kgase, 31, Barend Thabiso Mono, 21, and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, were abducted from the Orlando West Methodist Church manse on December 29 1988 and taken to Mandela's house in Diepkloof Extension in Soweto.

In his argument Bizos claimed Judge Stegmann had over-emphasised Winnie Mandela's leadership in the matter. He said the state had failed to prove that Mandela was guilty of any crime. - Sapa

Mandela hits at security plans

By BERENG MTIMKULU and Sapa

28/3/93

THE government's recent proposals to counter the violence that continues to ravage the country are not the solution, ANC president Nelson Mandela said this week.

(11A)
"Beefing up the brute force of a discredited security apparatus is not the answer," he said.

While urging political organisations to promote peace and tolerance, Mandela said government forces who wished to undermine negotiations were responsible for the "violence gripping the country".

"There can be no doubt about who the main culprits are. Those who instituted a policy that decreed others as sub-humans in the land of their birth could not but rely on violence to maintain their vile system," said Mandela, while addressing the Patriotic Front conference held in Lenasia this week.

He further noted that some of these forces wished to delay negotiations while others wanted to derail the process.

"South Africans are not safe in the midst of these forces. For they (the forces) shall go to any length to subvert successful negotiations," he said.

Tigane seven walk free

C/Press
28/3/93

By DAN DHLAMINI

TIGANE'S ANC branch chairman and six others were last week acquitted on eight charges, including murder and attempted murder of Inkatha members.

Appearing before Judge JJ Strydom and two assessors in the Klerksdorp Circuit Court were Tigane ANC chairman Oupa Kgauwe, 35, Maureen Motsumi, 28, Amos Shashape, 22, Solomon Sekhute, 23, Johannes Sebetlele, 20, Raymond Modise, 24, and a 17-year-old teenager.

Their appearance followed the attempted murder in 1991 of Inkatha deputy chairman Jacob Phoofolo and the death of Molatlhegi Seokolo; housebreaking with intent to commit murder; robbery; the illegal possession of a firearm; two counts of malicious damage to property and the possession of explosives.

Strydom heard earlier that Seokolo was chased, killed and set alight, allegedly by ANC members.

State witness John Sebetso, who had earlier told the court in detail how the crimes were committed, wept while under cross examination.

Sebetso, an ANC Youth League member, later told the judge that all he said was lies, adding he had been put under pressure by police.

Another state witness, Ishmael Tsunke, also told Strydom that he had been forced by police to testify against his comrades.

A nation wept . . . and the struggle changed forever

Suppl to C/Prens 28/3/93 (11A)

When the PAC launched the anti-pass campaign on 21 March 1960, none of its leadership could have guessed that this event would mark a great turning point in the struggle against white domination.

Sharpeville, a small township about 70 km south of Johannesburg, was an unlikely setting for an event that would spark SA's first major political crisis. The effects of this crisis are still being felt today.

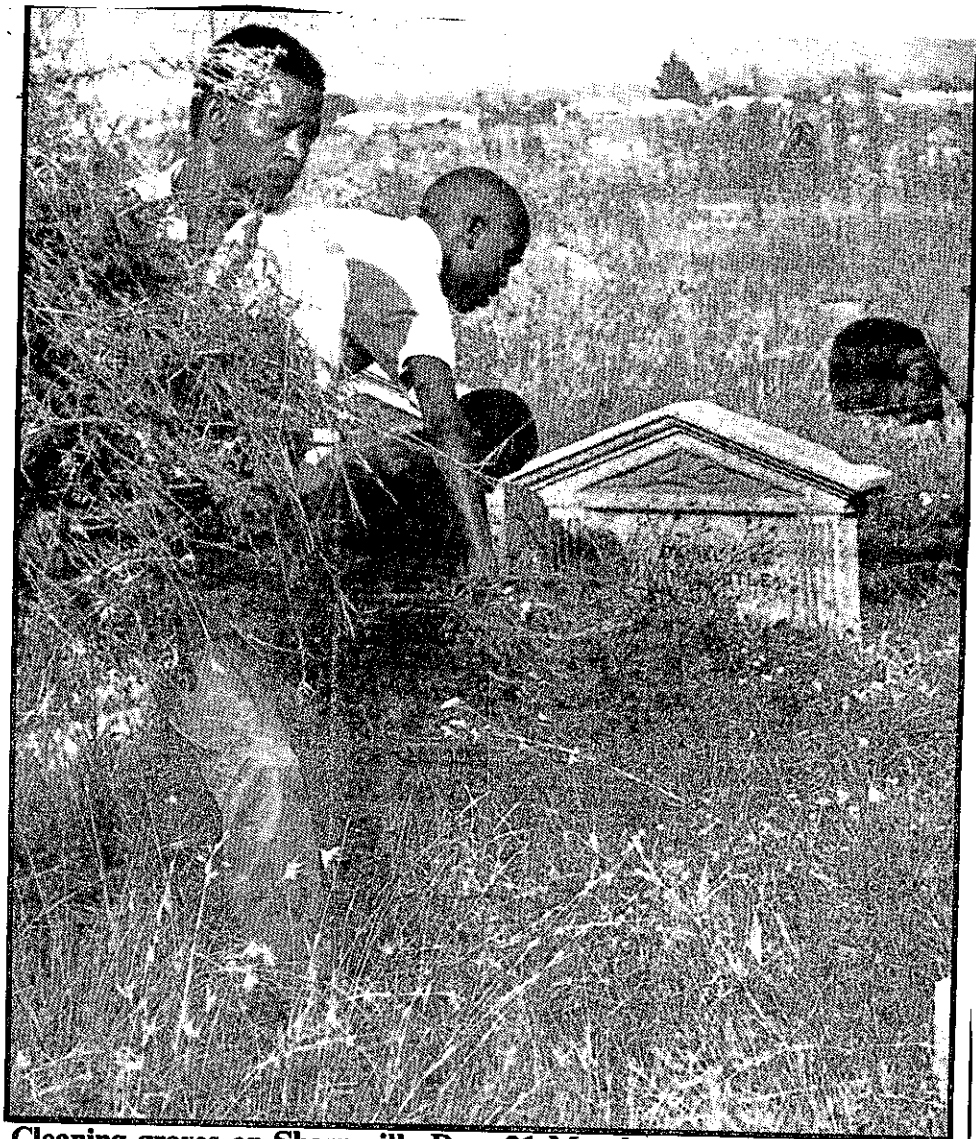
Protesters were to leave their passes at home, march to police stations throughout the country and demand to be arrested for "failing to produce" their passes which was a serious offence at the time.

As thousands of people marched to give themselves up at police stations, the government was completely taken aback by the turn of events, and hurriedly announced that it had decided to halt all arrests for pass offences.

This announcement, made at Special Branch police headquarters in Johannesburg, came tragically too late. In Sharpeville, heavily armed police under the command of Colonel "Pine" Pienaar, opened fire on a crowd of black people who had gathered for a meeting to discuss the anti-pass campaign.

Sixty-nine people were massacred and medical evidence showed that most of the victims were shot in the back while fleeing and that the illegal dum-dum bullets had been used. Two other victims were killed in Langa. The name Sharpeville became well known round the world.

SA's racist policies became the focus of the international community. From being a respected founder of the League of Nations (later United Nations) under General Jan Smuts, the country was suddenly an outcast state.



Cleaning graves on Sharpeville Day, 21 March.

Internally, resistance politics took a different course. The Mahatma Gandhi style of peaceful protest and passive resistance was now dead and buried alongside the Sharpeville and Langa victims.

Both the PAC and the ANC were declared unlawful organisations. Several PAC leaders, including Sobukwe, were jailed. To survive the new harsher conditions the two movements went underground while most of their members fled into exile.

The organisations also established **military wings**. The PAC founded Poqo and the ANC Umkhonto weSizwe. For the first few years of its existence, Poqo was more active internally – targeting white civilians and blacks who were considered government puppets.

With the PAC and ANC leadership now in exile, the struggle against apartheid was taken to the major capitals of the world and leaders of both

organisations were regular speakers at international forums such as the UN and Organisation of African Unity.

They campaigned tirelessly to have the country isolated and sanctions imposed. It was also through their efforts that the country was kicked out of most sports federations.

In no time MK was active inside the country while the PAC's military wing, renamed the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was less active. Apla has become more active in the past two years.

The combined efforts of military action, the isolation of SA diplomatically and in sports, sanctions and internal resistance in the mid 80s led by the United Democratic Front have brought us to where SA is today.

DICTIONARY

Military wings: armies or trained freedom fighters.

Forum: a gathering or meeting for talks or discussions.

TEARS

IN

THE

DUST

28/3/93

Suppl to C Press

**Day of unity
now divides**

(1A) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20)

There was a sad twist to the Sharpeville or Heroes' Day commemoration services which took place in several parts of the country last week.

33 years ago the black community was united in its grief following the massacre of 69 defenceless people in Sharpeville. But now some 70 km south of Johannesburg, remembering this tragedy only served to show how divided the black community is.

At the time when both the PAC and ANC were banned, the Black Consciousness Movement used the occasion to promote black unity. For almost ten years the black community shared common grief. *Suppl to C Press*

Sadly, party political differences over the commemoration of this tragic event began to show in the early 80s.

28/3/93

Both the ANC and the PAC seemed set on claiming Sharpeville day as their day. The fight is still continuing and is even stronger today.

With elections around the corner, political organisations are likely to use such commemorations to test their strength at the polls.

Following the unbanning of the PAC and ANC in February 1991, differences over this day have become more pronounced. Pleas by non-aligned church leaders, business people and ordinary people for political organisations to bury their differences on this day and hold joint rallies, have not been heeded.

WHAT a sick and polarised society SA is.

Just when we thought the past was behind us and a new bright day was about to dawn, then bang! We go back to square one.

You do not need to be an activist or an astute politician to figure out what is taking place here.

Let your mind wander back to the dark days of apartheid and compare life as it was then with what it's like now.

Take a walk down your street, peruse your favourite newspaper, listen to the radio or watch your TV, and I'm sure you'll agree that things have gone from bad to worse.

This country was built on racism, but over the years many of us have endeavoured to fight this disease. It has not been an easy fight and many have died in their quest for a just society.

You would have thought that by now things would have got a bit easier, that sanity would

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiya

Grim harvest of apartheid

11A 2088



have prevailed. But no, racism is still rearing its ugly head.

Take the events of the last few days.

Wit Wolf and mass murderer Barend Strydom is now being glorified instead of condemned to the scrap heap of history despite his racist killings of seven black people.

Only in SA could such a person be sentenced to death, serve only a few months in jail and now enjoy the attention of society.

The man tells us with pride that members of his racist group have held an Apla man for more than a month.

"He is being held in a cave, but his health is good," says Strydom, "and Wit Wolwe will decide the man's fate at a court martial on April 15".

Strydom and his fellow lunatics are telling us that they are above the law.

But the police yesterday said they had interviewed Strydom and could find no evidence or information to back his claims. This man is a danger to society.

But wait. The same organisation, Wit Wolwe, denies having ordered the shooting of a five-year-old black girl in Nigel - an apparent revenge attack for

the Eikenhof killings last week - yet admits that one of its members lost his self control and the group "has full understanding for the frustrations and anger of its members".

And what about Apla?

Your guess is as good as mine. But I say they are nothing but a bunch of irresponsible hooligans masquerading as trained freedom fighters. Picking on soft targets, especially young children, does not make them heroes in the eyes of those they claim to be fighting for.

A child is a child, irrespective of colour, and should not be made to

suffer the sins of its parents.

Who is Apla fighting this so-called war for? Certainly not for the majority of people in this country.

We want to believe that the PAC, supposedly Apla's mother body, is embarrassed by its actions.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who claims to be the head of the military command of the armed wing, has not been convincing in clarifying Apla's actions.

We also find it typically South African that when a few whites are killed, the entire South African army is called up.

Where was this army when blacks were killed in their hundreds over the last few months? It confirms the perception among our people that the government sees black life as cheaper than white life.

As Americans say, we have probably not seen anything yet. We are now reaping the grim harvest of building this country on racism.

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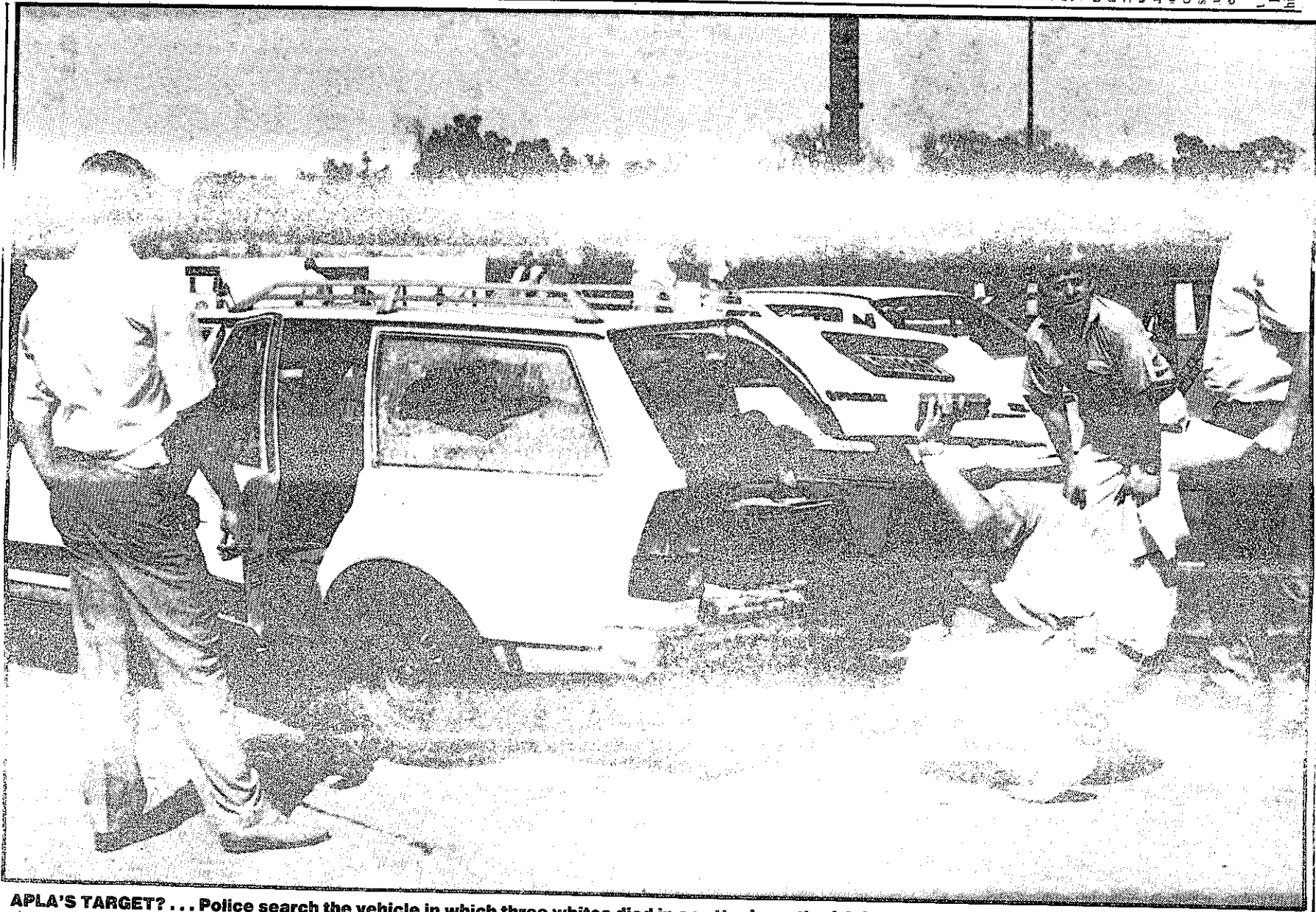
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APLA'S TARGET? ... Police search the vehicle in which three whites died in an attack south of Johannesburg a week ago. Callers to the press claimed the attack was the work of Apla gunmen.

Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

IS IT APLA OR

C/Press 28/3/93

A THIRD FORCE?

By SEKOLA SELLO

PAC sends out mixed signals on recent killings

AT the conclusion of the two-day multiparty planning conference early this month, the PAC left a clear indication that they were to all practical purposes now part and parcel of the negotiating forum.

It was an impression felt by participants and the large contingent of local and foreign media.

As euphoria swept the country over news that the talks were as inclusive as possible (even the Conservative Party is part of them so far), the PAC suddenly dampened spirits by sending a different message.

Just two weeks after making a public pro-negotiation stance, and with PAC secretary general Benny Alexander still serving on the 26-man facilitating committee paving the way for full-blown negotiations, the PAC's military wing is suspected of involvement in the recent killing of whites, including schoolchildren, in the Transvaal and eastern Cape.

The latest killings prompted political observers to question whether the PAC has a double agenda - having the political wing talk peace at the negotiations table while letting Apla pursue military activities.

Others argue the latest killings are the work of a third force aimed at scuttling negotiations.

Following the PAC and Apla's meeting in Botswana early this month with senior government officials, including the commissioner of police and top army generals, it was generally believed that Apla would cease its military operations.

Initially talk by the PAC that the armed struggle would continue until the government agreed to a cessation of hostilities and began the process of installing a transitional authority leading to a constituent assembly, was dismissed as nothing more than public rhetoric.

While the government has been

quick to blame Apla for the recent killings of two schoolchildren and a woman in Eikenhof south of Johannesburg, it is also being asked in some quarters whether these killings were in fact carried out by the PAC's military wing.

One school of thought would have it that elements within the security forces opposed to any negotiated settlement are using Apla as a smokescreen for their dirty work.

Negotiations

Those subscribing to this view argue that the same forces which orchestrated black-on-black violence in attempts to torpedo negotiations, have now changed tack and are now using black on white violence to achieve similar goals.

SACP secretary general Chris Hani says similar tactics have been used with deadly effect in Latin America and elsewhere in Africa. He says this is part of what is now called "low intensity warfare".

The other aim, it is claimed, is to create a climate that makes it easy for hit squads to operate freely. In this scenario, leading activists will be the prime targets.

Supporting the theory that security elements are behind the recent killings, Hani said there seems to be tardiness by the security forces in apprehending those alleged to have been responsible for the murders.

A source close to the PAC has also cast doubts on the possibility of Apla being involved in the Eikenhof murders. He said Apla would not have chosen such a locality - close to a taxi rank used by blacks and also where black schoolchildren are always found in the morning. "Such an operation would expose blacks to swift reprisals by

rightwingers," explained the source. He also accepted that a third force could be behind the attacks.

If Apla is not involved in the latest killings, and they too could well be aware of the work of hostile elements, why is the PAC leadership reluctant to come out clearly and state their military wing is not involved?

So far only the organisation's publicity secretary, Barney Desai, has been forthright in condemning the killings when he was interviewed on television.

He described the Eikenhof killings - in which Sandra Mitchley and her son Shaun Nel died - as an outrage, and expressed condolences to the bereaved families.

More pertinently, he asked what political benefits would accrue to the organisation by murdering women and children. Desai is clearly aware of the battering the PAC took from international bodies and foreign embassies following the killing of whites in King William's Town and Queenstown last December.

While Desai was forthright in condemning the killings, other senior members like president Clarence Makwetu, national organiser Maxwell Nemaadvihanani and secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke were ambivalent.

Mawketu would not condemn the killings, save to say the "PAC regrets any killings irrespective of colour".

These conflicting positions probably reflect the dilemma the PAC faces. If the organisation is seen to be more radical than the ANC - and alleged Apla activities reinforce this perception in the townships - the PAC, some say, gains more supporters.

What is clear is that graffiti in the Vaal triangle extolling the virtues of Apla is now as common as graffiti

praising MK. Several walls in Umtata are also daubed with pro-Apla slogans. Even in rural Centani in the Transkei, the small shopping centre is full of Apla slogans.

However, the effects of possible popular support must be weighed against diplomatic and international opposition. As Desai stated, the killing of children and women does not serve the interests of the PAC.

The PAC is also caught in a situation where it cannot publicly censure Apla without risking driving a wedge between the two. Even Pretoria never condemned its security forces whenever they were accused of atrocities.

Few people could have missed the timing of State President De Klerk's announcement that 18 Apla members had been arrested for violent attacks on whites. This was made at a special joint seating of the three houses of parliament.

Transkei

It coincided with the release of a preliminary report of the Goldstone Commission which said Apla launched its attacks on South African civilians and police from Transkeian soil.

The report also said arms smuggled through Botswana, Lesotho and SA to Transkei were stored with the knowledge of the Transkei authorities.

Claims that Apla operates from the Transkei with the knowledge of the homeland's authorities is intriguing. Transkei's Gen Bantu Holomisa is known to have closer relations with the ANC than the PAC.

If Apla operates out of the Transkei, it seems strange that Holomisa would give tacit backing to this - knowing full well Apla successes would undermine the support base of the ANC. He also knows that if Pretoria found out, he would be in serious trouble.

Trying to understand the unfolding Apla conundrum, it seems, is now becoming as complex as unravelling a Chinese puzzle.

Doublespeak from ANC

SI Times 28/3/93

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MERVYN FROST says talk about the ANC shifting its position on federalism is all bluff

WE South Africans are fearful and bewildered. Few are optimistic about achieving a democratic policy. Yet in the confusion of the violence and the complexity of the negotiating process, we need to keep our wits about us.

Our quest is, first, for a democratic system of representation at both local and central level. Second, we seek to combine this with mechanisms to prevent the abuse of power. A stable polity needs both of these. One without the other is hopeless.

Unitary South Africa has had 45 years of representative government for whites, without checks on government. The extent of the abuse of power has been remarkable by any measure. A unitary state under an ANC (or ANC/NP) government would be no different.

A key question is, who shall be represented and how? Will the citizens be governed from Pretoria alone, or will there be strong regional governments and strong regional representation at the centre? In short the core question is: will we have a unitary or a federal state?

Both the ANC and the National Party have over the past months been fudging the

matter through their use of the vague term "regionalism". There has been much talk of the two parties moving closer together on the issue. On the ANC side the talk is all bluff.

We ought not to be misled by the press release from the ANC this week in which it "confirms the importance of regional government". All political parties, pro-federal and anti-federal alike, acknowledge the importance of regional government. What we need to know is, first, what powers regional governments will be given, and second, how the regions will be represented at the centre and what powers will be accorded them there.

A close examination of the ANC's release shows the party to be squarely in support of a unitary state.

The 10 or so regions will, in terms of power, be like the provinces were in the Union of South Africa. They will have demographically elected governments (remember the provincial councils?). Certain powers will be granted to these provinces, but the centre will have "concurrent and overriding legislative powers". Thus, if the regions step out of line, Pretoria will correct them.

What is worse, the ANC says that the powers and functions of the regions are to be determined by a unitary constituent assembly. That is, an assembly without any built-in protection for the regions. This non-federal assembly will be akin to a parliament in a unitary state. We can hardly expect a unitary parliament to produce a constitution that is federal.

An implication of this for those in favour of a federal constitution for South Africa is that they need to make sure that the constitution-making body itself has built in federal elements.

Most importantly, the constitution-making body itself must be constructed in terms of an interim constitution which grants special representation for the regions. One way of doing this would be to have a two-chambered assembly with the second chamber reserved for equal regional representation.

Furthermore, the interim constitution would have to specify that decision making on constitutional issues would require majorities in both houses.

There is in South Africa, and internationally, a strong

set of political forces in favour of a federal constitution. These include the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Democratic Party, several homeland parties, most tricameral parties, the entire business community, and the international community en bloc.

The regional branches of the ANC ought themselves to favour a federal option. For if they do not they are enslaving themselves to PWV control in perpetuity.

These pro-federal forces need to be harnessed now to ensure the constitution-making body is itself federal. If these forces fail in this, it is a pipe dream to suppose that the unitary assembly will produce a federal constitution.

There are several ways in which a federal force might organise. One would be through a merging of pro-federal parties. Another more likely way would be through an alliance of parties around this single issue. For such an alliance to be successful it would have to be organised and in place before the first sitting of the Multi-Party Forum (Codesa 3).

□ Professor Frost works in the politics department at the University of Natal

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE Sam Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into atrocities allegedly committed by the ANC at its camps in Angola and Tanzania is to open soon for submission of evidence.

The commission, headed by well known businessman Dr Sam Motsuenyane, is the third to be appointed by the ANC to investigate the conditions of former prisoners and detainees at the organisation's camps.

The first was headed by James Stuart and its findings were never made public and last year Advocate Zola Skweyiya headed a second one.

Motsuenyane to probe the ANC

~~SA~~ (IIA) C/Press 28/4/78
Two other independent commissions were carried out by Amnesty International and the Douglas Commission, headed by Justice Robert Stuart Douglas of Natal.

The Skweyiya commission was criticised by opponents of the ANC and those who alleged that they were tortured in the camps because two of its three members, Skweyiya and Bridgette Mabandla, are senior members of the organisation.

In spite of criticism of

ANC links, the Skweyiya Commission found that certain individuals still in the organisation were guilty of inhuman activities. It also found that grave abuses had been committed in the camps against suspected infiltrators and agents.

However, it failed to name those senior members who were suspected of having been responsible for the atrocities. Some of these officials still hold senior positions in the movement.

The Douglas Commission, appointed by the rightwing US-based Freedom Foundation came under strong criticism from the ANC. The Foundation is known for its anti-ANC leanings.

The ANC refused to give evidence at this commission and later denounced its findings, saying they were a rehash of claims made by former members whom they described as dissidents.

The appointment of Motsuenyane who will be assisted by two prominent South African judges was undertaken by the ANC to avoid criticism of the impartiality of its members.

SACP warns on 'Angola fate'

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE tragedy unfolding in Angola is a foretaste of what some Pretoria securocrats could be planning for SA, warns the SACP.

In a document analysing the civil war in Angola, the SACP paints a picture of high intrigue, international collusion and impotence by the UN.

Events in Angola, contends the SACP, are part of what they regard as Pretoria's comprehensive and broad strategy for the entire region.

With elections due in SA early next year, the SACP contends that the

Angolan scenario may repeat itself here.

In Angola Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi lost elections which the UN certified as reasonably free and fair, then resorted to arms. The SACP believes losers in SA may do the same.

It claims the likely losers - principally Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Pretoria, abetted by the US - may employ similar tactics in efforts to reverse the election outcome.

An estimated 15 000 people have already died in Huambo, Angola's second largest city.

Until it was captured

by government forces a few weeks ago after fierce battles with Unita, Huambo was Savimbi's stronghold and military headquarters.

Quoting unnamed Western diplomatic sources, the SACP says SA has placed a private jet on 24-hour alert to ferry Savimbi out of trouble. The same diplomats claim Pretoria has been using a variety of aircraft to ferry supplies to Unita areas - a charge the government has repeatedly denied.

Although the government says it has disbanded secret organisations

like the CCB, the SACP claims covert operations are still being run by "private" organisations.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry has denied these allegations. A spokesman, J Malan, also said it is not true that Savimbi's visit last year in September was kept secret.

Malan acknowledged that Savimbi was met at Wonderboom airport by Pik Botha and further stated that the meetings with President De Klerk and army commanders Liebenberg and Van Der Westhuizen were also made known to the press.

CITY PRESS 28/3/93

Cape folk hero stirs political pot by tacking his colours to the DP's mast

CONTROVERSY has always surrounded Cape Town anti-apartheid activist Joe Marks — but never more so than this week when he announced his decision to resign from the ANC and join the Democratic Party.

Marks, 57, acknowledges his move has startled many people, not least because his name has long been synonymous with extra-parliamentary politics in the Cape Flats, where he is something of a folk hero.

During the 1980s, Marks's flowing beard, generous girth and broad grin symbolised for many Capetonians the UDF's claim to represent ordinary people ... and nowhere more so than in Marks's home turf of Retreat/Steenberg.

A former UDF vice-president, Marks — known to his followers as "Oom Grysie" — was twice detained and placed under house arrest. He is actively involved in community work for the Community Services Centre in Retreat.

Hero

Anecdotes about him abound and few will forget how Marks — who operates as a fish and vegetable hawker — delivered fish with the one hand and collected signatures with the other during the UDF's million signatures campaign.

Once an avowed communist, Marks' name was often viewed as interchangeable with his (then) hero, Karl Marx, and he was known in UDF circles as outspoken and staunchly leftist.

He remains outspoken and solidly working class but now his criticism is aimed at the ANC and SACP.

Formerly chairman of the local ANC branch, he said his decision to leave the ANC and SACP had been the result of considerable soul-searching.

By CHIARA CARTER

"I have transcended the question of parliamentary involvement. The DP has always opposed apartheid and nowadays even the ANC has members in Parliament," he said.

"I have decided to join (the DP) to strengthen the voice of the ordinary people and to make sure that voice is heard in making the new constitution and in governing the Western Cape."

Welcoming Mr Marks to the DP, Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle said his decision pointed the way for hundreds of other community leaders who were unhappy with the ANC and rejected the NP out-of-hand.

Peace

"I increasingly felt that membership of the ANC was no longer compatible with my lifelong service to my community."

Marks said he remained committed to "peace and democracy", but had become disillusioned with the ANC's decision-making style, which he claimed was top-down rather than based on grassroots decisions.

At the heart of Marks' disillusionment is bitterness over how the ANC has treated the Cape Housing Action Committee (Cahac) which he heads.

He claimed that since Cahac had voted not to join the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), the ANC had "thrown away" Cahac, which has 36 civic affiliates based in coloured areas in the Western Cape.

Home

Moves by Sanco to launch rival civics in Cahac areas had led to division which had undermined the civic movement, he said.

"ANC activists can't live with Cahac's democratically reached decision."

He said the ANC's approach towards Cahac had been "suicidal" in terms of winning support for the ANC in coloured areas and he believed the DP had considerable potential in areas like Retreat/Steenberg.

"I am an activist and the DP is my new political home. I will fight for the values I believe in through the DP."

He said he fully supported the DP's free market policy and had turned his back on communism.

He added that he felt no conflict between his extra-parliamentary history and membership of a party which had participated in the parliamentary system.

Star 29/3/93

Govt, ANC to focus on defence force

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

future defence force will be discussed today at a meeting between Government and ANC negotiators.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the major difference in views was that the government wanted to deal with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in isolation while the ANC wanted a deal involving all armies.

The ANC plan, linked to the transition process, involves the SADF, SAP, MK, Azanian People's Liberation Army and all homeland security forces, including the KwaZulu police.

Before the formation of a transitional executive council (TEC), all armies are to present lists of arms and manpower, and subject them to audit.

During this period a moratorium would be placed on recruitment, said Ramaphosa. The TEC's subcommittees on

defence and law and order would exercise multiparty control over the security forces in the run-up to free elections.

A new defence force would be established under an interim government of national unity.

The ANC has rejected a Government proposal that MK members apply to join the SADF on an individual basis.

Sapa reports that the Conservative Party claims that the decision allowing members of MK to join the SADF contradicted what President de Klerk told Parliament two weeks ago.

CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman was reacting to army chief Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring's announcement on Friday that the SADF could accommodate MK's estimated 12 000 members, conditional on their giving up political affiliations and passing physical tests.

Snyman said De Klerk had assured Parliament that MK members would only conditionally, and as individuals, be considered for admission to the SADF.

Bid to reincorporate Transkei under fire

Star 29/3/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter



Any plans by the Government to unilaterally reincorporate Transkei "into apartheid South Africa" would seriously jeopardise negotiations, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress warned yesterday.

They said they fully supported the homeland's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Joining the ANC and PAC in their denunciation of the Government's plans, reported yesterday, was the Azanian People's Organisation, which described Holomisa as "a genuine patriot".

The PAC and Azapo said although they did not recognise the TBVC states' independence, they were convinced the Government merely wanted to punish Holomisa for being outspoken against Pretoria.

However, Democratic Party

leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed the plan, and pointed out that he had called for the independent homelands' reincorporation during the no-confidence debate in Parliament at the beginning of the year.

A Sunday Times report said President de Klerk, who had come under considerable pressure from the National Party caucus after the recent spate of attacks on whites, was considering taking over the administration of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — or squeezing Transkei financially to make it toe the line. It said the plan was to be presented to the multiparty negotiations forum this week.

The ANC said the Government's plans, if true, were totally unacceptable and could mean the end of negotiations.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan and constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal rejected the plan, with Asmal declaring: "That will be the end of negotiations."

Jordan said although the ANC was in favour of the reincorporation of homelands, it did not

want them reincorporated "into apartheid South Africa".

Jordan said the Government would also have to explain Bophuthatswana's omission from the proposal.

A spokesman for the State President's office could not be reached for comment last night.

Holomisa said yesterday that the alleged plan would mean "the end of the road" for the National Party Government.

The Transkei leader once again rejected Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's recommendation that the international community should be asked to put pressure on Transkei, which was alleged to be the base of Apla, armed wing of the PAC.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said that, by making this threat, the Government was trying to "exercise its domineering power in negotiations".

De Beer said that, unlike Bophuthatswana, the three targeted homelands were guilty of financial mismanagement, as the Auditor-General had shown.

ANC, IFP in festival of peace

Star 29/3/93

(ANC)
(IFP)

PORT SHEPSTONE — Hundreds of ANC and IFP supporters gathered yesterday in a field at Batania, near Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast, to celebrate three months of peace in the once war-ravaged community. Chanting supporters from both organisations mingled and toy-toyed without any signs of acrimony.

The "peace festival" followed months of wrangling by the Port Shepstone Peace Committee and international observer missions.

A large police contingent watched the proceedings.

There has been relative calm in the two chieftainships in the area after the safe return home of ANC refugees in December.

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ANC unveils election drive

TIM COHEN and
WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC has launched an ambitious election campaign during which it will spend tens of millions of rands and try to recruit one volunteer worker for every 100 voters.

At a news briefing in Hermanus at the weekend, campaign co-ordinator Ketso Gordhan said the ANC estimated its current minimum support to be about 70% of blacks, 10% of coloureds, between 20% and 30% of Indians, and 2% of whites.

These estimates, based on aggregates of various polls, would give the ANC the support of about 53% of the total electorate.

In another development, a patriotic front conference in Lenasia resolved that affiliates would fight the election as a united front. The PAC did not attend the weekend gathering.

The conference was attended by 57 political, student, business and religious or-

ganisations, as well as representatives of foreign missions in SA.

They decided the election pact would be led by the ANC and details of co-operation would be thrashed out during discussions among members. The conference also resolved to call for the setting of a date for elections as a matter of urgency.

Gordhan said the ANC hoped to develop a formidable election machine from its 800 000 signed-up members and was counting on placing about 180 000 volunteers in the field, primarily for door-to-door canvassing. In addition to its own members, the ANC hoped its campaign would be boosted by the resources of the ANC Youth

To Page 2

ANC plan

and Women's leagues and it was also counting on the support of Cosatu.

The ANC's 1 400 branches would be grouped into 94 subregional election offices.

ANC members yesterday dismissed talk that the NP possessed a considerable election machine and said the ruling party was losing support as never before.

ANC constitutional committee member Albie Sachs said the NP's problem was that it was not a grassroots party and

relied heavily on its control of the state and state machinery.

"Take away NP access to the state, and you take away the NP's ability to influence people," Sachs said, emphasising the NP's past ability to influence the SABC.

Information department head Pallo Jordan said the idea that the NP had an effective election "battering ram" might have been true in 1948, but the referendum had betrayed the poor state of the NP election operation. The NP had relied heavily on other parties, he said.

From Page 1

news i

(11A) (2/28/93)
Women take on ANC

Suspended executive members of the African National Congress Women's League's PWV region are set to challenge the organisation's new bid to replace them. *Soweto 29/3/93*

Yesterday the members attended a meeting at the ANC's Shell House headquarters in Johannesburg, called by a task force appointed to run the region in the place of the suspended executive. An ugly confrontation unfolded outside the offices as two members of the task force tried to prevent a suspended executive member, Mrs Mpumelelo Madlala, from speaking to journalists.

Dissident is gagged

at meeting

BIDM 29/3/93
KATHRYN STRACHAN

CHAOS erupted at an ANC Women's League meeting yesterday when suspended executive members — who were ousted a year ago when they protested against Winnie Mandela's enforced resignation from her post as head of social welfare — attempted to speak to the media.

The confrontation arose during a Women's League meeting called to discuss the issue of holding an AGM to elect a new executive. Since the suspension of the entire executive, the organisation has been headed by a task group.

When Nompumelelo Madlala, spokesman for the 18 suspended executive members, called journalists to brief them, the task group physically prevented her from doing so.

The task group initially denied that Madlala was present at the meeting. "She's here, but tell her she's not," a task group member told another in Zulu in answer to a question on Madlala's whereabouts.

The media was then escorted out of the building by ANC security.

A fracas followed when Madlala then attempted to speak to reporters in the street outside the ANC headquarters. 29/3/93.

Security guards — who asked a black reporter why she was siding with whites — also threatened journalists that they would be blacklisted by the ANC if they spoke to Madlala.

The executive members believed they had been unfairly and unconstitutionally suspended, Madlala said. They had a right to put their side to the media.

Govt warned on growing problems in education

GOVERNMENT's plan for creating a new regional dispensation for a nonracial education system, unveiled last week, would not solve all SA's schooling problems, the Urban Foundation warned at the weekend.

Urban Foundation senior education policy analyst Jane Hofmeyr said that when racial barriers in education were broken down, the discrepancies between suburban and township schools and between urban and rural education systems would become far more significant.

There was no clear information from government on how these "gaps" could be bridged, Hofmeyr said, adding that there was a need for a thorough monitoring system to assess progress on equity.

The ANC's education desk also ex-

BIDM 29/3/93
pressed its concern at National Education Minister Piet Marais' announcement last week of the establishment of an education co-ordinating service to streamline schooling and overcome its fragmented nature.

At the centre of ANC concern lies the issue of its repeated calls for a national forum on education, where all major stakeholders could negotiate on the way ahead.

For negotiations to be meaningful, they had to be conducted in a national forum, and not within the context of a state structure, the ANC said.

"The dismantling of apartheid education structures must be negotiated from top to bottom, otherwise the transition to a single national system will lack any shred of legitimacy and will run a serious risk of major oppo-

sition from important political and professional interest groups."

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that frustration and dissatisfaction in the teaching profession over salaries and service conditions will explode into a full-blown crisis unless immediate government action is taken to defuse the situation.

This, according to educationists, would be "put on the line" at a meeting today between President F W de Klerk, the Teachers' Federal Council and the National Professional Teachers' Organisation who together represent 120 000 teachers.

A major grievance on the agenda is the profession's lack of negotiating muscle and the need for a more democratic and effective bargaining mechanism.

● Comment: Page 6

Mandela awaits her appeal judgment

ALMOST two years after she was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, Winnie Mandela's future now lies in the hands of the five judges who heard her appeal in Bloemfontein last week.

A full Bench of five judges, chaired by Chief Justice M Corbett, reserved judgment at the conclusion of Mandela's appeal on Friday.

Mandela was sentenced in May 1991 by Rand Supreme Court Judge M Stegmann to five years in jail for her involvement in the kidnapping of teenage activist Stompie Seipei and three other young men from the Methodist manse in Soweto in December 1988.

She was sentenced to an additional year of imprisonment for being an accessory to the assault of the four, who the court found had been kept at her house against their will. Stegmann found she and co-accused Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan had conspired to kidnap the four young men as part of a conspiracy to oust

BIDM 29/3/93
SUSAN RUSSELL

the Rev Paul Verryn from the manse.

Seipei, 14, Gabriel Mekgwe, 19, Thaiso Mono, 19 and Kenny Kgase, 29, were abducted by Falati, Morgan and Mandela United football coach Jerry Richardson on December 29 1988 and taken to Mandela's home where they were assaulted. Stompie was removed from the premises on January 1 1989 and never again seen alive.

Kgase escaped and Mekgwe and Mono left the premises after the Mandela Crisis Committee, had negotiated their release. Stegmann found the four had been assaulted by Falati and others to obtain evidence of sexual abuse by Verryn.

Falati was sentenced to six years' imprisonment by Stegmann who convicted her on all eight counts of kidnapping and assault. Morgan was found guilty of kidnapping and sentenced to a one-year suspended sentence. Richardson was sentenced to death for Seipei's murder, his sen-

tence reduced to life imprisonment on appeal.

The judge acquitted Mandela on the assault charges and found her guilty of being an accessory.

During the appeal last week the State asked the court to confirm Mandela's conviction and sentence for the kidnappings and find her guilty of the assaults.

Mandela's counsel George Bizos SC said there was no evidence Mandela had been involved in the kidnapping, taken part in the assaults or been aware that any of the young men at her house had been assaulted. He asked for an acquittal on all counts.

Bizos said the judge had erred in finding that the conspiracy to oust Verryn had been the motive for the abductions. Even if there had been a conspiracy against Verryn, Falati had had an independent agenda to Mandela who believed Verryn was sexually abusing youths. Bizos said Kgase was a publicity seeker who had falsely implicated Mandela.

ANC banks on winning half the ~~2000~~ votes cast ~~11A~~

Political Staff ~~ANC~~ 29/3/93

THE African National Congress expects to win at least 53 percent of the votes cast in South Africa's first all-in democratic election, according to one of its election strategists, Ketso Gordhan.

He told the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Hermanus the ANC's assessment of how well it would do was based on opinion surveys.

He believed the ANC would win 70 percent of the African vote, between 20 and 30 percent of the Indian vote, 10 percent of the coloured vote, and 2 percent of the white vote, giving the ANC a national vote of 53 percent.

"We think this reflects the minimum support the ANC now enjoys," Mr Gordhan said.

The ANC had 900 000 members — excluding its youth league and women's league — organised into 14 regions.

The ANC would open 94 sub-regional offices to work with its 1 400 branches.

Mr Gordhan said the ANC intended to have one volunteer to keep contact with every 100 voters — a total volunteer corps of 180 000 people.

"We are in the process of setting up such structures," he said.

Support for Cosatu and the South African Communist Party had to be added to the ANC's support, Mr Gordhan said.

ANC-led election alliance formed

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 50 political, religious and cultural organisations agreed yesterday to participate in South Africa's first non-racial general elections in an ANC-led alliance.

The decision was reached at the end of a two-day conference attended by organisations opposed to the National Party's policies of racial domination.

The ANC is to consult its allies in the Patriotic Front from this week about electoral issues, including details of an election pact which a Patriotic Front conference agreed upon yesterday.

The conference was attended by 57 political, student, business and religious organisations and representatives from foreign missions in SA.

The conference resolved that Patriotic Front members should not fight coming elections for a constituent assembly individually.

It also resolved to call for the setting of a date for elections as a matter of urgency. Sapa, Own Correspondent

CT 29/3/93 (117)

Azapo's 'key decisions'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) took "key decisions" on the negotiation process at its planning conference yesterday but Azapo president Prof Itumeleng Mosala divulged no details of the decisions.

Prof Mosala said the decisions would only be announced after Azapo's national council meeting in Bloemfontein next weekend. (11A)

Azapo has consistently refused to be drawn into the present phase of negotiations.

CP 29/3/93
Unity of the oppressed in a "genuine patriotic front" was paramount and Azapo was continuing meetings with the ANC and the PAC to achieve this, Prof Mosala said.

He is to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela this morning as a follow-up to last week's meeting between the two leaders. — Sapa

ANC IFP meet soon

Political Correspondent
HERMANUS. — In a significant breakthrough for negotiations the ANC and Inkatha will soon meet for talks on constitutional issues.

The news comes amid a new mood of urgency for a settlement. The ANC will also hold talks with the Bophuthatswana government.

Senior ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa told a weekend media conference here that the ANC hoped the first meetings would take place soon.

The meeting with Bophuthatswana would take place within 14 days and would discuss the re-incorporation of the nominally independent homeland and other TBVC states into South Africa.

The meeting would also discuss the role of an Independent Electoral Commission in the first democratic elections.

Confident

The ANC also unveiled a plan — which it says is designed to speed up the process — for temporary regional government to be created in the four provinces at the same time as an interim government is formed.

A top IFP source said last night he was sure the IFP would take part in such meetings.

The two organisations have not held formal talks on constitutional issues since the breakdown of Codesa II in May last year. However, there have been talks to facilitate a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A major weakness in the negotiating process has been that the government negotiators have been forced to take ANC and vice versa. Bilateral discussions will put an end to this and could also have positive implications for the peace process by easing the animosity between the ANC and IFP.

Star 29/12/93
'53 pc will vote for us'

Political Correspondent (11A)

HERMANUS — The ANC has calculated it already commands the support of at least 53 percent of voters expected at elections for an interim government.

But it is hoping to boost that support with a mammoth election campaign in which it will recruit one volunteer election worker for every 100 of approximately 21 million anticipated voters.

Ketso Gordhan, secretary of the ANC's election commission, said the

figure was based on independent surveys done by the Human Sciences Research Council and the company Research Surveys.

The racial breakdown of support was nearly 70 percent of the black vote, 10 percent of the coloured vote, 20 to 30 percent of the Indian electorate and about 2 percent of the white vote.

Asked how well prepared the ANC was for elections, Gordhan said it had 14 regional structures and close to 900 000 signed-up members.

ANC expects to win 53% of vote

CT 29/3/93 (11A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HERMANUS. — An ANC-led front would capture about twice as many votes as the National Party and Inkatha put together, ANC election experts said at a briefing here at the weekend.

The ANC has launched an election campaign in which it will spend over R200 million and try to recruit one volunteer for every 100 voters.

The secretary of the ANC's election commission, Mr Ketso Gordan, said independent opinion surveys and the ANC's own research pointed to the ANC winning at least 53% of the vote.

He said the figure "reflects the current minimum support the ANC is enjoying in the country".

Existing research had the ANC garnering about 70% of the African vote, 10% of the coloured vote, 20-30% of the Indian vote and 2% of the white vote.

However, 30-50% of coloureds and Indians had still not made up their

minds who to cast their ballots for.

Recent surveys by a number of organisations — including the Human Sciences Research Council — put the National Party's share of the vote at 20-21%, Inkatha 4,5-5% (the HSRC said 10%), the PAC 5%, the Conservative Party 3-5%, the Democratic Party 3-5%, and Azapo 1%.

Mr Gordan said the ANC's 1 400 branches had already signed up 900 000 members who, with SA Communist Party and Cosatu members, would form the "first level" of support.

Alliances with a wide range of other political and civic bodies was still being explored to help broaden the election front.

To beef up campaigning and recruitment, the ANC's 14 regions had been divided into 94 sub-regional offices for the purpose of the election, and the ANC was in the process of training a volunteer corps of 180 000 election workers and canvassers — roughly one for every 100 voters.

'Urgency' (11A) over date for election

APR 29 1993

Political Staff

THE ANC and its Patriotic Front allies have moved into a higher gear in preparation for elections, and have called for a date to be set for South Africa's first all-in elections "as a matter of urgency".

Organisations attending the two-day PF conference in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg at the weekend — which discussed the formation of a broad election alliance led by the ANC — said it was imperative that a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa was achieved "in the shortest possible time".

The conference heard delegates talking about the need to turn the ANC-led alliance's broad support into votes on polling day.

Delegates called for the speedy resumption and conclusion of multi-party negotiations, the holding of elections for a constituent assembly and its subsequent adoption of a new constitution.

The South African National Civic Organisations (Sanco) said its members belonged to many different organisations. It would have to discuss this issue in its ranks first.

Star 29/3/93

'Set election date'

Political Reporter

(11A)

The ANC and its Patriotic Front (PF) allies yesterday moved into a higher gear in preparation for elections, and called for a date to be set for South Africa's first all-in elections "as a matter of urgency".

Organisations attending a two-day PF conference in Lenasia, Johannesburg, at the weekend, at which the formation of a broad election alliance led by the ANC was discussed, said it was imperative

that a united, nonracial and democratic South Africa be achieved in the shortest possible time.

The conference, attended by representatives of 26 foreign missions, heard delegates on the need to turn the ANC-led alliance's broad support into votes on polling day.

The Pan Africanist Congress, which convened the PF when it was formed in Durban in October 1991, did not attend the Lenasia conference, accusing the ANC of having excluded it in planning for the indaba.

Star 29/3/93

ANC pledges fiscal discipline

HERMANUS — The ANC's chief economic planner vowed yesterday to maintain fiscal discipline and pursue policies that would encourage investment in South Africa.

Trevor Manuel said after a weekend conference that an African National Congress government would not significantly raise taxes or foreign borrowing and would make only cautious use of available foreign aid.

"We are scared to death of a World Bank debt trap," he said in a

reference to the risk of borrowing to the extent that a future government would have to meet its interest payments.

"There is no pot of gold out there for us," he said.

"We have expressed our commitment to macro-economic balance and fiscal discipline, and part of that must certainly be not to borrow a cent to finance current expenditure."

He added an ANC government would phase out the existing stringent exchange controls and the dual-rate financial rand

investment instrument as soon as possible.

"You will only see foreign investment starting to come into the country when domestic investors are willing to put their money into this economy. The confidence trigger has to come from domestic investment," he added.

Manuel said the country's first democratic government, likely to be elected within the next 18 months, would have to redistribute already high levels of spending on welfare-related items to improve the safety net

for the millions of poor and unemployed.

He said a priority would be to eliminate waste and corruption in the civil service.

"We have many excellent financial systems and managers in this country. If they happen to be in the private sector, then we must make a plan for that," he said.

Manuel said white civil servants, faced with the prospect of a new and different government, had little incentive to save or to plan for the long term. — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS IN BRIEF

US, SA leaders to meet

INFLUENTIAL US congressmen and officials in President Bill Clinton's administration would meet SA's political leaders in Cape Town next month, the Aspen Institute said on Friday.

The closed-doors forum is expected to help shape the Clinton administration's policy on SA and southern Africa. (IA)

Assistant Secretary of State for Africa-designate George Moose is expected to head the list of visitors at the April 5-9 gathering. A second conference on SA's international economic relations is scheduled at a northern Transvaal game lodge for April 26-30.

8/08/93 29/3/93

AZASM meets in East London

(11A) Soweto 29/3/93

THE Azanian Student Movement, the students wing of the Azanian People's Organisation, on Saturday said it would hold a national council in East London from April 10 to 12 to press for their educational demands. Azasm publicity secretary Kgomotso Modiselle said the students were demanding the scrapping of matric exam fees, provision of more educational facilities, and employment of more black teachers — *Sapa*



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is accompanied by Venda leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana, the Rev Alan Hendrickse of the Labour Party, Chief Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa and Transkei leader Brigadier Bantu Holomisa at a meeting of his allies in the Patriotic United Front at the weekend. They met in Lenasia, Johannesburg. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

50 groups to support ANC

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

(11A)

FIFTY organisations yesterday decided they would throw their lot in with the African National Congress in the country's first democratic elections.

This emerged at the end of a two-day Patriotic Front conference of ANC-allied groups including civic, religious, business organisations and six homeland governments in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg yesterday.

The meeting said it committed itself to a constituent assembly elected on a one-person-one vote basis in a common voters' roll.

The conference said it called for setting the date for elections "as a matter of urgency" and this would be under an ANC-led alliance.

Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa said it was decided that the apartheid state machinery would be replaced after elections for a constituent assembly.

■ Patriotic Front partners speak in unison after Lenasia meeting

However, the Pan Africanist Congress did not attend the conference after it said the ANC ignored its status as co-convenor in terms of Organisation of African Unity and PF launch conference resolutions.

Historic meeting

The PF was launched at a historic meeting of 90 organisations in Durban after being jointly convened by the ANC and PAC on October 25 and

26 1991.

The conference also resolved to do "all in our power" to get the PAC back in the PF.

The PAC had withdrawn from the PF steering committee in 1991 after accusing the ANC of "selling out" prior to Codesa 1, he said.

The Azanian People's Organisation's objection to the PF is the participation of homeland governments and parties working within the tricameral system.

next *Talkback* topic

The *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback topic this evening will be an open line. Please phone in to Tim Modise between 6pm - 7pm and discuss any subject on your mind.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

Violence Star 30/3/93 tops talks agenda

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Esther Waugh

The armed struggle will top the agenda at today's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed yesterday.

Following the recent spate of attacks on whites, the Government was insisting that violence and the armed struggle should top the agenda of both today's meeting and this week's two-day multi-party negotiations forum.

The ANC had agreed to the agenda, but would want the discussion to focus on the future of all armed formations, and not just the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe or the Azanian People's Liberation Army, said Ramaphosa.

He believed the ANC's three-phase proposal — the pre-transitional executive council (TEC) phase, the TEC phase and the period when a government of national unity was in place — would "resolve the problem of armed formations".

He reiterated the ANC's position that MK members could join the South African Defence Force on an individual basis.

The ANC proposals include the auditing of all armed formations and a moratorium on their recruitment in the pre-TEC phase, joint control of these forces in the TEC phase and total integration of all armed formations.

A Ministry of Defence spokesman said yesterday the Government would submit its proposals for a new defence force at the negotiating table.

Witnesses *Star 30/3/93* invited for ANC probe

By Brendan Templeton (11A)

The ANC's Motsuenyane Commission has called for witnesses to come forward in an attempt to get to the bottom of claims of human rights abuses in its camps during its exile years.

The chairman of the commission, former National African Federated Chamber of Commerce president Dr Sam Motsuenyane, yesterday promised that the investigation would be an "open" one.

The commission has been specifically directed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate allegations against senior members of the organisation.

Harvard University fellow and former United States judge Margaret Burnham and former Zimbabwe Supreme Court Judge David Zamchiya will assist Motsuenyane.

Motsuenyane said in a statement yesterday that the latest investigation would be run along the lines of an open inquiry and any witnesses would be allowed to give evidence.

He said interested parties, including those who claimed they had been tortured in the camps, could contact the commission to give evidence at (011) 832-1182 or at fax number (011) 832-1236.

Azapo, ANC agree on unitary South Africa

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation and the ANC agreed yesterday on a number of questions, including that South Africa should remain one undivided country.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said after a meeting with Azapo officials here that the two liberation movements had also agreed that the only way to achieve democracy in the country was to have an elected constituent assembly.

He said the two organisations would not allow the NP to "play referee and player" in the transition period.

Azapo and the ANC would not subscribe to — and rejected — unilateral

decisions from the government, Mr Mandela said.

Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Mosala said the two organisations had reached common ground on speeding up the hand over of power to the majority.

Asked if there had been hitches during their discussions in view of the fact Azapo is not inclined to include other organisations — besides liberation movements — in such discussions, while the ANC was for building a front with other such groups, Mr Mandela said the matter had been raised, but declined to elaborate. — Sapa

(114) cr 30/3/93

Star 30/8/93

Deadline on PAC comment

The PAC has until next Thursday to comment on the provisional findings of the Goldstone Commission's investigations of Apla's armed activities, after which time the findings would be regarded as conclusive, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said yesterday. Goldstone had repeatedly invited the Transkei government, the PAC and Apla to testify to his Commission's "Apla Committee", but none of them had done so. (11A)

Star 30/3/93

ANC, Azapo in agreement

The ANC and Azapo yesterday agreed that a sovereign constituent assembly is the only guarantee for a legitimate constitution. Other areas of agreement were the recognition of South Africa as an undivided country and that the Government could not be both a player and a referee in the negotiation process.

11A

Star 3/3/43

Respect life, says Camerer

CAPE TOWN — All political leaders involved in negotiations had to develop a human rights culture and respect for the right to life among their supporters, Sheila Camerer (NP Rosettenville) said yesterday.

Speaking during the first reading debate on the Budget in Parliament, she said parties who did not support human rights and the right to life should be placed beyond the pale.

The ANC had suspended the armed struggle, but ANC leaders had to explain emerging evidence of continued MK complicity in political violence and to condemn such involvement.

The Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress had to seriously reconsider their continued commitment to the armed struggle. — Sapa.

The PAC's ambivalence on racist terror attacks harms itself . . . and the country

Star 3/13/93

It's time to get off the fence

(IIA)

(SFP)

MORE than a week after the latest spate of attacks on whites in Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress continues to equivocate on the issue. Except for publicity secretary Barney Desai, the PAC's leaders have yet to condemn such attacks, or those responsible for them.

The organisation's explanation until now has been that it does not have sufficient information to make authoritative comment possible, and that the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army has also not commented.

Reports have Apla chief spokesman Johnny Majozi saying the guerilla army's cadres inside South Africa had not yet contacted Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam to claim responsibility for the terror attacks. It is pointed out that all there is to link Apla to the apparently racially motivated acts, at this stage, is a telephone call to the South African Press Association from an anonymous caller claiming to be an Apla cadre.

However, the situation remains

murky, because although PAC leaders insist anybody could have telephoned the press to claim responsibility on Apla's behalf, they have not ruled out the possibility that Apla might in fact have been responsible. Indeed, the PAC has tactically left the door wide open for this possibility, and as a direct consequence has flatly refused to condemn the murders and their perpetrators.

The furthest it has gone is to say that the PAC adhered to no policy which involved killing women and children. But that, as the PAC leaders should know, is cold comfort to the families of those whom faceless gunmen have mown down in cold blood in the past two weeks.

At a media conference, PAC president Clarence Makwetu was twice asked if he condemned the attacks. Twice he evaded the question, saying only: "We regret any killing, irrespective of colour." Told by the journalist who had posed the question that he had not answered it, Makwetu replied acidly: "Unfortunately we are not here to be tried by the media."

Ah, the media. The PAC leader

have severely embarrassed many PAC leaders. Whatever support the organisation gains in the short-term as a result of the attacks has to be weighed against the embarrassment they cause to it.

There is another disturbing dimension to these racial killings, and that is that they further polarise South Africans along racial lines, and trigger retaliatory attacks on blacks by rightwingers.

Kaizer Nyatumba



— like most of his colleagues in the PAC leadership — has an aversion to the media matched by few of his counterparts in the country. The average PAC leader and member believes the organisation has had a raw deal from the press over the years. As a consequence, they say repeatedly that the Africanist organisation was "not built by the press" and therefore "will not be destroyed by it".

Instead of cultivating good relations with the press, some PAC leaders have regarded the institution with scepticism, and have not made themselves readily available for interviews or briefings.

Because of the PAC leadership's prevarication on the recent attacks, theories have abounded. There are those who say the attacks were staged by a disgruntled wing of Apla, which is intent on getting the PAC leadership to

quit negotiations.

Others, including people in the ANC, say Apla is not responsible for the barbaric murders, and lay the blame on a nebulous "third force" which seeks to sow racial hatred and in the process derail negotiations.

Whatever the truth is, the PAC leadership must now state categorically and unequivocally where it stands on the attacks. Could it be that it knows Apla is not responsible, but does not want to admit this because the perception that it is "a defender of the people" would be jeopardised?

Does it perhaps know that Apla carried out the heinous deeds, but will not say so publicly because of the local and international censure which will inevitably follow? Or could it be that Makwetu and his colleagues really do not know, and are reluctant to admit their ignorance? We do not know, because of the organisation's ambivalence.

Let us consider what the attacks mean for the PAC.

Undeniably, the attacks do have some grisly short-term benefit for the organisation, especially while

violence continues in the country. PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander is not alone in his belief that the Government has not done enough to stop the spiral of violence in the country, and that this is because most of the victims are black.

There are many in the black community who, while they might not say so publicly, hold the view that Pretoria would take the violence seriously and embark on effective initiatives to end it if whites were also primary victims.

Unfortunately, the Government's reaction so far has merely reinforced the widespread perception that it indeed values white life more than it does black life. This is a view that ANC president Nelson Mandela has expressed a number of times, both here and abroad.

Moreover, PAC leaders say more than 20 000 people have joined their organisation since the eastern Cape attacks — for which Apla claimed responsibility — in December last year.

But the acts of terror have also brought local and international condemnation of the PAC, and

This is a chilling prospect, and one which could make eventual reconciliation well-nigh impossible if the situation runs out of control.

The PAC leadership could play its part in staving off this doomsday scenario by categorically and unequivocally distancing itself from the murders, and strongly denouncing those who perpetrate the acts of terror.

To this end, it might also remove the poster at its head office's boardroom, where it holds its press conferences, which seems to condone Apla's alleged attacks. The poster reads: "Each bullet takes us forward. Viva Apla. Year of Great Storm. Apla by day, Apla by night." □

Mandela has great timing

By Cyril Madlala

(11A) (11B)

After wading through almost 500 pages of the agenda, with the clock slowly ticking away to supper time, the proceedings at the Johannesburg City Council last night were becoming rather dreary.

Conservative Party councillors were socking it to the management committee, and for a while it looked like the stage was all theirs as they battled to stop Johannesburg ratepayers' money going to Alexandra's Boitumelong Early Learning Centre.

But they were outvoted. Then, unannounced, the tall,

unmistakable figure of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela quietly entered through a side door.

He took his seat right behind the Conservative Party benches.

Mass action

On his left sat Mayoress Edie Dishy, occasionally whispering to the nodding Mandela as the Chamber business went on.

On his right sat Thozamile Botha, head of the ANC's local government department.

A few minutes earlier Botha had been quoted by a CP councillor as saying white councillors will have to resign or face

mass action.

Could "the moment" have arrived?

No.

Instead Mayor Les Dishy informed the Chamber that it was his pleasure to welcome Mandela (and Botha) to the council meeting and thereafter for supper with the councillors.

But there was no speech from Mandela this time, just handshakes and handshakes before all shared the meal.

Not quite the "Last Supper" for the council as constituted at present, despite the council earlier accepting the proposal that Soweto and Johannesburg be run jointly.

Executed MK man to be reburied

AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress president Nelson Mandela is billed as main speaker at the reburial of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Solomon Mahlangu.

The African National Congress Youth League said the reburial would be on April 6 - the day Mahlangu was executed in 1979 - in Mamelodi, Mahlangu's home town.

Mahlangu, a member of the African National Congress' armed wing, was executed for his part in the Goch Street shooting in Johannesburg. The State

Sowetan 31/3/93.
■ Nelson Mandela billed as main speaker at funeral:

buried him in Atteridgeville, outside Pretoria.

The youth league said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday it would give Mahlangu a "proper funeral".

The National Education Crisis Committee said it would use the occasion "to encourage the normalisation of the situation at black schools".

The Southern Natal African National Congress Youth League plans to celebrate "Solomon Mahlangu Day" with a

rally in Durban, addressed by senior ANC leaders.

The rally will take place at Curries Fountain, Durban, and will begin at 10am.

Among the speakers will be ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, MK chief-of-staff Sipiwe Nyanda, ANC-SACP executive member Ronnie Kasrils and youth league executive member Thabang Makwetla.

The youth league also said it would

use the occasion to call for the establishment of a new education culture in South Africa.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said the ANC executive committee fully supported the programme outlined by the youth league.

He said education problems had reached crisis levels. Not only had the system of apartheid done great harm to the youth and the country as a whole but the process and the culture of learning had completely disappeared. - Sapa.

Gwala 'to rest' after 50 years in politics

ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, who recently moved to reconcile differences with Inkatha in the strife-torn region, yesterday said he might retire from politics by year-end.

Gwala, 72, who suffers from a spinal disease that has paralysed both his arms, said that after 50 years in politics because he needed to rest. He told Sapa he could change his decision "if the people insist".

In an interview at the weekend he said he would continue to play an active role in politics. He said the ANC was very demanding. "The only rest we get here is the

grave, because people want every drop of blood from you." (11A)

Gwala said he would not stand for office for the ANC or the SACP in the coming elections. "I'm too old now. We have brilliant young people who will do the job."

Gwala, a member of the ANC and SACP, has been a supporter of the alliance between the two organisations and Cosatu.

"Cosatu, the ANC and the party are still indivisible at this stage," he said.

● See Page 12

3/13/83

Holomisa ~~11A~~ objects to PAC boycott

KATHRYN STRACHAN

TRANSKEI leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday objected to the PAC boycott call against the Sunday Times, and said if it wished to target the newspaper it should do so in SA.

Holomisa also offered the Sunday Times police protection for deliveries to stores after three men opened fire on a Times Media delivery truck near Qumbu on Sunday.

The PAC in the Transkei accuses the newspaper of campaigning to denigrate the organisation.

Sunday Times editor Ken Owen yesterday offered to meet PAC leaders to discuss the issue. His newspaper "regretted the action", especially as officials did not seek to discuss their concerns, or to use the newspaper's letters and opinion pages to air concerns. *BLOM 3/13/93.*

The belief that the Sunday Times was engaged in a campaign against the PAC was "based on a misreading of the facts".

POLITICIANS are fond of talking of the fog of war, but peace is shrouded in its own strange mists.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Natal, where fledgling peace initiatives are in danger of being bogged down in a mire of conditions and continuing violence.

Leaders from Inkatha and the ANC are certainly talking the right language. They say they believe that the time has come to take concrete steps to persuade their supporters to lay down arms and reconcile their differences. But now that the initiative has reached the point where it is clear to all that leaders need to take the brave step of planning the implementation of peace, their vanquished suspicions have returned to haunt them and they are suddenly hesitant.

At this critical point, the peace process appears to be in danger of becoming war by other means as political parties set conditions and try to extract political capital from SA's most desirable commodity.

Nonetheless, it is remarkable that Natal ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and his Inkatha counterpart David Ntombela have decided at least to create the appearance of reconciliation in the region where violence has dominated the lives of the majority of residents for more than seven years now.

Regional dispute resolution committee chairman M C Pretorius said the first signs of a change in attitude among political leaders occurred in October last year. There was growing co-operation between ANC and Inkatha negotiators in meetings preparing the way for an encounter between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The ANC has agreed to acknowledge the significance of traditional chiefs, who have been the targets of attacks in the past because they are seen as apartheid aligned local authorities. On the other hand, Inkatha has conceded that the chiefs need to allow free political activity in areas under their control and end years of preventing the ANC from addressing people in community halls under

Natal leaders need to seize the moment of hope for peace

BLOOM 31/3/93

RAY HARTLEY

their jurisdiction.

Pretorius said the recent killing of schoolchildren at Table Mountain had a profound effect on leaders in the Natal Midlands, culminating in a joint statement calling for peace.

But the agreements on paper are yet to be implemented and a war psychosis continues to grip much of Natal. More than 95 people have died there this year — higher than the figure for the same period last year.

Seven years of conflict have turned much of the province into a series of Inkatha and ANC controlled zones where no political freedom exists. The Table Mountain area near Maritzburg, where a series of killings left more than 20 people dead this month, is typical of this.

The mountainside is dotted with the burned out houses of ANC supporters who have been driven out of the area and forced to live as refugees. In other areas, Inkatha supporters have been removed in similar fashion. An atmosphere of resignation and suspicion rules the hills and few people walk on the treacherous roads where automatic rifle fire has taken so many lives.

It is clear that people on the ground have had enough of violence, and the mass attacks by one political group on another have given way to assassinations by professional hit-

men, whose political allegiances are difficult to establish.

The callousness of the killing of six schoolchildren on a winding isolated road through Table Mountain graphically illustrates the extent to which these hit squads have lost their humanity. The bakkie carrying the children was raked by AK-47 fire at a bend in the steep road where the vehicle was travelling at its slowest. The killers must have spent a good 10 minutes watching the bakkie struggle slowly up the hill before they opened fire.

The hit squads aim to terrorise, for they must know they cannot gain political support from their actions for any party.

The fight for territory, which characterised the 1980s, has reached a bloody stalemate. Political observers in the region ascribe the change of heart by political leaders partially to a realisation that killing people doesn't win votes. With an election a mere nine months away, they are eager to promote themselves as peacemakers and statesmen.

Meanwhile, the question of who is responsible for the sinister hit squads that undermine peace has become seemingly impossible to

answer. The killers masquerade as police and soldiers, they carry false membership information and they seem to strike randomly.

Some peace officials believe the hit squads are under the control of elements of the ANC and Inkatha bent on undermining the growing reconciliation by their leaders. They argue that these militants believe in the elimination of their opponents and accuse their enemies of publicly committing themselves to peace while continuing with violent efforts to undermine opponents.

Others believe the killings are part of a double agenda pursued by political leaders, who want to increase their popularity by associating themselves with the peace process while cynically continuing military operations to undermine opponents.

A third group argues that the killings are being perpetrated by right-wing elements of the security forces — sometimes called the third force — who wish to prolong the status quo and make elections impossible.

All seem to agree that some of the violence is committed by people who have been driven out of their homes and now seek retribution. Many have seen family members killed and their homes destroyed.

The killers will have to be unmasked if the peace initiative is to

succeed. Security forces need to move quickly to establish their impartiality and the surest way of doing this would be by breaking the command structures of the shadowy forces provoking the violence.

To do this they will need their best investigators such as Goldstone commission special investigator Maj Frank Dutton who, by virtue of his role in the commission, has been robbed of his ability to follow through his investigations with prosecutions.

Goldstone's force has the credibility and the investigative ability to act against violence, but it needs to be strengthened and given the power to crack down on those found to be orchestrating the violence.

Intensive police investigations need the backing of all political leaders to succeed. Leaders should accept greater responsibility for bringing killers to book.

The petty problems that continue to bedevil meetings between leaders have to be put aside in favour of a far-reaching commitment to do what it takes to end violence, however great the embarrassment of appearing to capitulate.

Bilateral meetings being organised by the Natal regional dispute resolution committee will not succeed without their unqualified support and the impact of joint meetings, which will build public confidence in peace, cannot be underestimated.

A meeting of the signatories of the national peace accord is of vital importance to enable that organisation to back the work of its regional and local dispute resolution committees with political support.

Claims that meetings cannot go ahead because of "improper consultation" continue to hamper efforts to get the peace initiative off the ground. This kind of politicking could kill the peace initiative and turn it into another political toy.

The emerging peace initiative, with all its problems, is the first glimmer of hope the people of Natal have seen for some time. They can only hope that their leaders will seize the moment.

'We will not meet warlord attacks with Bibles'

B/DAM 31/3/93

11A

THE ANC would win a majority in an election in Natal Midlands, but the campaign would be difficult due to the division of the region into "no-go" zones controlled by political parties, ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala said at the weekend.

Gwala, who announced yesterday he would be quitting politics by the end of the year, said in an interview that an election in the region would be jointly contested by the ANC and SACP, who would continue their alliance after a new government was installed and until the "national question" was resolved.

He said the ANC was aware that white farmers in the area were insisting their labourers take out Inkatha membership or lose their jobs, making the ANC's election efforts more difficult.

There was a new mood of peace in the strife-torn region, but the ANC would defend itself against attacks by warlords, Gwala said.

"There will be no peace with the warlords who attack us. I want to re-

peat again that if the warlords come to attack us, we won't meet them with Bibles. If they're coming to kill us, we'll kill them," he said.

A planned meeting between himself and his Inkatha counterpart David Ntombela was in jeopardy because he had not been adequately consulted by the Natal regional dispute resolution committee.

"You don't deal with politicians as if they are schoolchildren — little delinquents that we must bring together and say 'stop your nonsense' and then you pair them. . ."

But Gwala remained optimistic that successful moves were being made to get a meaningful peace initiative off the ground.

"We feel that we should, at the grassroots, bring together our people, hold mass meetings together and air our views regarding peace and why violence should be ended, rather than committees coming together — that has been tried and it hasn't worked.

"It's both a mirage and a mood, be-

RAY HARTLEY

cause peace is really necessary but killings haven't abated," he said.

Gwala said he believed killings in the region were being carried out by displaced people seeking revenge and not by a force trying to undermine the peace process as had been suggested in the media.

"I think that it (the violence) is like rain, you know; it doesn't suddenly stop. The downpour itself subsides, but then the clouds let down some drops. If you take the number of people whose houses were destroyed and whose relatives perished, they would obviously want revenge."

He said it had been incorrectly reported that he had recently given up violence in favour of peace. "There isn't any change of heart whatsoever. I have repeatedly said that there is no quarrel among the people themselves, that our real enemy is apartheid and that therefore we must try

to reach an understanding with everybody in this country, Inkatha included. I certainly believe that people must live together in peace and that they must solve their problems in peace."

He said it would be hypocritical to single out the killing of six children at Table Mountain recently from the "hundreds of children who have been killed".

He also said tribal chiefs would have a place, even in a liberated SA. "We regard chiefs as traditional leaders, they were not appointed by us so there's no reason why we should say they must go."

Gwala denied he had been pressured into the peace initiative by ANC president Nelson Mandela during his visit to the region last week. "At no time did he ever mention such a thing. We have had a cordial relationship since we were young men together, and that hasn't changed," he added.

□ Simon Willson's Spotdesk column will resume next week.



□ GWALA

LETTERS

PAC unveils 'socialised' economic policy plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress' latest economic policy positions envisage the redistribution of power, influence and control in private and public corporations to realise "actual and potential African managers".

A document released by PAC economic affairs secretary Mr Sipho Shabalal calls for a "socialised economic system" under which equity and ownership would be redistributed to workers and African community-

based trusts.

Anti-trust legislation would be introduced.

A socialised economic order was characterised by the combination of the ownership and utilisation of productive economic assets with direct participation of "social producers", the document said.

These producers would also be the direct beneficiaries from the products of social labour. — Sapa

CP 31/9/93

Star 3/13/73

PAC threatens to picket Times

EAST LONDON — The Transkei PAC yesterday warned all vendors and distributors of The Sunday Times they would picket all outlets in Transkei on Sunday.

This threat follows a PAC dispute with the newspaper which has led to a boycott.

"Unless these outlets make a written undertaking that they will not accept The Sunday Times, they are standing on the firing line," Transkei PAC regional secretary, Zingisa Mkabile, said yesterday.

The Transkei government yesterday pro-

vised a police escort for the paper's distributors if requested.

"If the PAC wishes to target The Sunday Times as alleged, it should do so at the source, that is, South Africa," Transkei military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said.

He added: "In the meantime I call upon the PAC regional leadership to confirm whether there are plans to interfere with the sale of The Sunday Times in Transkei as there are indications that this can be the work of agent provocateurs. This

will clear the air of any PAC involvement."

Sunday Times editor Ken Owen sent an open letter to Mkabile yesterday expressing his regret at their stated campaign, and offering to meet the Transkei PAC executive if it would be useful to discuss the misunderstandings which have arisen.

He said it was not true the newspaper was engaged in a campaign against the PAC, either in Transkei or elsewhere.

Owen said it was true the paper condemned attacks on civilians and violence. — Elnews.

Toss statue into sea, (11A)

says PAC

ET 31/3/93
Staff Reporter

THE statue of Jan van Riebeeck on the Fore-shore should be "thrown into the sea", PAC executive member Ms Patricia de Lille told a multiparty debate on symbols for a democratic Cape Town yesterday.

She said symbols reminding people of their "terrible colonial dispossession" would have to go.

She was cheered by the student audience at the University of the Western Cape's Mayibuye Centre.

Delegates failed to agree whether all symbols representing apartheid should be removed — but joked the only one likely to be accepted by all Capetonians was the Cape snoek.

President's Council member Mr Willem Steenkamp said symbols depicting the worst of apartheid should be rejected.

Gwala plans to retire this year

3/13/23

DURBAN. — ANC Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala, 72, says he will retire from politics by the end of this year.

He said yesterday that after 50 years of active politics, he felt it was time to take a rest.

His struggle for the liberation of black people led to more than 20 years in jail. — Sapa