

BLACK POLITICS - 1993

MAY.

Hani's successor

By Quentin Wilson

Sowku 115 - 515193
propaganda.

JOURNALIST, communist, soldier, music composer and poet are all descriptions which fit the newly-appointed SACP general secretary, Mr Charles Nqakula. (11A)

Born in Cradock, the 50-year-old Nqakula has been given the task of filling the portfolio of the assassinated Chris Hani.

After banning orders and frequent detentions in the early eighties, the former United Democratic Front publicity secretary for the Border region spent his time in the underground, specialising in ANC

Nqakula left the country in October 1984 and received military training for Umkhonto we Sizwe in Angola, the Soviet Union and East Germany. In 1985 Nqakula joined the SACP.

Three years later he infiltrated South Africa to command Operation Vula in the Western Cape.

Nqakula emerged from the underground before the ANC's July conference in 1991 when given amnesty and served as a member of the interim leadership group of the SACP and as convener of its national organising committee.



Star 11/5/93

Solemn requiem

Mass for Tambo

HUNDREDS of mourners streamed into Johannesburg's St Mary's Cathedral yesterday afternoon to sing a solemn requiem for Oliver Tambo, the ANC's stalwart veteran who died of a stroke last Saturday morning.

Today Tambo's body will lie in state in the cathedral from noon until 6 pm. His funeral service begins at 8.30 am tomorrow at the FNB Stadium.

Among the dignitaries yesterday were Zambia's former president Dr Kenneth Kaunda, members of the ANC's national executive committee and the entire Tambo family led by Oliver's widow Adelaide. She was accompanied by Hani's widow Limpho — who had herself been accompanied by Mrs Tambo barely two weeks ago at the funeral of her husband.

The Mass was celebrated by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the sermon delivered by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston,

a long-time close friend and associate who heads the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain.

The frail and ageing Huddleston powerfully recalled his 50-year friendship with Tambo. He said Tambo had been, in the words of the poet Robert Browning, "one who never turned his back but marched straight forward".

● The ANC has asked mourners not to travel to the cemetery at Waitville on the East Rand where Tambo will be buried.

(11A)
JOE LOUW

TV change

SABC-TV has announced a last-minute change to its weekend television schedule. The Sunday night TV1 film *Terms of Endearment* has been postponed. In its place is *Regina*, an Afrikaans drama simulcast in English.

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IFP claim on violence to be probed

the last minute

Talks saved at

Star 11/5/93

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KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

MULTIPARTY negotiations were pulled back from the brink at the last moment yesterday to close on a high note.

A day of drama at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park saw negotiators seesaw between exasperation and desperation.

Urgency

However, a resolution calling for urgency in the talks and for elections to be held by next April was tabled minutes before the meeting — which looked set for deadlock — ended.

The resolution will be discussed when the national council meets again on Friday.

Earlier, negotiators spent hours nit-picking. At one stage it looked as though the Inkatha Freedom Party was going to walk out. A last-minute compromise proposed by the planning committee



MDLALOSE: In close touch with Buthelezi.

saved the talks.

The negotiations deadlocked when IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose insisted on reading to the meeting a six-page document accusing the ANC and the Government of collusion in violence against IFP members in Natal. The document, distributed on Monday, called for the disbanding of all "private armies" before constitutional negotiations could continue and elections could be held. It accused the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) of killing hundreds of IFP office-bearers in Natal.

The document said the Government was unwilling to act against the ANC and MK as it did not want to "upset the bilateral appletart".

Members of the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Conservative Party backed Mdlalose, insisting that he be allowed to read the document.

The ANC and its allies strongly opposed the motion. A Transkei government delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document, Transkei would "rock this forum".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje asked for a 15-minute adjournment so that a compromise could be found. The planning committee then asked the IFP to table the document, with the agreement that the question of violence would receive continuing attention.

Orders

Sources said Mdlalose was in constant contact with IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi during the impasse, and that he was under orders "to read the document in the meeting or not come back to Ulundi".

After an adjournment lasting nearly two hours, the IFP agreed "as an interim measure" to the creation of a technical sub-committee to study the IFP document, discuss violence and liaise with the national peace committee. However, Mdlalose said the sub-committee could be established only after his delegation had reported back to its principal.

The negotiating council also accepted the planning committee's recommendation that technical committees be established to deal with constitutional issues and human rights.

The technical committee on constitutional issues would deal with — and report to the negotiating council — on the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional re-

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Talks

FROM PAGE 1.

regional government, the future of the homelands and the question of self-determination. ANC and Government negotiators expressed satisfaction about the progress in the last minutes of the meeting, saying the decision to create technical committees was an indication of the meeting's success.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Manpower Minister Leon Wessels later said parties which were more "hesitant than others" about holding an early election had to be allowed to express their reservations. ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said

the meeting had "recorded rather good progress". He expected the talks to begin tackling "substantive" issues within two weeks and that setting an election date would be "the number one item for next week".

Mdlalose said there had been a difference in approach over the technical committees. The IFP believed they would be called into being only "as and when necessary". He said the IFP feared that the technical committees might try to "do the work we have not asked them to".

Mdlalose said he was disappointed that he had not been allowed to read his speech on violence. "I'm going to consult my principals, but my feeling is that the thing is not over. I must read that speech," he said.

South 115 - 5/5/93

The impossible dream?

Laurie Nathan



THE REALISATION of multi-party control of the security forces is made impossible by the problems and difficulties inherent in this political demand. We simply do not have the mechanisms, short of a democratic government, to achieve this.

The current ministries have no control over the security forces, so it is difficult to believe that a multiparty committee will enjoy more success.

Working Group 3 of Codesa, in their report, motivated for a formal sub-committee on defence and law and order. There was agreement in principle on this, although political organisations have not been able to follow through the mandate spelled out in the report.

The difficult question is whether the sub-committee will have executive authority. The government would like it to be an advisory body while the ANC is pushing for a body with executive authority.

An advisory body will have no real influence and will not be a major step forward. If it has executive authority, it could play the role of a ministry of defence and police until a democratic government is elected.

It will need a mandate to pass legislation, the authority to determine where the security forces are deployed, draft a code of conduct and be given the power to begin the process of integration of the security forces.

These requirements, politically sound as they may appear, present almost insurmountable problems. How will the committee reach consensus and exercise executive authority if 26 political parties are participating in it? This is completely incomprehensible.

Even if they reach consensus easily, political control of the armed forces is not operational control. The committee will require a mechanism to implement its decisions from a political level to an operational level.

What is worth establishing, however, is a joint military high command responsible for implementing decisions relating to defence.

Sorting out policing is more difficult. Not only the government has to be contended with but the bantustan police forces as well.

The fact that there is no progressive equivalent to the South African Police would also pose difficulties for the liberation movements.

Another massive problem is the numbers of

parties represented on the sub-committee. Perhaps five to six of the major political players could limit the size and the other parties could be invited to advise the committee.

The sub-committee's decisions could go to a transitional executive council meeting for debate, but to what extent will the committee be allowed to act independently?

Multi-party control of the security forces is only possible under a democratic government. The government would be responsible for the security forces and other parties would participate through parliamentary sub-committees.

I doubt whether political parties will be able to reach agreement on this issue before elections for a democratic government are held.

Political organisations should not be naive about what they can achieve in the short-term. They should rather look at which stepping stones can be put in place to realise the long-term objectives.

The best solution to the problem of the control of the security forces is a massive international monitoring force, like we saw in Namibia.

The army was confined to barracks in the run-up to the Namibian elections and the police were accompanied by not only peace observers, but police observers too.

International monitors present the most attractive option as it is feasible in terms of logistics, finance and politics.

While the demand for multiparty control of the security forces is important politically, players on all sides need to think it through

more extensively.

The problem with a lot of the Codesa and bilateral talks proposals is that there is agreement in principle, but the details are left until later to be worked out.

Details have everything to do with deciding whether a plan is feasible or not.

If the ANC is serious about their demand, they have to come up with viable proposals.

(Laurie Nathan is a defence analyst attached to the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town).

Mass action plan 'to win support'

South 115 - 5/5/93

By Quentin Wilson

DETAILS of the ANC's mass action campaign in the Cape will be released at Saturday's May Day rally, said ANC regional secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni. (11A) (11A) Yengeni said the six-week campaign would involve taking up

regional issues as well as national political demands.

"It will be different from last year's mass action campaign. It must win us more supporters rather than alienating people.

"We do not want a mob running around throwing stones. We want to take our message to the people

so they understand our political objectives," Yengeni said.

Saturday's events will include a memorial service for Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani.

There will also be a soccer match between Cape Town Spurs and Lightbodies and a march past of uMkhonto weSizwe soldiers.

Star 11/5/93

MA

Culture for the people

WALLY Serote has been a kingpin in the ANC's drive for cultural liberation. JOE LOUW spoke to him at a conference this week.

FROM the beachhead of exile, the people's poet, Wally Serote, has always been at the forefront of South Africa's cultural battles and the politics of culture. And, as the angry young man of the 1970s, he offered no apologies for his strident assertion that without cultural liberation there could be no political liberation.

But Serote, a man of prodigious talent and productivity, has mellowed since the days of the cultural boycott, when he acquired a reputation as the cultural tsar of the ANC.

Then he seemed to appear everywhere at once — on television, at conferences, at stadiums, on shows, at lectures; arguing, agitating, threatening and pushing his cause for all he was worth, sometimes making a thorough nuisance of himself.

This week he was again in high profile at the Johannesburg Civic Centre, where the ANC's department of art and culture was conducting its fourth thematic cultural conference.

This time the gathering was geared not for protest but, driven by Serote's unflagging gusto, to consider "culture and development".

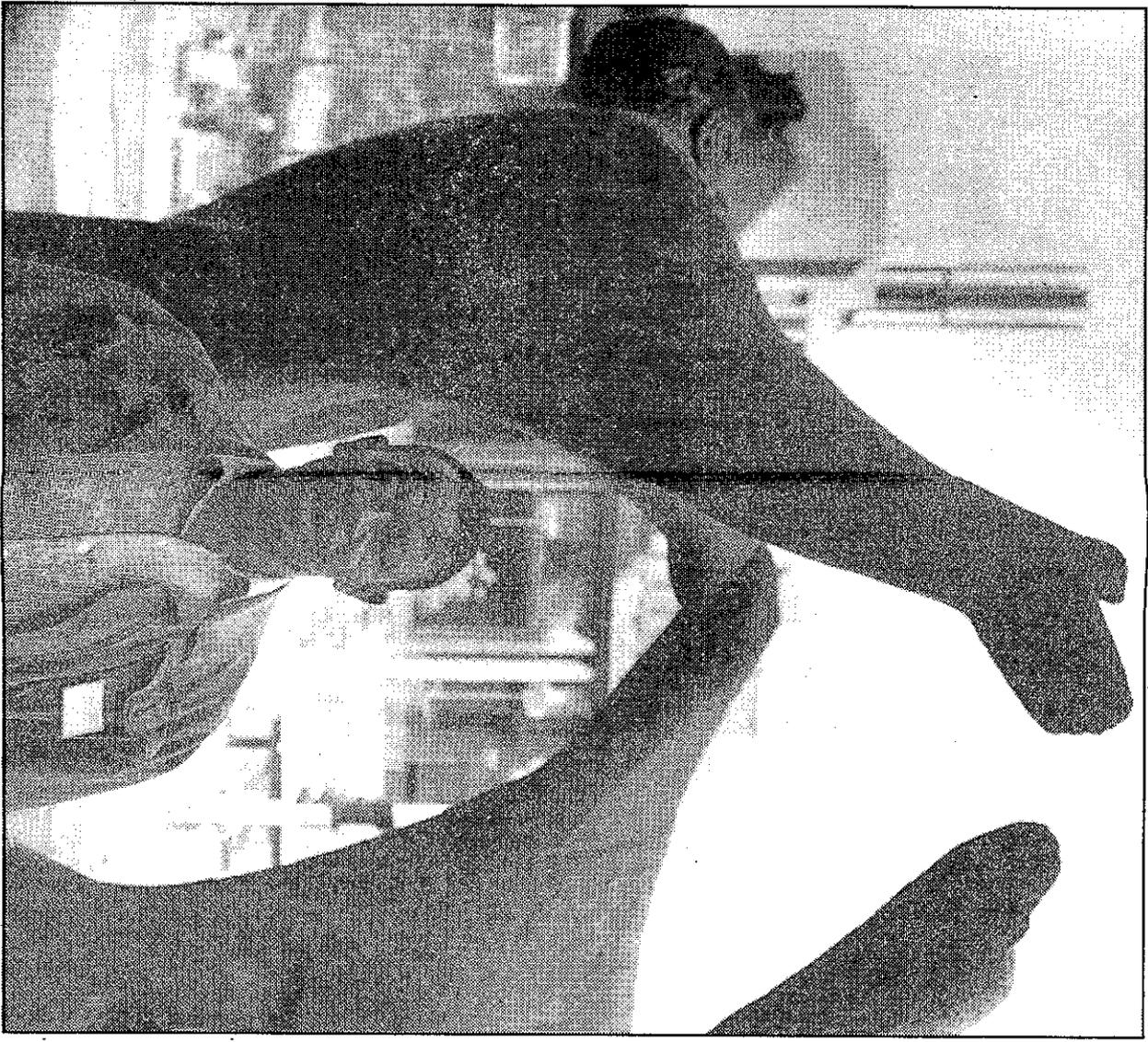
HE SPOKE with great optimism about his beloved country, of healing and reconciliation, of a South Africa belonging — as in the Freedom Charter — to all who live in it.

He was straining to accommodate those who would interpret his new vision as "just so much hype" which would vanish as soon as the ANC was in total control and began to assert its ideology.

Serote took some time off from scurrying about at the Civic Centre to speak to the Saturday Star. "The ANC has no hidden agendas," he said. "We have never been exclusivist, either on the grounds of race, sex or culture, or anything else.

"Our advocacy has always been for an open society — non-racist, non-sexist. Our directive from the president of the ANC himself has been that whatever we do in culture, to make sure we include everybody, and that we remain accountable to the people."

All political formations were invited to the conference, "not as participants but as observers, mainly because we did not want to turn a cultural conference into a political conference. We want them to be



NO APOLOGIES: Serote remains at the forefront of local cultural battles. ● Photograph: JOE LOUW

aware of our thinking and our direction in culture," he said.

Serote, who played a leading role in the ANC's policy on culture, was involved in its earliest efforts to organise the cultural front of the organisation's resistance to apartheid.

In 1982 he helped to organise a mammoth cultural

ya. Also there were Nadine Gordimer and Bill Ainsley. "Two things came out of that initial meeting," said Serote. "One was that we had cultural workers form organisations, and mobilised those organisations to become part and parcel of the liberation process. Secondly was that we had to reinforce the cultural boycott.

"The task was to isolate white cultural institutions and individuals to pressure them to accept that they had to accept that a large portion of our population was culturally marginalised, and that they were part and parcel of that deprivation ..."

WITHIN the next five years, said Serote, the ANC department of art and culture — which he headed — was able to assist, from exile, the proliferation of hundreds of cultural organisations. This led to the next phase of the great cultural "rethink".

This time, 1987, the venue was Amsterdam. The theme was "culture in another South Africa". It was to prepare the way for the watershed of February 1990.

"That was where we had to explore, in great detail, just what we meant by 'a democratic culture'," Serote said.

"We were guided by the very first clause of the Freedom Charter — that South Africa belongs to all people who live in it, black and white — which meant we had to create structures which included all its people, and to let South African culture flourish for all without fear or favour or exclusivism."

A SUBSEQUENT cultural conference in London in 1990 furthered the cause by starting on pragmatic considerations — training cultural workers in administration, management and technical areas. This task, Serote said, was very much the "nuts and bolts" of this week's conference.

"We are now drawing up a programme of action to redress cultural and other imbalances. The Zabalaza conference (in London) taught us that it is possible to draw methods and means of empowerment of individuals, and we are looking into how we are going to pull together the diversity of our culture in this country to make it part and parcel of the democratic processes and of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

"We see culture as a means of healing our nation, of uniting our nation and of creating a culture of tolerance among our people."

Serote was born in Sophiatown, went to school in Alexandra, and is the father of five boys: Lentsoe, Zweli, Sechaba, Vuyo and Thabo.

The Security Council has proposed the establishment of safety zones around various Bosnian cities, including Sarajevo and Tuzla.

● Photograph: AP
army, or local Muslim spokesman John Mc-Sapa-AFP

Spirit of Codesa lives on in revived multiparty talks

THE large number of agreements forged laboriously over many hours at the Codesa 2 negotiations last year are to be used to facilitate progress in the now revived multiparty negotiations — and not consigned to the archives. The detailed agreements, running to hundreds of typed pages,

have been summarised by a drafting subcommittee and presented in a consolidated document for consideration by the present negotiators. The aim is to speed up discussion on the Codesa accords by making it pertinent and directed and, wherever possible, to incorporate these agreements into the

present negotiating process. Participants in current negotiations include several parties which did not take part in Codesa, including, significantly, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party. In a sense the agreements rest on the Declaration of Intent, in which

PATRICK LAURENCE

nearly all the parties at Codesa committed themselves to the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The declaration contained an addendum, which — at the request of the Inkatha Freedom Party — stated specifically that the declaration did not exclude adoption of a federal or even a confederal constitution.

A clarifying statement by the Codesa management committee stipulated that there was nothing to stop any participant from making submissions on the issue of self-determination. "It may have helped persuade the CP to join the present discussions."

Codesa agreed further that there should be a two-stage "transition to democracy".

● The first stage included preparations for the holding of free and fair elections for a parliament under an interim constitution, the elections themselves and the drawing up by the interim parliament of a new constitution. The interim parliament would simultaneously serve as a legislature until a new — as distinct from an interim — constitution was implemented.

● The second stage included the holding of elections under the new constitution and the installation of a new government under it. (The later bilateral accord between the De Klerk administration and the ANC on the need for an

interim government of national unity during the first stages is clearly based on the Codesa agreement).

The Codesa agreement stipulated that the final constitution would be drawn up in accordance with "general constitutional principles".

Agreement

A Codesa list of principles on which there was agreement included: supremacy of the constitution; independence of the judiciary; separation of legislative, executive and judicial branches of government; representative and accountable government, meaning multi-democracy and regular elections; and acknowledgement of linguistic, cultural and religious diversity.

In addition it was

agreed that a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) should be established; one of its functions would be to help prepare for free and fair elections of an interim parliament under an interim constitution to be drafted by the parties at Codesa.

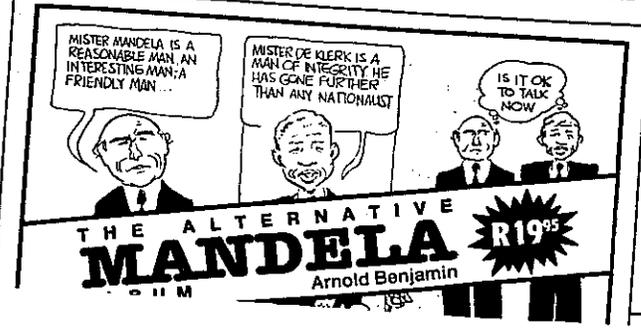
Several different subcommittees would function under the TEC, including committees on regional and local government, finance, law and order, defence, foreign affairs and elections.

The election subcommittee would work closely with an independent election commission charged with "responsibility for holding free and fair elections" and consisting of suitably qualified persons

drawn from a broad cross-section of the population. The independent election commission would, however, be independent of the TEC and its sub-councils.

On the pending election the Codesa parties agreed that the citizens of the nominally independent TBVC states should participate, and that their votes should be recorded in such a way as to enable them to signify whether or not they were in favour of reincorporation.

Bophuthatswana — which did not sign the Declaration of Intent because it did not want to commit itself to reunification until it knew what kind of South Africa would emerge from the process — recorded its reservations about the election arrangement.



Star 115193

Role of security forces a thorny issue

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

ALTHOUGH there is almost common cause among most of the organisations and parties negotiating at the World Trade Centre about the need for a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) to be established as soon as possible, there is as yet no consensus about the powers of the TEC and its sub-councils.

The ANC and its allies would like a TEC set up as soon as possible, and want it and its sub-councils to have "effective, thorough-going and binding powers".

They envisage a situation where the TEC would be a supreme body, running the country on some issues and with absolute say on matters relating to "the levelling of the playing field" with regard to the forthcoming elections.

Pretoria agrees that the TEC and its sub-councils would have power over matters related to the elections but sees it as a body with advisory powers. As President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town this week, the Government considers itself the legitimate ruler of the country, and says it will surrender power only to an elected government of national unity.

Another potentially divisive issue, which has yet to come up in the multiparty negotiations forum, is the exact role and powers of the TEC sub-council on the security forces.

The ANC would like the security forces "and all other armed formations" to come under joint control by the TEC.

The organisation refuses to have its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe discussed separately in negotiations under the question of violence — as Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose tried to do yesterday.

And by "all armed formations" the ANC has in mind not only the police and the SADF — which it describes as "private armies of the regime" — but the KwaZulu Police (KZP), right-wing organisations "military commandos" and the "independent" homelands' defence forces.

The IFP and KwaZulu — they have separate delegations in the negotiations — do not see the controversial KZP as a "private army", and object vehemently to this description.

Unlike the Government and

the ANC, the IFP and KwaZulu are also opposed to the establishment of a TEC, as well as to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly to write the country's new constitution.

Instead, they would like to see the multiparty negotiations forum as currently constituted write the constitution and present it to the public for approval in a referendum. Only then, they argue, can elections be held.

The IFP and some of its allies in the Concerned Southern Africans Group do not envisage an interim phase during the transition, and are opposed to the installation of a TEC and a government of national unity which would emerge after elections for a constituent assembly.

IFP CLAIM ON VIOLENCE

casting is not a science . . . but it can be fair

armed legally and the other illegally.

It was the ready availability of AK-47s in our violent society that prompted me to suggest, when I was on the *Agenda* team, setting up hidden camera coverage of an illegal arms transaction through a Renamo contact in Swaziland. The idea was turned down cold: I mean, who knew where it might lead? Also topical today, and also relevant to the immediate past

By PAT ROGERS

Telly Tales

(criticism of future performance will have to wait) is the appointment of a new SABC Board and efforts to ensure free and independent reportage to facilitate the transitional process.

The ANC is a key player in this and an important policy speech on the subject was deli-

vered for them by Cyril Ramaphosa in November last year. Received and processed by TV1, it was not used when it might have given some cause for optimism.

Moving on however, I support Pretorius in the cutting of Mandela's address to the nation on TV1 on April 13. A four-

minute speech is a long one on a news bulletin, and no broadcaster should accept directions ignoring this from Government or elsewhere. That of course does not have to end coverage of the event.

What concerns me on this issue is that it apparently took the ANC to see the need for Mandela to address his people on the need for calm, and to approach the SABC accordingly. The initiative should have come

from the SABC in the first place.

The rationale for differences between TV1 and CCV news coverage of events is open to debate, but I think Pretorius muddles his argument when he downplays market segmentation. On sports news for instance we know that one audience will want more rugby and another more soccer. One will want the news in Zulu and another in English.

The challenge of course is not to deepen divisions by giving different communities different versions of the truth and different perceptions of priorities. But then as Pretorius has observed, TV news is not an exact science.

As a foot-note, and without reflecting on his innocence or guilt in connection with the assassination of Chris Hani, a little story that says something about Clive Derby-Lewis' judgement. After a conversation about television and the SABC, in 1985 he invited me to join the Stallard Foundation. . .



Orchids & Onions

THE Orchid Award this week goes to agency Bernstein Loxton Golding & Klein and its client Nissan SA for the new Uno commercial.

Some of the characters in the latest commercial include an ostrich, a rather large mother-in-law, a leggy model, two Yorkshire terriers and a pair of Dalmatians.

The concept is simple but effective: two voice-overs discuss various ideas of illustrating the space in an Uno, and the viewer sees their ideas come to life, in a manner of speaking. Each of the characters represent a different way of highlighting Uno's space.

"We wanted to communicate that Uno is a spacious car without moving away from its 'tongue-in-cheek' brand character," says Johan Kleynhans, GM Uno Marketing and Communications at Nissan SA.

Unconvincing facial features

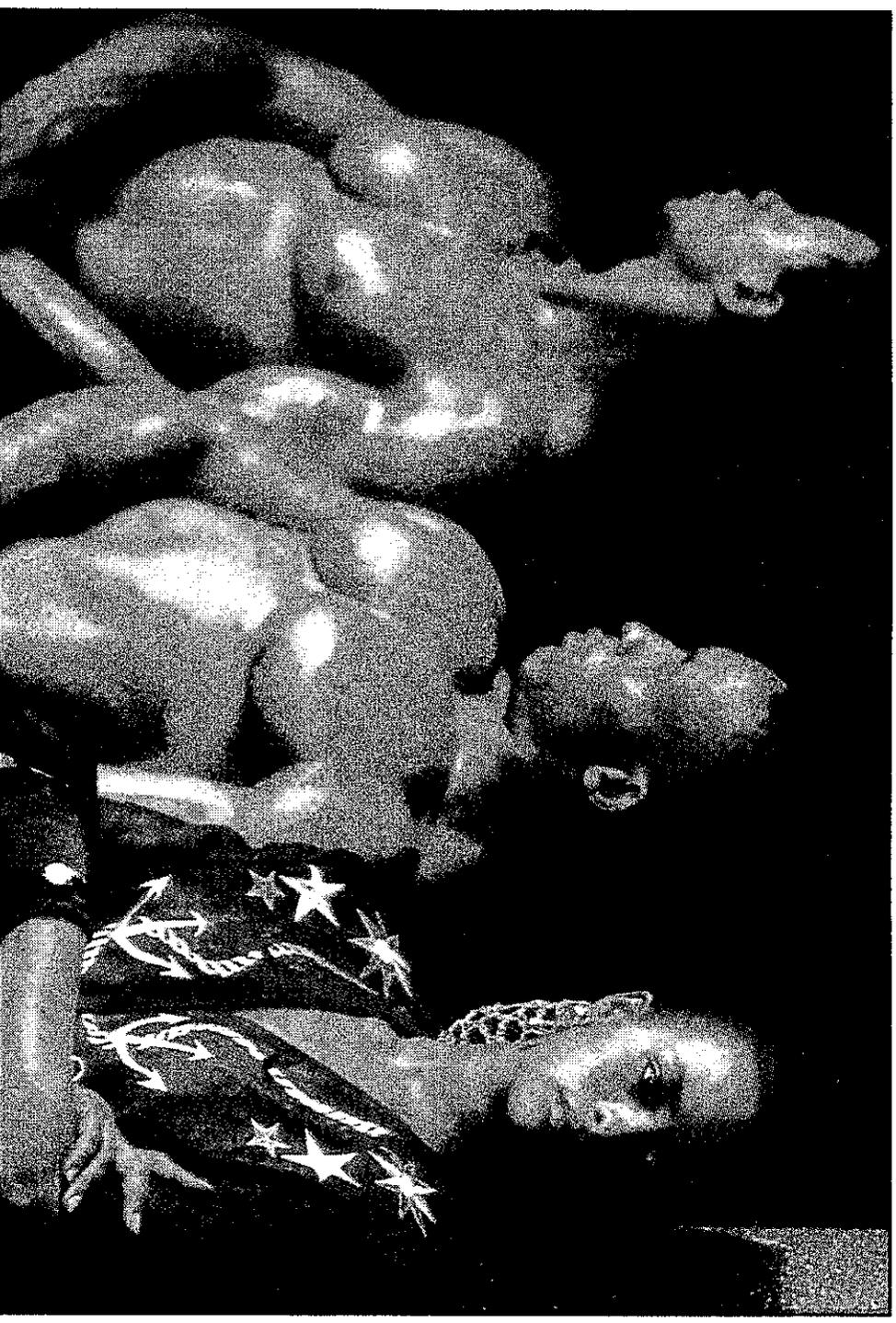
The ostrich was trained for a week for its moment in the spotlight, while the dogs were trained by their owners for their TV debut.

Paul Sellars, senior copywriter at Bernstein Loy:son, Golding & Klein says, "I really thought we'd have trouble with the ostrich but he was okay, sitting quietly happily in the boot with the actor reacting to him."

The **Onion Award** for this week goes to Sherwood Strategic and R&C Pharmaceuticals for the Codis ad. It depicts two personalised stethoscopes, with rather unconvincing facial features, having a conversation.

According to Sherwood strategic account manager Nicole Sharrer this sort of ad was chosen over the usual type which depicts pain and suffering. Its main objective is to show that Codis is the doctor's choice endorsed by hospitals.

Pity that watching this ad is pretty painful!



RIPLLING BICEPS: Sales House's new television ad, *Women of Africa*, follows Sales House's successful *Men of Africa* ad.

and its reason consumers make intellectual choices in a marketplace. Against competitors are not a major building their own picture is given. (This is to work of comparing brands); the company's sportsman-

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Musclemen evoke 'spiritual' strength of African women

NAKED male torsos seen in Sales House's powerful new womenswear TV campaign — entitled *Women of Africa* — are sure to cause a stir in the marketplace.

Statements such as "this will change the scope of SA advertising" and "daring to be bold" are responses received thus far.

The campaign follows Sales House's successful *Men of Africa* television ad. It praises the strength of African women and features seven beautiful women, clothed in the latest merchandise, with the bared chests of two musclemen as a backdrop.

Sales House marketing director Penny Lloyd says although the ad is controversial and nudily a sensitive issue in the black market, great care was taken to respect the culture and tradition of this market, without losing the necessary impact.

The ad continues to build on Sales House's successful association with aspiration and quality, both aspects prominent in the chain's merchandise.

"The ad is in no way sexual or physical," says ad agency Ogilvy & Mather Rightford Searle-Tripp & Makin's creative

director, Ashley Bacon, "but is a tribute to the spiritual strength of African women.

"Men in the ad are playing a secondary role, with the women seen as bold, sensual, confident and proud to be black," he said.

"Sales House customers are aspirant and confident, and I believe this ad will strike at their hearts," says Lloyd. "Our advertising is renowned for its contrasts and the success to date speaks for itself."

The advert was shot at Lonehill Studios by The Vision Corporation under the direction of Giaco Angelini, who also directed the *Men of Africa* campaign.

NSOP 'enormously pleased' to win Sunday Star account

THE advertising account of one of the rising "stars" in the Argus stable, the Sunday Star, has been won by Nielson, Selby, Oxley and Pierce (NSOP).

The reason for moving the R800 000 account from McCann Erikson to NSOP was due to changing philosophies.

"Our marketing plans have changed and as a result, we mutually agreed to part company," an Argus source said.

NSOP, which bills an average R12 million a year, pitched for the account against Muddells, who handle the daily Star advertising, and Abelman Lee Duncan.

NSOP MD Steve Pierce said he was "enormously pleased to be working on an account we have had our eye on for years".

NSOP sees its strength in being able to create a campaign that not only clearly defines the Sunday Star in the minds of pres-

ent and potential readers, but also to drive sales.

"We will do this through *Theme and Scheme* advertising," Pierce said, "theme being building the brand and positioning it, and scheme as in driving sales."

"We look forward to doing some great stuff for a group of guys we like a helluva lot," he said.



STYLISH: The latest issue of *Style* shows the face lift the publication has undergone.

New-look *Style* blazes modern design trail

STYLE magazine, with the help of design consultants Pentagraph, has had a face lift.

Editor Marilyn Hattingh writes in the latest issue that it is a "redesigned, remodelled, revitalised magazine that's oh, so modern."

"While blasting off on the design angle, we also revitalised editorial. We have taken a long hard look at our main features and adapted our approach to suit our life and times."

With a circulation close to 50 000 copies an issue, *Style* is a well-positioned niche market publication, she notes.

Pentagraph design director Kees Schilperoord

ple one sees in fashion magazines who are purely media's creation.

"We are creating a magazine for people who enjoy life."

The magazine is designed to have consistency in the overall style but with each page being unique and interesting.

International magazine trends which were applied, include generous use of white space and the introduction of strong colours in big areas, an attempt to cut down on intimidating blocks of copy, the use of real people, less rigidity on internal grids, bigger play on typography.

"The basic rule that Pentagraph applied to

Kernman:
marketers
nds that
se brands?"

W. South

CLASSIFIED
Place the best
Mother's Day
message in
The Star Classified
and win a trip for 4
to the Fish River Sun
PHONE 492-3500

AMONG FRIENDS: *The ANC leader, who will address MPs from both Houses next week, says he has not discarded the country's influence*

Love affair with Britain

Star 11/5/93

NELSON Mandela tells JOHN CARLIN in Johannesburg why he still harbours a genuine fondness for 'the old country'.

WHENEVER Nelson Mandela has a choice, he flies British Airways. Partly because, unlike its South African rivals, BA had the wisdom right from the start of his frequent, high-profile world travels three years ago to pamper him as would a head of state.

Another reason, it turns out, is that the president of the African National Congress has an historical esteem for Britain, a long sense of identification, which the vicissitudes of present times have not dimmed.

Mandela will visit London on Tuesday for the first time since he was released from prison on February 11 1990 and for the fifth time in his life. His first visit was in 1962 after he had gone underground in his capacity as the head of the ANC's newly formed military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. He smuggled himself out of the country, toured America and arrived in London in June.

Dignities almost over

His biographer, Mary Benson, wrote: "The sense of freedom he felt for the first time in his life was, he said later, a freedom 'from white oppression, from the idiocy of apartheid, from police molestation, from humiliation and indignity. Wherever I went I was treated like a human being.'"

Forty-one years later, now aged 74, all those indignities are almost over. Even F W de Klerk is in little doubt that, unless the gunmen of the Right get to him first, Mandela will take over next year as the first democratically elected president.

His health, contrary to regular rumours, does not seem to be an impediment.

At his office in Johannesburg this week, at 7.30 am hours after he had risen to do his daily one-hour exercise routine) he stood tall, fit and slim as he recalled his first trip to Britain. "It was a very exciting experience for me. You must remember I was brought up in a 'British' school and at the time Britain was the home of everything that was best in the world. I have not discarded the influence which British and British history and culture exercised on me. We regarded it as the capital of the world and visiting the place therefore had an excitement because I was visiting the country which was my pride."

Britain's decline has not altered Mandela's perceptions. "Britain exercised a tremendous influence on our generation, east and west. Because it was British liberals, missionaries, who started education in this country — education for Africans — at a time when the South African Government took no responsibility whatsoever. You must also remember that Britain is the home of parliamentary democracy

QUOTE:

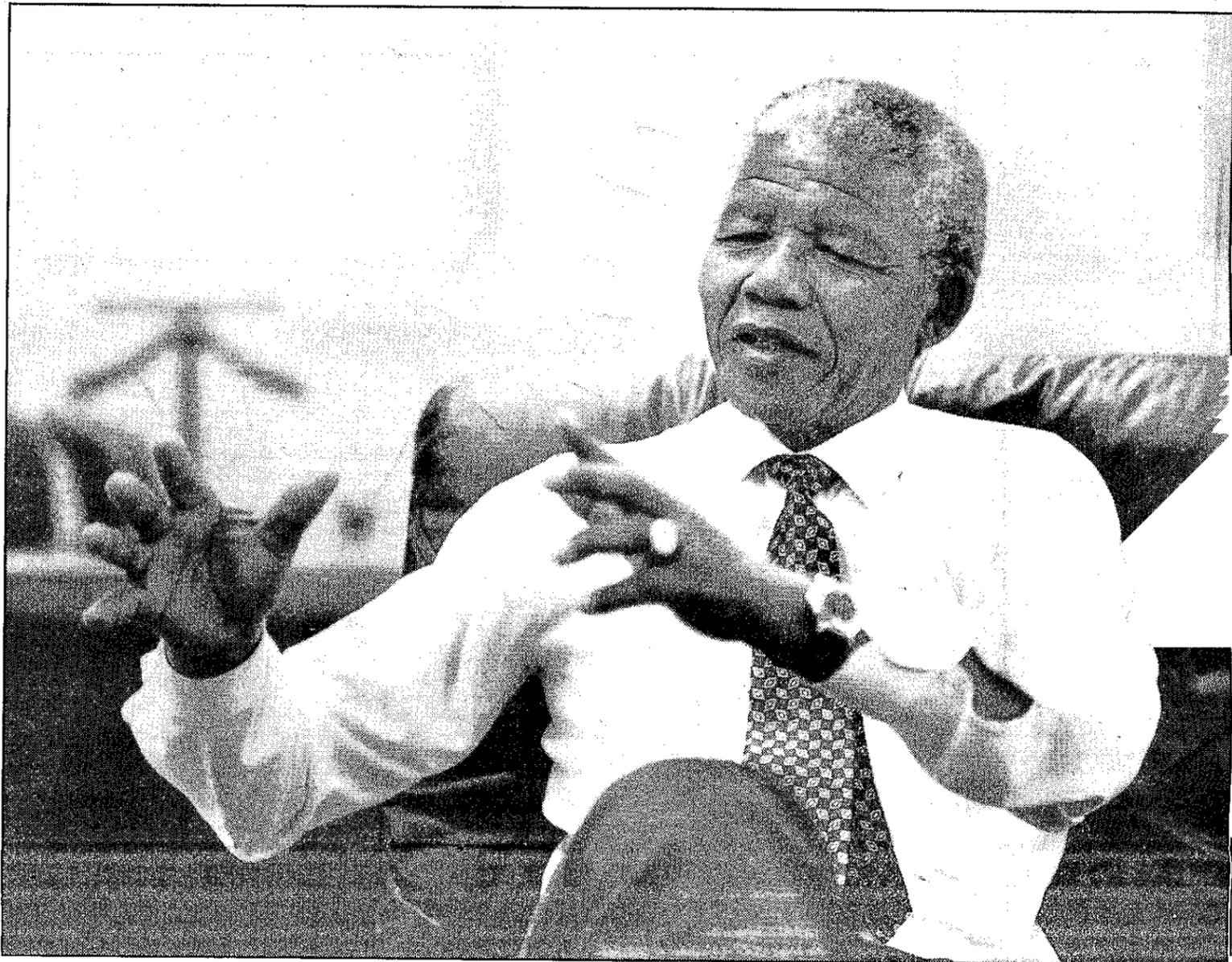
"I FELT free from white oppression, the idiocy of apartheid, from police molestation, from humiliation and indignity. Everywhere I went I was treated like a human being"



as people fighting against a form of apartheid in this country, we look upon it as an active interest to support in our fight against apartheid."

It will be his message when he addresses members of both Houses of Parliament on Wednesday evening, an event he looks forward to with relish. He did say it, but a stately British parliamentary chamber is more his natural political environment than a seething soccer stadium in Soweto.

The paradox is that his appeal, his mythical standing, among the vast majority of black South Africans remains intact. The ANC will win the democratic



THE LEADER: His mythical standing among the vast majority of blacks remains intact. The ANC will win the democratic election expected next year, but it is Nelson Mandela alone who will ensure that none of the ANC's rivals come close. © Photograph: DUIF DU TOIT

Where Nelson Mandela feels at home

election expected next year. But it is Nelson Mandela alone who will ensure none of the ANC's rivals come close.

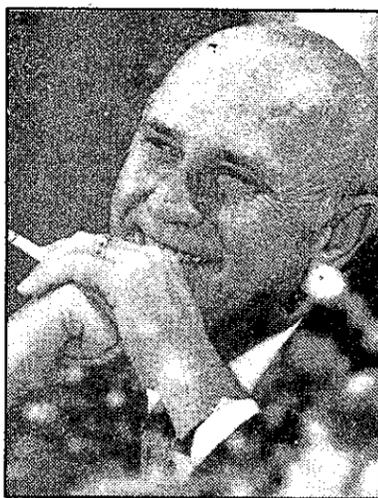
The point has been made often, in a favourite editorial writers' phrase, that "Mandela cannot control the angry youth". He rejects the notion. "There is more than 40 percent unemployment in the country. Crime is rocketing. Many of our youths are not going to school, are in the streets, are without jobs. People wonder where they are going to get their next meal. That is a situation which has caused a great deal of bitterness, especially in the cities. It is a situation which we in the ANC fully understand.

"But what is important is their response when you come out now to explain, to spell out the dangers of their behaviour. Invariably they have listened and thought, and I think that should be regarded as significant."

But what about the mood, prevalent since the assassination of Chris Hani, against persisting in negotiations with the Government? "I say to people, I understand your anger and, myself, I don't like the National Party. But if you are building a new South Africa, you ought to be prepared to work with people you don't like, to work with De Klerk to bring about this new South Africa."

So did he really not like De Klerk? "De Klerk, however illegitimate and discredited his Government, runs the de facto government of this country. There can be no peaceful change without him being involved and it is therefore our task to work with him in order to bring about the democratic changes we envisage.

"And whether I like him or not, the reality of our situation is that I have to work with him. And of course, when you negotiate you have to accept the integrity of another man... but you hammer him when you believe he has acted in a manner going to derail the peace talks."



QUOTE:

"DE KLERK runs the de facto Government of this country. There can be no peaceful change without him being involved. I have to work with him."

— Nelson Mandela

that he has failed to rein in what he calls "the third force — elements in the security forces, Military Intelligence... a covert organisation working underground". Mandela believes they are the ones who murdered Hani and have been behind countless political killings.

"They want to plunge this country into a racist, bloody civil war. That is what they want and our task is to prevent that and ensure that elections, democratic

of national unity is set up."

That is also De Klerk's stated aim, and Mandela's complaints about his failure to act against the wreckers are tempered by a certain understanding of his predicament. "In my view, one of the problems of De Klerk is to get the full support of his Cabinet for the reforms he is bringing about. There are, I think, quite strong hawks in this Government.

"Delegations of the National Party have reached a stage where they quarrel openly in our presence in these talks. There are members of the National Party who are not on speaking terms with each other. And for De Klerk to conduct the investigations he may want, well, we understand his problems but nevertheless we blame him for his timidity towards the entire right wing."

De Klerk's specific fear, he said, was splitting the Cabinet and losing support to the Conservative Party. Such thinking, Mandela said, belonged to the past and showed that De Klerk had not yet embraced the broad new vision to which he said he aspired. He still thought primarily as an Afrikaner.

"He is a smart chap, confident, accessible and a man who compromises... but he is in this stalemate because he still thinks that he can unite the Afrikaner and he doesn't want to go down in history as the man who split the Afrikaner.

"He must give that up. But if he does not take bold action and join the democratic forces, he is going to put across this image of a man who has no backbone, who is chicken-hearted."

Mandela could be forgiven if he talked about De Klerk, who during 21 years in Parliament has endorsed the worst horrors of apartheid, with distaste. That he does not, reflects perhaps on South Africa's greatest mystery, seen from the European point of view.

The vast majority of black South Afri-

a fault towards their white compatriots and oppressors. The message that has struck a chord has not been the Pan Africanist Congress's "one settler, one bullet". It has been the ANC with its bedrock principle of "nonracialism" that has captured the popular imagination.

What was the explanation? "Well, this dates far back and beyond the establishment of the ANC. The whites who came here were received very warmly by our people. One is tempted to believe that the statement that the Afri-

QUOTE:

"IT was very exciting for me. You must remember I was brought up in a 'British' school and at that time Britain was the home of everything that was best in the world."



can people are by nature very kind and well disposed may be true — although I am not prepared to put my head on the block about its accuracy.

"But that is the entrenched reputation, and I would therefore explain the absence of bitterness in terms of a very cultured history and tradition.

"There is something ingrained in Africans where people are able to express their views without bitterness, to fight for what we regard as being wrong without bitterness. The message of the ANC has merely consolidated that historical pat-

IN THE coming weeks the demand for joint control over the security forces will resonate in ANC-led mass campaigns. One party cannot control the security forces in the transitional period. It would be unwise, for example, to allow the government — as one player in the negotiation process — to have absolute control over the SADF and SAP during the period leading to elections.

To level the playing fields it is up to the multi-party forum to establish organs that can neutralise any force which can upset the creation of a democratic South Africa.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will have to curtail any military activity which threatens the route to democracy.

We are not saying the TEC's sub-council on defence should actively manage all armed formations during the interim period. But they should be accountable to this multi-party structure and accept it as their legitimate short-term authority.

In our meetings with the government, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the ANC have tabled proposals for political and operational control of the security forces.

It spells out how we envisage the implementation of multi-party control of security including defence, police and intelligence.

We are awaiting a government response.

The ANC proposes a TEC sub-council on defence which will:

- Require participants in the TEC to submit all decisions related to military developments for its consideration and approval;
- Require participants not to proceed with any military development which will undermine or prejudice the transition;
- Propose legislation on defence; restructuring military formations; formulating budgets; the appointment of officers to the gener-

CROSSTALK

Armed forces: South 115 - 515193 who will hold the reins?

The violence of the crisis week following Chris Hani's death has amplified the ANC's call for multiparty control of the South African security forces.

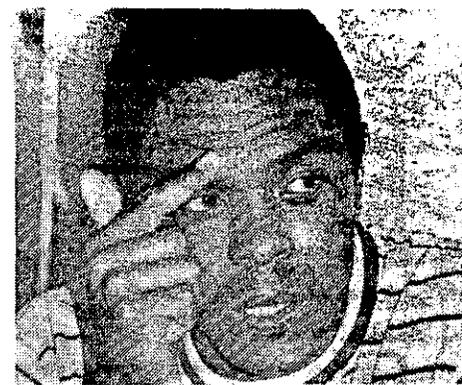
Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff **SIPHIWE NYANDA** explains why the ANC has made this demand and how it will be implemented.

Military analysts **ROCKLAND WILLIAMS** and **LAURIE NATHAN** disagree on the viability of the plan:

al staff; the manufacture and procurement of weaponry; strategic planning; training;

- Oversee the disbanding of the State

Security Council (SSC) and all structures flowing from the National Security Management System (NSMS), including the Joint



Monitoring Committees (JMC).

- Have the power to review and suspend existing legislation related to defence and military formations.

- Ensure that the SADF's role be confined to protecting the borders of South Africa against foreign aggression.

- Advise the TEC on the circumstances under which a military formation may be deployed in an operational capacity.

- Formulate a Code of Conduct which shall be binding on all members of military formations of participants in the TEC;

- Have unrestricted access to all information which concerns defence and military formations of TEC participants;

- Have the power to hear complaints concerning military formations from the Independent Electoral Commission, the Goldstone Commission, National Peace Accord structures and the TEC;

- Have the power to begin the process of formulating policy for the integration of armed forces;

- Have the power to establish a Joint Military Co-ordinating Committee, comprised of representatives of military formations of TEC participants, to oversee the implementation of its decisions and instructions.

Anger is not enough, mourners told

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff

ARC 11/5/93

311A

BEING angry with a political system which forced ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo into exile was not good enough, ANC national committee member Mr Dullah Omar has told University of the Western Cape students.

He said blacks should also hate the system.

At a memorial meeting for Mr Tambo — who will be buried in Benoni tomorrow — he

said the media was portraying the late ANC leader as a pacifist.

“If I were to describe him I would say Comrade Oliver Reginald Tambo was a revolutionary. The real ‘OR’ (as he was intimately known) has prepared the people to storm the Bastille.”

Mr Tambo died at a time of intense struggle in South Africa.

“Throughout our land our people are rising, our people are angry. We must understand

our people are in revolt.”

But the people were not angry enough.

“If we are angry we must be consistently angry. We must learn to hate oppression and love freedom.”

He added: “OR prepared our people to storm the Bastille. I want to say to you let’s take up that spear and storm the Bastille.”

Earlier, ANC constitutional committee member Professor Kader Asmal said Mr Tambo was part of a group which in-

cluded ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and his deputy Mr Walter Sisulu who gave the post-war ANC “a bold new spirit of militancy”.

UWC rector Professor Jakes Gerwel said few other leaders or public figures inspired the love and warmth which Mr Tambo had generated.

“These days we are looking for spirit and revolution, but there’s almost a serenity to one’s sadness today. There’s a real sense of dignity in the death of OR.”

(117) ARC 7/5/93

Requiem mass for Tambo

JOE LOUW

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of mourners streamed into St Mary's Cathedral on a gently sunny autumn afternoon to sing a requiem mass for Oliver Tambo.

The ANC stalwart died of a stroke last Saturday.

Among the dignitaries in attendance yesterday were Zambia's former president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and members of the ANC's national executive committee.

The Tambo family was led by Mrs Adelaide Tambo, accompanied by Limpho, the widow of Mr Chris Hani.

Barely two weeks ago, Mrs Tambo accompanied Mrs Hani to the funeral of her husband.

The mass was conducted by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the sermon delivered by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, a long-time close friend and associate of Mr Tambo.

Archbishop Huddleston heads the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain.

The frail and ageing Archbishop Huddleston powerfully recalled his 50-year-old friendship with Mr Tambo, whom he met when Tambo, as a young graduate from Fort Hare, came to teach at the famous St Peter's Secondary School in 1943.

A perfect description of his friend, Archbishop Huddleston said, was captured by the English poet Robert Browning.

Browning wrote of "one who

never turned his back but marched straight forward".

Archbishop Tutu, in a glowing tribute, said that Mr Tambo's quiet dignity gave the ANC and its cause a credibility and respectability with people and leaders throughout the world.

Dozens of messages of condolence and praise were read out, while the Imilonji ka Ntu choir performed an awesome version of *Mayibuye i Afrika* and Letta Mbulu exalted Mr Tambo's memory as "Iqawe la Maqawe" (A Hero of Heros).

Mr Tambo's body will lie in state at the cathedral today.

The funeral service, which will be attended by important South African and international political figures, begins at 8.30am tomorrow at the FNB

stadium, Soweto — the same venue as that from which Mr Hani's funeral was conducted.

Among the international luminaries expected to attend are Mr Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania; Dr Kaunda; Mrs Graca Machel, widow of Samora Machel; Sweden's first lady, Ms Lisbet Palme and the secretary-general of the South West Africa People's Party, Mr Moses Garoub.

The funeral service will be conducted by the Archbishop Huddleston.

The ANC has warned mourners not to travel to the cemetery at Wattville in the East Rand, where Mr Tambo will be buried, because of space limitations.

Inkatha move delays talks on settlement

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DESPITE some progress made in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday, Inkatha has warned that it might pull out if the negotiating forum pressed ahead with a constitutional settlement without properly addressing the question of violence.

The warning came through a lengthy document which Inkatha general-secretary Dr Frank Mdlalose unsuccessfully tried to read to the delegates on Friday.

Other delegates objected strongly to Inkatha being permitted to present the paper to the forum because of the serious allegations it contained which would warrant a response from the government, the ANC and the Transkei government.

After a two-hour delay it was agreed that the document be referred to a special technical committee which will report to the forum next Friday.

The detailed document on violence, which Inkatha said was spurred by the ANC and the government "connivance" to sideline it, said it would be folly for the negotiating forum to hasten the fixing of an election date while violence continued unabated.

Killed with AK-47s

"The fact of the matter is that the IFP can't see its way through to negotiating a settlement if this forum continues to pretend that the violence only needs to be sorted out later.

"When is later? What happens in between? Are we to lose another five or 15 or 25 leaders? Is there to be a repeat of the nine massacres in Natal/KwaZulu that took place in the last few months of last year, mostly committed by hit squads in uniform?" Inkatha asked in the document.

It maintained that 270 of its leaders have been systematically killed with modern weapons, including AK-47s.

Among those who allegedly called for the killing of Inkatha leaders was the late SACP leader Chris Hani and several ANC leaders in Natal, the movement claimed. It said Hani had in the past publicly called for the murder of Buthelezi and members of the IFP Central Committee.

Inkatha said it found it strange that despite the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Accords and the National Peace Accord, the government was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of the "self-same cadres that are being deployed against us in SA".

It accused Pretoria of being party to another pact that put all the blame on political violence on Inkatha, whose hostel supporters were to be fenced in like animals while totally exonerating those attacking them.

The document also called for the banning of private armies, both from the left and the right and called on Pretoria "to stop treating MK with kid gloves".

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiyi, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Spanner in the

Press 2/5/93

WORKS

Political focus

CIPress 2/5/93

as thousands

rally on May 1

~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

THOUSANDS of people took part in May Day rallies nationwide yesterday, but the turnout was much smaller than expected and focused more on politics than labour issues.

At one of the larger events outside Cape Town, Allan Boesak, a regional leader of the ANC, told a cheering crowd that he expected President FW de Klerk's government to be out of power by May Day 1994.

"We are trying to bury the old South Africa to give birth to a new order," Boesak told some 2 000 supporters.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, which arranged more than 20 rallies across the country, had hoped for bigger turnouts, particularly since thousands of blacks have taken to the streets in recent

weeks to protest the April 10 assassination of Chris Hani.

Despite yesterday's relatively small showing, tens of thousands of blacks are expected to gather today for the funeral of Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC from 1967 until 1991. Tambo, 75, died of a stroke April 24.

Close to 1 000 people packed St Mary's Anglican Cathedral in downtown Johannesburg yesterday to pay respects to Tambo, who lay in state.

A solemn Nelson Mandela, who replaced his longtime friend as president of the ANC, was among those attending. Tambo's coffin was draped in the green, gold and black flag of the ANC, but the event was a traditional religious service and no political leaders spoke. - Sapa-AP

Foreign relations deal could boost aid

SI Times 2/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC have agreed on how they want foreign relations to be conducted after June this year.

Their agreement will set South Africa on the path towards the complete normalisation of relations with the rest of the world, opening up avenues for investment and financial aid.

The deal, to a large extent thrashed out between the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, foresees the establishment of a multi-party sub-council on foreign affairs under a multi-party transitional executive council.

It is expected to be established before July, once agreement has been reached at the multi-party negotiating forum.

The foreign affairs sub-council will dictate and influence the course of SA's foreign relations leading up to elections, it is envisaged — with a view to charting the foreign policy course for a government of national unity.

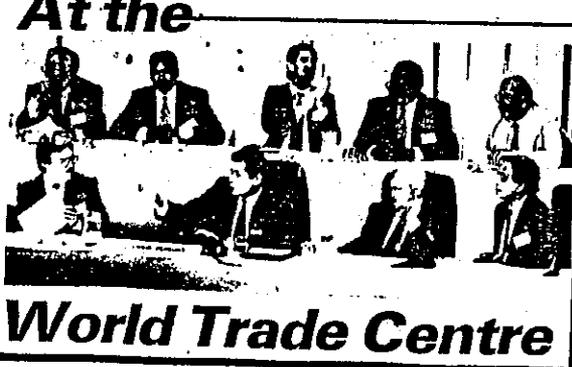
While the powers of the sub-council will largely be limited to foreign policy — the establishment of diplomatic ties, trading initiatives and international agreements — it is unlikely that the government will appoint diplomats or embark on foreign trips without the agreement of the sub-council.

The government is confident that its membership of the Organisation of African Unity and its full membership of the United Nations will be considered favourably in view of the establishment of the transitional executive council.

However, the ANC is opposed to these steps until an elected government is in place.

It is, however, prepared to call for the lifting of sanctions once an election date is set — and will promote SA's participation in World Bank aid programmes and access to IMF loans.

The economic benefits that the complete normalisation of international relations will bring are seen by the government as crucial to stability and growth in the country.



NEGOTIATING council delegates who fly into Jan Smuts airport pass an advertising hoarding on their way to the World Trade Centre. Selling trips to Sydney, it reads: "It's time to cross this bridge."

After two long days of negotiating, the council had clearly heeded the sign and taken its first step towards negotiating the transition to non-racial rule — even if Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa bantered about whether progress could be measured as one inch or several.

The gain came on Friday — an inch or two — when for the first time party-political games were laid aside and the Ciskei's Mick Webb, in his capacity as a member of the planning committee, persuaded the council to adopt a move he personally did not completely support.

With reasoned emphasis he talked the council through the need to set up technical sub-committees that will rope legal and constitutional experts into the process.

Their task will be to transform the raw positions of the 26 parties into submissions which will bring some much-needed structure to the debate. They will also have to marry positions which, once the clutter of rhetoric is cleared, are not always that disparate.

Seven committees will be set up to work this magic on constitutional proposals, human rights, the problem of violence, a commission to ensure independent elections, one to ensure fair media access to all parties, ridding the country of discriminatory legislation, and probably the most contentious, one which will attempt to ease the passage of the Transitional Executive Council.

The technical committees were effectively sanctioned by the council before lunch. By late afternoon it was still trying to work out what it had agreed to.

Uneasy

The IFP and Kwazulu government delegations and their allies remain uneasy about the committees, believing them to be another sign of the council putting the cart before the horse in attempting to sort out crucial issues such as violence at the same time, or even after, discussing the federalism issue.

A technical committee will also — for the moment at least — be the resting place of a highly contentious IFP statement on violence calling for the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After the bizarre sight of the document being debated even though it enjoyed no status — it had been distributed but not read or tabled at that point — the planning committee cut a deal with the IFP's Frank Mdlalose and shuffled the speech off into the committee loop.

The planning committee, on which 10 delegates sit in their personal capacities to formulate proposals for debate by the council, is also the repository of all attempts at public politicking in the council chamber — but not a very secure one. It had tried to block the IFP statement at least twice before Dr Mdlalose — himself a member of the PC — brought it into the open anyway.

Whether it will stay safely in committee is moot as Dr Mdlalose is clearly

Inch by
SITIMES 2/5/93
inch talks
gaining
ground

under pressure from Ulundi to read it into the record come what may.

But, not for the last time, parties to the right of the ANC were reduced to merely recording their objections or reserving their rights to revisit issues as momentum and an impatient public carried them forward.

The SACP's Joe Slovo launched his politicking soon after the council met on Monday, dropping the dreaded (to some) word "elections" into the meeting.

The smaller parties squawked and flapped at the mention of the E-word before Mr Slovo explained that all he sought was the meeting's approval for placing on the agenda the setting of a date by the planning committee.

When the planning committee met in camera to debate the matter, Mr Slovo suggested mid-April 1994; Why not early March, countered another member in the spirit of "more transient than thou".

Discussion was deferred, but Mr Slovo kept his election theme alive by introducing, just before the council adjourned on Friday, a "Declaration of Intent on the Negotiating Process".

Mr Slovo spoke in support of the resolution — which contains no advance on the government's preferred timetable of elections by April next year — in impassioned terms: "If we want this process to sparkle in the eyes of our people, we must set a date for an election."

The struggle at the World Trade Centre is only partly ideological, only partly between national and local interests; overwhelmingly it is, as was once observed of the framing of the United States constitution, between inertia and energy.

This week, inertia ruled — but momentum is breathing down its neck.

— Claire Robertson



Clinton sends 18 envoys to Tambo burial

SITimes 2/5/93

By SHARON CHETTY

US President Bill Clinton has sent a high-powered 18-member delegation to today's funeral for ANC chairman Oliver Tambo.

Led by Dr Donna Shalala, secretary to the US Secretary of Health and Human Services, it will include Rev Jesse Jackson. (U) (U)

Yesterday Mr Tambo's widow, Adelaide, wept silently as his body lay in state at St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg.

Grief-stricken Nelson Mandela, looking weary and depressed, was visibly moved as he paid his respects.

Incense filled the air as hundreds of voices sang hymns and songs in praise of the ANC's national chairman who died of a stroke at the age of 75.

Behind the robed clergy followed the widow, son Dali, daughter Tselane and other family members.

Next to file past the coffin was Mr Mandela, ahead of other political and trade union leaders.

During the solemn and dignified service, MK soldiers saluted their dead leader.

Outside, crowds lined the streets as they waited to file in. Hawkers displayed T-shirts and other paraphernalia with images of Mr Tambo.

Peace observers and monitors were deployed throughout the area while police kept a low profile.

The funeral service starts at 8.30am today at the FNB stadium and the cortege leaves at 2pm for the cemetery at Tamboville, Benoni, on the East Rand.

HAMBA KAHLE ... Joe Slovo and Kenneth Kaunda wait in line as Nelson Mandela bids farewell. Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT



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Pallo Jordan 'not bitter' at arrest

□ But lesson learnt
about human rights

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Despite being held for six weeks in solitary confinement — four weeks without a change of clothes — the ANC's information chief Pallo Jordan said he was not bitter about his arrest.

Testifying this week before the Motsuenyane Commission here about alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps, Mr Jordan recalled his arrest in Angola in 1983. He said he was arrested for criticising the activities of the department of security and intelligence.

He was told he had been arrested for alleging that the department of security had acted "in a fascist manner".

Sketching the background to his arrest, Mr Jordan said he was not bitter because at the time the movement was under a lot of pressure due to infiltration by South African agents.

It was during a time when an entire camp had been poisoned and another camp almost bombed out by the South Africans.

A number of attacks had also been carried out against ANC members in exile.

He said he had been well treated in detention, given three meals a day and allowed walks.

Asked if he was ever tor-

tured, he replied: "No. There was not even a suggestion (of torture) physically or emotionally."

In answer to another question he said a lesson learnt from his detention was that human rights could not be taken for granted.

"Respect for human rights is not a luxury you adopt when times are good and discard when times are bad," he said.

To redress the situation the ANC later established an office of justice as well as a tribunal through which people could address their complaints.

Ronnie Kasriis told the commission that he had informed the organisation that he was unhappy about conditions at Quatro camp in Angola where ANC prisoners were detained.

Although the camp looked neat, ventilation in the cells was inadequate, he said. He was also "unhappy" about the relative youth of the commanders who were in charge of the camp who did not have the "maturity" to handle the type of responsibility they were charged with.

His visits to the camp's inmates, which have been linked to alleged human rights abuses against detainees by the ANC, elicited no reports of maltreatment.

Doc Mandela — at last

By FRED KHUMALO

ANC president Nelson Mandela finally received his honorary doctorate from the University of Natal — an offer he initially turned down because the man who was to cap him was dubbed a “murderer” by irate students.

Mandela last year turned down the offer to be honored as Doctor of Laws after students charged their chancellor, retired judge Justice Ramon Leon, with the “murder” of an ANC guerrilla. He informed the university that “for reasons of state” he wouldn’t attend the graduation ceremony.

Justice Leon passed five death sentences on Umkhonto weSizwe guerrilla Andrew S’busiso Zondo, hanged in Pretoria in 1986 for bombing an Amanzimtoti shopping centre, and earned himself the unenviable name of “The Hanging Judge” — a stigma which did not endear him to University of Natal students.

Five people were killed in the 1985 blast which has been immortalised in many ANC slogans and toyi-toyi songs.

There were cheers and Mandela received a standing ovation as he bowed his head on Friday to be capped by new chancellor the Most Reverend Denis Hurley, one of the most tireless fighters for human rights.

In the wake of Chris Hani’s murder, and two days after a bomb exploded in the same Amanzimtoti shopping complex which was devastated by Zondo in 1985, Mandela was under tight-security at the university.

City Press counted at least 20 security aides milling around the tall statesman, accosting people who tried to get a closer look at the smiling patriarchal figure.

Mandela commended support programmes which had been embarked upon to help educationally disadvantaged students in tertiary education.

“Efforts to make tertiary education accessible to our communities need to be expanded and developed in line with attempts to address the issues of curriculum, teaching methods and the needs of our new society,” said Mandela.

'Creativity has no fences'

By SANDILE MEMELA

(IA)

MOTORISTS passing the Johannesburg Civic Theatre in Braamfontein this week must have done a double take when they saw the ANC flag billowing on flagpoles.

It symbolised a kind of coup to mark the ANC's Culture and Development Conference.

The youth who toyi-toyed around the building must too have relished the chance to join in subverting this icon of apartheid culture.

Conference delegate Prof Themba Sirayi explored the significance of transforming these former castles of privilege in his discussion paper "Heritage Resources".

"For the majority of our people most cultural institutions are seen as monuments of privilege, (a) waste of money, institutionalised proof of hegemony and abuse of the environment and culture," he opined.

"They are regarded as racist, elitist, Eurocentric, alienated and irrelevant and not belonging to the people.

"Inevitably, these institutions are notorious for marginalising the history and culture of the oppressed majority.

"This conference is committed to overcome the legacy of inequality and injustice created by colonialism and apartheid and to ensure democracy and encourage the flourishing of the feeling that this country belongs to all who live in it.

"We have to promote a common loyalty to and pride in the country

and create a universal sense of freedom and security within all its boundaries," said Sirayi.

Although there was no mistaking the quite palpable euphoria among the hundreds of delegates from township-based organisations who attended the five day conference, it remains to be seen if it will be a watershed for ordinary folk to dictate the cultural pace.

Over the past five days hundreds of international and local artists, writers, filmmakers, photographers, performers and cultural administrators gathered at the JCT.

They had come from universities, township theatre groups, backyards, studios, farms and small towns, big cities of the world, posh executive offices and various corners of the earth.

Like a magnet the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) had pulled them together to fashion guidelines for a new government to consider a new arts and culture policy.

No bones were made about the fact the ANC - as the "government in waiting" - could only formulate its future culture policy after mass-based consultation.

The line of thinking was to ensure that all interested parties from outside and inside the country make their voices heard in creating a new cultural policy in SA.

This was summed up in a significant moment when ANC president Nelson Mandela told delegates that everybody had to make their contribution to the new culture.

Citress 215193



NOW HEAR THIS! . . . Delegates at the ANC's "Culture and Development" Conference met this week in JHB to discuss art in a new SA.

"The ANC does not own culture. Creativity has no fences, and expression is free," said Mandela to a wildly cheering audience.

However, three days into the proceedings the conference was haunted by the perception that the conference was an attempt on the part of the ANC to control all facets of life in the new society.

DAC founder member Barbara Masekela was acutely aware of it. In her presentation, which focused on the "need for unity" she sadly noted the absence of various cultural organisations, especially the National Arts Initiative, who only took observer status at the conference.

"There is no such thing as an ANC culture because culture can only come from and belong to the people," she said.

"It is in this context that we make an appeal for unity. The responsibility of the liberation movement is to interpret accurately the mood of the cultural organisations and take it into account.

"We sadly note the absence of the National Arts Initiative but . . . we are on the same side," said Masekela.

She was trying to say the DAC did not intend to dictate cultural life.

It became evident that hundreds of delegates from various township organisations had not been exposed to a

conference of this magnitude.

To a large extent the conference was a series of lectures from international speakers and prominent pro-ANC individuals with very little time devoted to question and discussion sessions.

The significant lesson to be gleaned from the "Culture and Development Conference" is that the struggle for meaningful participation by marginalised organisations has only begun.

The conference was a grim reminder that the quest to lay the foundation for the future foundation of a new South African culture will take many years.

However, the conference must be seen against the background of the ANC's historical role in mobilising all sectors of South African society in the struggle against racism and domination.

DAC chief Wally Serote, who outlined the ANC's view on the relationship between state and culture, said the future government should "enshrine the principle of artistic freedom".

"The future government must seek ways to harmonise the diversities in our culture as well as ensure that a democratic relationship exists between the needs of the artist and government programmes.

"Cultural workers must be involved in funded structures set up by the government.

"There is a palpable fear that the government's involvement in the arts and culture will lead to artistic control but this fear derives from the artists' experience with apartheid."

OR did not live, die in vain

By Lulama Luti and Themba Molefe

IN his message of condolence, United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in this critical phase of the multiparty negotiations South Africans could rely on the goodwill of the international community.

The leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Yasser Arafat, said the people of South Africa should not mourn Tambo's death but should rather rededicate themselves to the struggle for liberation.

In his address, Tambo's friend of 50 years and president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, said when he met Tambo he was already a dedicated and mature instrument of liberation.

He said Tambo was charged with the task of ensuring that the ANC survived in exile and his exile tested him to the full.

Leaders of foreign countries praise his achievements:

"I thank God for the greatest gift of friendship given to me in Africa 50 years ago when I came here," said Huddleston.

American civil rights leader the Reverend Jesse Jackson said Tambo had not died in vain and would live in the memories of millions of South Africans.

"Oh no! The new South Africa is here. The struggle that Tambo fought for is almost over," Jackson said.

A representative of US president Bill Clinton, Ms Donna Shalala, said the Clinton administration recognised the struggle of the ANC and Tambo and that indeed South Africa had lost a great leading figure in the resolution of the constitutional crisis.

"Today we are celebrating Tambo's achievements as the negotiations are about to deliver a

solution," she said

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said Tambo's death was a blow to the broad liberation struggle and the ultimate realisation of freedom.

"Comrade Tambo's struggle was not futile and his contribution to the leadership of the ANC has laid the foundation for the organisation to forge ahead with its programme," he said.

Former Swedish first lady Liesbet Palme said Tambo's memory lived on in her mind and that of the Swedish people.

She remembered the close relationship between Tambo and her late husband, former Prime Minister Olaf Palme, who was assassinated.

Other messages of condolence were received from the following countries: Cuba, India, Portugal, Canada, Mauritius, Malaysia, Malawi, Cape Verde, Ghana, Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zambia.

Bomb scare at cemetery after anonymous phone call

AN anonymous phone call made to the SABC claimed there was a car-bomb outside the Wattville Cemetery shortly before African National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo was buried there yesterday.

ANC security officials on the scene said they were on the look-out for suspicious-looking cars in the area.

An unidentified Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre urged people on the scene not to panic and told them to go to their cars in an apparent effort to identify any suspicious

■ Heavily-armed hostel dwellers take to streets in show of strength at the funeral of Oliver Tambo:

vehicles. Hundreds of heavily-armed and chanting hostel dwellers took to the streets of Wattville township in a show of strength ahead of the arrival of the funeral cortege of the ANC leader.

The hostel — a known Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold — is situated along the route to and about 3km from

the cemetery where Tambo was laid to rest.

Area cordoned off

The funeral procession was to have passed the hostel on the way to the cemetery but an alternative route was taken.



Sowetan 3/5/93
Police cordoned off the area with hundreds of metres of razor wire to keep armed hostel dwellers from marching on the cemetery.

Shot rang out

Earlier, there were reports that a Commonwealth observer was shot at from inside the hostel.

"We heard a shot ringing out but we managed to get out of the way in time," she said

"I don't think they were shooting at us," she added.

There were also unconfirmed reports from peace observers and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres that members of the militant rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had gathered on horseback just outside the township.

Peace monitors allegedly went to the scene to prevent the AWB members from approaching Wattville.

NEWS Glowing tributes from many foreign governments

Tambo is laid to rest

Sowetan 3/5/93

By Lulama Luti, Themba Molefe,
Abbey Makoe and Sapa

■ NO INCIDENTS Solemn and dignified funeral
for man who led ANC for 30 years:

LAWYER Mr Oliver Reginald Tambo, who led the ANC for 30 years, was buried at the Wattville Cemetery in Benoni yesterday after a solemn and dignified funeral service at the FNB Stadium near Soweto.

Tambo (75) died at the Milpark Hospital in Johannesburg on April 24 after a severe stroke.

ANC marshals battled to control a large group of people who charged the gates of the cemetery.

Thousands of boisterous people, who had gathered outside the gates, tried to force their way into the cemetery, prompting the marshals and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to cordon off the area.

About 800 people, including ANC vice-president Mr Walter Sisulu, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, had entered the cemetery just before 4pm.

Crowds of people, who gathered on rooftops and lined the dusty streets to the cemetery,

cheered wildly as the procession passed through the township.

The only ugly scene reported was when two men were attacked by inmates of the Wattville Hostel after the funeral.

According to the police, the two were, however, not seriously hurt.

The coffin was draped in a flag in the yellow, green and black colours of the ANC.

Glowing tributes, mainly from foreign governments, were paid at the funeral service.

A touching moment came when, straight from the heart, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela referred to Tambo as his brother, underscoring the long years of their comradeship which began when they were young lawyers practising in Johannesburg during the turbulent 1950s.

"As you instructed, we will bring peace to our tormented land. As you directed, we will bring freedom to the oppressed and liberation to the

oppressor.

"As you commanded, we will defend the option of a peaceful resolution of our problems," Mandela said in his address.

Among the foreign dignitaries was an 18-member special delegation headed by US Secretary for Health and Population Development Donna Shalala, sent by US President Bill Clinton.

In contrast, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who is leader of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, mentioned that the British Government had never supported the liberation struggle in South Africa and said lack of support was evident even at the funeral.

There was a heavy security force presence outside the stadium. No incidents of violence were reported. ANC security personnel, who had an easy day, praised the more than 20 000 mourners for their behaviour.



focus on Tambo

A GIANT WHO STRODE the globe like a colossus has fallen. A mind whose thoughts have opened the doors to our liberty has ceased to function.

A heart whose dreams gave hope to the despised has for ever lost its beat.

The gentle voice whose measured words of reason shook the thrones of tyrants has been silenced. Peoples of the world: Here lies before you the body of a man who is tied to me by an umbilical cord which cannot be broken.

We say he has departed. But can we allow him to depart while we live?

Can we say Oliver Tambo is no more, while we walk this solid earth?

Oliver lived not because he could breathe. He lived not because blood flowed through his veins. Oliver lived because he had surrendered his very being to the people.

He lived because his very being embodies love, an idea, a hope, an aspiration, a vision.

While he lived, our minds would never quite formulate the thought that this man is other than what the naked eye could see.

We would sense it but never crystallise the thought that with us was one of the few people who inhabited our own human environment, who could be described as the jewel in our crown.

I say that Oliver Tambo has not died because the ideals for which he sacrificed his life can never die.

I say he has not died because there are many of us who became part of his soul therefore willingly entered into a conspiracy with him, for the victory of his cause.

While the ANC lives, Oliver Tambo cannot die.

While Umkhonto we Sizwe exists, Oliver Tambo cannot die.

Oliver Tambo cannot die while his allies in the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions remain loyal to the common purpose.

OR cannot cease to be while the millions of people gather themselves into the democratic organisations that make up our rainbow coalition.

Apartheid crime

OR cannot be consigned to the past while those who are with us today from the rest of the world remain as they have been, opponents of the apartheid crime against humanity, proponents of the common vision of justice and peace.

We all know many who have killed in defence of oppression. But we also know that some of these have themselves been victims of oppression.

We know that black and white, across the globe — people of all nationalities — are all

This is part of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the funeral of the national chairman of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, at the FNB Stadium yesterday:



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Mandela at FNB yesterday.

united in their opposition to apartheid and injustice.

All tyrants, whatever their colour and their shape and their garments, come today and are gone tomorrow.

The people, the victims of their tyranny, live on.

All tyrannical systems, whatever the name they give themselves — Nazism, colonialism, apartheid, racism are some of their names — all, without exception, come today and tomorrow are no more than a bad memory.

Opponents of tyranny

The opponents of tyranny — Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Albert Luthuli, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, Maurice Bishop, Herbert Chitepo, Jason Moyo and Josiah Tongogara, Samora Machel, Olaf Palme, Martin Luther King jr, John F Kennedy and Malcolm X, Aghostino Neto, Amilcar Cabral, Murtala Mohamed, Salvador Allende, Kwame Nkrumah, Abdul Gamal Nasser, Seretse Khama, the Swazi King Sobhuza II, the woman, the man, the son, the daughter, the unknown soldier, the nameless heroes and heroines for whom no songs of praise are sung — all of them continue, still, to speak to us because they live.

Dear brother:

You set yourself a task which only the brave would dare. Somewhere in the mystery of your essence, you heard the call that you must devote your life to the creation of a new South African

nation.

It may be that all of us — your dear wife Adelaide, your children, those of us who are proud to count ourselves among your friends, your closest comrades — it may be that all of us will never be able to discover what it was in your essence which convinced you that you, and us, could, by our conscious and deliberate actions, so heal our fractured society that out of the terrible heritage, there could be born a nation.

All humanity knows what you had to do to create the conditions for all of us to reach this glorious end.

There are many who did not understand that to heal we had to lance the boil.

There are some who cannot comprehend that the right to rebellion against tyranny is the very guarantee of the permanence of freedom.

We demand answers from all those who have set themselves up as your critics, but still dare to call themselves democrats.

We want to know — if life itself was threatened, as apartheid threatened the very existence of those who are black, was it not imperative that everything be done to end apartheid, and if necessary, by force of arms?

We want to know — if a crime against humanity was perpetrated, was it not necessary to ensure that the criminals were isolated and quarantined, and if necessary by the imposition of sanctions?

We want to know — if a social system was established whose central pillars were racial oppression and exploitation, such as the apartheid system was, would it not be correct that such a system be rendered unworkable and such a society ungovernable?

We want to know — when powerful, arrogant and brutal men deliberately close their ears to reason, and reply to the petitions of the dispossessed with the thunder of the guns, the crack of the whip and the rattle of the jail keys, is it not right to bring down the walls of Jericho?

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TAMBO FUNERAL *Eulogy for ANC's fallen colossus*



focus on Tambo

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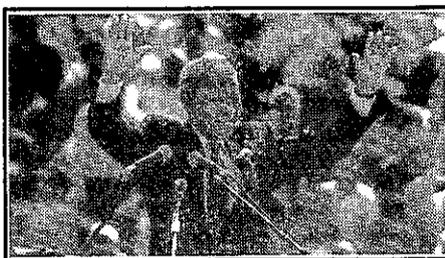
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A solemn, dignified farewell

1111 11/11/93

Argus Correspondents LULAMA LUTI, THEMBA MOLEFE and RUTH BHENGU and Sapa report

LAWYER Mr Oliver Reginald Tambo, who led the ANC for 30 years, was buried at the Wattville cemetery in Benoni after a solemn and dignified funeral service at the FNB stadium near Soweto.

Mr Tambo, 75, died at the Milpark Hospital in Johannesburg on April 24 after a stroke.

ANC marshals battled to control a large group of people who charged the gates of the cemetery.

Thousands of boisterous people, who had gathered outside the gates, tried to force their way into the cemetery, prompting the marshals and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to cordon off the area.

About 800 people, including ANC vice-president Mr Walter Sisulu, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, had entered the cemetery just before 4pm.

Crowds of people, who gathered on rooftops and lined the dusty streets to the cemetery, cheered wildly as the procession passed through the township.

The coffin was draped in a yellow, green and black ANC flag.

Glowing tributes, mainly from foreign governments, were paid at the funeral service to the man whose political life spanned more than 30 years in exile.

A touching moment came during ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's address.

Mr Mandela referred to Mr Tambo as his brother, underscoring the long years of their comradeship which began when they were young lawyers practising in Johannesburg during the turbulent 1950s.

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"As you commanded, we will defend the option of a peaceful resolution of our problems," Mr Mandela said in his address.

Among the foreign dignitaries was an 18-member special delegation headed by United States Secretary for Health and Population Development Donna Shalala, sent by President Clinton.

In contrast, Archbishop Huddleston, leader of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, mentioned that the British Government had never supported the liberation struggle in South Africa and said lack of support was evident even at the funeral.

There was a heavy security force presence outside the stadium. No incidents of violence were reported.



BEARING THEIR LEADER: Pall-bearers carry the coffin of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo into the FNB stadium for the funeral service.

ANC security personnel, who had an easy day, praised the more than 20 000 mourners for their behaviour.

In his message of condolence, United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in this critical phase of the multiparty negotiations South Africans could rely on the goodwill of the international community.

The leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Yasser Arafat, said the people of South Africa should not mourn Mr Tambo's death but should rather rededicate themselves to the struggle for liberation.

In his address, Archbishop Huddleston — a friend of Mr Tambo for 50 years — said that when he met Mr Tambo he was already a dedicated and mature instrument of liberation.

He said Mr Tambo was charged with the task of ensuring that the ANC survived in exile and his exile tested him to the full.

"I thank God for the greatest gift of friendship given to me in Africa 50 years ago when I came here," the archbishop said.

American civil rights leader, the Rev Jesse Jackson, said Mr Tambo had not died in vain and would live in the memories of millions of South Africans.

"Oh no! The new South Africa is here. The struggle that Tambo fought for is almost over," Mr Jackson said.

Ms Shalala said the Clinton administration recognised the struggle of the ANC and Mr Tambo and that indeed South Africa had lost a great leading figure in the resolution of the constitutional crisis.

"Today we are celebrating Tambo's achievements as the negotiations are about to deliver a solution," she said.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said Mr Tambo's death was a blow to the broad liberation struggle and the ultimate realisation of freedom.

"Comrade Tambo's struggle was not futile and his contribution to the leadership of the ANC has laid the foundation for the organisation to forge ahead with its programme," he said.

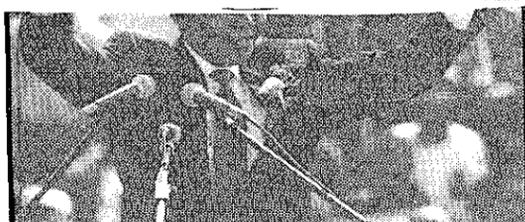
Former Swedish first lady Liesbet Palme said Mr Tambo's memory lived on in her mind and that of the Swedish people.

She remembered the close relationship between Mr Tambo and her late husband, former Prime Minister Olaf Palme, who was assassinated.

Other messages of condolences came from Cuba, India, Portugal, Canada, Mauritius, Malaysia, Malawi, Cape Verde, Ghana, Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zambia.



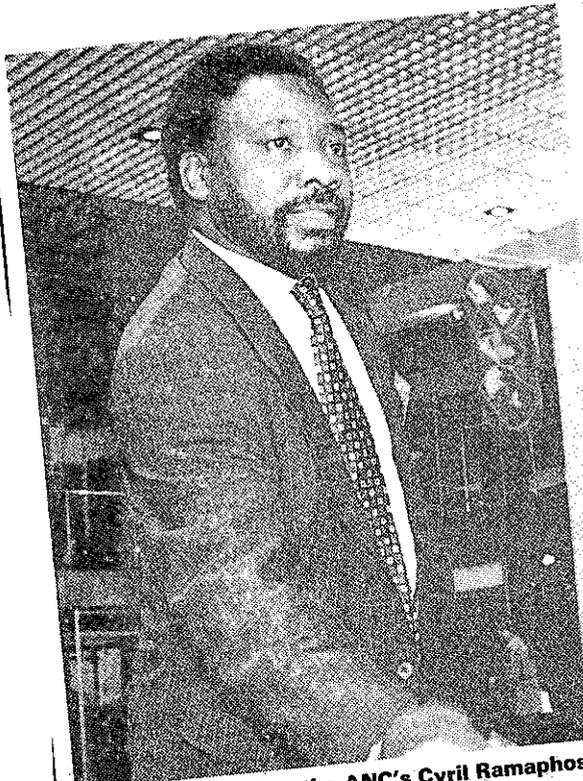
Mourners wave posters of former ANC president Oliver Tambo during the funeral service.



"HE WAS MY BROTHER": Mr Nelson Mandela waves to supporters. He spoke of long years of comradeship with Mr Tambo.



AMERICAN FRIEND: The Rev Jesse Jackson listens to journalists' questions with ANC military chief Joe Modise at the service.



Delegates, including the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, register for the second round of talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, on Friday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Negotiators pleased by 'major progress'

BIDAY 3/5793
NEGOTIATORS say major progress was made on Friday, in spite of the appearance that little was achieved.

Several serious problem areas were leapfrogged; seven areas of agreement for moving ahead were identified; a mechanism to structure debate was decided on; and negotiators agreed to tackle talks with a solution-orientated approach.

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin said it had been decided at the meeting that parties would put forward the names of people they wanted on the seven technical committees. The planning committee would present a structure of these committees at Friday's negotiating council meeting.

There were two methods of approaching constitutional negotiations: either delegations tackled the "hairy problems where lots of difference exists" or smaller committees would look at solutions to issues for debate by council.

"The first approach would have landed us in trouble right at the start of the talks, where parties are still trying to find their feet in working with others. Their positions would have been inflexible, and the possibilities of grandstanding and deadlocks much greater," he said.

Government and the ANC would try to avoid tackling serious differences at the start of the process, rather locking parties into the process and facilitating compromises to achieve agreement.

Eglin said the council had decided to refer issues to be debated to committees with instructions that solutions — not policy positions — be sought. "The committees would look at the areas of agreement and expand these into areas of difference to

encompass as much as possible under the agreed areas before confronting the areas of substantial differences," he said. "This would give the talks momentum and make it easier to deal with the differences later.

The committees would not be negotiating issues on behalf of parties but rather looking at ways of solving problem areas and presenting scenarios to be discussed and negotiated by the council. The issues would be referred back and forth until agreement was reached in council.

It was decided that no single agreement would be implemented until a full package of agreements was in sight.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said while progress was slow, he was pleased that the major hurdle of appointing technical committees had been passed.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said he was more optimistic than after Monday's meeting, at which no substantive issues had been debated.

The seven areas of agreement on which the committees would start work were an independent elections commission; an independent media commission and telecommunications authority; amending and repealing repressive legislation; the transitional executive council and its subcommittees, giving priority to the issue of armed formations; strengthening the national peace accord and forming a peace corps; fundamental rights during the transition phase; and constitutional matters such as form of state, constitutional principles, and a constitution-making body.

BILLY PADDOCK

Tambo: 'Man who shook the throne of tyrants'

Star 3/5/93

By Jo-Anne Collinge

ANC chairman Oliver Tambo was buried yesterday, with soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe and foreign dignitaries lending the ceremony the air of a State burial.

This was reinforced at the graveside in the East Rand township of Wattville, when the *Last Post* was played and a 21-gun salute sounded, with shots echoing around and a burst of AK-47 fire rattling in the background.

"Oliver, you made it possible for Umkhonto we Sizwe to hold a State funeral for you on home soil," said former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda in his farewell

message to his friend of 30 years' standing.

About 25 000 mourners attended the funeral service.

The mood contrasted dramatically with the tension, anger and violence that ruled just two weeks ago, when 90 000 mourners gathered at the same venue to bury assassinated SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani.

The only substantial threat to peace came from Wattville Hostel, about 3 km from the cemetery. A tense stand-off developed as the police encircled the hostel with razor wire to prevent armed hostel dwellers — some sporting Inkatha Freedom Party T-shirts — from marching on

the service.

While police action prevented violent clashes between the hostel dwellers and mourners, police reported that two mourners were injured outside the hostel.

They had allegedly been attacked with sharp weapons at about 6.50 pm.

A police report also said an army patrol near FNB Stadium came under fire from a minibus. No injuries were reported.

In his tribute to his former law partner and comrade, ANC president Nelson Mandela said: "A mind whose thoughts have opened

● To Page 3

'He shook the throne of tyrants'

● From Page 1

the doors to our liberty has ceased to function. The gentle voice whose measured words of reason shook the thrones of tyrants has been silenced."

Reviewing with approval major ANC initiatives under Tambo — the armed struggle, pursuit of international sanctions, mass mobilisation to render the country ungovernable — Mandela commented: "There are some who cannot comprehend that the right to rebellion against tyranny is the very guarantee of the permanence of freedom."

British Anti-Apartheid Movement leader, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, reflected on Tambo's triumph in building international support for the ANC. He recalled "the real agony of loneliness in those first years, when there was no recognition from those who not only claimed to be Christians but also democrats".

US President Bill Clinton's representative, Donna Shalala, said:

"The American people are with you now, not only in your time of grief, but through to the time when you'll have your first free and democratic election."

Lisbet Palme, widow of former Swedish premier Olaf Palme, expressed the conviction that South Africa would be free and, "Oliver Tambo shall be allowed to rest".

Other governments represented at the service included Canada, Cuba, Russia, Namibia, Mozambique, Israel, United Kingdom, Germany, Botswana, Angola, Zimbabwe and Argentina. Palestinian representatives were also present, as were representatives from the UN, the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth.

The Tambo family remained at the heart of the huge, long ceremony. Young Pioneers brought them special floral tributes; many foreign guests addressed them as friends; and personal expressions of their grief were read on their behalf.

● 'Old Man' had unique authority — Page 11

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● 'Old Man' had unique authority — Page 11

'Police may have foiled bloodbath'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Hernus Kriel, yesterday claimed police may have foiled an Apla attack on a Chinese restaurant in Yeoville on Saturday night.

And police said yesterday that a "bloodbath" in Natal may have been averted following the arrest of Apla members in the province.

Police spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said he would name the Natal targets shortly.

Colonel Mostert said police had arrested three men at the restaurant on Saturday night and confiscated a stick grenade, 250g of TNT explosives a kilogram of plastic explosives.

"Police were in possession of information that at least two restaurants were targeted for attacks with explosive devices last night (Saturday). The group arrested appear to have been poised to carry out these attacks," he said.

Mr Kriel said: "All the available information indicates that Azanian People's Liberation Army members were involved."

PAC legal head Mr Willie Seriti said his organisation did not know what evidence police had to conclude that Apla members were involved. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

CT 31/5/93

TAMBO FUNERAL *They came in their thousands and from all corners to pay homage to OR*

Fitting, solemn tributes for ANC stalwart

Sowetan 3/5/93

■ **SOMBRE AFFAIR** *Religious hymns inspire*

Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to sing and dance:

By Ruth Bhengu

THE REMARKABLE THING about Mr Oliver Tambo's funeral was that it was so ordinary. Unlike that of South African Communist Party leader Mr Martin Thembisile Hani two weeks ago, yesterday's was a sombre affair.

There were no fiery speeches, no unruly youths and no incidents of violence at the FNB Stadium where the funeral service for the African National Congress national chairman was held.

The tension that gripped the country after Hani's assassination was absent after Tambo's death.

Instead, there were religious services and the singing of hymns, inspiring Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to sing and dance.

Commitment to the struggle

This was fitting tribute to OR.

It reflected the kind of man he was. Speakers from many parts of the world spoke about his commitment to the struggle for freedom. They also spoke about his gentleness.

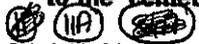
Even those who did not know him personally got a clear picture of who Oliver Reginald Tambo was.

The FNB Stadium was not as packed as it was two weeks ago when his charismatic comrade, Hani, was buried. But that was what the ANC leadership wanted.

A colleague said the ANC had made sure that there would be no "vuil poppe" at the funeral to tarnish Tambo's name.

As his body lay in state at St Mary's

Horde of people waving ANC flags filled the streets of Wattville as they made their way to the cemetery



Cathedral in Johannesburg on Saturday, the cordoned off area around the church was uncharacteristically quiet.

When the cortege arrived in Wattville, Benoni (unofficially renamed Tamboville after the squatter camp that has sprung up nearby), thousands lined the streets to get a glimpse of the hearse. Others were on rooftops singing freedom songs.

Full military regalia

Senior members of MK in full military regalia stood to attention hours before the cortege arrived.

When, at around 3pm, the first car drove through the human cordon of ANC marshals, the huge crowd which had now swelled to thousands sang and danced the toyi-toyi.

Long after the marshals had closed the gates to the cemetery, hordes of people waving ANC flags filled the streets of Wattville as they made their way to the cemetery.

This East Rand township had not seen anything like this before.

They had come in their thousands to bury their leader—and they did it in style.



Forward march

Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers marching at the FNB Stadium during Mr Oliver Tambo's funeral service yesterday. Tambo died after suffering a severe stroke at the age of 75.

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Sowetan 315193

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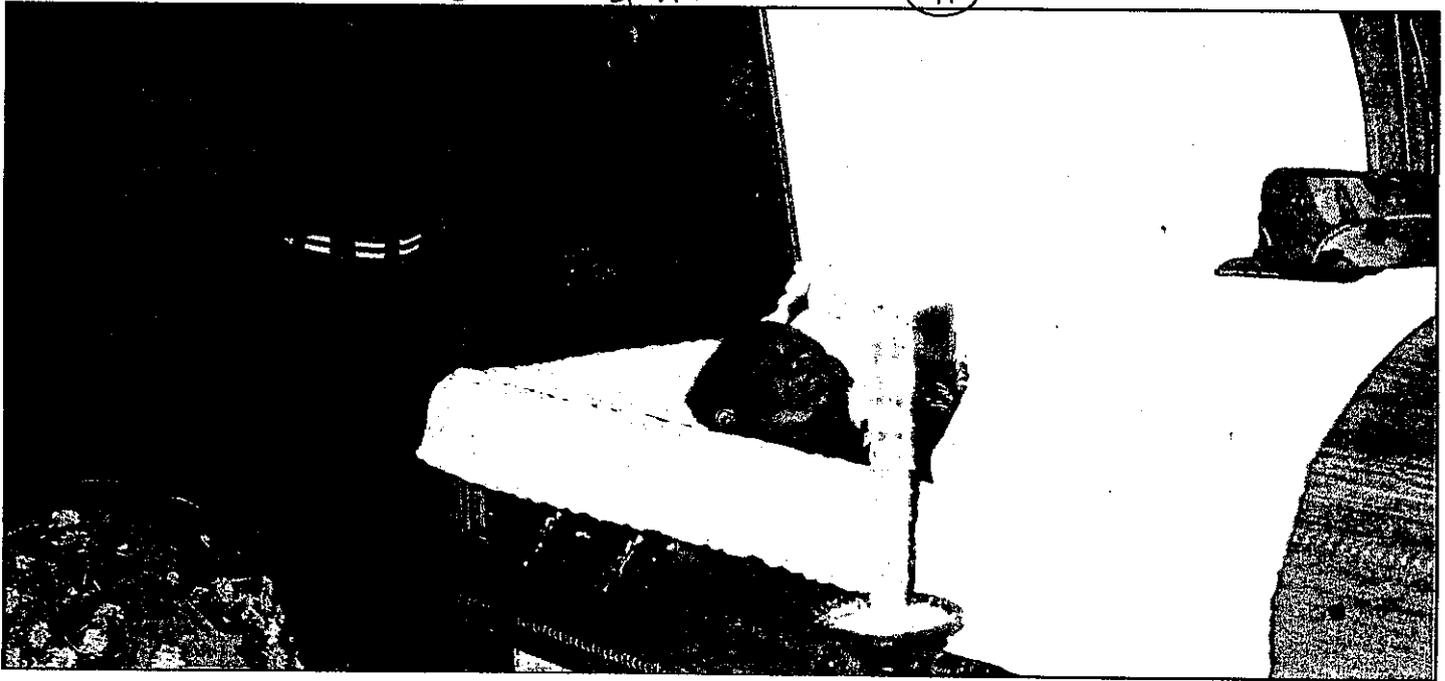
Occupation

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TAMBO FUNERAL Scenes from First National Bank Stadium as Tambo is honoured

Sowetan 3/5/93.

11

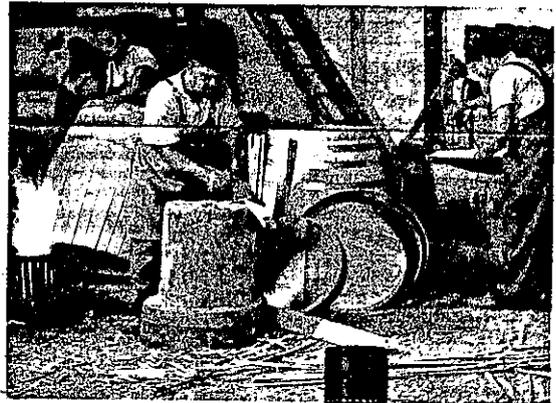


An Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier stands to attention next to the coffin at a marquee at the FNB Stadium yesterday. ZULU.

PICS: MBUZENI

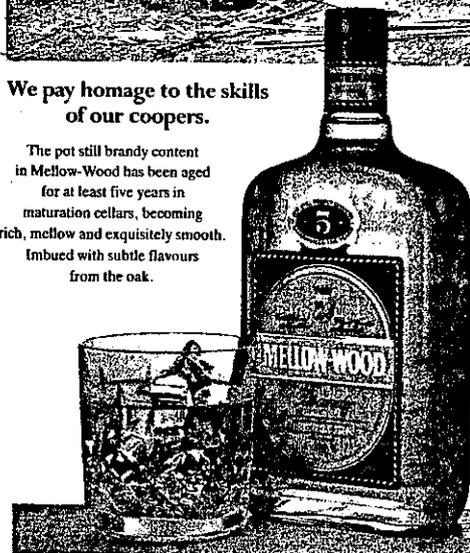


CHILDREN of the late former ANC national chairman carrying wreaths at St Mary's Cathedral where his body lay in state on Saturday.

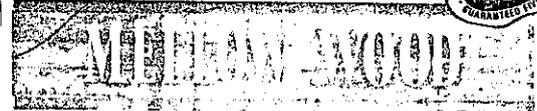


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Oliver Tambo will never die as long as ANC lives, says

ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo would never die while the ANC lived, the organisation's president Nelson Mandela said in a moving tribute yesterday at Tambo's funeral service at FNB Stadium outside Johannesburg.

About 20 000 people arrived to mourn Tambo, who died from a stroke last Saturday aged 75. He was buried at the Tamboville cemetery in Benoni yesterday.

The mood at the stadium, where a memorial service for former SACP general secretary Chris Hani two weeks ago was marred by violence, varied between sol-

emn dignity and jubilation as the crowd welcomed the leaders of the tripartite alliance and a regiment of MK soldiers.

However, later ANC marshals battled to control a large group of people who charged the cemetery gates trying to get inside, prompting ANC marshals and MK cadres to cordon off the area, Sapa reports.

And as the funeral cortege moved towards Benoni, a large group of chanting Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers in Wattville township brandished sticks, spears and clubs.

Sapa reports that they refused calls by

DIRK VAN EEDEN

peace monitors to return to the hostel and police laid down barbed wire to prevent them from interfering with the cortege.

Earlier, a Commonwealth observer was shot at from the hostel but was not hit.

More than 400 ANC and MK cadres arrived at the cemetery early yesterday ahead of the burial. Police were visible in the township, but not at the cemetery.

Shortly before the cortege arrived, an anonymous phone call to the SABC claiming there was a car-bomb outside the

cemetery sent ANC security officials scurrying to check for suspicious vehicles.

After the burial yesterday, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa asked mourners to move to the Wattville stadium where the family would address them. However, he warned them not to use the route past the hostel.

Earlier, marshals cordoned off areas in an effort to prevent desecration of graves.

A large wreath was hoisted at the graveside which read "Tambo we love you".

At the stadium, Mandela said that Tambo was bound to him by an umbilical

cord that could never be broken.

"Oliver lived, not because he did the things ordinary human beings do, but because he surrendered his whole being to the people of SA."

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, a personal friend of Tambo, said South Africans should be proud of the quality of leaders such as Mandela and Tambo.

He said he met Tambo 50 years ago, during the unrest in Sharpeville, and lashed out at the British government for "never

To Page 2

Mandela (11A)

Tambo

supporting" the anti-apartheid movement.

SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane likened Tambo to Moses, sent to free the people from slavery.

He said the people of SA were sad, because their father "saw the promised land from the mountain, but died before he could enter it".

Among messages of support read out by ANC NEC member Thabo Mbeki were those from UN general secretary Boutros Boutros-Gjali and Canadian President Joe Clarke.

Speeches from leaders of the tripartite alliance were cancelled to give representatives of organisations ranging from the

PLO to the governments of the US and Cuba a chance to speak.

US anti-apartheid campaigner Jesse Jackson said sanctions continued and the struggle continued while a Cuban government representative said Tambo would remain an inspiration to "save the revolution, socialism and freedom".

US Health Secretary Donna Shalala, representing President Bill Clinton, offered SA the support of the US government.

There were also representatives from the governments of Russia, Namibia, Mozambique, Israel, UK, Germany, Botswana, Angola, Zimbabwe and Argentina.

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● Picture: Page 3

From Page 1

Mandela

Bomb scare at cemetery after anonymous phone call

AN anonymous phone call made to the SABC claimed there was a car-bomb outside the Wattville Cemetery shortly before African National Congress chairman Oliver Tambo was buried there yesterday.

ANC security officials on the scene said they were on the look-out for suspicious-looking cars in the area.

An unidentified Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre urged people on the scene not to panic and told them to go to their cars in an apparent effort to identify any suspicious

■ Heavily-armed hostel dwellers take to streets in show of strength at the funeral of Oliver Tambo:

vehicles. Hundreds of heavily-armed and chanting hostel dwellers took to the streets of Wattville township in a show of strength ahead of the arrival of the funeral cortege of the ANC leader.

The hostel — a known Inkatha Freedom Party stronghold — is situated along the route to and about 3km from

the cemetery where Tambo was laid to rest.

Area cordoned off

The funeral procession was to have passed the hostel on the way to the cemetery but an alternative route was taken.

Sowetan 3/5/93
Police cordoned off the area with hundreds of metres of razor wire to keep armed hostel dwellers from marching on the cemetery.

Shot rang out

Earlier, there were reports that a Commonwealth observer was shot at from inside the hostel.

"We heard a shot ringing out but we managed to get out of the way in time," she said

"I don't think they were shooting at us," she added.

There were also unconfirmed reports from peace observers and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres that members of the militant rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had gathered on horseback just outside the township.

Peace monitors allegedly went to the scene to prevent the AWB members from approaching Wattville.

The price for doing our job may be too high

THE murder of a journalist and the beating of another in Sharpeville has changed the mood among people used to reporting events in the country's troubled townships.

Journalists have been harassed, arrested, teargassed, shot at and smacked about. But this did not mean they were in mortal danger.

Then a colleague was killed and another seriously injured.

Calvin Thusago, an SABC reporter, was attacked by thugs, and died of his wounds. Cameraman Dudley Saunders was rescued by police, but not before coming within an inch of losing his life.

Until Thusago's death recent events in Soweto, Katlehong, Vosloorus and Sebokeng were covered with nothing but the usual trepidation and a tight feeling in the gut while approaching a barricaded roadblock guarded by militant youths, armed and foul-tempered.

Marches, demonstrations, commemoration services all seemed the same on the surface. But journalists were beginning to experience an active, open hostility.

After hearing of Thusago's murder, many started calculating the odds in a game that had suddenly al-

tered radically.

Statistically, journalists' chances of running into trouble are high. My own initial reaction was to avoid the townships and any other life-threatening situation.

Journalists tread a fine line in the townships and have to read situations carefully. Television crews have raised this ability to a fine art. But the variables have become numerous and complex.

Colleague Brian Sokutu summed up the changes while driving through Sebokeng the other day: "In the '80s, you knew where the trouble was coming from. Now it comes at you from all sides."

Despite the new (and constant) dangers, the townships have to be covered. Journalists have a duty to report the horror in the country's ghettos, to observe first-hand a climate where atrocities are commonplace and life is cheap.

The greatest danger probably comes from the dreaded, and growing, "criminal element". It is virtually impossible to distinguish criminals from demonstrators. And often there is no difference.

Journalists covering the funeral of Chris Hani were robbed, assaulted

B/DAY 3/5/93

LLOYD CUTTS

and abused by "mourners". (One MK member resisted similar treatment from "mourners" but was told: "F... off. You're white.")

We have a high profile in the townships and appear to be easy pickings.

Another problem is the so-called "lost generation". With nothing to lose, it is seemingly bent on taking advantage of political gatherings to satisfy atavistic instincts.

And the PAC factor, as it affects working journalists, has become too disturbing to ignore. Journalists are regularly verbally and physically abused by young thugs marching under the PAC flag.

I seem to be singled out for a special rendition of "Settler settler, bullet bullet" every time I set foot in the townships. A black journalist with a white skin, I am an all-round target.

During a demonstration in town, one such miscreant not older than 13 told me I would definitely be singled out for special retribution by Apla.

I ignored him. In tense times, journalists generally refrain from being

provoked, though I sometimes marvel at what foreign correspondents get away with.

But the "settler, settler" rubbish is beginning to unnerve me.

And then, of course, there is an old favourite for journalists: getting caught in the crossfire. Everyone appears to be armed these days. When there are three sides to crossfire, the stakes are upped.

Thankfully, harassment and arrest by police appears to be a thing of the past. These days I say a little prayer every time I see a police vehicle, although township residents probably do not share this sentiment.

Many journalists are visitors to townships. When working there they experience only a fraction of the tensions residents experience daily.

Residents are prey to the same thugs and hooligans journalists come face to face with from time to time. Residents who are journalists live a special kind of nightmare.

Condemnation of Thusago's killing by political organisations was swift, as was the ANC's response in apprehending the alleged killers. The organisation appears keen to send a distinctive message that it will not tolerate attacks on journalists.

The PAC has also offered protection to journalists.

There have been calls for the education of township residents on the need for journalists to move about freely to perform their function, which is to tell South Africans and the world what is happening.

Yet calls for tolerance are falling on increasingly deaf ears. I fear that journalists — black and white — will remain in mortal danger every time they enter the townships.

Some colleagues have spoken of a news blackout as a response to attacks, but this is neither feasible nor constructive.

Journalists are still going into the townships, driven by the compunction to be in the middle of a story when it happens and the belief that the truth must somehow emerge.

Last week journalists demonstrating in Sharpeville against the killing of Thusago heard the news that television cameraman Sam Msibi had been shot in Katlehong. The demonstration, for all its good intentions, lost its meaning.

I want to do my job. Yet the price may be too high. There are savages out there who will kill me for my watch.

BOOKS

OR did not live, die in vain

Sowetan 31/5/93

By Lulama Luti and Themba Molefe

IN his message of condolence, United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in this critical phase of the multiparty negotiations South Africans could rely on the goodwill of the international community.

The leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Yasser Arafat, said the people of South Africa should not mourn Tambo's death but should rather rededicate themselves to the struggle for liberation.

In his address, Tambo's friend of 50 years and president of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Anglican Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, said when he met Tambo he was already a dedicated and mature instrument of liberation.

He said Tambo was charged with the task of ensuring that the ANC survived in exile and his exile tested him to the full.

Leaders of foreign countries praise his achievements:

"I thank God for the greatest gift of friendship given to me in Africa 50 years ago when I came here," said Huddleston.

American civil rights leader the Reverend Jesse Jackson said Tambo had not died in vain and would live in the memories of millions of South Africans.

"Oh no! The new South Africa is here. The struggle that Tambo fought for is almost over," Jackson said.

A representative of US president Bill Clinton, Ms Donna Shalala, said the Clinton administration recognised the struggle of the ANC and Tambo and that indeed South Africa had lost a great leading figure in the resolution of the constitutional crisis.

"Today we are celebrating Tambo's achievements as the negotiations are about to deliver a

solution," she said.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira said Tambo's death was a blow to the broad liberation struggle and the ultimate realisation of freedom.

"Comrade Tambo's struggle was not futile and his contribution to the leadership of the ANC has laid the foundation for the organisation to forge ahead with its programme," he said.

Former Swedish first lady Liesbet Palme said Tambo's memory lived on in her mind and that of the Swedish people.

She remembered the close relationship between Tambo and her late husband, former Prime Minister Olaf Palme, who was assassinated.

Other messages of condolence were received from the following countries: Cuba, India, Portugal, Canada, Mauritius, Malaysia, Malawi, Cape Verde, Ghana, Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Swaziland and Zambia.

NEWS Glowing tributes from many foreign governments

Tambo is laid to rest

By Lulama Luti, Themba Molefe,
Abbey Makoe and Sapa

Sowetan 3/5/93
NO INCIDENTS Solemn and dignified funeral

for man who led ANC for 30 years:

LAWYER Mr Oliver Reginald Tambo, who led the ANC for 30 years, was buried at the Wattville Cemetery in Benoni yesterday after a solemn and dignified funeral service at the FNB Stadium near Soweto.

Tambo (75) died at the Mupark Hospital in Johannesburg on April 24 after a severe stroke.

ANC marshals battled to control a large group of people who charged the gates of the cemetery.

Thousands of boisterous people, who had gathered outside the gates, tried to force their way into the cemetery, prompting the marshals and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to cordon off the area.

About 800 people, including ANC vice-president Mr Walter Sisulu, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston and Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, had entered the cemetery just before 4pm.

Crowds of people, who gathered on rooftops and lined the dusty streets to the cemetery,

cheered wildly as the procession passed through the township.

The only ugly scene reported was when two men were attacked by inmates of the Wattville Hostel after the funeral.

According to the police, the two were, however, not seriously hurt.

The coffin was draped in a flag in the yellow, green and black colours of the ANC.

Glowing tributes, mainly from foreign governments, were paid at the funeral service.

A touching moment came when, straight from the heart, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela referred to Tambo as his brother, underscoring the long years of their comradeship which began when they were young lawyers practising in Johannesburg during the turbulent 1950s.

"As you instructed, we will bring peace to our tormented land. As you directed, we will bring freedom to the oppressed and liberation to the

oppressor.

"As you commanded, we will defend the option of a peaceful resolution of our problems," Mandela said in his address.

Among the foreign dignitaries was an 18-member special delegation headed by US Secretary for Health and Population Development Donna Shalala, sent by US President Bill Clinton.

In contrast, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, who is leader of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, mentioned that the British Government had never supported the liberation struggle in South Africa and said lack of support was evident even at the funeral.

There was a heavy security force presence outside the stadium. No incidents of violence were reported. ANC security personnel, who had an easy day, praised the more than 20 000 mourners for their behaviour.

'Old Man' Star 3/5/93 had unique authority

ANC chairman and former president Oliver Tambo was buried in Benoni yesterday. British author and ex-Drum magazine editor ANTHONY SAMPSON reflects on the international respect of a respected leader's life.

OLIVER TAMBO, the president of the ANC over three decades, was probably the most influential black South African leader of his time — and from an extraordinary position: he was in exile for almost the whole of his presidency, and his statements could not be published in his own country.

His personal style was that of a priest or scholar rather than a politician, and he was a devout Anglican who nearly went into the Church. With his slow walk, his grey side-whiskers and his long silences, "the Old Man" (as his colleagues called him) often appeared aloof from the political fray.

But his faith and firm principles helped to give him a unique authority as a leader, with the ability to view setbacks over a long perspective.

He was a shrewd politician and diplomat, who could hold rival factions together through patient conciliation and purpose.

Tambo's world reputation was eclipsed by that of his lifelong friend and colleague Nelson Mandela. But he was always the indispensable partner to Mandela — in and out of jail. Tambo became a mathematics teacher at St. Peter's mis-

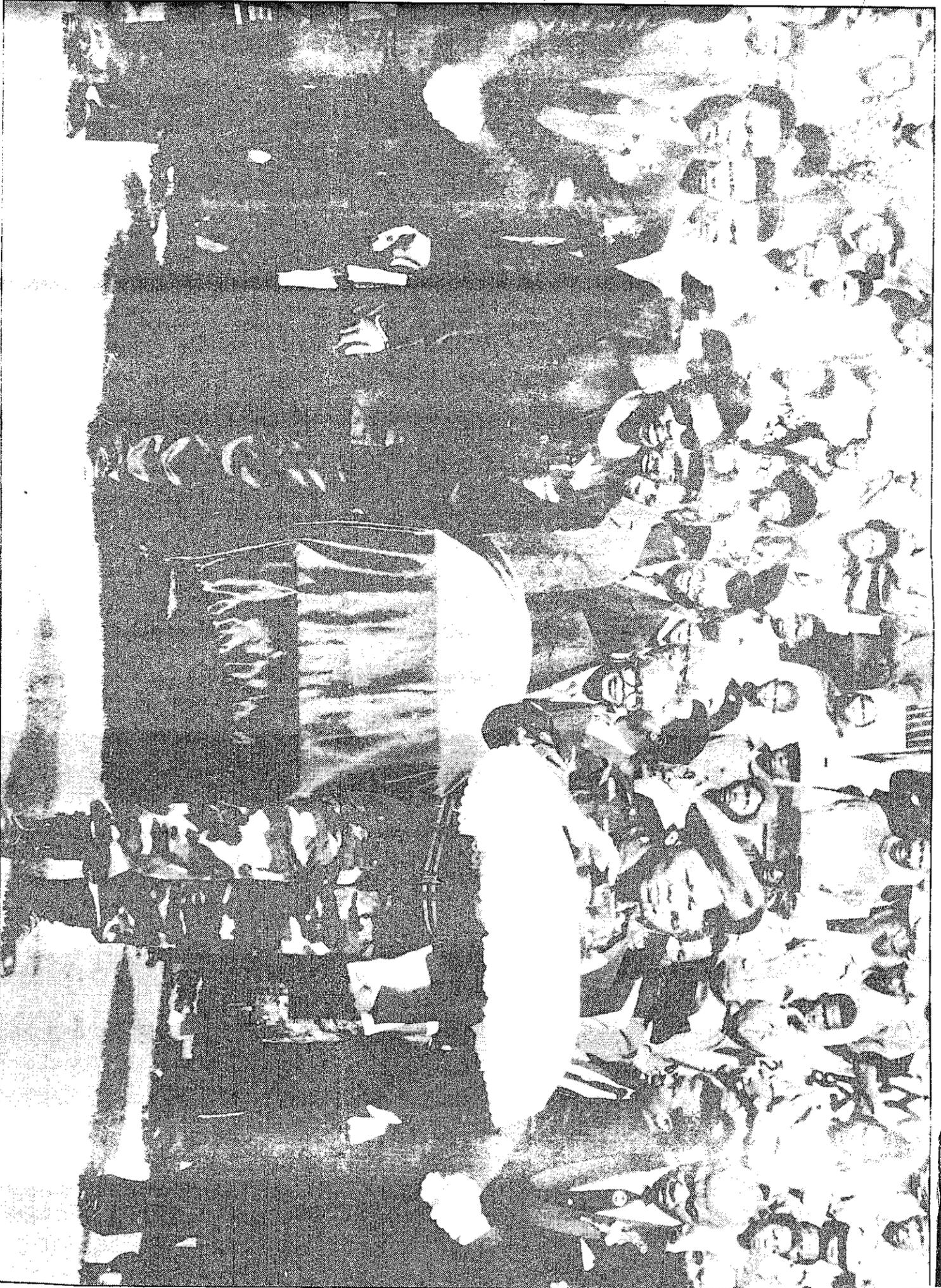
sion school in Rosettenville, Johannesburg — at the time run by the then Rev Trevor Huddleston, who remained his lifelong friend.

But Tambo, like Mandela, turned to law as the most effective means of working for black rights. Together they set up the firm of Mandela and Tambo in Johannesburg which became a focus for black grievances and political discussion in the early 1950s.

When the ANC was banned in 1960, Tambo was chosen to lead the ANC in exile, and he only returned to South Africa in December 1990, 10 months after the unbanning of the ANC and Mandela's release. Tambo had not been fully fit since suffering a stroke in 1989 and Mandela succeeded him as president of the ANC in July 1991. At the time of his death Tambo was still working three days a week.

Tambo's style was in total contrast to any picture of a terrorist leader: gentle, avuncular, with great warmth of friendship expressed in long hugs. When meeting someone who interested him, he liked to look them slowly up and down, to size them up. He travelled constantly, delaying his doctor's pleas. But when in London he was often immersed in family life with his wife Adelaide and their children in their Muswell Hill home.

His informality and apparent vagueness made some Westerners sceptical of the strength of his leadership: but his colleagues treated the "Old Man" with visible awe. □



Last respects: thousands of mourners attended the funeral service of Oliver Tambo at the FNB Stadium outside Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: Joao Silva

'Old Man' had unique authority

Star 315193



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Picture: Joao Silva

Star 3/5/93

ANC thinks again on Maritzburg blockade

Own Correspondent

11A

DURBAN — The African National Congress Natal Midlands region has called off a planned blockade of the Maritzburg city centre tomorrow. The blockade was to have formed part of the week-long campaign of rolling mass action that begins today.

After discussions between the

ANC and the South African Police, it was decided a repeat of the damage caused in the city during a memorial service for the slain South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani should be avoided at all costs.

ANC Midlands regional secretary Sfiso Nkabinde said that instead of the blockade there would be a march to police

headquarters.

Meanwhile the week-long programme of rolling mass action begins today with a march to the Natal Provincial Administration headquarters.

The ANC says the mass action is part of its campaign to speed up the process of establishing a transitional executive council and to push for the

early announcement of an election date for a constituent assembly.

Nkabinde said the week-long mass action in Maritzburg would be assessed at the end of the week, after which further action focusing on other Midlands towns, including Richmond, Mooi River and Bruntville, would be considered.

'Old Man' had unique authority

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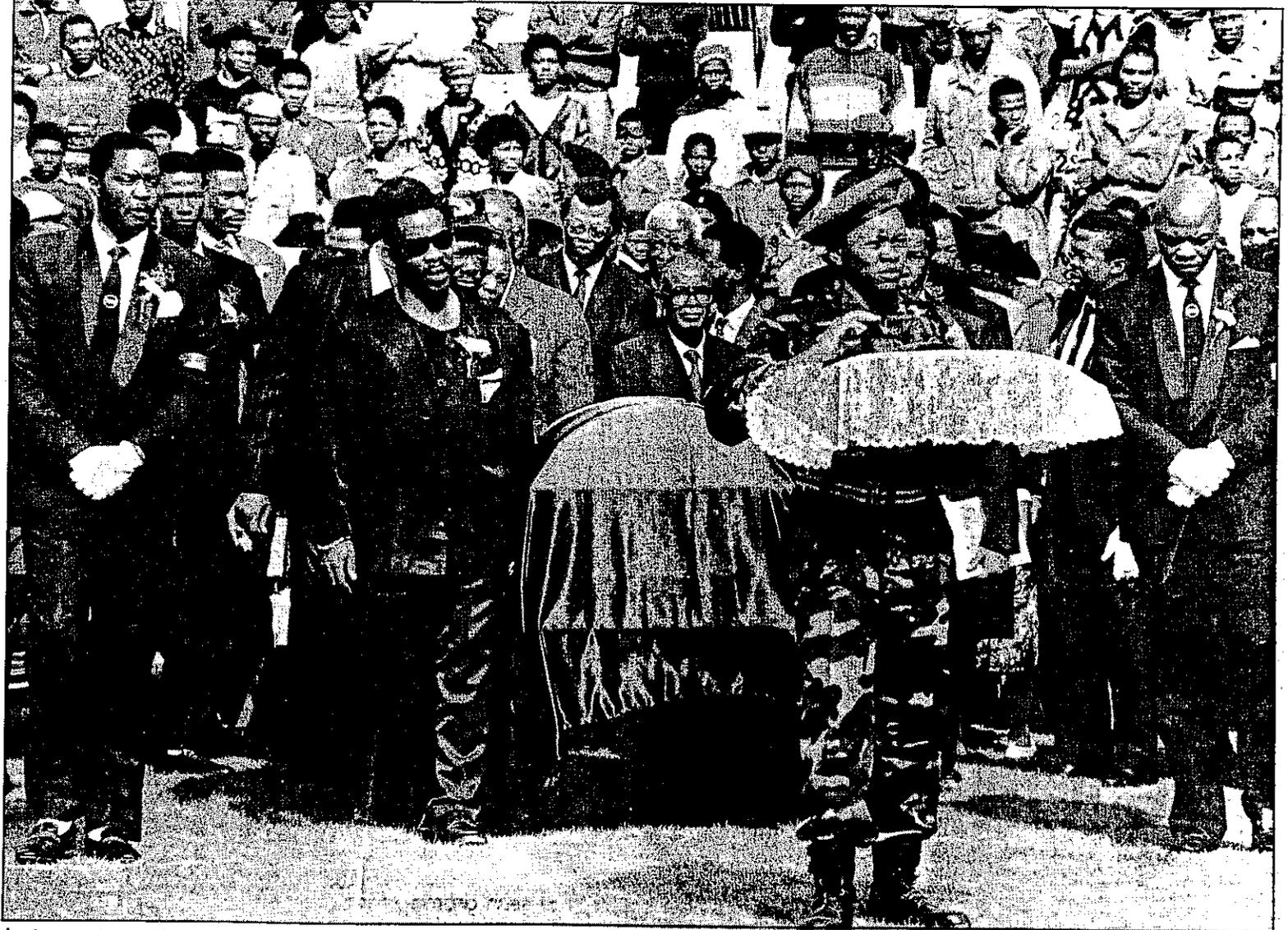
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Picture: Joao Silva



Pik Botha visits Tambo's widow with condolences

Star 4/5/93

(11A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent



Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday visited ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo's widow, Adelaide, at the family's Sandhurst, Sandton, home to convey the Government's condolences.

Accompanied by his spokesman Awie Marais, Botha arrived at the Tambo residence shortly before 5.30 pm and spent about 30 minutes in the house.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki had arrived at the Tambo residence only a few minutes before Botha got there.

Speaking after his meeting with Mrs Tambo, Botha said he had come to pay his respects and deliver the Government's condolences to her.

"This lady has been quite a strong force, standing by her husband for many years.



Pik Botha . . . delivered Government's condolences.

"She is so dignified, very strong, very faithful and has been an example to us all," Botha said.

Asked why the Government had not sent a delegation to Tambo's funeral on Sunday, the Minister said that was "a very delicate matter" which could only be discussed by the Government and the ANC.

According to a diplomatic



Adelaide Tambo . . . "a very strong, very faithful woman".

source, Botha was a VIP guest at a function at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on Sunday for the many diplomats who flew in for the funeral.

The source said Botha arrived "and threw his arms around Mandela in a bear-hug that lasted a while, to the incredulity of some of the Americans and others who had flown in, but not of those who know him well".

Star 4/5/93

Planners make modest progress

Modest progress was made yesterday at the World Trade Centre when the streamlined negotiations planning committee indicated it would begin to address issues raised by the Concerned South Africans Group, and agreed on a package of proposals to be submitted at Friday's meeting of the 26-party Negotiating Council.

Negotiators stressed that the 10-member planning committee has the power only to make recommendations to the larger forum, but were optimistic that yesterday's deliberations could lay the basis for substantive progress on Friday.

Cosag — whose main members are the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and Ciskei gov-

ernment — wants regions in a new constitution dealt with early and in detail, and wants the issue of violence pushed up the talks agenda. The spirit prevailing in the planning committee could calm Cosag fears.

The planning committee's package of proposals deals with a range of issues, including details for seven technical sub-committees,

guidelines on how to deal with demonstrations and criteria for deciding on new applicants to the Negotiating Council.

"I think we've got very good chances of making real headway on Friday," South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said after the meeting.

● To Page 3

Planners make modest progress

● From Page 1

"I will second Mr Slovo's suggestion," Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said.

"I think by Friday we should get the process really going with the appointment of the technical sub-committees."

The proposals on the sub-committees include timeframes, management, terms of reference and composition.

But Dr Ben Ngubane, senior Inkatha Freedom Party official and leader of the KwaZulu delegation in the Negotiating Council, warned the moment of truth was still to come in multi-party negotiations.

"Substantive issues — that is where the crunch is going to come," he said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alex-

ander — who chaired the session — said a letter had been sent earlier yesterday to all 26 parties requesting nominations for the sub-committees.

By Friday the planning committee would have finalised its proposals for the members of the sub-committees, Alexander said. The committee has proposed between three and six members for each sub-committee.

Sub-committees dealing with issues such as a constituent assembly and form of state would need more "political decision-making" and would therefore be bigger in size.

"For those matters which are purely of a legal nature, such as repeal of (discriminatory) legislation (and) prohibiting free political activity, you just need about three people.

"When it's more technical, it is smaller, when it is more political it will be bigger," Alexander said. "We are also going to put forward a proposal on how to deal with demonstrations."

The IFP has already said it wants a separate sub-committee to deal with a future form of state. The party does not want the matter discussed in a sub-committee also dealing with other constitutional matters.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall attended the planning committee meeting to discuss co-ordinating efforts on violence with the National Peace Accord.

A meeting between the planning committee and the National Peace Committee was agreed to and will be arranged soon. — Political Staff, Sapa.

Star 4/15/93
(11A)

Come clean on Askaris, urges ANC

The ANC last night called for full disclosure of the circumstances around the disbandment of the SAP's Askari unit of turned ANC and PAC members.

Police last week announced the disbandment but refused to give details.

Police spokesman Captain Sally de Beer said: "To a certain extent, political pressure had an influence on the members' request to terminate their services and on the SAP's deci-

sion to grant their request."

The Askaris, implicated in police anti-revolutionary operations and death squads, were unified into the Organised Crime Support Unit after left-wing political organisations were unbanned in 1990, she said.

The ANC said yesterday: "The public has a right to the full disclosure of the assets, activities, names of those involved and the funding of these units."

— Staff Reporter and Sapa.

Star 415193

Mandela to meet Anyaoku, Major in UK

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

(11A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela will meet Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku in London today, before meeting Prime Minister

John Major tomorrow..

He is scheduled to address a joint sitting of the British parliament tomorrow afternoon, and is expected to call for new investment in South Africa once a transitional executive council has been established and a

date for elections set.

He will also hold talks with Labour leader John Smith.

After a few days at leisure in Britain he will visit Germany on Monday for talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He will return home on Tuesday.

Black militants claim credit for hotel attack

THE Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) yesterday claimed responsibility, in a phone call to Sapa, for Saturday's attack on East London's Highgate Hotel which left five men dead and seven people injured.

A man claiming to be an Azanla cadre said he had co-ordinated Saturday's strike and warned there would be more attacks.

The caller, who would not identify himself, said the attack had been carried out by three cadres. A driver had waited in the car.

But a spokesman for the Harare-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) cast doubt on the claim.

The spokesman, who would not give his name, told AFP that the Harare office "has no information about this". He said he would expect to have been informed if the attack had been carried out by members of the movement's military wing.

One of the suspects named by police on Sunday was briefly detained by police in February — reportedly as a suspect in the King William's Town Golf Club attack.

PAC member Lungisa Ntintili was arrested in East London while driving from Butterworth in Transkei to Alice in Ciskei. The other suspect was

named as Thembelani Xundu.

Ntintili, a former Zwelitsha teacher, was detained for two days on suspicion of being an accomplice to a murder, but was freed later.

Police declined to comment.

Our East London correspondent reports that the PAC said in King William's Town it did not know who was responsible for the attack.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivhanani confirmed that one of the two suspects, Ntintili, was a PAC member. He did not know the other man. Ntintili was a PAC member, but had no links with Apia.

He said that on the day of the attack Ntintili was in Butterworth where a southern Transkei branch of the PAC was launched. There was no way he could have been at the shooting on Saturday evening as he had only left after 8pm. He said the police were trying to put the PAC and Ntintili in a bad light.

In King William's Town yesterday, about 500 PAC supporters, some wearing empty holsters, marched to the town's police station demanding gun licences to enable members to protect themselves and their leaders.

In other incidents yesterday, a security force member was killed when about 250 youths went on the rampage in Mhlabeng outside Randfontein and in Kagiso near Krugersdorp.

Several cars, trucks and a motorbike were petrol bombed and several people were injured, police said.

In one of the incidents police gave chase when they saw a group of youths carrying petrol bombs.

The youths were cornered and one of the boys tried to steal a policeman's pistol. In the struggle a shot went off, killing an SADF member.

A woman was seriously injured when she and her husband tried to enter Mhlabeng to trade in the township. Their bakkie was set alight.

Randfontein building contractor Fanie Scheepers was seriously injured and his car gutted by youths.

Police reinforcements were called and police appealed to businesses to avoid the townships.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that the charred body was found at a Germiston railway station on Saturday night.

Benoni resident Jacques Loots was shot and wounded in an attack on Sunday. He returned fire and wounded two of his attackers, police said.

In the Heidelberg township of Randa on Sunday morning, two policemen were attacked when they tried to help a man who had been stabbed.

Gunmen wounded one of the policemen and took their weapons.

HWOT
YEA

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(11A) (7B)

Joint peace force may be on talks agenda

THE ANC's proposal that a combined armed force of about 5 000 "peace soldiers" should be mobilised to keep the peace during the elections phase could be on the negotiations agenda soon, sources said yesterday.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise said yesterday the ANC had proposed a brigade of crack MK, SADF, SAP and homeland soldiers be mobilised after a transitional executive council was in place — to deal with violence in "volatile areas".

Parliamentary sources said such a proposal could soon be discussed in one of the negotiations technical committees. Al-

(11A)

RAY HARTLEY
and TIM COHEN

(217P)

though no official confirmation could be obtained yesterday, the discussions would follow a meeting between MK and SADF heads a week ago, where "certain concepts" were discussed.

Modise said in an interview that the brigade would form the nucleus of a "national peacekeeping force" to ensure elections were free and fair.

"Without this kind of force, you cannot have a levelling of the playing fields. The peacekeeping force would not replace the police, but would be used in the most vola-

tile areas to ensure the climate is created for free and fair elections," he said.

The joint force would have legitimacy with most South Africans. "I think this is the only way we can go now, with the tarnished image of the police and SADF."

DP MP Dene Smuts said to achieve real security in the run-up to elections it might well be necessary to create an armed force with specific tasks. This would not be an indictment of the SAP or the SADF as it would be operating in extraordinary circumstances with a prescribed role.

Other sources were sceptical, pointing out that the establishment of a rigorous

□ To Page 2

Force (11A) 415793

command structure would be complex and to set it up in the short time before elections would be difficult.

Modise said he feared a future government would be faced with the enormous task of ending the cycle of violence.

The peacekeeping force would be scrutinised by international observers and would have to be totally neutral, he said. MK soldiers would hand over to the authorities those witnessed to be involved in violence.

Modise said about 3 000 MK members from within SA had been mobilised to maintain order at Oliver Tambo's funeral.

Modise said the formation of an unarmed peace corps to protect communities from violence was also being discussed by MK. The corps, which needed to be

(11A)

(217P)

□ From Page 1

formed immediately, would also act against banditry in communities.

MK had also recommended to the ANC that it become involved in training marshals in crowd control. He said the burning of two men in their homes near the FNB stadium during a service for the late Chris Hani "hurt us a great deal", and the incidents of violence around the stadium would have been avoided if MK had been deployed in the area.

Modise denied that self-defence units had received MK training as government alleged. "It is no secret that weapons are flowing across the borders of this country. We hope that the ways and means will be found to stop this. They are not only being used to kill whites, but to kill all of us".

● Comment: Page 8

Sowetan 4/5/93

Callers attack the ANC and violence

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Abbey Makoe

CALLERS to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night condemned the escalating violence in the country while some criticised the leadership of the African National Congress.

Schoolchildren aligned to Congress of South African Students were also criticised by furious parents who said they were against violence during marches.

Tambo praised

The late ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo was praised as one of the greatest statesmen.

Show host Tim Modise said it was a pity Tambo could not be quoted in the Press during his three decades in exile.

As a result, Tambo had died without most of his followers and admirers ever getting to know what kind of a man he was.

"He came back to the country a very sick man and could not address rallies," said Modise.

Lazarus, of Sebokeng said: "I commend all those who attended Tambo's funeral." He said although the ANC had good leadership, it had failed to discipline its followers.

Mantombi of Soweto complained about some elements in Soweto who were attacking Telkom, Eskom and Rand Water Board employees working in townships.

Modise responded: "I wonder what goes on in

the minds of such people."

David of Cape Town complained about a newspaper in his area for giving prominence to the killing of five whites at a hotel in East London last Saturday.

He said the killings were given "full colour-page coverage. Yet it was not the case with the Sebokeng massacre where 19 people were killed".

"The ANC leadership is flamboyant and Shell House is moving away from the people daily. I will vote for them in the first elections so that they win but thereafter ...

never!"

11/1

Brenda, Morningside

"The East London killings were senseless since things are going nicely today."

Reuben, Durban

"In a changing South Africa all radicals should be stopped."

Jenny Linden, Johannesburg

"Leaders of the TBVC states are opposing what the majority of the people want."

Philly, Sandton

NEWS Border reg

Mandela on VIP UK trip

Sowetan 4/15/92

■ Stalwart to address MPs:

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will meet Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoko in London today ahead of his meeting with British Prime Minister John Major tomorrow.

Mandela, who last week postponed his trip to Portugal to attend ANC national chairman Mr Oliver Tambo's funeral on Sunday, left Johannesburg last night.

(11A)
He is scheduled to address a joint sitting of the British Parliament and is expected to call for new investment in South Africa once a transitional executive council has been established and a date for elections has been set.

Apart from Major, Mandela will also hold talks with Labour Party leader Mr John Smith and Foreign Affairs Minister Douglas Hurd tomorrow.

From Thursday to Sunday he will be holidaying in Britain.

Next Monday he will visit Germany for talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and will return to South Africa next Tuesday. - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Liberation, then socialism - SACP

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Isaac Moledi

THE South African Communist Party's ultimate goal was to establish a socialist dispensation in South Africa, newly-elected SACP general secretary Mr Charles Nqakula said last night.

Nqakula, who succeeded assassinated SACP leader Mr Chris Hani, was speaking as a guest on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

He said national liberation must, however, be attained first before a socialist dispensation could be implemented.

He said the SACP and other parties in the ANC-led alliance would fight the impending elections under the flag of the ANC.

Nqakula slammed people who did not want the present negotiations to continue.

He said while the Government was re-

Sowetan 14/5/93
sponsible for protecting the country's citizens, he called on people to protect themselves and not to be intimidated.

Dismissing perceptions that the SACP wanted to manipulate the ANC, Nqakula said: "It is without doubt that the ANC is led by fine and tested politicians. It's an insult to say they are being manipulated by a small clique of communists.

"Our role in the liberation struggle is well known. The SACP is the first party to talk about non-racialism. We also took part in establishing the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, when all avenues of the struggle were closed."

"I am quite interested to know about the marriage between the SACP and the ANC. What is going to happen after the elections?"

Alexandra Sabelo

"I'm worried about those whites who keep on complaining about communism. I want to tell them today that I've been oppressed by apartheid. I don't know anything about communism but I can write volumes about apartheid."

Dudu, Newcastle

"It seems to me that communists

are failing to put their propaganda across. What we now know about communism is what we have been told by the South African Government. They have never told us anything about it themselves."

Doreen, Joubert Park

"The main issue here is change and we want that change. We also want our leadership to be protected. Joe Slovo must be protected because there are already threats against his life."

Anonymous, Katlehong

ANC 'expects UK to help'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC expected Britain to assist fully in bringing about parliamentary democracy in South Africa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said when he left Jan Smuts Airport last night for a short visit to Britain.

Mr Mandela, who is going at the invitation of British Prime Minister Mr John Major, will meet Mr Major and opposition Labour

Party members, and address a joint sitting of Parliament. He will encourage British and German leaders to invest in South Africa once a transitional executive council has been established.

His overseas visit comes after Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent trip to Britain and Italy, where he promoted foreign investment and met the

(11A) CT 4/5/93
Institute for the Reconstruction of Industry.

Mr Mandela told a press conference before flying out: "Britain can play a major role in ensuring that free and fair elections take place in this country."

The ANC leader will holiday in Switzerland from Thursday to Sunday and will meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Germany on Monday. — Sapa-Reuter

Dissent on what tops talks agenda

Soubren 5/5/93

■ Will it be regions or violence as groups prepare to parley?:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Negotiations Council will on Friday consider proposals on the question of how the country will be divided into regions.

The planning committee on Monday agreed that sub-committees would prepare the proposals, along with others, on matters such as public demonstrations.

The decision to look at proposals on regions has been interpreted as a move to placate the Concerned South Africans Group, who insist on the form of the new state before negotiations can commence, and that there should be agreement on the powers, duties and functions of regions.

The decision is expected to ease the negotiation process and Friday's meeting is expected to be productive.

"I think we've got a very good chance of making real headway on Friday," SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday.

However, sources in the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress warned yesterday that it was still too early to make a decision on regions.

The Government insists that the question of violence, should top the agenda.

Minister of Constitutional Negotiations Mr Roelf Meyer has said that he hoped violence would take precedence at Friday's meeting.

Sovereign state for coloureds sought

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

A new political organisation which calls for a "sovereign and independent state" for coloureds in a new dispensation was introduced to the media in Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, yesterday.

The organisation, called the National Liberation Front (NLF) and headed by University of the Witwatersrand geography lecturer Malcolm Lupton, has as its main purpose the creation of an independent homeland for coloureds.



Lupton . . . we are used as political pawns.

Lupton (29), who is the new organisation's general-secretary, criticised both the National Party and the ANC, accusing them of regarding coloureds "as expendable pawns" in their efforts to get votes.

"In their hidden agendas, both the ANC and the NP regard our people as expendable pawns," he said.

Lupton said the NLF had about 500 paid-up members.

ANC rejects protest Bill

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC has rejected a proposed Bill governing mass demonstrations publicised by Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone last week, because it was not consulted adequately.

"The ANC believes that poor legislation is worse than no legislation at all, but that the outstanding problems with the Bill can be easily resolved," the statement said.

"The ANC welcomed consultations on the previous draft, many of which were incorporated in the redrafted version. However, the commission ignored the ANC's subsequent comments. The Bill is inconsistent in its approach to the right to demonstrate and is difficult to interpret. It fails to establish consistent and simple procedures for demonstrations.

"It imposes a wide ranging statutory civil liability on organisers of demonstrations," the ANC said.

Other problems included the Bill's restriction on demonstrations near courts and Parliament.

Goldstone would not comment yesterday.

Commonwealth rethinks SA role

RAY HARTLEY

THE future of the Commonwealth observer mission to SA hangs in the balance with its Durban office scheduled to close down in weeks and the strong possibility that funding for its observer force may be cut soon.

Mission head Duncan Chappell said yesterday representation had been made to the Commonwealth's London head office in an effort to change the decision to close the Durban office.

Financial constraints had led the Commonwealth to rethink its role in SA.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was scheduled to discuss the future of the mission with Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku in London yesterday, he said. It is believed he urged Anyaoku to retain the mission.

ANC peace desk official Sydney Mafumadi said it would be "most unfortunate" if the mission were to close its offices with elections drawing closer and violence continuing unabated.

Chappell said Commonwealth headquarters was considering replacing observers, who were scheduled to return to their home countries in mid-May, with a smaller team of "technical assistants".

A well-placed monitoring source said it was likely that the mission's Johannesburg office would be reduced to a skeleton staff.

Mafumadi said the ANC believed all international missions should remain in place.

There was a strong possibility that violence would be stepped up by "spoilers" wanting to undermine future elections.

Mission spokesman Colleen Lowemorner said yesterday the 10 observers scheduled to leave in mid-May would be replaced by "a new cast of characters" to deal with changing political circumstances in SA.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that the EC has appointed an ambassador-level diplomat to oversee its observer mission which will continue to operate for at least another six months.

Former German ambassador to Addis Ababa Paul Joachim von Stulpnagel said yesterday the existing 16 mission members felt they had made a difference.

Stulpnagel said four or five of the existing observers had asked to remain in SA and the others would be replaced. They would continue to operate within the guidelines set down by a UN Security Council resolution stipulating that observers should work with local organisations to encourage peace.

Stulpnagel, who met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday, said the existing observers had told him that their mere presence at mass gatherings had played a positive role.

Being policemen, the observers were able to contribute expertise to multiparty discussions about peacekeeping, he said.

ANC-Govt clash over Arms Bill

Star 5/5/93

By Chris Whitfield
and Brendan Templeton

CAPE TOWN — The ANC was last night locked in bitter dispute with the Government over a warning by Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh that tough new arms legislation would apply to the organisation's arms caches.

In an angry reaction, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that if this were the case it would be a breach of the D F Malan Accord.

He was backed by the organisation's legal adviser Matthew Phosa, who said the ANC would refuse to hand over its weapons.

Myburgh defended his comments, saying: "I am prepared to cross swords with them on this issue."

The row comes amid increasing tension over recent violence, including the apparently racially motivated attack on an East London hotel in which five whites were shot dead.

Democratic Party MP Peter Gastrow warned in Parliament yesterday that the "clouds of civil war" appeared to be gathering on the country's horizon.

Myburgh had told Parliament while replying to the second reading debate on the Arms and Ammunition Bill yesterday that it would apply to the arms caches.

The legislation, which now has only to be voted on by

~~Star~~ (11A)
**Caches
will not
be turned
over —
Niehaus**

Parliament before it becomes law, contains provisions for sentences ranging between five and 25 years for anyone caught in possession of certain illegal arms or explosives.

It also includes an indemnity from prosecution for those handing in their firearms within 60 days of the Act's commencement.

Myburgh said people associated with arms caches would be dealt with in precisely the same way as others in possession of illegal firearms.

It was incumbent on all political parties to compel their followers to toe the line.

Niehaus said: "The Bill should not affect our arms caches."

"We have an agreement on that, in terms of the D F Malan Accord, where the ANC will look after its own arms caches."

"Anything which they unilaterally try to push through Parliament will be seen as a breach of the accord."

Phosa accused Myburgh of acting irresponsibly and said the ANC, "whatever they do or say ... won't give (the Government) our AKs".

Myburgh defended his statements, saying the proposed legislation "most definitely does not contravene the D F Malan Accord".

The accord between the Government and ANC was signed in early 1991 and dealt primarily with security issues, including control of arms caches. However, it has since given rise to differing interpretations by the two organisations.

In an earlier statement yesterday the ANC had said that while it believed that there should be greater control over the distribution of all firearms, it was opposed to the proposed minimum sentence.

As long as there was a perception of racial bias in the legal access to firearms, "this harsh measure will be seen as ... designed to disarm black people but not whites".

Gastrow, speaking during yesterday's debate on the Bill, said South Africa had a white population which was legally armed to the teeth and a black population which was in the process of arming itself — largely with unlicensed weapons.

There was no way the Government could disarm the population through legislation, he said.

ANC, SAP in Star 5/5/93 pistols row

Two pistols found after a tavern brawl in a northern Free State township last month have become the centre of a dispute between the ANC and the SA Police, leading to the Goldstone Commission being asked to intervene.

The ANC yesterday claimed the pistols were evidence security forces in the northern Free State were aiding and abetting forces opposed to the ANC. (S)

The pistols were shown to the press in Johannesburg yesterday and were then handed over to Goldstone Commission representatives.

"We have reason to believe that an attempt to murder a regional ANC leader was frustrated in Thabong, near Welkom, on April 9. On that occasion two persons were involved in a tavern fight, during which one of

them lost his life," the ANC said.

During the fight, the pair were disarmed. Their weapons were then handed over to the ANC, which had "strong reason" to believe they were SAP-issued. (S)

The Goldstone Commission is to investigate the weapons' origin.

Police denied the allegations, saying the pistols had been stolen from two off-duty policemen who had gone to the tavern and were assaulted.

"One of the members later died in hospital of his injuries. Both members were allegedly robbed of their firearms."

Police called on the ANC to hand over the weapons because the ANC's possession of them was unlawful and it was withholding evidence. — Sapa.

May 1 to May 5 1993

South T15 = 515193

A forgotten hero

By Juanita Williams

VERY few people know who John Gomas was, yet in 1931 he was the first black person to speak in Parliament, giving a rousing speech which ended with him pelting the members with leaflets.

Gomas remains undiscovered by today's generation — his contribution was lost because the oral history of South Africa has been ignored.

This was the theme taken up by speakers at the launch of the Johnny Gomas Memorial Trust Fund last week.

As a first-generation fighter against apartheid, Gomas left deep imprints on the memories of people involved in anti-apartheid work in the early part of the century.

Even though he had hardly any formal schooling, Gomas recruited leading members of the Communist Party like Ray Alexander and Moses Kotane into the organisation.

Ms Doreen Musson, a founder member of the trust fund, said the oral history of South Africa was "untapped".

"With the traditional writing of history a veil has been dropped over our past and future generations will need history to contain the truth," she said.

Musson is the author of Gomas's biography, "Johnny Gomas — Voice Of The Working Class", tracing his life and political work.

The Gomas Trust fund will award scholarships to relevant social research, aiming to strengthen the efforts of institutions which focus on

the history of oppressed people.

Mr Vincent Kolbe, a cultural worker, said at the launch people like Gomas should be remembered because they were workers with "big hearts and lots of guts".

"The major reason for the exclusion of black people in research is that social researchers spend a few weeks on farms, study the drinking habits of the people and then declare themselves experts," said Professor Henry Isaacs, former United Nations representative.

He said future generations should learn from Gomas, a "fearless organiser who strived for the truth".

Gomas was born in 1901 and joined the ANC at 17: the youngest member at the time. In 1928 he was the acting regional president of the ANC in the Western Cape.

He organised in a number of unions, including the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU).

After joining the Communist Party he was forced to leave the ICU.

Gomas contracted pleurisy in prison and in 1952 was placed under house arrest for two years.

He joined the PAC in the fifties, participated in the Sharpeville march and was detained during the state of emergency.

After a stroke he died in District Six in 1979, alone and in poverty. His funeral was attended by 20 people.

● Inquiries about the Johnny Gomas Memorial Trust Fund should be sent to P.O. Box 424, Howard Place, Pinelands, 7450 or tel. (021) 691 2285 or fax (021) 531 2484.

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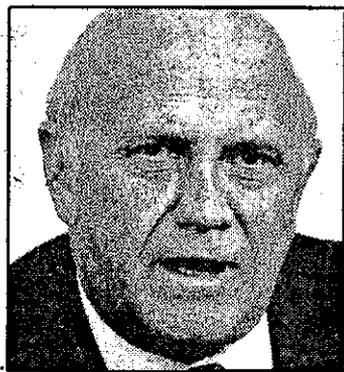
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De Klerk . . clear there would be many difficulties.

Star 5/5/93
SA's progress remarkable - FW

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It was essential to reach all South Africans during the coming months to explain to them the significance of the coming elections, President F.W. de Klerk said in Cape Town last night.

Speaking at an International Public Relations Association dinner, he said it would also be necessary to create the circum-

stances in which they would be able to take part freely and meaningfully in the process.

The dramatic change in direction in South Africa just more than three years ago had turned out to be "a long-distance marathon towards our goal of a new and democratic South Africa".

There were no illusions at the outset that it would be an easy race. Given the diametrically opposed ideologies at the outset,

the deep-seated animosities and suspicions, and the legacies of prejudice, fear and envy in the society, it was clear there would be many difficulties.

But remarkable progress had been made, De Klerk said.

Nearly all the major parties in South Africa had been drawn into negotiations, and substantial agreement had been reached on important departure points and goals.

Star 5/5/93
Apartheid victims 'will not vote NP'

People who had been treated as second-class citizens all their lives were not going to vote for the National Party, Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC's negotiating team warned yesterday in an address to the Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees' Union at the City Hall.

He told about 300 members of the largely coloured and Indian union that the National Party had been claiming the support of the majority of coloured and Indian people.

Also addressing the meeting, the head of the ANC's local government unit, Thozamile Botha, said interim local councils to replace existing councils in black and white areas should be in place by July.

These interim councils would be responsible for the rationalisation of services and the unifying of the budgets of the various local authorities in order to address the service crisis facing the country. — Staff Reporter.

Star 5/5/93
Mdlalose accusations referred to Goldstone

By Helen Grange

Accusations made last month by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose that the Government was involved in a smear campaign against the IFP will be referred to the Goldstone Commission for possible investigation.

A statement by the National Peace Committee (NPC), detailing decisions made at Monday night's NPC executive meeting, said Mdlalose had raised issues relating to criminal action which fell within the scope of the Goldstone Commission and could not be dealt with by the complaints investigating committee.

In his address last Monday to the Negotiating Council, Mdlalose said Government intelligence agencies were involved in a smear campaign against the IFP and were "involved in providing support to those seeking our demise".

He also suggested that the police were deliberately neglect-

ing to investigate perpetrators of violence against the IFP.

The NPC executive on Monday distanced itself from recent inflammatory statements by Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said the NPC was very concerned with violations of the Peace Accord, which needed strengthening to further bind signatories to its terms.

The option of affording the accord legislative power to punish transgressors was, however, not being considered.

Hall said the greatest obstacles to the Peace Accord's success was the absence of a new political dispensation and the crippling socio-economic situation on the ground.

Action plans would, however, be launched to address immediate threats to peace in the form of mass action, political intolerance and broken-down relations between political parties.

Star 5/5/93
IFP plans to force talks on violence

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party is planning a programme of mass demonstrations to demand that violence tops the agenda at multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that IFP supporters would march and picket in the streets from May 15.

The first march would take place in Durban.

"The IFP's view is that violence has reached such a level that it should be tabled at the top of the agenda at the multiparty forum," he said.

His statement echoed that by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted to read a statement on violence to last week's negotiating council, but it was referred to a subcommittee on violence.

The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.

**Mandela
calls for
changes
in JSE**

Billion-dollar

pledge for SA

If 'we get it right'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — Western nations may pledge up to a billion dollars (about R3bn) in development assistance to South Africa once an agreement on a transitional executive is reached, according to a top Washington-based consultant who has been advising the World Bank on South Africa.

The need for substantial aid to help a new government meet popular expectations is likely to be addressed when the seven major industrialised countries — Britain, France, Germany, America, Japan, Italy and Canada — hold their annual summit in Tokyo in July, Mr Witney Schneidman, vice-president of Samuels International, said.

The potential donors to South Africa are considering convening a formal "consultative group" on South Africa's development needs to be chaired by the World Bank soon after transitional structures are in place.

The bank estimates that South Africa would need investments of four to five billion dollars (R12-13bn) annually, to achieve the annual GDP growth rate of four to five percent needed to make serious inroads on unemployment and to meet demands for redistribution.

Mr Schneidman said it was essential that South Africa's political parties agreed as soon as possible on a development agenda so that the aid could be effectively used.

● US 'to aid economic reform' — Page 2

From CHRIS BATEMAN
LONDON. — A commission of non-aligned experts should be appointed to review the "unacceptable" control of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange by four major conglomerates and advise a new government, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said here yesterday.

Addressing an international media conference, he said he would urge British business to invest in South Africa as this was now becoming crucial.

As soon as a date for elections had been announced the international community would be asked to invest.

Mr Mandela said stiff trade competition from Eastern Europe and hard-headed business sense had prompted the ANC to try to encourage investors by guaranteeing not to expropriate their property and to allow full repatriation of dividends and profits.

Asked about the move by four former police and army generals to consolidate right-wing opposition, he said they were saying "nothing different" from what the late Dr Treurnicht had always said.

He saw the right-wing as the "greatest threat" because they were entrenched in the system.

To allay white fears and stem an exodus, he had met police generals and policy-makers of the Dutch Reformed Church — "the National Party in prayer". He said: "A great deal of spadework has been done which is paying dividends."

Another crucial move would be to lower expectations of blacks because it could take as long as five years before a new government could address serious socio-economic problems.

CRS/5/92

BACK IN MUM'S ARMS...



TOGETHER AGAIN . . . Mabutie Mgidima, 3, was delighted to be reunited with his mother Mrs Mildred Mgidima (left) yesterday, thanks to the combined efforts of his big-hearted temporary minder Mrs Cydnoria Mbali (right) and police, social workers and the Cape Times.

Picture: ANNE LANG

Inside

TODAY

Cloudy, mild — PAGE 2

ANC slams gun laws — PAGE 2

The ANC has criticised the government's new gun laws, saying they will be interpreted as a measure to disarm blacks and not whites.

Security meeting — PAGE 2

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche and Law and Order Minister Mr Hemus Kriel yesterday met for over an hour to discuss the deteriorating security situation.

Plan on talks — PAGE 2

The National Peace Committee has asked its executive to prepare plans on issues related to violence.

CAR PRICES SET TO RISE
— PAGE 3

Homosexual murders — PAGE 3

The murder of homosexuals with intent to rob was prevalent in Cape Town.

Rate cut likely — PAGE 8

There was a greater likelihood of another cut in Bank rate than of rates remaining stagnant or rising.

WP training squad — BACK PAGE

Danie Gerber and Gert Smal will be among those missing from a South African training squad when the group is named today.

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White schools: ANC clarifies

JOHANNESBURG. — Although the ANC had publicly opposed a call to occupy white schools it did not necessarily reject the idea, ANC PWV regional secretary Mr Obed Bopape said yesterday. (117)

He told a press conference here the matter would remain high on the agenda until the government became part of a forum to address the education crisis.

He was answering a question on a joint statement by the ANC and the SA Communist Party PWV regions, southern Transvaal regions of the NECC, SA National Civic Organisation, SA Democratic Teachers' Union, Congress of SA Students and SA Students' Congress. — Sapa

Concern over halt in ANC, Inkatha talks

BILLY PADDOCK *11A*

MEMBERS of the diplomatic corps in SA yesterday expressed "great concern" that talks between Inkatha and the ANC had been "placed on the backburner for the sake of multiparty negotiations".

They indicated they might take up the matter with the parties.

A joint Inkatha/ANC preparatory committee met several times to finalise arrangements for a summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. But since their last meeting in February no further contact has been made.

Yesterday national peace committee chairman John Hall said the two major obstacles — Mandela's claim that Inkatha was a government surrogate and not an organisation with which the ANC would enter into agreements over violence, and the failure of MK to disband — had not been cleared up. *BIDAM*

The summit is seen as an important step in reducing hostilities between the warring factions in Natal that have been responsible for more than 4 000 deaths in the past three years.

"It is vital that the bilateral meeting between these two parties take place as soon as possible," one senior diplomat said.

He argued that one of the main reasons for Inkatha and Concerned South Africans Group members hedging in talks at the World Trade Centre was because of their distrust of the ANC's intentions. *S/S 193*

Meanwhile government is set to have two bilateral meetings in the next week — one with Inkatha at the weekend and another with the ANC next week to discuss constitutional matters.

There are still clear differences between government and the ANC over:

- The powers and functions of a transitional executive council and its sub-councils;
- The arrangements for a regional dispensation during the transition; and
- How to ensure reincorporation of the TBVC states.

ANC criticises arms Bill's mandatory 5-year sentence

THE ANC said yesterday it was opposed to the minimum, five-year sentence proposed under the Arms and Ammunition Bill.

The Bill, now before Parliament, recommends the sentence for anyone found in possession of certain categories of firearms, particularly automatic weapons.

Sapa reports that the ANC said the Bill attempted to punish people for possession of firearms without dealing with the reasons why there was such a demand.

This, the ANC said, was because of "personal insecurity arising out of the failure of the law enforcement machinery to adequately protect black South Africans".

Mandatory minimum sentences, the organisation said, would remove the discretion of the courts to identify an accused who was a law-abiding citizen with a genuine fear for his safety.

"Minimum sentences do not distinguish between those who should receive a harsh punishment because they intend to use the weapon for anti-social purposes, and those who do not," the ANC said.

"There is a line of decisions handed down by the courts, including the Appellate Division, which have strongly enjoined Parliament not to enact minimum sentences but to leave the question of sentence to the discretion of the courts."

The ANC said it was also concerned that for as long as there was a racial bias in the access to firearms, "this harsh measure will be seen as a measure designed to

disarm black people but not white".

"In particular, concerns have been raised about the modus operandi and status of the firearm recovery unit of the SA Police, which is perceived to be predominantly, if not exclusively, concerned with the recovery of firearms from blacks in general and ANC members in particular."

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh told Parliament the Bill would also apply to ANC arms caches.

Replying to the second reading debate yesterday, Myburgh said people associated with arms caches would be dealt with in exactly the same way as others illegally in possession of weapons.

Myburgh said it was physically impossible for the police to monitor the influx of arms across the country's borders. A political solution was needed to resolve the problem of illegal arms.

MP Peter Gastrow (DP Durban Central) said it appeared that the clouds of civil war were beginning to form on the horizon.

SA had a white population which had armed itself to the teeth and a black population which was in the process of doing so — mainly with unlicensed weapons.

Independent MP and ANC member Jannie Momberg said his organisation endorsed the principle of the Bill, although it believed it would be unhelpful to try to control arms without long-term objectives.

● Comment: Page 8

Council to focus on date for all-in election

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

A commitment to the holding of South Africa's first all-in election not later than April next year is the first issue to be debated when the Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre this week, according to reliable sources.

Top negotiators told The Star that the commitment, tabled in a declaration of intent towards the end of last week's meeting, would be the first item on the agenda of Friday's council meeting.

The declaration further commits the 26 parties and organisations represented in negotiations to ensuring that an exact date for the election is set within the next five weeks.

"The question of a date for elections is first on the agenda. It is one of the issues facing us.

"Without getting an election

date, it will give the impression that the negotiations are endless," said SACP national chairman Joe Slovo yesterday.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin confirmed that the election date would be the first issue to be dealt with at Friday's talks.

Eglin also said he expected the technical committees agreed upon last week to be formally constituted on Friday, following recommendations to be made by the 10-member planning committee which met on Monday.

Both Slovo and Eglin are members of that committee.

The planning committee — whose members participate in their personal capacities and do not represent their parties — this week agreed to make recommendations on both the composition of the technical committees and the time-frames during which they will be expected to report back.

Star 6/5/93

ANC rejects call to borrow

By Paul Bell

The ANC will not be party to any applications to borrow from the World Bank or International Monetary Fund (IMF) any time soon — despite being urged by the United States government to do so immediately.

The organisation, looking to elections within a year, remains concerned that premature applications for funding by South Africa could see borrowings from the Bretton Woods institutions (as the World Bank and the IMF are collectively known) undermining a future ANC government's freedom of economic decision-making, as well as

being wasted by what it regards as the inefficiencies of the country's present economic management.

ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel said this yesterday in response to advice last week from US ambassador Princeton Lyman that South Africa should immediately invite the World Bank to develop a portfolio of project proposals.

Lyman, obliquely addressing the ANC, said it would take the bank between 18 months and two years to move from proposals to implementation. "That means that unless the bank begins now, a newly elected

government will be faced with as much as two years' wait before being able to utilise this assistance for the pressing needs of the population," he said.

But Manuel said the ANC was not prepared to consider any binding arrangements with the Bretton Woods institutions before the introduction of democratic government in South Africa.

"The integrity of domestic policy formulation must be supreme in a democratic dispensation," he said. "There are civil servants who might consider it in their short-term interests to borrow from the World Bank."

Investors have nothing to fear, says Mandela

Star 5/5/93

By Tim Whitfield
Star Bureau

INA

LONDON — The violence in South Africa cannot be stopped until a democratic government is elected, but overseas investors have nothing to fear if the ANC comes into power. This was the message Nelson Mandela put forward in London yesterday.

The ANC president seemed determined to allay fears of foreign businessmen during a press briefing only hours after arriving in Britain. But he warned that violence would continue until a democratic government was elected.

"As long as violence continues it will be difficult for businessmen to invest in our country.

"The ANC is taking measures to allay any fears from potential foreign investors.

"We have an investment code that emphasises there will be no appropriation, and that dividends will be freely transferable overseas.

"We have taken the position that as soon as the date for elections is announced, we will invite foreign businesses to invest in our country.

"Violence is a serious



Flying the flag . . . Mandela in London. Picture: AP

obstacle to their doing so, but that can only be addressed when a democratic government is elected.

"The reasons the current Government cannot address the violence is because they have no legitimacy, lack credibility and are massively corrupt," he said.

A democratic government had the advantage of legitimacy and having the confidence of the political majority.

Mandela also touched on the reports that whites are leaving in anticipation of the ANC taking over government.

"The white community has had opportunities not available to the rest during the years of apartheid. But without them and their expertise it will be difficult to ad-

dress the substantial socio-economic problems, therefore we make an appeal for them to remain in the country."

He added that the greatest threat to the peace process was not from black organisations . . . the greatest threat was from the Right.

"We cannot ignore the Right because their supporters are firmly entrenched in Government structures."

Mandela met the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, yesterday afternoon and today will meet British Prime Minister John Major, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and the leader of the Labour Party, John Smith.

He leaves for Geneva tomorrow.

Surge of hope for the bridge-builders

Star 5/5/93

11A

5/5/93

WHEN writer Mewa Ramgobin said that art and culture could heal the bruises of a nation and bring unity to a divided people, his words seemed glib enough.

They were simple and effective, but most would agree that the statement couldn't possibly have any real value in a country shredded by violence and opposing ideologies.

But Ramgobin, a prominent figure in the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), may indeed have been vindicated.

The event which spurred his statement, the DAC's Culture and Development Conference held at Johannesburg's monolithic Civic Theatre last week, was more than a meeting of a few hundred local and international cultural workers.

It was a surge of inspiration and hope.

Imbalances

From soaring, colourful banners promoting peace and friendship to the thundering feet of dozens of toy-toying delegates, the spirit of goodwill at the conference provided convincing reasons to start believing in the new South Africa.

Everyone was "Comrade", but the sobriquet had no socialist overtones: it was a verbal means of extending the hand of friendship.

The issues the conference set out to address concerned the cultural imbalances created by apartheid, and the exploration of ways to attain cultural equity for all South Africans.

At no point during the week-long conference did a single delegate suggest that should the ANC enter Parliament with a majority, culture as South Africans know it today would be replaced.

Reconciliation was emphasised, and where there were recalcitrant comments from the floor, these were debated and usually outmanoeuvred.

It was agreed that under a new political dispensation, much attention would have to be given to the promotion of African languages.

International speakers from multilingual countries advised that one of the only means of realising this was to guarantee the right of individuals to speak the language of their choice, and this was strongly endorsed.

The controversial subject of

THE bridging of racial divisions in South Africa is the most difficult task facing politicians. But a Culture and Development Conference, convened by the ANC last week, provided hope. JANET SMITH reports.

cultural edifices like monuments and memorials was scrutinised both in a general forum and in a working group. Although it was recommended that memorials which reflect the history of black South Africans be constructed, there was no suggestion that all present monuments and memorials be destroyed.

Rather, it was suggested that such symbols be contextualised, perhaps with revisionist plaques putting the particular monument or memorial into historical perspective.

Symbols like the Voortrekker Monument may be returned to specific sectors of the community, whose responsibility it would be to maintain and promote the building.

The advancement of indigenous forms of artistic endeavour was high on the agenda, and it was generally accepted that the future allocation of funds for the performing arts would have to be democratic.

Reservations

The dismantling of the Performing Arts Councils in their present form was approved by the delegates, and — with some reservations — by three of the four directors of the performing arts councils.

In all areas of culture, delegates warned against State intervention, except on the issue of funding and facilitation of new structures.

Perhaps the words which most signified a gesture towards unity were made by the ANC's Barbara Masekela, who warned against the belief that the ANC was a government in waiting.

"Although we do expect to enter a new political phase with a majority vote, we will never be an ANC government with ANC culture. We will be a government for all the people of South Africa." — □

NEWS Government lacks credibility and is 'corrupt' ● Passmore on drugs charge

Mandela's solution to violence in sight

Sowetan 5/5/93

■ ANC leader confident of stemming ebbing white tide:

LONDON - The installation of a "legitimate and credible government" in South Africa was the only solution to escalating racial violence in the country, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Government illegitimate

"One of the reasons that the present Government has been unable to address the question of violence is that it has no legitimacy, no credibility. It's corrupt," Mandela told a Press conference in London at the start of a two-day official visit to Britain.

He will meet Prime Minister Mr John Major, Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd and Labour Party leader Mr John Smith today before addressing the House of Commons.

Mandela acknowledged a burgeon-

ing exodus from South Africa, mostly by whites who feared for their safety amid the escalating racial violence.

It is normal in a transition "for minorities to be concerned, to ask: 'What is going to happen to me, to my family?'" said Mandela.

"We must be prepared to address those concerns. I am very optimistic that we will be able to withstand the tide of people leaving," he said.

Foreign investment

Mandela said he would renounce sanctions and launch a campaign to attract foreign investment as soon as the date for elections had been announced.

The ANC president said he was counting on Britain's help in installing "parliamentary democracy" in South Africa. - Sapa-AFP.



Azapo to vote on multiparty talks

Sowetan 5/5/93

By Joe Mdhlela

■ NAIVE VIEW *The Government initiatives to liberate South Africa's black majority are doomed to failure:* (11A) (Sowetan)

THE AZAPAN PEOPLE'S Organisation is not against negotiations but has serious misgivings about organisations of the liberation movement sitting on the same side of the table as the Government as is happening with the present multiparty talks.

Such a state of affairs was unacceptable and would render the movements impotent, Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said this week.

This, and other crucial issues, will form part of Azapo's agenda in the special congress scheduled for the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, near Roodepoort, on Saturday and Sunday.

Azapo decided at its council meeting in Bloemfontein last month to hold an extraordinary congress at which it would decide whether or not to join the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre.

The emergency congress is also going to give delegates a chance to debate views about the armed struggle and the role this strategy plays in forcing the Government to surrender political power to majority rule. Azapo believes the transfer of power to the majority is not negotiable and should not be left to the Government to decide.

No right

The notion that negotiations cannot happen at the same time as the armed struggle is flawed, said Nefolovhodwe.

"That belief is not only naive, it also fails to recognise that the Government has no right to determine the course of our liberation," he said.

He said the Government pretended it had the sole right to arm itself, while it expected the liberation movement to disband its armies. Nefolovhodwe said the issue of the armed struggle, and the role the military wing of Azapo, the



Pandelani Nefolovhodwe ... Azapo will discuss the role of the armed struggle.

Azanian National Liberation Army, would play now and in the future, would be thoroughly discussed at the congress. In the same way that the Government makes a lot of noise about the unattractiveness of the armed struggle, it should be told its security forces need to be quarantined "and kept in the barracks" until a political settlement had been reached. The liberation movement should unite against the "oppressor" and its allies, Nefolovhodwe suggested, saying that was the quickest way of ending the "illegitimate rule of the white minority."

He suggested initiatives aimed at liberating blacks would be doomed

to failure if they were allowed to be controlled by the Government.

"And that is precisely what is happening at the World Trade Centre.

"I do not think it is possible for the Government to determine its own political demise and therefore its funeral. Only an eternal optimist and the naive are capable of harbouring such thoughts.

"We at Azapo think it might be over-ambitious for the liberation movement to think the World Trade Centre will provide solutions to the country's political problems," he said.

For as long as the Government propped up bantustans therefore giving them legitimacy, there was no earthly reasons why they should not be regarded as lepers, he said.

"The leaders of these bantustans must be treated as Government puppets, even though some pretend to have had their sins of apartheid purged.

The demand for the removal of bantustans from talks led to Azapo being kicked out of the plenary session of the Patriotic Front in 1991. Chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania Mr Mosibudi Mangena this week said his organisation would follow events at Azapo's deliberations with great interest.

"Azapo is our sister organisation and we are in agreement with them on many issues, including the refusal to attend multiparty talks. There will be no change as far as that stand goes. We think Azapo is right and will support them fully on this courageous standpoint," Mangena said.

Were the liberation movement to unite and "put their heads together" so as to form a united front, the liberation of the black people would be hastened, said Mangena.

"The toppling of the ruling class would be in sight."

He said once the Government had been defeated, the various liberation forces would be free to go their separate ways and follow programmes of their choice.



Mosibudi Mangena ... waiting for Azapo's decision.

Inkatha decides mass action is answer

INKATHA, which has criticised the ANC for embarking on mass action to achieve its demands, has decided to do the same.

Inkatha's Durban spokesman Ed Tillet announced yesterday that his party was planning mass action to demand that violence topped the agenda at multiparty negotiations, and that the state's future form also be given priority. Tillet said Inkatha supporters would hold marches, pickets and placard demonstrations, starting in Durban on May 15.

On Monday, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said violence had to be the first item dealt with at talks. Inkatha's delegation leader, national chairman Frank Mdlalose, attempted twice

BILLY PADDOCK

last week to read a lengthy statement at negotiations council meetings. First it was referred to the planning committee and, later, to a technical committee still to be set up.

Meanwhile the planning committee made limited progress on Monday and will meet again today to prepare the ground for "real headway" at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council.

The 10-member committee has agreed to a package of proposals to be put to Friday's meeting and the council is to begin addressing the concerns of the Concerned South Africans Group.

5/15/85
13/10/85
13/10/85

JSE holdings must be reviewed — Mandela

CHRIS BATEMAN

11A

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LONDON — A commission of non-aligned experts would be appointed to review the "unacceptable" control of the JSE by four major conglomerates and advise a new government, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

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Mandela told a media conference he would use Prime Minister John Major's invitation to urge British business to invest in SA as this was now "becoming crucial".

"I want to convey the message that as soon as a date for elections is announced the international community will be allowed to invest," he said.

Sapa reports he did acknowledge, however, that violence was the "main obstacle" to outside investment.

Emphasising that the economic commission was his "own view", Mandela said there could be no free market on the ownership of shares if 75% of the JSE was owned by four conglomerates.

He said he saw the right wing as the "greatest threat" because they were entrenched in the system.

To allay white fears and to stem an exodus he had met police generals in January and policymakers of the Dutch Reformed Church last Monday.

Another crucial move would be to lower expectations of blacks because it could take as long as five years before a new government could address serious socio-economic problems.

Mandela charms London with vision of future

11A

ARC 5/5/93

BENJAMIN POGRUND of The Independent reports from London

NELSON Mandela put on a bravura performance in London yesterday. Within a few hours of arriving on an overnight flight from Johannesburg he was at a Park Lane hotel facing 60 journalists, a score of photographers and a dozen television cameras. For an hour he fielded a stream of questions, fluently, courteously and to the point.

The only evidence of his 74 years, and tiredness, was his request to a few questioners to come closer or to speak up "because I am hard of hearing". But he might as easily have blamed the room's acoustics.

He was in Britain, he said, at the invitation of the Prime Minister, who had shown "a great deal of interest" in what was happening in South Africa.

Mr Mandela said he had been in regular touch with Margaret Thatcher when she was prime minister and the same now applied to John Major.

"I have found his advice fairly useful on a number of issues," he said. "We have never forgotten that Britain is the home of parliamentary democracy and that is what our efforts are directed at. We naturally expect Britain to play a role in this."

He said that there was a difference of opinion about



methods. "We believe in sanctions, they do not. But on the basic issue of the overthrow of apartheid we see eye to eye."

Mr Mandela is to meet Mr Major today, after lunch with Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, and a meeting with Labour leader John Smith. This evening he will address members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords.

He said that he would ask Mr Major to do what he was already doing - to support the peace process in South Africa and to ensure that every political organisation there took part. That seemed a clear request to Britain to put particular pressure on the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to remain in the current constitutional talks. But Mr Mandela tactfully noted that his concern was not with any individual but with ensuring support from the leaders of all parties.

Investment from abroad, he said, was crucial for South Africa to overcome the huge deficiencies left by white rule. But the world would be "allowed to invest" only once a date had been announced for the first democratic elections (to be held, it is expect-

ed, by April next year).

The violence in the country was a serious obstacle to investment, he said, especially as South Africa would be competing for funds with the Far East and Eastern Europe.

"The greatest threat to the peace process in South Africa is not with black surrogate groups as De Klerk and others are trying to convince South Africa and the world," said Mr Mandela. "The greatest threat... is from the right wing."

But, he went on: "We can only address this when there is a democratic government" to replace the present one, which was "corrupt and has lost credibility".

Mr Mandela also expressed concern that white South Africans may want to leave South Africa if the ANC came to power.

"The white community has had opportunities not available to the rest during the years of apartheid. But without them and their expertise it will be difficult to address the socio-economic problems, therefore we make an appeal for them to remain in South Africa," he said.

As the press conference drew to a close a television journalist put the obvious but hitherto unspoken question: what was the state of his health? Mr Mandela laughed. "Tomorrow I plan to jog," he said, and invited her to join him.

South African
PAC meeting
6/15/83

THE Mamelodi branch of the Pan Africanist Congress is calling on local residents to attend a meeting to address the education crisis.

PAC official Mr Brutus Manana said the meeting would be at the Mamelodi East Rethabile Hall on Saturday at 2.30pm. The PAC's education policy will be outlined at the meeting.

(TIA)

Cop rescued

A GROUP of passengers on a bus went to the rescue of a policeman who had been shot and wounded on Tuesday night and arrested his attackers.

South African
Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said yesterday that Sergeant MA Maphumalo was on his way home when he was attacked at Isipingo by three men on the bus. He was shot in the stomach.

Before the gunmen could flee, passengers confronted them and arrested them. The three were later handed over to the police.

Pre-School
Girls Fisherm
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2 - 6 years

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Marching to Afrikanerland

Star 6/5/93

GENERAL Tienie Groenewald, a former head of Military Intelligence and a member of the newly formed Committee of Generals, denies that armed force is on the agenda of Afrikaners committed to the establishment of an Afrikaner state.

But, Groenewald stresses, while there are no plans to form a secret "white people's army" to fight for an Afrikaner state, Afrikaner nationalists believe in, and will exercise, the right to "self-protection".

Groenewald is one of four re-hired generals appointed to serve on the Committee of Generals after a meeting of right-wing organisations on April 20. He insists that the quest for an Afrikaner volkstaat will be pursued by peaceful means, including, if necessary, mass action and passive resistance.

Trimmed moustache, Groenewald (57) outlines the immediate objectives of the Committee of Generals:

- To unify the fragmented Right.
- To maximise pressure for a volkstaat at the negotiating table.
- To bolster the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) in multiparty talks on the future.

Cosag consists of two Afrikaner-based parties — the Conservative Party and its fledgling, the Afrikaner Volksumme (AVU) — as well as Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei (which were set up as "homelands" for the Tswanas and a section of the Xhosas under apartheid rule).

"We see ourselves as strengthening the hand of

Cosag," Groenewald says during an interview in his Pretoria office.

Cosag, the general explains, rests on four ethnic "pillars" composed of Afrikaners, Zulus, Tswanas and Xhosas.

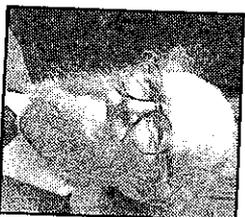
"We are now busy strengthening the Afrikaner pillar," he adds.

Groenewald sketches a three-phase plan of action:

- Political pressure for the establishment of a system of national states.
- Passive resistance, including mass action, boycotts and strikes.
- And, as a last resort, secession from South Africa by an Afrikaner state.

His options exclude armed force, although he has been quoted as saying that the military option may have to be considered if the constitutional route is blocked.

Afrikaners have turned to their generals in past times of crisis. Now right-wing Afrikaners, angered and confused by the present turmoil, are doing so again. PATRICK LAURENCE interviews former military intelligence chief Tienie Groenewald.



Groenewald, however, insists that he was talking hypothetically when he made that statement, in the same way as the African National Congress talks hypothetically when it says that it may have to revert to armed struggle if negotiations breakdown or if it is constantly obstructed in its quest for an agreed settlement.

Groenewald stresses that the role of the Committee of Generals — which is headed by Con-

stand Viljoen, a former Chief of the South African Defence Force — is to devise a plan of action to ensure that the different political parties on the Right work together towards their common goal, an Afrikaner state.

In no way do the generals plan to usurp the role of the politicians, he says. "I have no political ambitions," he adds. Groenewald, who used to brief the State Security Council

under the administration of President P W Botha, plays a critical role in the 25-member Eenheidskomitee (Unity Committee), an organisation which preceded the Committee of Generals.

EK-25, as the unity committee is known, has sought to unite Afrikaners around the aim of a volkstaat and, equally important, helped to identify where the state should be located. Andries Beyers's AVU envisages an Afrikaner state with the same or similar boundaries to those proposed by EK-25.

Groenewald produces a map drawn up by EK-25: the state — referred to as Afrikanerland by the cartographer — is located in the Transvaal and the Free State, minus chunks of territory ceded to the Tswana in the west and the Sotho, Venda and Shangaan in the north and north-east.

There is another important excision: the Witwatersrand, the richest, most thickly populated and ethnically and racially the most intertwined.

Afrikaners are in the majority in the proposed Afrikanerland, Groenewald says, his finger tracing its way along another map which gives information on the racial composition of the various areas in the envisaged state.

Groenewald remarks that the Afrikaner state will consist of barely 16 percent of South Africa, perhaps even less if subregions where blacks are most numerous are jettisoned.

Looking at the map, one is struck by its similarity to the maps that used to be drawn by apartheid ideologues in the days of Hendrik Verwoerd and B J Vorster. There is, however, one crucial difference: in the old days, blacks were assigned

14 percent of South Africa; today protagonists of the Afrikaner volkstaat are prepared to restrict themselves to 16 percent or less.

It is for that objective that Afrikaner conservatives are mobilising politically, for which they will negotiate at multiparty negotiations and for which, "hypothetically", they will fight, if necessary.

On the issue of negotiations, Groenewald insists that there can be no elections, as demanded by the ANC, until there is agreement on the form of state for the future South Africa and on the boundaries of its regions. If will be disastrous, he asserts, to set a date for elections until these questions are resolved: it will merely create an "election atmosphere" in which negotiations will be pushed into the background as politicians manoeuvre for support at the polls. □

Mandela addresses House of Commons

□ Emotional welcome from British MPs

GARNER THOMSON

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela was given an emotional welcome by 250 MPs of all parties at the House of Commons.

He was greeted with a standing ovation when he arrived yesterday and MPs rose in prolonged applause when he finished speaking.

Mr Mandela gave a detailed and wide-ranging speech on the difficulties South Africa faced in the transition from apartheid to multi-party democracy, and he called on Britain and the EC to help achieve a peaceful transition and an early election date.

He said South Africa had a special need for training and education.

He said: "We request that you use such contact as you have with political actors (in South Africa) to persuade them to abandon their selfish and sectarian positions and stop blocking movement forward."

Mr Mandela assured the MPs that the ANC was doing "everything in our power" to address the issue of political violence in South Africa.

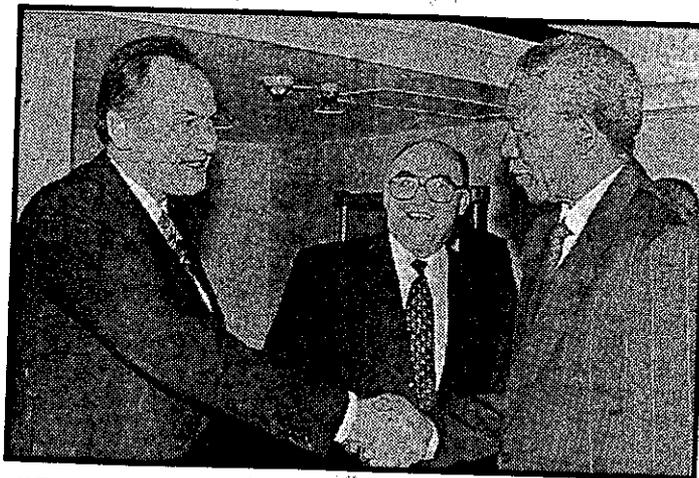
"But it is nevertheless incontestable that the government of the day has to do a lot more to deal with this matter, and so must other parties. Accordingly, we urge that you put pressure on those concerned within South Africa to carry out their obligations."

The ANC leader also called for "material and political" assistance to help speed a resolution to South Africa's problems.

British companies could take part in the process of achieving a higher rate of growth in the South African economy, central to the development of all South Africans.

Development assistance, too, was needed to help "the majority of our population, which happens to be black (and which) lives in conditions of dire poverty".

In return, Mr Mandela pledged that "a genuinely democratic South Africa will be



GREETINGS: Mr Nelson Mandela shakes hands with shadow Foreign Secretary Dr Jack Cunningham while Labour leader Mr John Smith smiles.



LEADERS: Mr Mandela and Prime Minister John Major outside 10 Downing Street.

your reliable partner as the international community continues to grapple with such critical matters as a democratic world order, human rights, development, peace and the protection of the environment".

Conservative MP Peter Bottomley spoke afterward of the political importance and symbolism of the event. Some of his colleagues, he said, had supported apartheid. Now all that was over.

"Mandela is a good and wise man to come here and say that the non-racial freedom charter would have no threats to anyone. It is good to be able to say:

'God bless South Africa' in a way which means something to everyone, when 10 years ago I was regarded as a revolutionary."

A Labour MP remarked: "It's nice to see your hero sometimes."

Earlier Mr Mandela met Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Prime Minister John Major.

Mr Hurd welcomed Mr Mandela's remarks on Tuesday about the need for British investment in South Africa. Both Mr Hurd and the Prime Minister expressed "strong support" for the political process in South Africa.

Verwoerd out in front for W Province ANC

CAPE TOWN — A grandson of Dr HF Verwoerd, former prime minister and mastermind of apartheid, will spearhead the ANC's electioneering assault on the Cape Peninsula's Afrikaner heartland next week.

Wilhelm Verwoerd of Stellenbosch will be one of three main speakers at a public meeting at Parow Civic Centre, favoured political stomping ground of former State President P W Botha and Conservative Party leader the late Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Verwoerd, whose wife is an active member of the Stellenbosch ANC executive, was introduced to the media at a briefing yesterday without any direct mention being made of his grandfather.

But as he presented Verwoerd, ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, quipped: "I know why everyone is smiling."

"I am an ordinary member," Verwoerd said, "and cannot speak

in any leadership capacity.

"Over a long period, I had agonised over the past and came to a realisation as to what had happened."

Apartheid had not only been a failure in policy, it had been a moral failure, he said.

"That places a particular responsibility on the leaders of the Afrikaner.

'Liberating'

"After all my years of agonising it has been a liberating experience to become part of a majority of people composed from a wide variety of backgrounds, languages and cultures.

"I no longer feel like someone in a threatened minority species."

Dr Boesak said the ANC felt the time was opportune to move into the white Afrikaner-dominated northern suburbs of greater Cape Town.

The movement must stress its non-racialism and make all people feel at home in the ANC. — Sapa.

Govt push to end mass action

Blom 6/5/93
CAPE TOWN — Government gave notice yesterday that it intended to demand an end to mass action when violence was discussed in negotiations — which were currently balanced on a razor's edge.

Delivering a generally optimistic speech in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, however, issued a stern warning on mass action.

Introducing his department's budget vote, Meyer said there were encouraging indications that in coming weeks agreements would be formulated regarding a whole series of key elements of a new constitutional dispensation. "The process is balancing on a razor edge, but we are on the threshold of a breakthrough."

He said the planning committee of the negotiations forum would tomorrow recommend the formation of a specialist committee on violence.

Government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organisations and people responsible for it. "I am giving notice that the government will there adopt the standpoint that at the present time mass action leads to violence and

[Handwritten marks]
TIM COHEN

gives rise to a climate of violence."

Government would also test the standpoints of other parties on peace by the extent to which they would be prepared to give practical effect to their recommendations to the committee and their reactions to its recommendations.

However, the process had to proceed simultaneously with these discussions "in a spirit of positive aggression", he said.

Meyer said other important negotiations issues were details of the transitional constitution and the terms of reference and composition of a commission on regional government.

On the date for an election, Meyer said only that government believed this date should be before April next year.

Acting CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg delivered a fiery response, warning that failure to meet the CP demand for self-determination would lead to bloodshed.

He said Meyer's speech was evidence that the negotiations were regarded by government as a rubber stamp for what it had already

agreed with the ANC. Any group that attempted to deviate from what was already agreed with the ANC was portrayed as a spoiler.

For the CP, self-determination was a principle that should be decided on before the form of state was decided.

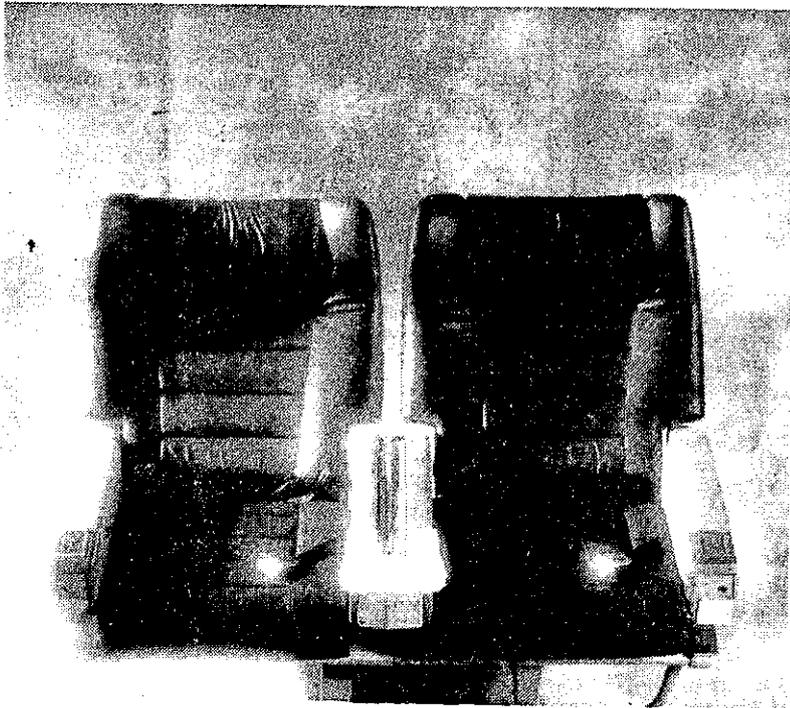
Although the CP was trying to avoid it, failure to acknowledge this principle would lead to bloodshed. "Do not force us to offer blood."

Our political staff reports that Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said a "deal" that was "simply stitched together" by the NP and ANC privately could not be binding on the negotiation process until the other parties had agreed to it.

While every party deserved to have its views taken seriously, a distinction had to be drawn between those negotiating in good faith and those who were not.

Leon said Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope had said there was no question of the homeland giving up its independence or control over its security forces. But Mangope's advisers were at the negotiating table. If he had no intention of giving up independence why were they contributing to the creation of structures of which they would never be a part? he asked.

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UK owes SA, says Mandela

Blom 6/5/93
LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed Britain for sowing the seeds of violent upheaval in SA, telling parliament members "history demands ... that you help us".

Mandela told a bipartisan group of MPs that Britain's Act of Union, forming the constitution which created SA in 1909, paved the way for apartheid. *(11A)*

"Your right to determine your own destiny was used to deny us to determine our own," he said. *(11A)*

The ANC president, who earlier had met Prime Minister John Major, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Labour opposition leader John Smith, asked MPs to urge the SA government to set a date for elections and to stem violence.

— Sapa-AFP *(11A)*

Verwoerd to head ANC drive

CAPE TOWN — Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, will spearhead an ANC recruitment drive to woo Afrikaners.

The ANC is to hold its first public meeting next week in the predominantly white Afrikaner town of Parow, constituency of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Verwoerd will address the meeting, regarded as a breakthrough by the ANC. It has been billed as the ANC's version of President F W de Klerk's visit to the AWB stronghold of Ventersdorp.

"We feel confident and strong enough to take the NP on in their own backyard. The process will begin in the western Cape and then be carried out nationally. A number of programmes will be announced both here and in Johannesburg in the near future," ANC western Cape assistant secretary Willy Hofmeyr said at a news briefing yesterday.

LINDA ENSOR

He said there was much misinformation about the ANC in the white community.

Verwoerd, a lecturer in political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, said he had struggled long and hard with what had happened in SA. This had led his family to regard him as a traitor.

Apartheid was not just a policy, it was immoral and evil and it was the responsibility of Afrikaners who were in a position of power to make a contribution to the emerging society. He felt his membership of the ANC was the best way to do this and felt privileged to be part of the majority rather than of a threatened minority.

Hofmeyr said strict security measures would be enforced at the meeting and the ANC had approached SA and international monitors to assist.

The ANC expected the SAP to play a role and was also investigating the possibility of employing a private se-

curity company to assist with frisking and searching for weapons.

Regional chairman Allan Boesak said it was necessary for the ANC to make whites, and Afrikaners in particular, aware of the organisation's standpoint and intentions.

"It is essential that we build up the nonracial basis of the ANC to be as strong as possible and make people of all races feel at home in the ANC," Boesak said.

Growing numbers of whites were moving towards the ANC as they were disillusioned with the NP's process, disenchanted with the NP's lack of vision and frustrated by the NP's total inability to break decisively with its past policies.

The lack of moral leadership in the country was starkly displayed after Chris Hani's assassination when ANC president Nelson Mandela emerged as the true leader of the nation. Boesak said these events had given impetus to the movement of Afrikaners into the ANC.

Wits 'maintains its standards'

WITS University vice-chancellor Robert Charlton yesterday defended his institution against rumours of falling academic standards.

Speaking at a Wits Business School seminar, Charlton said the question of what standards were appropriate for SA had become the subject of hot debate, with some maintaining that talk of "high standards" was merely a device for denying access to disadvantaged groups.

He said Wits succeeded in maintaining its world class standards through the controls of the external examiner system, and

KATHRYN STRACHAN

regular inspection of professional disciplines for accreditation purposes.

Quoting the example of an exam taken by doctors emigrating to the US, Charlton said: "The average pass rate of all foreign graduates is 18%; in contrast, the pass rate for Wits graduates is 89%."

Although many of the 6 000 black students — out of a total of 18 500 — had gaps in their schooling, a strong academic support programme gave them the opportunity to bridge the gap, he said.

ANC to put 3 000 marshals through crash course on police work

THE ANC was putting 3 000 of its marshals through an advanced six-month training programme dealing with criminal investigation and crowd control and conducted by former policemen sympathetic to the organisation, ANC organising head Steve Tshwete said yesterday.

The marshals would form the nucleus of a future police force.

Tshwete said the organisation's marshals had been given a "general mandate" to act against crime and violence in the townships. Marshals recently arrested three men allegedly responsible for the

BIOM 6/5/93.
killing of an SABC cameraman in terms of this mandate, he said.

Once they had been fully trained, marshals would be graded and given rank, and the ANC was investigating remuneration and rewards for outstanding activity. The marshals would remain an unarmed force.

"We believe in the ANC that in any public activity, the element of social responsibility has to be projected in a vigorous manner. We are not saying that the present police force is going to be chased away, but the marshals will be a big force in the future of policing," he said.

RAY HARTLEY

Police had not been approached to assist in training because this was an internal ANC initiative, he said.

Police spokesman Col David Bruce said there were instances where marshals had done good work, but added that police had to take action — and take the criticism that resulted when situations went out of control. He said the force remained open to any South African who "meets the criteria of the police, but policemen cannot be members of political parties".

ANC marshalling head Rocky Malebane-Metsing said training would include crash courses in policing, crowd control, drilling skills and "investigating crime on the spot". He said co-operation between police and marshals on the control of public gatherings was good and marshals were able to defuse situations where police action could lead to violence.

He said the ANC had more than 20 000 marshals countrywide.

Tshwete said the ANC had no objection to a suggestion by Inkatha that the two organisations jointly train marshals.

Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise said the ANC was considering a proposal that marshals receive advanced training in crowd control from MK.

□ Sapa reports that police are considering laying charges of abduction and assault against ANC members in Witbank who handed over three looters to police during a march there last week.

Police said the youths had been assaulted before being handed over to them. An ANC spokesman admitted the youths were assaulted, but said he was surprised by the decision to press charges.

Chris Whitfield argues other parties should take the new image seriously

Nats aiming for SA's black vote

Star 6/5/93

(11A) (25/11)

THE National Party's bright new flag and logo have given rise to cynical responses: can this particular leopard change its spots so easily?

Critics have been quick to argue that the very name of the party will forever be associated with apartheid, and that cosmetic tinkering does not necessarily equate with fundamental change. We can expect that parties preparing to oppose the NP in elections will adopt a similarly dismissive attitude — but they might be making a mistake in doing so.

The recent unveiling of the sunny new insignia and party paraphernalia — President de Klerk was moved to remark that they had come as a "culture shock" to him — effectively marked the start of the NP's drive for black members. De Klerk chose the occasion to make an apology for apartheid — a move certainly not aimed at whites, and one which duly received widespread media coverage.

The NP has engaged an advertising company to run its election campaign, and is already studying surveys on potential support levels and perceptions in the black community.

The news contained in these has not been all bad, say party workers. Significantly, the NP has recently taken to shying away from talk of an election alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party. It has discovered that while this might be welcomed by whites, it will drive blacks away. Its research has, incidentally, shown considerable support in the black community for an interim government alliance embracing both the ANC and the NP.

The NP's strategists believe the ANC has lost its "untouchable" status in the townships and many former supporters will have to be convinced of its ability to govern before voting for it.

There must, however, be obvious doubts about the NP's capaci-

ty to recruit significantly in the black community.

Still, there are interesting political nuances to be found. At a recent NP function a Soweto businessman, asked in conversation how he could even contemplate being an NP member, had a simple answer: "I am looking to the future ... The past is past."

In addition, in Natal there is a substantial body of black people disillusioned with both the ANC and IFP. Could the NP provide them with a political home?

These disparate signals do not amount to an indication of significant black support for the NP, but the party is feeling encouraged. Those given the responsibility of running the NP campaign extrapolate from their research that no single party will get 50 percent of the vote. Publicly they say the NP aims to be the senior partner in a power-sharing deal, but in private are more inclined to talk about being a "strong partner".

There have been signs recently of strains within the NP and this has apparently been reflected in a weakening of the party's once-aweome election machinery at grassroots level. Again, though, it would be a mistake for opponents to be lulled into a false sense of security by this.

The NP's campaign chiefs believe the country's first democratic election will be fought more through propaganda than by knocking on doors. Radio — which will surely be deregulated by then — and, to a lesser extent, newspaper and television advertising, will be the battlegrounds.

And what the NP has not lost is its ability to play the political game, coupled with a shrewd sense of timing — witness its performance in the referendum. For opponents to say the NP is a spent political force, as an ANC national executive committee member recently told journalists, could be to fall right into a trap. □

Star 6/5/93

Azapo to finalise stance on talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People's Organisation will hold its all-important special congress at the weekend to finalise its position on negotiations, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomoemo Mokap said yesterday.

The meeting, to take place at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort on Saturday and Sunday, will review Azapo's stance on negotiations.

So far the organisation

has refused to engage in talks with Pretoria.

With the PAC now represented in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, Azapo is the only well-known organisation on the Left not involved in negotiations.

Also to be discussed at the weekend congress is the armed struggle and the role it could play to force the Government to surrender power.

Although Azapo has no armed wing of its own, its sister organisation, the Zimbabwe-based Black Consciousness

Movement of Azania, has an armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

Someone claiming to be an Azanla cadre this week claimed responsibility on behalf of the guerilla army for the latest attack on whites in the eastern Cape. At least five people died in the attack, with many others injured.

However, a daily this week reported that a man who described himself as a cadre of the PAC's Apla had also claimed responsibility.

Star 6/5/93

ANC warns against Boer breakaway

Staff Reporter

(11A)

Major-General Tienie Groenewald's warning that a Boer state could break away from South Africa within months was "shortsighted and dangerous", the ANC said last night.

Groenewald said on Tuesday: "I don't think that the South African security forces will ever fight against their own people."

But the ANC said South Africans would not "allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia".

It said white South Africans should not be fooled into thinking Groenewald spoke for them, and appealed to the international community to warn the general and his "bedfellows" not to try such a move.

The general's utterances and apparent confidence about the possible connivance of security forces confirmed the Government's failure to act decisively against the right wing, it said.

White South Africans should not support the perpetuation of "apartheid in a disguised form" when the time had come to stand up for democracy and the rule of law, the ANC added.

● Eena reports that the Ciskei government has parted ways with Multi-Media Services, owned by Groenewald, after revelations that the company had influenced political developments in the homeland.

This followed Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's order that the homeland review its ties with the company, which advised it on "public relations and image-building".

● More reports
— Pages 12 and 13

Mandela seeks help, but first the violence must stop, says The Independent

Star 6/5/93

Enduring hero on difficult mission

NELSON Mandela is a noble man. Imprisoned for 27 years for his dedication to the cause of black majority rule in South Africa, he emerged a hero not just in his own country but across the world. Astonishingly, given today's tendency to cut down "tall poppies", he has remained a hero. He is in London this week, partly to drum up investment for the country of which everyone expects him to become president once democracy is in the saddle.

It is a churlish spirit that would not wish him well on a very difficult mission for, as he acknowledged this week, the climate of violence in South Africa is not conducive to investment.

Since he believes the far Right of the political spectrum lies at

11A
the heart of the present darkness, he reckons the violence cannot properly be tackled until there is a new government.

Nonetheless, he will be calling for foreign investment — and thus for an end to any remaining sanctions — once the date is set for the first non-racial elections.

In some ways the prospects are not quite as bleak as they seem. In the week after the assassination of Chris Hanu, when emotions ran high and millions of grief-stricken and angry blacks took to the streets, the number of political killings was lower than usual.

But the level remains high by any normal standards, and is certainly bad enough to deter most potential foreign investors. They

will inevitably be even more comprehensively frightened off if there is an increase in the killing of whites by blacks on what seem to be purely racial grounds.

If whites are emigrating out of fear for their lives, foreign companies will not want to risk their own staff in South Africa.

Investors will have other, more purely politico-economic fears.

Mandela stressed this week that the ANC had abandoned its former policy of widespread nationalisation and spoke of guarantees for investors, including the right to repatriate profits.

It will take time for news of that conversion to spread, and there will be doubters who will want to see firm evidence from an ANC-led government: first in a

clear enunciation of economic policy, with a firm commitment to a liberal market economy, and then in deeds that support it.

A second concern will be the prospects for profits. In the longer term these must be good, given South Africa's natural resources, its rapidly expanding non-white middle class, its underdeveloped potential for tourism and its sound infrastructure.

But in the short term there is not just widespread poverty and massive unemployment, but an economy running at only 75 per cent of its productive capacity.

If South Africa can achieve political stability, there will be no lack of Britons ready to take a stake. □

MPs give Mandela emotional welcome

Star 6/5/93

(16)

(11A)

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela was given an emotional welcome by 250 MPs of all parties at the House of Commons yesterday. He was greeted with a standing ovation when he arrived, and MPs rose in prolonged applause when he finished speaking.

Mandela gave a detailed and wide-ranging speech on the difficulties South Africa faced in the transition from apartheid to multiparty democracy, and called on Britain and the EC to help achieve a peaceful transition and an early election.

He said his country had a special need for training and education and a wide market for South African products which would bring employment to the black people.

He said: "We request that you use such contact as you have with political actors (in South Africa) to persuade them to abandon their selfish and sectarian positions and stop blocking movement forward."

Mandela assured the MPs the ANC was doing "everything in our power" to address the issue of political violence in South

Africa. But, "it is nevertheless incontestable that the government of the day has to do a lot more to deal with this matter, and so must other parties Accordingly, we urge that you put pressure on those concerned within South Africa to carry out their obligations with regard to this matter."

The ANC leader called for "material and political" assistance to help hasten a resolution of South Africa's problems.

Poverty

British companies could help the South African economy achieve a higher rate of growth, central to the development of all South Africans. Development assistance, too, was needed to help "the majority of our population, which happens to be black (and which) lives in conditions of dire poverty."

In return, Mandela pledged that "a genuinely democratic South Africa will be your reliable partner as the international community continues to grapple with such critical matters as a democratic world order, human rights, development, peace and the protection of the environment."

Conservative MP Peter Bottomley spoke afterwards of the political importance and sym-

bolism of the event. Some of his colleagues, he said, had supported apartheid. Now all that was over.

"Mandela is a good and wise man to come here and say that the non-racial Freedom Charter would have no threats to anyone. It is good to be able to say: 'God bless South Africa' in a way which means something to everyone, when 10 years ago I was regarded as a revolutionary."

A Labour MP remarked: "It's nice to see your hero."

Earlier, Mandela met Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Prime Minister John Major. A spokesman for the Foreign Office said: "Comprehensive discussions were almost entirely about the situation in South Africa and the prospects of the multiparty talks, including the timing of the establishment of the transitional executive council, the holding of the elections and some of the constitutional issues which were examined in some depth."

Hurd welcomed Mandela's remarks on Tuesday about the need for British investment in South Africa. Both Hurd and Major expressed "strong support" for the political process in South Africa.

Mandela left for Geneva yesterday.

Mandela: UK has duty to ^{TIA} help SA

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Britain had a moral duty to help South Africa “rediscover” democracy because its historical decisions had condemned South Africans to resolve conflicts through violent means, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told MPs here yesterday. CT/15/93

Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr Mandela appealed to the MPs to use their influence to ensure the earliest possible establishment of a transitional executive council.

He urged British companies to raise the level of capital formation, modernise the South African economy through technology transfer, open new markets and create jobs.

Mr Mandela said there was a “false perception” created by South Africa’s classification as a middle-income country, which impacted on its receiving overseas development assistance. The reality was that the majority of people lived in dire poverty.

He also urged the MPs to influence the European Community to enter into a mutually beneficial agreement with the new South Africa as soon as possible.

ANC drive into Cape 'lion's jaws'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC will launch a nationwide campaign next week to draw whites — particularly Afrikaans-speakers — out of the closet and into the ANC.

The ANC has chosen to launch its drive in the Parow Civic Centre — described by ANC Western

Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak as the organisation's first major public meeting in an Afrikaans-speaking white stronghold.

"There should be no illusion that we are going into the lion's jaws — with the AWB on one side and (Parow MP and Minister for Law and Order) Hernus Kriel on the other," Dr Boesak told a press

conference yesterday.

Similar meetings are planned across the country because "the time is right for people in the Afrikaans-speaking white community to hear directly from the ANC".

ANC organisers said yesterday that elaborate steps were being taken to ensure that right-wing groups like the AWB did not break

(11A) CT 6/5/93

up next Thursday's meeting.

Dr Boesak — who will join Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's grandson Wilhelm and other ANC speakers on the platform — said he expected "the same level of protection" afforded by police to President F W de Klerk when he visited the AWB stronghold of Ventersdorp a few years ago.

CT 6/5/93

Toy-toying 'won't get white vote'

Staff Reporter

THE ANC's campaign methods were seen as uncivilised and would have to be toned down to attract support from whites in the northern suburbs, Kraaifontein mayor Mr De Wet Marais said yesterday.

Scenes of mass rallies, toy-toying youths and marches did not endear the organisation to people, he said. The ANC is to launch a campaign in the northern suburbs on Saturday.

Business 119

Permission for the ANC's meeting in the Parow Civic Centre was granted in the light of a "business contract", a municipal spokesman said. Mayor Mr Jan Burger declined to speak on the ANC's potential support base there.

Bellville acting mayor Mr Carel Cronje said "the way I know Bellville, I don't think the ANC will get strong support here" CT 6/5/93

Goodwood mayor Mr Koos Sadie said he did not expect ratepayers to flock towards the ANC and although there was "small support for the AWB" the strong political parties in the area were the CP and NP.

Flag decision for Hani's funeral 'based on policy'

Political Staff CT 6/5/93

11A
THE decision not to fly the national flag at half-mast on the day of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani's funeral was based on previous policy and convention, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The government had no ulterior motives in deciding this, he said in reply to questions in Parliament by Mr Jannie Momborg (ANC, Simon's Town). The flag was only flown at half-mast on government buildings when a head of state or head of government died in office.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said the South African ambassador in Washington, Mr Harry Schwarz, had used his own discretion when he decided to fly the flag at half-mast at the embassy after Mr Hani's death.

ANC calls on PAC to 'show accountability'

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress Youth League has called on its members and the youth generally to work together with progressive sections of the police, notably the Police and Civil Rights Union (Popcu), to apprehend the gunmen who attacked a police vehicle in Dobsonville on Wednesday, killing four police mem-

bers and injuring five.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, ANCYL secretary-general Mr Rafe Molekane condemned the "opportunistic behaviour of certain sections of the liberation movement who have claimed responsibility for racial attacks against policemen".

"We call upon the Pan-African-

(11A) et 7/5/73
ist Congress leadership, in particular, to start showing accountability to the community they purport to serve

The ANCYL also condemned the failure of the government to bring to book the murderers of black policemen and called upon the government to act against the right-wing. — Sapa

the nation in brief

Our exhibition

MORE than 50 000 people from around the world are expected to view an exhibition by *Sowetan* photographers which opened in Rouen, France, last night.

Sowetan chief photographer Robert Magwaza (35), who is representing the newspaper at the exhibition, has been inundated with questions from interested people about the newspaper's 45-picture exhibition illustrating conflict in the townships over the past few years.

Sowetan is one of 60 international exhibitors at this major European photographic festival, which is held each year in the province of Normandy.

Azapo indaba

THE Azanian People's Organisation will hold a special emergency congress tomorrow and on Sunday. *Sowetan* The congress is expected to deal with negotiations and the role of the armed struggle as a catalyst in the liberation of blacks. *6/5/93*

At least 500 delegates are expected to attend the congress at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre, near Roodepoort. Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala will deliver the main address. — *Sowetan Reporters* *11A*

Town council rapped over knuckles

Sowetan 7/5/93
■ Loss of over R13 million uncovered:

By Ruth Bhengu
Investigations Staff



THE Auditor-General has uncovered mishandling of finances by the Daveyton Town Council, which has resulted in the loss of over R13 million.

The council, which incurred a deficit of R13 599 366 for the financial year 1990-91, was also rapped over the knuckles for "several highly unsatisfactory and disturbing financially related aspects of the council's activities".

"It is evident that a total lack of control exists over the financial administration of the council's activities," the Auditor-General said in his report.

He also hauled the council over the coals for what he described as the poor quality of auditing. He said this impeded the audit and prevented his office from carrying out a proper and meaningful audit of various transactions.

Daveyton town clerk Mr DJ Erasmus said the council had submitted a reply to the Auditor-General's report and was awaiting a response. He said he could not comment any further.

According to the report the council's transgressions included:

- Unsubstantiated loans totalling R52 621 921;
- At least 871 missing receipts for the year under review, which were neither accounted for in the cash register audit nor in the relevant debtors accounts;
- Firearms not accounted for — of the 25 303 rifles in the Council's possession 19 were sold. The rest were unaccounted for;
- Unauthorised expenditure in excess of the approved budget amounting to R8 323 703 not yet submitted to the committee for approval; and
- Outstanding services and rent accounts. These debtors amounted to R30 788 781 in June 1991 as against R13 635 103 in 1990, an increase of 125,8 percent.

The auditor-general found four buses totalling R7 408 790 despite a council resolution in 1991 to dispose of the entire bus fleet. In addition, the council spent over R2,6 million on transporting employees who have not been working since May 1990.

"It is clear from the comparative data of estimated and actual expenditure as well as revenue that a sound basis for budgeting and control does not exist and that more efficient measures are necessary," said the Auditor-General.

ANC urges supporters to catch police killers

3/DAY 7/5/93

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC and its youth league yesterday called on their members to apprehend those responsible for the "wanton and indiscriminate" killing of four policemen in an ambush in Dobsonville on Wednesday.

A man claiming to represent the PAC's military wing Apla claimed responsibility, but police have made no arrests and say the identity of the killers is unknown.

ANC Youth League official Rapu Molekane urged members "to build communal relations with progressive sections of the police, more especially the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union".

The PAC leadership should take "direct responsibility for all their armed formations" to smooth the transition to democracy. "The PAC leadership has a duty to explain to the public what its programme is on the security forces. Is it the total wiping out of black policemen in particular, or the total abolishment of apartheid?"

Separately, the ANC called on peace-loving members of the Dobsonville community to "root out criminal elements".

Molekane described the attack as "total-

ly irresponsible and devoid of politics in both its plan and execution. In our view, none of the acts so far against black policemen in particular contribute to our freedom." He said the league's programme of removing "white racist policemen" from the townships would go ahead but would be totally non-violent.

PAC Azanian National Youth Unity national chairman Mosotho Petlane responded that the killings were a legitimate part of Apla's "year of the storm". "To us any person who makes sure the structures of the regime are intact is an enemy."

STAR 715793

E Cape 'king' seeks reparation

PORT ELIZABETH — Judgment in the hearing of a Uitenhage man seeking a court order compelling the Government to recognise his claim as the king of the eastern Cape will be given in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court today.

Patrick Cuntu (29), who also claims he is Jesus II, is also seeking R23 million from the South African Government for its attempt "to impair my sovereign dignity by refusing to recognise me and my kingdom".

He has named Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as respondent.

In papers before court

yesterday, Cuntu said that by "divine right" he was the king of the Zion World Autocratic Kingdom (ZWAK) which, he says, is roughly the whole of the eastern Cape, excluding Ciskei and Transkei.

He said that in terms of its constitution he enjoyed legislative, judicial and executive powers. He is also head of the ZWAK police and defence force and chief judge of the supreme court.

He has named ANC president Nelson Mandela as his prime minister, Cosatu leader John Gomo as vice-president, B P Mayekiso as bishop of the church of ZWAK and UN Secretary-Gen-

eral Boutros Boutros-Ghali as Minister of Order and Defence.

Like all serious lawyers, Cuntu thumbed through mountains of papers he had prepared for court, shuffling through a plastic bag holding more documents.

Cuntu also wanted Mr Justice Jennett to compel the Government to pay him not less than R1 500 as a "temporary subsidy" while his claim was being disputed. He also wants a house, because he is at present having problems with the people with whom he lives in Uitenhage, and a car.

"A Jetta will do. And now I sit," he said, ending a four-hour submission.

— PEN.

Threat of secession at defiant meeting of white rightwingers

Star 7/15/93

Farmers reject ANC rule

By Paul Bell

White farmers in the Free State and Transvaal yesterday threw down a secessionist gauntlet to both the Government and the ANC, saying "The world should finally accept" that the Afrikaner volk would not be ruled by the ANC.

This was the bottom line of a series of demands by a rapidly coalescing unity movement on the white Right, calculated to slow down the negotiations process and build pressure there for a volte-face.

The meeting, at Potchefstroom's Olden Park rugby stadium, was also a prelude to announcements expected in Pretoria today by the Committee of Generals, who have taken charge of coordinating strategy towards this objective.

Addressing a crowd of about 6 000 farmers yesterday (other estimates ranged from 4 000 to 15 000), Cornhill's chairman General Constand Viljoen, ex-chief of the SADF, called on the Government to stop negotiations in order to pressure the ANC and PAC into regaining control over their armed forces.

"There are those who call for centralised control over the security forces in order to stop the violence," he said. "I have never heard such stupidity in all my life."

He also said he expected more farmers to be killed in the next six months as the negotiations intensified.

Transvaal National Party leader Pk Botha last night hit back at the farmers, saying "the Government will not capitulate before violence and threats", Chris Whitfield reports.

"Threats of mass action and taking the law into one's hands will not contribute towards a peaceful solution for our country." He also warned of racial polarisation, saying balanced decisions and actions must be taken. "It should be remembered that all South Africans, black and white, suffered because of violence and intimidation," Botha said.

Defiant farmers say no to ANC rule

Star 7/15/93

In Potchefstroom, the farmers also gave roaring approval to three "ultimatums" on their security:

- Any attempt by black political organisations to mount protest occupations of platteland schools would be met with force. Addressing himself to "black radicals" Free State Agricultural Union president and CP MP for Parys, Dr Piet Gous, shouted: "You will die if you try to take over white schools."
- Immediately the ANC and PAC were given responsibility

● To Page 3

● From Page 1

bility with the Government for the security forces, right-wing Afrikaners would be called on to withdraw from their local commandos and from all arms of the police and defence forces.

- The murder of one more white farmer would be regarded as an act of war by the ANC and PAC, and farmers would respond by defending themselves with all the means at their disposal. To this were allied calls for a rural curfew and hot-pursuit raids into black townships.

Gous summed up the mood and objectives of the white Right by saying that while the ANC was presented to them on all sides as a moderate organisation, this was merely an attempt to pull the wool over the

eyes of Afrikaners.

"Therefore I say to the world, the Boer — as a Christian and a peace-loving person — will not be governed by the ANC. Please accept that as final."

Viljoen warned the Government that there would be trouble if the security forces were brought under joint command before the settlement and introduction of a new constitution.

He said violence was being directed against whites and farmers because negotiations had reached a critical stage in determining the future form of the State. Those behind it were trying to scare the negotiators.

Viljoen said the security forces had been set an almost impossible task as a result of the Government's decision to allow communists to operate freely in South Africa, and

called on the farmers to support the security forces.

"If we don't, who will?" he asked.

Earlier in the day, farmers vowed to disregard the new labour laws that have been extended to farmworkers, and demanded that their leaders refuse even to negotiate the question with the Government.

South African Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie, whom the farmers blame for not representing their views properly to the Government, was loudly booed by the crowd and denied an opportunity to speak.

The farmers also demanded a five-year moratorium on interest payments on farm debt, bans and tariffs on agricultural imports, and the lifting of VAT on red meat.

About-turn on control of armed forces

w/mailed 715-13193

Contradicting earlier demands, the ANC is now ready to drop its demand for joint control of the armed forces before elections.

By **CHRIS LOUW**

THE African National Congress is set to drop its demand for joint control of the armed forces in the run-up to elections.

Shared control of the armed forces by the cabinet and a sub-council of the transitional executive council, representing the parties involved in negotiations, was seen as one of the major mechanisms to ensure the levelling of the political playing field.

Yesterday senior ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj told *The Weekly Mail* that the ANC would not insist on being represented in the command structures of the South African Defence Force. It would accept that the powers of the sub-council for defence and for law and order would be limited to a supervisory role.

This directly contradicts the ANC's earlier demand to have joint control over the armed forces. Conflict over control was seen as one of the major stumbling blocks in reaching an agreement on how the transition should be managed.

Maharaj did not rule out changes in the present command structures of the SADF and the police, but said the ANC was not prepared to take responsibility for "the mess of apartheid". Covert operations, however, were a



Soldiering on ... The ANC no longer seeks joint control of the army before elections Photo: KEVIN CARTER

source of concern and some resolution would have to be found to ensure that the elections were free and fair.

The ANC's compromise follows tough speeches last weekend in Port Elizabeth by Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont and Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh at a regional conference of National Party

officials.

Myburgh said the government "was not in the market" for joint control of the security forces before the election of a transitional government. The police formed "a thin blue line" against anarchy, and would not be "given away".

Delpont in turn promised party offi-

cial that the government had no plans "to throw the keys to South Africa across the table" to the ANC.

In an interview earlier this week senior ANC election commission member Patrick "Terror" Lekota said he "understood" the Nationalists' unwillingness to share control of the armed forces with other parties,

including the ANC.

"Relinquishing control of the security forces will be the ultimate indication to the NP that they are no longer reforming apartheid, but that they are in fact terminating their power, that they are finally breaking with domination. It is obviously a very difficult decision for them to take."

Maharaj yesterday said the ANC would still want to be fully informed of what was happening within the forces. "We will not claim executive powers — or the power to initiate actions — but in terms of the powers of the transitional executive structures we will be in a position to say 'stop' if the forces act in a way contrary to their brief."

This differs markedly from the position taken in an ANC booklet published earlier this week, entitled *Seven Steps to Democracy — An ANC Guide to the Negotiations Process*. Under the heading "The ANC's Objectives", it is stated unambiguously: "All armed forces including the South African Police and SADF must come under effective multiparty control in the period before elections."

Demands for immediate joint control also featured prominently on banners and in speeches at the mass rallies following the murder of South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

It is believed that the ANC's compromise is partly due to a reassessment of the effect on its support base if it has to take co-responsibility for harsh security force action in pre-election township violence.

Help root out criminals and killers - ANC

Star 7/5/93

(11A) *(3/8)*

By Kaizer Nyatumba and Brendan Templeton

The ANC yesterday strongly condemned the "callous murder" of four policemen in Dobsonville, Soweto, on Wednesday and called on its members in the area to "root out criminal elements from our communities" and embark on citizens' arrests.

Echoing the call, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) said the PAC could no longer plead ignorance of its armed wing's activities as a "valid excuse".

This followed a telephone call to Sapa shortly after the attack by a purported PAC military wing spokesman who said the Azanian People's Liberation Army was responsible for the attack. But the PAC has been unable to confirm whether Apla was responsible.

The ANC said in a statement the attack was the work of "enemies of peace and democracy" who had to be exposed.

"The indiscriminate attacks on these policemen, the

massacre of scores of our people in Sebokeng, the murder of people in Wattville and East London remain the heinous deeds of enemies of peace and democracy. Such criminal elements have no place in our ranks, and society has a responsibility to expose their activities."

ANCYL general secretary Rass Molekane said it was clear that "black policemen have been singled out for murder and attack".

But PAC spokesman Jaki Seroke said it was ironic that the ANC could make such statements when some of its own members had been arrested in connection with the death of three people in March, when gunmen shot up a car carrying schoolchildren in Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg.

The ANC further said: "The ANC calls on the peace-loving members of the Dobsonville community to follow the example set in other communities - like the Vaal Triangle and Witbank - in rooting out criminal elements from our communities."

Members of the ANC carried out citizens' arrests in Sharpeville and Witbank over the past two weeks.



Counting the cost of their way from

5 days

Staff Reporter

The panel appointed a new SABC board announced that other persons nominated for the board may be lodged

Engineer dies of injuries

Vereeniging consulting civil engineer Johan de Kock (52) died in the Krugersdorp Hospital on Wednesday from injuries received during an attack by rioting youths in Kagiso, on the West Rand. De Kock was one of several people injured by rampaging youths in the township on Monday. — Vereeniging Bureau.

Policeman shoots wife, self

An Alexandra police constable yesterday shot dead his 22-year-old wife before turning his gun on himself and shooting himself in the head. A police spokesman said the off-duty policeman was rushed to Johannesburg Hospital in a critical condition. — Staff Reporter.

Meyer 'doesn't understand'

Azapo yesterday took issue with Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer's statements on Wednesday that some Black Consciousness adherents were blatantly racist when they incited hatred against whites. "Azapo knows that Roelf Meyer does not understand the struggle against oppression, dispossession and exploitation," said Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa. — Sapa.

As a result of the discrimination of being turned away. member of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra.

Policeman culpable for train death

Court Reporter

A Soweto policeman was yesterday found culpable in a Johannesburg inquest court for the death of a train commuter who was shot during a train search in 1990.

Magistrate C G de Lange found that the life of special constable G P Mdlazi was not in danger when he shot the commuter with a shotgun.

The passenger, whose identity was never established, died of head wounds after the shooting at Chiawelo station in Soweto on October 19 1990. An innocent passer-by, Ronald Mthembu (32), was wounded in the jaw.

Poor response to ANC offer to repair graves

The public has responded poorly to an offer from the ANC alliance to repair an estimated 180 graves damaged during the burial of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, the Germiston municipality said yesterday. "The reaction from the public has been very poor," Germiston town clerk Tonie Heyneke said. "I don't think we have had more than 10 claims."

He said the ANC attitude was it would only repair graves for which claims were made, adding that as time went by there was less chance the public would come forward with claims.

Germiston Parks, Sport and Recreation spokesman Johnny Dixon said yesterday 180-plus graves had been da-

amaged — mainly headstones — during Hani's burial at South Park Cemetery on April 19. Damage was estimated at about R60 000.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa gave an undertaking the day after the funeral that the ANC alliance would repair the damaged graves.

He told a press conference the alliance would assess the damage and because graves were such a "sensitive matter to all our people we will be taking steps to ensure that those graves that were damaged will be repaired".

Heyneke said the arrangement with the ANC was that the municipality would forward claims as they received them. "I have every confidence that the claims will be met." — Sapa.

Woman fined for soliciting

An attractive Johannesburg woman was yesterday fined R200 (or 40 days) for soliciting for the purpose of prostitution.

But more costly for 23-year-old Samantha Smith, who was arrested in Hillbrow on February 9, was her behaviour in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court.

The day after her arrest, she was granted bail of R200. When magistrate A M Mothibi refused her application to be released on warning, Smith began swearing.

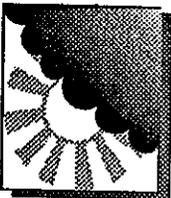
Mothibi duly found her guilty of contempt of court, and the transgression cost her a further R300 fine (or 90 days). — Court Reporter.

3 weather

RAINFALL
Pretoria: 0,2 mm
Vereeniging: drops

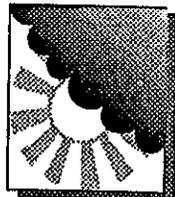
TVL/OFS

Tvl: Partly cloudy and warm but hot over the north and lowveld.
OFS: Fine and mild.



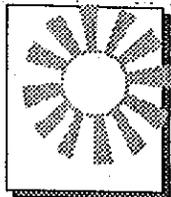
NATAL

Partly cloudy and warm, getting cloudy from south with light rain.



CAPE

Fine and mild in east becoming cold; cloudy and cold over western Cape.



SUNRISE SUNSET MOONRISE

Tomorrow 6.35 am

Today 5.34 pm
Tomorrow 5.34 pm

Today 18.43 pm

TEMPERATURES WORLDWIDE

City	Min	Max	City	Min	Max	City	Min	Max
Amsterdam	4	15	Brussels	6	17	Paris	6	18
Athens	14	23	Cairo	14	25	Perth	11	17
Auckland	14	19	Chicago	7	21	Rome	9	22
Barbados	24	31	Geneva	12	18	Sydney	12	20
Barcelona	10	19	Lisbon	12	18	Taipei	22	31
Beirut	13	18	London	5	14	Tel Aviv	15	25
Berlin	8	13	New York	16	20	Tokyo	13	22

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Bloemfontein	2	21	Kimberley	2	23	Upington	6	22
Cape Town	13	16	Bethlehem	2	20	Port Elizabeth	12	19
East London	13	21	Durban	18	22	Mantzburg	11	24

Weather forecasts for the PWV area are available on an automatic answering service. The number is (012) 219621.

Farcus



by David Waisglass
Gordon Coulthart

'Say, here's a place that might be hiring.'

NATIONAL CONVENTION

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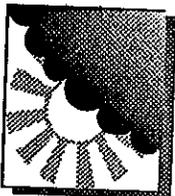
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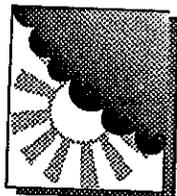
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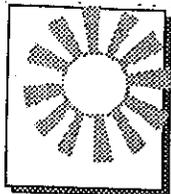
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by David Waisglass
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5-21

WAISSGLASS/COULTHART

'Say, here's a place that might be hiring.'



NATIONAL CONVENTION

Star 7/15/93

Cellular phones elitist, says ANC

The African National Congress has called for the Government to suspend the call for tenders and the awarding of licences for the proposed cellular phone system.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC believed a strategy should be developed to provide an affordable telephone service to all who needed it.

The plan for a cellular phone service would only provide a service to the urban privileged at a huge cost to the country.

The ANC said it had already formed an *ad hoc* committee to

discuss the situation. (11A)

Marcus said the decision did not affect the appointment of Durban attorney and prominent ANC member Linda Zama to a Government panel that would decide who should be given the licence to operate.

She said Zama played a broader role in the panel than merely helping decide who should operate a cellular phone service. Zama represented the ANC's views and ideas on telecommunications in general.

— Staff Reporter.

Defiant ANC youth promise mass protests

By RONALD MORRIS

A DEFIANT ANC Youth League (ANCYL) said yesterday unspecified white areas, government buildings, and "other buildings of power" are to be occupied and protests will take place at newspapers and the SABC.

In a statement regional secretary Mr Neville Naidoo said continuous attacks on the democratic forces — led by the ANC — were a reflection of the NP's strategy of clinging to power.

"Suddenly statements and songs by Peter Mokaba are blown out of proportion ... We are being told to change our songs and slogans to suit our opponents and critics."

Announcing the start of its mass action campaign on May 18, the ANCYL said it would aim to speed up the

announcement of an election date, the enactment of transitional executive councils, joint control of the armed forces, and government control of the right-wing.

"We also wish to warn the press and the SABC in particular to lay off the youth. Although we support freedom of the press we cannot allow them to create the conditions for threats and the assassination of our youth leaders."

Asked how the ANCYL would be able to control its members after the violence and looting which followed the assassination of Mr Chris Hani, Mr Naidoo said the league would do everything in its power, but it was impossible to guarantee 100% discipline.

Mandela meets 'ugly face of British racism'

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday saw the ugly face of racial violence in Britain, meeting with the London parents of a black matric pupil stabbed to death by a gang of white teenagers.

He emerged from the encounter to express "great concern" at the

worldwide resurgence of racism.

"This is a very disturbing development especially in a place like Britain, the home of parliamentary democracy — we are used to this kind of thing in South Africa," he said.

Earlier Mr Mandela claimed, after a meeting with British premier Mr John Major, that there was

a virtual breakdown in law and order in South Africa. He said the right-wing wanted to plunge the country into civil war.

The ANC leader said crime was getting out of control in South Africa and he trusted British businessmen would be "objective and realistic" in realising that investment would help contain crime by

providing jobs for the seven million unemployed.

Mr Mandela spent 20 minutes chatting with the parents, Mr Neville and Mrs Doreen Lawrence, whose son Stephen, 18, was stabbed twice by a group of about six white teenagers while waiting for a bus in south-east London two weeks ago.

Mrs Lawrence said after meeting Mr Mandela that she was "deeply grateful" that he, unlike any British leaders, had taken the trouble to see her family.

Mr Mandela flew from London to Geneva yesterday and is due to meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl, of Germany today before returning home.

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07/5/93

Hani's Murder Threatens to Restart the 'Chicken Run'

By Paul Taylor (IA)

JOHANNESBURG — For a man whose business has never been better, Tom Ansley can't remember feeling worse. His international moving company has been getting 100 phone inquiries a day — twice the usual number — since the assassination of black leader Chris Hani a month ago gave the country its worst bout of nerves in years.

"It's a sad state of affairs," said Ansley, 50, a fourth-generation South African who vows never to emigrate but says he is "desperately" afraid his grown daughters are about to. "Some of the callers don't even want us to come out to their homes to give an estimate. They want a quote over the phone and a moving date as soon as possible. You can hear the panic in their voices."

White South Africans have a name for this sort of behavior. They call it a "chicken run," and they've seen it before, after the Sharpeville massacre in 1961, the Soweto uprising in 1976 and other turbulent milestones of the apartheid era of racial separation.

It is too early to tell if this latest run — touched off less by Hani's assassination than by the intimations of anarchy in the demonstrations among angry black youths that followed — is a passing fright or the start of a long-term flight. Yet either way, the specter of a mass white exodus already occupies a central place in South Africa's transition to black-majority rule. Politically, it operates as a blend of threat, bluff and bargaining chip. Psychologically, it's a hedge, a safety valve and a profound human dilemma.

The rule in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa has been that when blacks take power, white colonizers take their leave. South Africa, however, is different. Whites arrived in the 17th century as settlers, not colonists. As a people, they've been here nearly as long as whites have been in North America.

Although they got the politics famously wrong, they built the most sophisticated economy on the subcontinent. Now, they're hoping to remain economically indispensable

even after they become politically disposable. "To whites, we say we want you to stay, we need your skills," African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela said recently, when reports of a new chicken run first surfaced in the local media.

Ansley says the vast majority will stay, probably even the majority of his callers. "You can tell they're not very proud of what they're doing, and lots of them are making quiet inquiries, just to have a backup plan in place," he said.

Except for a few of the most turbulent years, immigration has outpaced emigration in South Africa throughout the apartheid era. The official 1992 figures were 8,688 immigrants to 4,289 emigrants. Those statistics, however, miss what many experts believe is a sizable unofficial flow in both directions.

Even with all its problems, South Africa is not an easy country to leave. Stringent currency exchange laws effectively limit the assets emigrants can take out with them to about \$60,000 per family. "You have to cheat your assets out, and while plenty of people do it, lots of people don't want to risk it," said Gerald Steward, a real estate broker who says the current chicken run is mild compared with those of 1961 and 1976, when the financial disincentives were not so stiff and "it seemed like every second house had a 'For Sale' sign on it."

For Afrikaans speakers — about 60 percent of the white population — there's a bigger problem: Where to go? Descendants of Dutch, German and French settlers, they have created their own unique language and culture here. There is no motherland to go back to.

Yet even with all these disincentives, Ansley senses a new dynamic that could tilt the calculations toward exodus. "In the past, people left because they were afraid of political change," he said. "Now, they're leaving because they're afraid for their personal safety."

South Africa's 5 million whites are not natural candidates for sympathy. They comprise 13 percent of the population and own 85 percent of the land, control 98 percent of the wealth and have six

times the average family income as the country's 28 million blacks, 3.2 million mixed-race Coloreds and nearly 1 million Asians.

Whites are frightened. The crime rate has skyrocketed in the three years since President Frederik W. de Klerk signaled the end of apartheid. So has political violence. The murder rate is 10 times that of the United States, and although most victims are black, whites seem to talk of little else. Indeed, one of the unspoken white rationales for supporting a negotiated transfer of power has been the expectation that a black government will keep the angry mob at bay more effectively than a white police state.

The aftermath of the Hani killing has cast some doubt on that premise. Mandela and other black leaders appealed for restraint during the period of mourning following Hani's death, but black youths looted and burned their way through places like Cape Town's downtown shopping district — the symbolic heart of the good life that whites have built for themselves here.

Despite those images, Ansley is determined to stay put. He says he is deeply ashamed of apartheid, feels guilty that he personally did not do more to bring it to an end and is looking forward to retiring in five years so he can spend the rest of his life as a kind of missionary, teaching blacks the secular gospel of entrepreneurship.

He has no illusions about what the future may mean. "Nowhere else in Africa when the blacks have taken over have they shown the slightest degree of sympathy for the whites. They will redistribute wealth as fast as they can. There will be massive taxation on people like us. The luxury of our lives will be impossible to maintain." Still, he wants his family to stay. Like many self-made businessmen, he wants to pass along what he has built from scratch — in his case, a moving company with annual sales of \$25 million — to his children. "Perhaps it is selfish, but I still think that opportunities for them here are going to be greater than anywhere in the world. For them to leave is too ghastly to contemplate."

CHARLES NQAKULA



FM 7/5/93

Moving into Hani's shoes

His best known quality is a capacity for hard work — something that Charles Nqakula will certainly need in his new job as general secretary of the small but influential SA Communist Party (membership 45 000).

Nqakula (50) succeeds the more charismatic slain former leader Chris Hani, with whom comparison is inevitable. He was Hani's deputy, but perhaps the only thing in common is that both were from a desperately poor eastern Cape background which gave each a deep concern for the poor that would be pursued through what he likes to call "the socialist project".

A pleasant, soft-spoken man, Nqakula also seems to have the dedication required to sit out the global wane of communism, whose day he believes will come again.

Nqakula, who once worked as a garage attendant and waiter, reckons communism has particular growth potential in SA because of its industrial base on the one hand and the level of social exploitation on the other. The Soviet failure to be democratic and not taking the masses into consideration is unfortunately the only lesson that Nqakula and local communists seem to draw.



Nqakula ... his dream is a socialist society

As a post-Bolshevik communist, Nqakula is remarkably low-key on that classic Marxist tenet: workers' control of the means of production — workers together with business and government should make an input in economic decision-making as part of a reconstruction pact, he says.

He sees the party's main concern as the

total abolition of exploitation. Its programme will be based on peace. There is a clear understanding in the SACP central committee that the party will have to work hard to realise his dream of a socialist society, says Nqakula, who is likely to be fairly high up on the ANC's electoral list of prospective MPs in a new parliament.

Despite the sharp debate in the party, recently triggered by SACP chairman Joe Slovo's paper in support of a transitional power sharing arrangement, Nqakula says the central committee decided to support the position of the ANC in the negotiations. "Our programme converges with the ANC up to a point, but whereas the ANC is a multi-class organisation, we are not." The ultimate goal is "a classless, communist society based on our realities."

Nqakula, who is married with three children, came under ANC political influence through his headmaster at a primary school in Cradock, the Rev James Calata, a former ANC general secretary. One of 10 children, he won a bursary to Lovedale where he matriculated, then worked underground for the ANC in the mid-Seventies. A journalist on a Cradock newspaper, he moved to *Imvo Zabantsundu* and then the *Daily Despatch*, until his banning in 1981. It was after his exile in 1984, which included military training in Angola, that he joined the SACP. ■

DRU GNODDE FM 7/5/93

Treading water



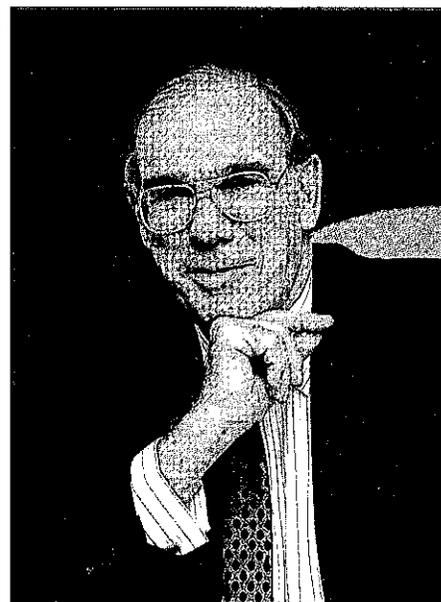
Dru Gnodde should know something about water. Recently appointed chairman of the Rand Water Board, Gnodde was a director of Gold Fields at the time of the underground flood at the group's West Driefontein mine in 1968. With luck, his new position will require no experience of floods.

Gnodde (64) says a pressing priority is to run the organisation on a more businesslike basis and to keep costs under control. The Board is involved in a R1,6bn project to bring water to the Rand from the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme.

Gnodde's motivation for becoming chairman is a desire to add value. And, like John Hall, secretary of the National Peace Committee, he wants to add value both within and outside the business environment.

He is one of those people who prefers to delay the day of full-time retirement. "I am not a man to do nothing," he says. "I intend to ease off only when I turn 70."

In 1988, at age 60, when most people retire, he left Gold Fields only to take on numerous chairmanships. Currently these



Gnodde ... a desire to add value



include Commercial Union, BTR Dunlop, Otis Elevator and Industrial and Commercial Holdings — the company which has an interest in the Venetia diamond mine.

And he preaches what he practises. He believes a different work ethic, together with education for all, are fundamental if SA and Africa are to have any hope in the long term. He is not prepared to commit himself to a short-term outlook.

Clearly, education has played an important role in his life. Apart from taking law degrees at UCT, Wits and Cambridge, he was chairman of the Council of St John's College and the Association of Private Schools, now renamed the Association of Independent Schools. He was instrumental in persuading government to lift its restrictions prohibiting blacks from attending private schools in so-called white areas.

He feels his experience at Cambridge had as much to do with living outside SA as it had with furthering his education. "I realised SA is but a pawn in the world context." This is not to say he trivialises SA's importance; he believes SA is ideally placed to serve the needs of a developing Africa.

His political and economic views are given some perspective by the fact that he holds Maggie Thatcher in some awe. "History will prove her correct."

Gnodde says he has few interests outside his work — he describes himself as boring. But he has always loved history and he thoroughly enjoyed his recent revisit to the history of Africa through reading Thomas Pakenham's *The Struggle for Africa*. ■

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Moving into Hani's shoes

His best known quality is a capacity for hard work — something that Charles Nqakula will certainly need in his new job as general secretary of the small but influential SA Communist Party (membership 45 000).

Nqakula (50) succeeds the more charismatic slain former leader Chris Hani, with whom comparison is inevitable. He was Hani's deputy, but perhaps the only thing in common is that both were from a desperately poor eastern Cape background which gave each a deep concern for the poor that would be pursued through what he likes to call "the socialist project".

A pleasant, soft-spoken man, Nqakula also seems to have the dedication required to sit out the global wane of communism, whose day he believes will come again.

Nqakula, who once worked as a garage attendant and waiter, reckons communism has particular growth potential in SA because of its industrial base on the one hand and the level of social exploitation on the other. The Soviet failure to be democratic and not taking the masses into consideration is unfortunately the only lesson that Nqakula and local communists seem to draw.



Nqakula ... his dream is a socialist society

As a post-Bolshevik communist, Nqakula is remarkably low-key on that classic Marxist tenet: workers' control of the means of production — workers together with business and government should make an input in economic decision-making as part of a reconstruction pact, he says.

He sees the party's main concern as the

total abolition of exploitation. Its programme will be based on peace. There is a clear understanding in the SACP central committee that the party will have to work hard to realise his dream of a socialist society, says Nqakula, who is likely to be fairly high up on the ANC's electoral list of prospective MPs in a new parliament.

Despite the sharp debate in the party, recently triggered by SACP chairman Joe Slovo's paper in support of a transitional power sharing arrangement, Nqakula says the central committee decided to support the position of the ANC in the negotiations. "Our programme converges with the ANC up to a point, but whereas the ANC is a multi-class organisation, we are not." The ultimate goal is "a classless, communist society based on our realities."

Nqakula, who is married with three children, came under ANC political influence through his headmaster at a primary school in Cradock, the Rev James Calata, a former ANC general secretary. One of 10 children, he won a bursary to Lovedale where he matriculated, then worked underground for the ANC in the mid-Seventies. A journalist on a Cradock newspaper, he moved to *Imvo Zabantsundu* and then the *Daily Despatch*, until his banning in 1981. It was after his exile in 1984, which included military training in Angola, that he joined the SACP. ■

DRU GNODDE FM 7/5193

Treading water

Dru Gnodde should know something about water. Recently appointed chairman of the Rand Water Board, Gnodde was a director of Gold Fields at the time of the underground flood at the group's West Driefontein mine in 1968. With luck, his new position will require no experience of floods.

Gnodde (64) says a pressing priority is to run the organisation on a more businesslike basis and to keep costs under control. The Board is involved in a R1,6bn project to bring water to the Rand from the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme.

Gnodde's motivation for becoming chairman is a desire to add value. And, like John Hall, secretary of the National Peace Committee, he wants to add value both within and outside the business environment.

He is one of those people who prefers to delay the day of full-time retirement. "I am not a man to do nothing," he says. "I intend to ease off only when I turn 70."

In 1988, at age 60, when most people retire, he left Gold Fields only to take on numerous chairmanships. Currently these



Gnodde ... a desire to add value

include Commercial Union, BTR Dunlop, Otis Elevator and Industrial and Commercial Holdings — the company which has an interest in the Venetia diamond mine.

And he preaches what he practises. He believes a different work ethic, together with education for all, are fundamental if SA and Africa are to have any hope in the long term. He is not prepared to commit himself to a short-term outlook.

Clearly, education has played an important role in his life. Apart from taking law degrees at UCT, Wits and Cambridge, he was chairman of the Council of St John's College and the Association of Private Schools, now renamed the Association of Independent Schools. He was instrumental in persuading government to lift its restrictions prohibiting blacks from attending private schools in so-called white areas.

He feels his experience at Cambridge had as much to do with living outside SA as it had with furthering his education. "I realised SA is but a pawn in the world context." This is not to say he trivialises SA's importance; he believes SA is ideally placed to serve the needs of a developing Africa.

His political and economic views are given some perspective by the fact that he holds Maggie Thatcher in some awe. "History will prove her correct."

Gnodde says he has few interests outside his work — he describes himself as boring. But he has always loved history and he thoroughly enjoyed his recent revisit to the history of Africa through reading Thomas Pakenham's *The Struggle for Africa*. ■

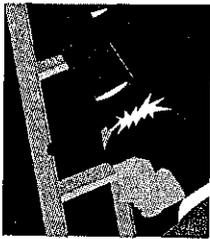
ELECTORAL POLITICS

Concentrating their minds

FM 7/5/93

11A

Getting elected to the new parliament won't be easy



Nothing concentrates a man's mind so wonderfully, noted Samuel Johnson, than the knowledge that he is to be hanged in the fortnight. With elections now likely within a year, the 308 MPs serving out the dying

days of the tricameral system are restless; fewer than a third have much hope of returning. Aspirant MPs in the extraparliamentary opposition are also restless; the corridors of power are beckoning.

But most of those who can expect to get back, as well as the majority of outsiders clamouring to get in, face a tough battle simply to be nominated for possible election. There is now little doubt that SA's first representative parliament will be elected under some form of party list system.

Details are still being considered but current talk is of a 400-member constituent assembly, with 200 elected on a national list and the rest from regional lists. Parties with strong regional support — such as the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal and the National Party in the western Cape — stand a chance of winning more representation than they would in a purely national poll.

The cut-off for representation is likely to be low — possibly as low as 1% nationally and 3% regionally. In an 85% poll, drawing on an estimated 21m voters, a party would need 178 500 votes to qualify for representation — which would be two seats.

This means that only the leadership elements of the ANC, the NP and the IFP are assured of election. Those three are likely to have no trouble securing the minimum vote.

The first group of new MPs will, therefore, include the likes of ANC president Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Walter Sisulu, Pik Botha, Frank Mdlalose, Thabo Mbeki, Dawie de Villiers and Ben Ngubane.

Conventional wisdom gives the ANC about 60% of the vote, the NP 20%, the IFP 10% and various smaller parties the rest. On this basis, in a 400-seat parliament split equally between national and regional lists, the ANC would hold 240 seats, the NP 80, the IFP 40 and smaller parties 40.

But the ANC alliance's projected total is by no means assured. It could be more; it could easily

drop to 200 or even fewer if current forecasts are incorrect. So far, we have only the dubious results of opinion polls to go on; political developments between now and the election could have a dramatic effect on party performances. Either way, the ANC will struggle to accommodate the demand for seats from thousands of loyal officials.

Even those who do get on to the ANC list will be vulnerable at around the 190-210 mark. Most of these are likely to be middle-level leaders from the regions, people who don't make the headlines but work hard for the party — and whose loyalty and commitment are important.

It appears that the ANC may be able to deal fairly effectively with the apparent problem of accommodating its SACP and Cosatu alliance partners on its lists. Though details have not been finalised, it is understood that the list will be compiled following a full consultative process beginning at local level. Regional conferences will vote for candidates, whose names will go forward to a national nomination conference. The final list will be ratified by the national executive committee.

Criteria for nomination are likely to include issues such as local popularity and expertise. It's also probable that each block of 50 names on the list will have to be representative of race and sex. The ANC's election campaign platform is being co-ordinated with its alliance partners, mainly the SACP and Cosatu. These groups will not nominate their own candidates but allow their members to stand for nomination. However, all candidates will be accountable to the ANC and have to campaign within the parameters of ANC policy, regardless of which organisation they belong to. It will be interesting to see how the more radical communists and unionists adapt to this disci-

pline; if they do not, the contradictions in ANC campaigning will be readily exploited by the Nats and Inkatha.

There should be no problem in getting alliance leaders like Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Chris Dlamini and new SACP chief Charles Nqakula high on the list. The difficulty will come lower down, when place number 200, for example, is allocated.

The ANC's list will also need to appeal to communities in which it struggles for support, such as coloureds in the Cape and whites nationally. Cape regional leader Allan Boesak, though not the drawcard he was expected to be when first chosen, is likely to be high on the list, as are the ANC's five white MPs: Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, David Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell.

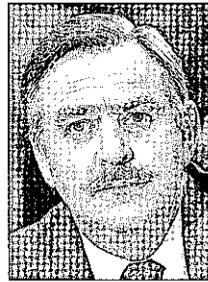
The NP faces possibly the most difficult task in drawing up its lists. Rhetoric about winning power aside, it can't be sure of more than 80-100 seats. This would be barely half the number the Nats now hold in all three chambers of the tricameral parliament.

The NP's campaign efforts will concentrate on coloureds in the Cape; Indians in Natal and the Transvaal; and blacks in the northern and eastern Transvaal, where it believes it can win significant support. It assumes that most whites will vote NP.

Putting coloured, Indian and black faces high on the lists will be important — but at the moment there are very few leaders from those communities backing the NP. No credible black or Indian leader openly supports the NP. Coloureds high on the list will include the two new Cabinet Ministers, Jac Rabie and Abe Williams. However, fortunately for the NP, most coloureds (and probably most Indians) apparently consider De Klerk's leadership as more important.

By the same token, it appears that the NP hopes to use Pik Botha as the main vote-catcher in the northern Transvaal, where he is said to hold sway with traditional leaders in rural areas. It might just work.

The NP has appointed a special committee of its Federal Council, under the chairmanship of Chief Whip Alex van Breda, to determine the most appropriate way to compile its list. The general approach is that the process must be democratic within party structures. Candidates are expected to come from the party ranks following some sort of nomination procedure. The final composition



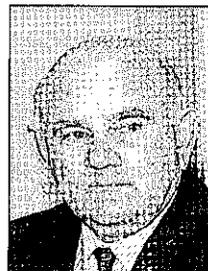
Botha



Boesak



Alexander



Dalling



Curry

tion of the list is likely to provide for regional balance, with some mechanism to ensure appropriate representation for all communities within the party.

The IFP's lists are likely to focus on Zulus and whites. The party is said to be losing support among Zulus — but gaining among whites. High on the list will be its three white MPs — the former Nats Jurie Mentz and Hennie Bekker, and Mike Tarr, formerly of the DP. It is possible that more white MPs



Buthelezi



De Beer



Felgate

from both the DP and NP will cross to the IFP before the election. Other whites high on the lists could be negotiator and spokesman Walter Felgate and media director and former journalist Suzanne Vos. Mass white support for the IFP is probably the biggest single threat at this stage to the NP.

The smaller parties face the worst dilemmas. Only three are likely to make even the lowest cut-off mark: the DP, CP and the PAC.

Though it is aiming high, the DP would probably be lucky to win two seats on the national list. Depending on who stands for election they are likely to go to two from Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Colin Eglin, Tony Leon, Peter Gastrow, Roger Burrows or Peter Soal.

Nominally, the DP will have to include blacks, coloureds and Indians fairly high on its lists. They are likely to be people such as former Labourites David Curry and Chris April, former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross and current Delegates MP Mahmoud Rajab. Regionally, particularly in the PWV and western Cape, the DP could do relatively well, perhaps winning another four or five seats. However, the NP is likely to target DP voters for special attention and scare most of them into supporting a strong opposition grouping behind De Klerk.

The tragedy of the DP, as it has been for years, is that the party undoubtedly possesses the best brains in parliament and would probably continue to do so under a democratic system — but the trouble is that most of them just won't be elected under the DP banner. This kind of perception probably influenced Mike Tarr's decision to defect to the IFP, where he will have a much greater chance of being elected.

The DP also has a committee examining the compilation of its lists. Issues being considered include how nominations will be made and who will vote for nominees. The

party's leaders are due to meet this weekend to hear a report back.

The PAC faces similar problems to the DP and is not expected to win more than four or five seats. Top of the list are likely to be people such as PAC president Clarence Makwetu, secretary-general Benny Alexander and former deputy-president Dikgang Moseneke.

The CP, if it contests the election, could win about 10 seats at most — if its supporters aren't frightened into either the NP or IFP camps. Because it does not have to structure lists to suit interest groups, the party's current hierarchy will probably be listed in order of seniority, starting with Ferdi Hartzenberg.

For traditional white parties, the list system will pose new challenges and culture shocks. Instead of rival candidates contesting geographically defined constituencies, with the winner being the one who wins the most votes (which could be a minority of the total in a contest between three or more candidates), voters are asked to choose a party which is then entitled to MPs in direct proportion to the number of votes it wins.

It's a simple and theoretically equitable system, when contrasted with the anomalies produced by the Westminster-style constituency system — but party lists pose greater difficulties for aspirant candidates and for smaller parties.

Parties with concentrated regional support tend to do better under a constituency system. The DP is a good example; in the last election it won more seats in parliament than its proportion of the total vote. The CP, on the other hand, won fewer seats than it would have under a list system.

Perhaps the best SA example of how skewed the constituency system can be is the 1948 general election. The NP came to power by winning 52,7% of the seats in parliament — but only 42% of the votes. The United Party alliance won 51% of the votes — but only 47,3% of the seats.

Under a constituency system, a locally popular figure is better placed for nomination than under a list system, where the favour of party bosses plays a far more important role (*Currents* April 30). But compiling the list goes well beyond simply choosing favourites and strongmen. The lists will be critical in maintaining balance within party structures and in attracting voter support. The composition of a list — the names as well

as the order in which they are placed — could sway voters as much as broader policy and image.

Where, for instance, would the ANC be prepared to place its Youth League leader, Peter Mokaba? Too high, and he could scare moderates; too low, and the youth vote might be alienated.

In the regions, the minimum number of votes needed for representation would vary considerably and would have to be adjusted to compensate for fractions of seats.

A detailed proposal on how this could be achieved was included in a President's Council report on proportional representation published last year. The report, most of which is understood to be based on the ideas of Stellenbosch University political scientist Hennie Kotze, is regarded as one of the most worthwhile exercises the PC has ever undertaken. The research is expected to form the basis of whatever proportional system is finally adopted.

With the multiparty conference scheduled to announce an election date within the next six weeks, negotiators will probably be grateful for the hard work that's already been done.

The announcement of a date will concentrate the minds of all politicians with an eye to election. For those who are fairly senior within the ANC and the NP, the best option is obviously to stay put. Relatively junior ANC members are likely to be prepared to work their way up the ladder of the majority party. Inkatha members are also likely to stay where they are, both for ideological reasons and because they expect a strong showing for the IFP in Natal.

It is the DP and CP that will be watched with particular interest. Some of the younger DP members, in particular, must be seriously considering their options. Assuming they could adapt ideologically, they must calculate what chance they would have of being elected for the ANC, the IFP or the Nats. It is not impossible that, by the time the election takes place, the DP will have disappeared as an electoral entity.

The CP is less likely to suffer defections by MPs but its voter support might collapse under it if conservative whites, resigned to the loss of white supremacy, decide that De Klerk needs all the support he can get. At the last white general election in 1989, and indeed until the referendum in March 1992, rightwingers genuinely believed in the possibility of taking power and somehow reversing

De Klerk's reforms. Now that vision — always a mirage — has vanished. It seems that De Klerk could draw many thousands of white voters who did not support him in 1989; the main counterattraction to the Nats will not be the CP or the DP, but Inkatha. ■



Leon



Andrew

NEGOTIATIONS Fm 715193

Under orders ~~SA~~ (11A) ~~11A~~

Last Friday's meeting of the multiparty negotiating council seemed set to implode when the IFP and KwaZulu delegates — clearly under instructions from Ulundi to tighten up their act — seemed set to dig in over settling the questions of violence and the “form of state” before anything else.

However, at the end of the day (and a long adjournment) progress — of sorts — was chalked up in the shape of a planning committee compromise. This was that the IFP document on violence (which the IFP's Frank Mdlalose uncharacteristically insisted he should read in full, even though it had been distributed the previous Monday) would be tabled and that the violence question would receive continuous attention.

The IFP agreed only conditionally to the creation of a technical subcommittee to deal with its document, which basically accuses the ANC and government of colluding in violence against it and of refusing to act on disbanding the ANC's armed wing, MK. Mdlalose let it pass, but said the subcommittee could be formed only after he'd reported to his principal — that is, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. There was almost a feeling of sympathy for the IFP delegates who had to return to Ulundi, having been unable to face down what were eminently reasonable compromises on their negotiating orders.

Thus they were unable to detach “form of State” from “constitutional principles” which the planning committee report, read by Ciskei's Mick Webb, had down as one item among eight (and possibly more) on which technical subcommittees, it was agreed, are to be formed.

The others: Constitution making body/constituent assembly; transitional/interim constitution (for which Buthelezi sees no need); transitional regional and local government; fundamental human rights, transitional executive council, its subcouncils, the independent elections and media committees; future of the TBVC states; and self-determination.

A declaration of intent, which says an election date not later than April should be set within five weeks, was not adopted. ■

ANC police plan criticised by govt

AN ANC plan to train 3 000 of its marshals to form a nucleus "future police force" will spark violence and polarisation, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Capt Kotze said the plan was "a fundamental contradiction of the principle that the police force should serve the entire community on the basis of apolitical professionalism and impartiality".

"A future police force cannot be

based on a blatant jobs-for-pals system owing loyalty only to a specific political organisation.

"This plan will therefore throw policing back into the dark ages of political policing and will spark violence and polarisation," he said.

The ANC was reported yesterday as saying it was putting the 3 000 marshals through an advanced six-month training course dealing with criminal investigation and crowd control.

(11A) CT 7/5/92

"ONE settler ... one bullet ... Peace among men ... Izweleethu!" shouted seven-year-old praise poet Hartie Dasuga at Oliver Tambo's funeral last Sunday.

He's so cute, you could easily forgive this popular young *imbongi* his ideological contradictions. Dasuga came with a group of African National Congress supporters from Phola Park, Wattville and Thokoza, almost invisible among a forest of pangas, steel pipes and traditional weapons.

Intent on getting into the graveyard, the group caused a few moments of panic for suited security men before more persuasive Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers got them to sit outside in the early winter sunshine.

A megaphone — well-worn and held together with tape — was hauled out and a "speaker" called to stave off boredom.

Instead of the usual rambling ideologue, the slightly built and rather shy Dasuga, dressed in a "Top Action" tracksuit, was lifted from an old man's lap and hoisted to the front of the crowd.

From the moment the mega-

A pint-sized praise poet steals the show

W/mail 7/5-13/93

One of the most surprising 'speakers' at Oliver Tambo's funeral was seven-year-old praise poet Hartie Dasuga.

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE** and **JACQUIE GOLDING**

phone was lifted to his mouth, all coyness was forgotten. He launched into a five-minute incantation of praise to a range of leaders from Nelson Mandela to — wait for it — Margaret Thatcher.

His voice rose and fell, it shouted and chided, his hands moved, showing the crowd when to ululate and when to be quiet. The convoy of dignitaries due to arrive was temporarily forgotten by the entranced audience.

The young *imbongi* also preached the virtues of armed struggle, ending on a note that captures the South African contradiction: "One settler, one bullet ...

Peace among men!"

By then, a disparate group of peace monitors, MK soldiers and armed hostel-dwellers had gathered around him, pressing money into his hand, imploring him to do it again.

An MK cadre pushed a hat on to his head, a woman from Transkei gave him five cents and a wealthier marshal pressed a crisp R10 note into his hand.

Members of the crowd wielded their pipes and axes, telling loud-mouths in the group to "*Ai wena, shoosh!*" as they craned to listen to their tiny muse. Proud father William Dasuga gave him a drink

of Coke and made him go again, nervously mouthing the words, willing his son to get it right.

Hartie goes everywhere with the group: "We all know him," said one of the few women around. And this was obvious from the way he mingled comfortably with everybody, moving aside a spear here, a pipe there to make a space for himself on the grass.

He attends school but speaks no English. His father speaks via a translator explaining that his son has always been interested in the singing and toyi-toying of his older counterparts in the Phola Park squatter camp.

"Hartie is my last-born and he likes the poetry of Mzwakhe," says Dasuga senior, a hawker in the township. "He's always with us when we march to rallies or funerals," he says, rubbing little Hartie's head, "and he's going to be a great leader one day."

But Hartie has no intention of following in Mzwakhe's footsteps, making incantation his daily work. Instead, he looks down at the grass, shifting a stone with his *takkie* and whispers: "I want to be a lawyer."

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We want culture, not commissars

W/Mail 7/5-13/93.

Dear Wally Serote
and Mewa Ramgobin

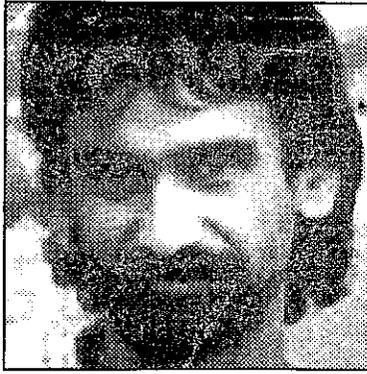
AFTER watching the *Agenda* programme in which Mewa Ramgobin (African National Congress), Professor Njabulo Ndebele (National Arts Initiative) and George Loopuyt (Capab) debated the future of the arts, I feel compelled to write this letter.

If the content and style of Ramgobin's input and his antagonism towards the NAI represented the ANC's view on the arts, it signifies what many feared, but hoped was not the case: that the ANC is threatened by independence in the arts and, in fact, seeks to control and manipulate the arts in ways not too dissimilar to our past rulers.

Ever since the initiative was launched at the National Arts Policy Plenary (Napp) in December last year, which saw the largest and most representative gathering of arts practitioners commit themselves to a politically independent process in which they — rather than politicians or bureaucrats — would formulate recommendations for future policies to promote and protect the arts, you have sought to undermine it with disinformation, slander and political manipulation, using the power and influence of the ANC to block the NAI at every possible turn.

The last thing we desire is to have our energies and resources diverted from the main task at hand, and be sucked into a debilitating fray with the ANC in which we all lose, as the *Agenda* programme clearly illustrated. Besides, we expected the ANC to welcome a democratic process of arts-policy formulation and we in fact hoped that the ANC would be a strong ally in ensuring that the democratic voice and will of arts practitioners would be taken seriously within a future government. Accordingly, the NAI has met you to attempt to reach a mutually respectful understanding that there was ample space for all players to be involved in the arts sphere in a complementary rather than antagonistic way.

Those meetings have obviously been to little avail, as it is now apparent that you do not wish to be one player, but rather the only, or at least, the leading player in the arts. In crude terms, it is a question of power. It is good that these issues have become public since meetings behind closed doors do little to pacify the beast of power, and it is in the public's interests to know the beast, in



Stop trying to control us,
MIKE VAN GRAAN, general
secretary of the National
Arts Initiative, pleads
in an open letter to the
African National
Congress' Department of
Arts and Culture

order, perhaps, to tame it.

You have slandered the NAI as a "National Party initiative" simply because the Napp was supported by a grant from the Department of National Education: as if by being supported by our taxes, Codesa, the Olympic team and the Peace Secretariat are all "National Party initiatives". You have accused us of "sleeping with the enemy" because we thought that a democratic, participatory policy-formulation process would need to include representatives from state-subsidised arts institutions, not unlike the constitution-making processes in which the ANC happily and necessarily "sleeps with the enemy".

One can only conclude, then, that it is a matter of "as long as the ANC is doing it, it is permissible but it is criminal to do it without the ANC". Which makes one come to see that "the enemy" may no longer be "them": rather, the enemy may be amongst us — enemies of democracy, unless they are in charge; enemies of truth, unless they are defining it; enemies of independent thought, unless they are sanctioning it; enemies of art, unless they are prescribing it.

We are vilified because we have chosen to be politically non-aligned, because of our belief that the arts



Wally Serote and Mewa Ramgobin ... Threatened by independence in the arts? Photo: SYLVIA MORESCHE

should not be controlled by or dictated to by the state or any political movement, because we have apparently not nodded sufficiently in the direction of the ANC. The slander and disinformation against the NAI and actions such as Ramgobin's disruption of the NAI meeting in Natal have of course had damaging effects; coming from the ANC, they create at best, a climate of confusion and divided loyalties for many who would like to be involved in the NAI, and at worst, a climate in which "open season" is declared on the NAI for all kinds of attacks.

Once artists and independent thinkers were labelled communists, now they are reactionaries. Once they were enemies of the state, now they are enemies of "the people". Our crime? To want control over our own lives, to be independent of state or party political control, to speak and create without fear of victimisation or censorship — the stuff of democracy. Funny thing, history. New powers set new moralities, only to justify old tyrannies.

Romantics that we are, we hope that reason can defeat propaganda, that rational argument will triumph over emotional rhetoric, that vision will be the victor against political correctness and that the pen and paintbrush are indeed mightier than the sword.

But we watch despairingly as the

long line of arts donors, artists, arts administrators, city councillors and some media journalists wait their turn to give you their gold, frankincense and myrrh as they genuflect to the king-to-be. With horror, we watch again as the arts are sacrificed on the altars of political expedience, held ransom by the egos of commissars, conscripted by party political agendas.

Of course, the ANC would deny this. On the *Agenda* programme, Ramgobin tried to illustrate the ANC's commitment to independence and non-sectarianism in the arts by pointing to the Board of Trustees which the ANC was about to appoint at its conference on the arts. While I know and have high regard for many individuals on the board, I also know that many of them are ANC members or known ANC sympathisers. How can such a board be independent and non-sectarian? The ANC correctly criticises the government for unilaterally appointing the board of the SABC: they question the political independence of state-funded arts institutions because their governing boards are appointed by the state, yet now the ANC would have us believe that the board which they appoint to control or oversee the arts, is independent and non-sectarian! Then the ANC criticises the NAI whose leadership has all been elected by peo-

ple directly involved in the arts, a leadership which does not owe its position to a political group who may still pull the strings from the shadows. What a depressing case of déjà vu!

Those of us who fought alongside you against apartheid thought that now we will have the space to create, to sing, to laugh, to criticise, to celebrate our visions, unhindered. We were wrong. We now realise that that space can never be assumed; it must continually be fought for. Of course, some of us will yield to the temptations you offer, many will conform to the new status quo (already self-censorship and fear of criticising the ANC is rife), some will go into exile and a few will say "Nyet!"

Those few will struggle against numerous odds — political marginalisation, the cutting off of resources and character assassination to name but a few — for the right to have independent minds, to have hands which create, unproscribed, and the right to serve humankind, not politicians or political programmes. We do not ask you to give us that right — it is not yours to give. It is a right we claim ... because we are human.

● See PAGE 24

● Van Graan has written this letter in his personal capacity. Wally Serote has been invited to respond next week.

Right wing Sapa 7/15/93 makes hay of Niehaus speech



POTCHEFSTROOM — The African National Congress's Carl Niehaus walked into another rowdy reception on an Afrikaans university campus when he addressed a meeting of University of Potchefstroom students last night.

After constant heckling throughout his speech on the ANC's position on the concept of a "volkstaat", violence almost flared in the audience when Students Representative Council members tried to pull hecklers from the audience.

They resisted, and after a few minor scuffles the SRC members withdrew to the side of the auditorium again.

Outside, police with dogs kept a watchful eye on a small group of right-wingers who had been barred from the auditorium.

Niehaus . . . flow of foreign exchange.

Tight security prevailed at the meeting, with members of the audience being body-frisked on arrival, apparently in view of threats on Niehaus's life.

Right-wing students, who comprised half the audience, repeatedly sang the national anthem and *Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika*, interrupting Niehaus's speech.

Niehaus shared the stage with Volkstaat advocate Prof Carel Boshoff, who said afterwards the students' conduct was "not that unusual if one looks at the circumstances".

The right-wing students finally staged a walkout from the auditorium singing the anthem once again. — Sapa.

THEY wear shabby uniforms bedecked with political stickers and ribbons, are unarmed and don't know how to march in step, but they could become the key to a police force with legitimacy even among militant township youth.

ANC marshals have risen to prominence in recent weeks as the thin khaki line between order and chaos during commemorative proceedings for slain SACP general secretary Chris Hani. In Johannesburg they arrested looters and handed them over to the police. In Sharpeville they apprehended three men suspected of killing an SABC journalist and turned them over to the authorities.

Significantly, the arrests by the marshals took place in situations where police would have struggled. Police intervention to arrest looters would probably have led to a tense standoff with demonstrators, which may in turn have resulted in injury and loss of life.

The importance of the arrests extends beyond the much needed convictions for violence they may result in. They also signify the first tentative steps towards joint ANC and government responsibility for ending the violence.

For the ANC, this represents a significant departure from its view that government should deal with the violence on its own because it has the machinery of the state at its disposal. The unwritten contract between police and the ANC is based on a recognition that order can be maintained only through compromise.

The hostility generated by the Hani assassination was the first real test of the growing co-operation between police and marshals. Peace secretariat negotiators cut a remarkable deal: government agreed not to declare 19 unrest areas on the Reef and the ANC alliance agreed to take responsibility to ensure the demonstrations would be peaceful.

With the exception of the incident at Protea police station where frightened policemen (not under the command of the Internal Stability Unit) opened fire on demonstrators, co-operation between marshals and police turned a potentially disastrous week into an example of how things should be done.

ANC's thin khaki line forms basis of future police

Blom 7/5/93.

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RAY HARTLEY

Members of Wits Vaal peace structures, who engineered the compromise around unrest areas in the region, have established themselves as legitimate neutral authorities on the most effective ways to defuse violence. This has taken painstaking months of negotiation with antagonistic parties to persuade them to give up hardline positions in the interests of peace.

The regional peace secretariat, headed by Barlow Rand director André Lamprecht, demonstrated the

extent to which it had benefited from the mediation skills it had been taught by the Independent Mediation Service of SA. Perhaps SA's constitutional negotiators could learn from this.

Having first won the trust of both parties, they established a platform for the groundbreaking deal on policing during the funeral proceedings.

Police have come to realise that the maintenance of order is not their sole preserve. They have seen how marshals are the obvious force to

control the immediate peripheries of demonstrations. Showing a great deal of restraint, police have agreed to become the third line of defence during demonstrations, with marshals on the front line and monitors on the second.

The compromise has given police the confidence that, when they act, they do so only as a last resort after other methods have failed. In turn, the ANC has grudgingly acknowledged — and therefore legitimised — the need for a low-key police presence to deal with matters should they get out of hand.

This little publicised agreement on "three lines of defence" was concluded at the same time as the agreement on unrest areas. Although the agreement applied only to events around the Hani funeral, its success in controlling events has set a strong precedent that cannot be ignored in future demonstrations.

ANC organising department head Steve Tshwete says the ANC is serious about turning its marshals into the well-trained core of a future police force. "It's the way they are able to speak to the people. They are able to communicate to defuse the situation," he says.

The ANC is planning to train 3 000 marchers for six months in criminal investigation methods, crowd control and drilling. After their training the marshals will be graded and given rank with the possibility of remuneration being considered.

Tshwete is at pains to stress that

the existing police force will not be "chased away" or disbanded, but he adds that it will have to receive an "injection" of new recruits with credibility in the communities.

While police spokesmen are reluctant to praise openly the work being done by marshals, policemen on the ground have tacitly endorsed this approach by sticking to their undertaking to remain at a tactful distance from crowds.

With political parties beginning to warm to the idea of an unarmed youth "peace corps" which would act against criminal and political violence in the townships, the moves towards co-operation between the ANC and the security forces are all the more significant.

Another dramatic compromise proposal for dealing with violence is being put forward by MK's usually bellicose commander Joe Modise. Modise says a crack brigade of 5 000 MK, SADF, SAP and homeland army soldiers should be mobilised to move into "volatile areas" and quell endemic violence.

The force would form the nucleus of a "peacekeeping army" with the legitimacy to enforce freedom of movement and speech for political leaders during elections. But Modise's suggestion may be branded as an ANC plot to win joint control of the security forces. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze has already voiced this suspicion.

Others have cautioned that the marshals could become the ANC's new private army, acting only when the organisation's interests are threatened and turning a blind eye to the actions of ANC members.

While the traditional animosity between government and the ANC over security related matters remains unresolved to a large extent, there is a fast growing consensus that drastic measures need to be taken to end the violence.

At the very least, the current moves by the ANC are changing the face of the debate on law and order and raise the issue of the practical steps that need to be taken to eradicate violence.

It would be a pity if the ANC's willingness to shoulder joint responsibility for security is dismissed by a security force leadership obsessed with maintaining narrow sectional control over law and order.



Crisis control . . . ANC marshals have the legitimacy to deal with crowds

Cracks show as govt strategy remains unclear

B/DAM 7/15/93

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WHILE disputes in negotiations are focused on the rift between the ANC and NP on the one hand and the Concerned South Africans Group on the other, a remaining potential obstacle is the failure by the NP to concede that there will be majority rule in SA.

This is creating further divisions in the Cabinet and explains some of the contradictory messages emanating from it.

The NP/government "inner circle" — President F W de Klerk, the National Intelligence Service, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and former NIS boss Niel Barnard — which is dictating negotiating strategy and pushing the party into the future, probably has worked out a clear bottom line. But there is no agreement on this in Cabinet.

Even this inner circle has not yet fully conceded that the NP could end up being the opposition in a new Parliament. Its members believe that the reasons the ANC has accepted the idea of a five-year government of national unity will still prevail after the five-year period has elapsed.

They believe the ANC will still

need the white bureaucracy, and that the military, under the control of the NP, will still be an obstacle to outright majority rule.

Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman agrees that it is obvious that there are divisions in the Cabinet and that the NP has not yet conceded to majority rule. He argues that Meyer does not have a mandate from his party constituency, or Cabinet. "He gets his mandate from De Klerk and the NIS."

Not even the full negotiating team is aware of the details of the strategy being pursued by the inner circle. The result is sometimes reflected in perspectives expressed by the likes of Ministers HERNUS KRIEL and Tertius Delport.

Friedman says that De Klerk may be having problems selling the bottom line NP strategy to his own Cabinet and that is why the divisions are so clear and the strategy seemingly confused. While there is broad agreement on the "deal" between government and the ANC, the interpretation and understanding of the implications are very different.

This results in Kriel and like-minded Ministers on the right of the party grandstanding so as to appear

BILLY PADDOCK

not to be giving up anything, while Meyer concedes the very same ground in talks. An example is the future of the security forces.

Some Ministers firmly believe the NP will still be in government in 20 years while others, like Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, have very different attitudes. Wessels, too, sits on the negotiating team.

Former NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe says that in his time the NP federal congress, constitutionally the party's highest structure, could easily be manipulated by careful stage management.

Friedman agrees that this might therefore be a deliberate strategy: "They act tough and grandstand in public while not worrying about the details. The volk, including MPs, will just follow."

But, he warns, this strategy might work in the short term but in the long term it will backfire and lead to instability.

He says it is quite ironic that, while everyone had believed that the

ANC had the biggest problem selling a deal to its constituency, it was the NP that had ended up with the problem. The ANC had dealt with it in a sophisticated way.

"Since the Bisho march the ANC leadership has made a conscious effort to prepare its constituency ahead of time and get the agreement of the national executive committee," says Friedman.

When the parties get round to finalising agreements on such issues as regionalism, the transitional executive authority and an interim government and constitution, these divisions and contradictions could see the NP/government teams left out of touch with their constituencies.

Already on Wednesday during his budget vote, Meyer was showing signs of shoring up his support by drawing a very fine and even esoteric distinction between an interim government and the transitional executive council.

The council was not a transitional government to which government was going to hand over power, he said. It was merely a mechanism to level the playing fields. The fact of the matter, as he has agreed to on countless occasions, is that the coun-

cil is the first stage of an interim government and it effectively controls government decisions.

The powers, duties and functions of the council are still a bone of contention between government and the ANC, but even taking government's stated position on the council it will be a de facto super-cabinet.

Political analyst Van Zyl Slabbert has warned on numerous occasions that the party leadership has to keep close contact with its constituency if the settlement is going to have legitimacy.

Government and the ANC's deadline for reaching agreement on an election date and the establishment of the council is only three weeks away, and if this is achieved the reality of interim government will strike home firmly. Already we see the ANC training marshals in police work and its members carrying out citizens' arrests and handing criminals over to the police.

These developments are not lost on the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie, who are ready to pounce and take full advantage of the divisions in the ruling party.

No wonder Meyer says the negotiations are poised on a knife-edge.

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

Mandela visits family of murdered youth

STAR 7/5/93
LONDON — ANC leader Nelson Mandela, after meeting relatives of an 18-year-old black who was fatally stabbed by white youths in London two weeks ago, said yesterday that the tragedy of the boy's family "is our tragedy".

"The problem of fascism and racism is threatening the whole world," he said.

"We are deeply touched by the brutality of this murder, even though it is commonplace in our country," Mandela said after seeing the family of Stephen Lawrence. "It seems that black lives are cheap."

Lawrence was stabbed by a gang of white youths who, wit-

nesses said, made racist remarks as he waited for a bus late last month. He was the third victim of a racial killing in south London this year.

After meeting Lawrence's relatives at a central London hotel, Mandela told reporters: "We are concerned about attacks on black people wherever they occur ... the Lawrences' tragedy is our tragedy."

Stephen's mother Doreen said: "He was really touched by what had happened, and to us it seems as though people from abroad are far more concerned about this than our own Prime Minister and government."

— Sapa-AFP-AP.

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STAR 715793 (76) #A

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— Sapa-AFP-AP.

Star 7/5/93
**ANC to send
marshals on
crash course**

The ANC is planning to give its marshals "a general mandate" to act against crime and violence in the country and to put 3 000 of them through an advanced crash course in criminal investigation and crowd control, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed yesterday.

Mamoepa said the newly trained marshals, who would be graded and given rank, would then form the nucleus of a future police force.

But Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday said the ANC's plan would spark violence and polarisation.

The plan was "a fundamental contradiction of the principle that the police force should serve the entire community on the basis of apolitical professionalism and impartiality".

According to ANC organising section head Steve Tshwete, the marshals will remain an unarmed force.

The ANC, Tshwete said, was investigating remuneration and rewards for outstanding work done by the marshals.

The organisation's marshals have maintained strict control at recent ANC-organised events.

Some of them have also made citizens' arrests.

In Sharpeville two weeks ago they arrested three men allegedly involved in the murder of SABC journalist Calvin Thusago. — Political Correspondent.

No funds: PAC 'faces closure'

(11#)
CT7/5/93

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Pan-Africanist Congress faces closure in eight weeks because of a serious cash crisis.

The minutes of a PAC National Working Committee meeting — leaked to East London's Daily Dispatch — said the treasurer, Mr Thompson Gazo, "presented a grim picture of our finances. Unless there is another windfall, PAC could close down within eight weeks".

The meeting on April 17 was also attended by the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and secretary general Mr Benny Alexander.

The document paints a picture of an organisation battling to keep itself financially afloat amid growing staff absenteeism, absence of publicity personnel and inactive structures.

It also discloses that "indiscipline" had caused new problems "eg armed robberies and other acts that are carried out without consent".

In the document the PAC commits itself to continue "exposing the ANC as anti-unity".

Reaction from senior PAC officials yesterday ranged from concessions that there were financial difficulties, to no comment, to outright denials.

The minutes note Mr Makwetu was urged — "in light of pledges not yet honoured" — to write "letters of re-

minder especially to Windhoek and Lusaka".

Funding was "slackening the process" for obtaining experts on negotiations, the minutes added.

A source told the Daily Dispatch that the PAC had become financially embattled as a result of the continuing armed struggle of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

A recent report claimed Pasa's national executive had been mandated to request that the PAC contribute 50% of its finances to Apla.

Asked for comment yesterday, PAC publicity director Mr Waters Toboti said: "I am not saying there are no financial problems."

But he stressed the organisation would survive.

Mr Toboti denied PAC members were involved in armed robberies.

Mr Gazo wanted to know the source of the Daily Dispatch's information and refused to comment, saying he had no authority to do so to "outsiders".

Mr Alexander claimed the minutes were a police fabrication and maintained the PAC had recently given its staff a 50% increase.

He said while the PAC was "far short" of its election budget of R240 million "we are not near panic buttons".

Mr Alexander denied there had been an NWC meeting on April 17.

No waste dump in our

backyard!

STAC 8/5/93

IT SMACKED of the heated rhetoric of the past few weeks. With hundreds of eyes intently focused on him, the ANC official warned: "We are prepared to mobilise thousands of our people. We will fight!"

And before his last syllable had died away, there was a wave of thunderous applause — only this time from an audience of hundreds of whites!

They weren't from trendy Left Yeoville, modestly Marxist Melville or even diffidently Democratic Dunkeld. They were from middle-class Birch Acres in Kempton Park, within mass marching distance of sprawling, often neglected, Tembisa.

Message

ANC official Bengeza Mthombeni blinked in surprise at the enthusiasm. And he couldn't suppress a grin when a voice boomed out from somewhere in the middle of the hall: "Can we come and toyi-toyi with you?"

The township dwellers and suburbanites sit on different sides of the political and social divide, but they do have one thing in common: they share the same backyard. The message that went out clearly on Tuesday night at a protest meeting at the Birch Acres Primary School was: "Not in our backyard!"

That backyard is a wide-open space at Chloorkop, which is about to be turned into a hazardous waste dump (a development they were not aware of until a few months ago, and about which the first "consultative meetings" took place only five weeks ago).

Threat unites most unlikely bedfellows

STAFF REPORTER

What the good burghers of Kempton Park may have previously lacked in environmental awareness, they certainly made up for in enthusiasm, clustering around Mthombeni after the meeting, shaking his hand and planning to get down to the nitty-gritty. There was heady talk in the air of "mass action" — marches on the Kempton Park Civic Centre, picketing of the dump site operator Waste-Tech, even consumer boycotts...

But the newly formed "rainbow coalition" may not have much time. Acting Kempton Park town clerk Jan Malan, who attended the meeting, spoke ominously about "certain rights" already having been granted to Waste-Tech to operate the dump. He was plainly uncomfortable as he tried to explain how difficult it would be to undo what has already been done in terms of granting permission.

Also at the meeting was Waste-Tech managing director Ken Bromfield, who received a roasting from an angry heckler virtually every time he tried to speak. Throughout it all he remained pleasant but firm: Waste-Tech had the right to go ahead and the site would be operational "about the middle of the year".

"That's June — only a month away!" shouted a woman before

her protests were swamped by other shouts of derision at the discomfited Bromfield.

Department of Water Affairs deputy director Leon Bredenhahn, whose department carried out environmental impact assessment studies on the dump site over a four-year period from 1985 and later granted an operator's permit to Waste-Tech, took his fair share of slings and barbs from the angry homeowners.

He tried to reassure those present that their fears about pollution were unfounded (greeted with hoots and jeers) but told people that if they felt aggrieved they could approach the Minister with an official objection.

Bromfield battled through continuous verbal flak as he tried to give the Kempton Parkers the big picture. Waste, he said, was an unavoidable by-product of our society and our lifestyle. It has to go somewhere. If left where it lay, an environmental disaster would be the result. Better to manage it in a controlled way.

Environmental activist Peter Lukey, of Earthlife Africa, didn't have to try hard to win his audience over when he sketched for them his version of the big picture. In Britain, laws were much stricter than here, yet one of Britain's biggest waste-management companies had been accused of a host of crimes.

Midrand management committee member Alan Dawson was

one of the star turns. His council, he said, was never consulted about the project, even though it was close to the Midrand border. Midrand would oppose it because it was "environmental madness", because Waste-Tech had a bad record with a similar site at Clayville, and because the Chloorkop site contravened basic community health rules which said such sites should not be closer than 800 m to existing or planned housing. Chloorkop would be only 400 m away.

"We will fight in court if necessary and we will use our money — our ratepayers' money — to fight this!" vowed Dawson in a stirring conclusion which brought the hall to its feet in a standing ovation.

The combined soothing words and assurances of Malan, Bromfield and Bredenhahn did nothing to calm the troubled waters.

Demands

In a resolution passed to unanimous cheering and clapping at the end of the meeting, the people demanded that construction on the site cease immediately, that permission for the site to be used as a dump be withdrawn by the Kempton Park council and that Waste-Tech be barred from operating any waste-management facility in an urban area.

It won't be an easy fight, but the combined communities of Tembisa and Kempton Park — with a little help from their friends in Midrand — will be formidable foes when their mass action gets rolling...

Perhaps there's a lesson somewhere in there for the rest of the country...

SOUTH AFRICA'S AGONY: *In a nation gripped by violent psychosis, drastic measures are needed to force peace on the intolerant*

Star 8/16/93

Time for shock treatment

IF PEOPLE will not be tolerant willingly, they must be compelled, argues HENRY LEVER in a controversial article about ways to resolve South Africa's predicament.

THE OLD South Africa, based on apartheid, was an unjust society. The future South Africa, if present indications are anything to go by, will be nasty, brutish and ugly. A foretaste of what the future South Africa will be like emerges from trends which have become evident since the Rubicon was crossed and the country committed itself to negotiate a new constitution.

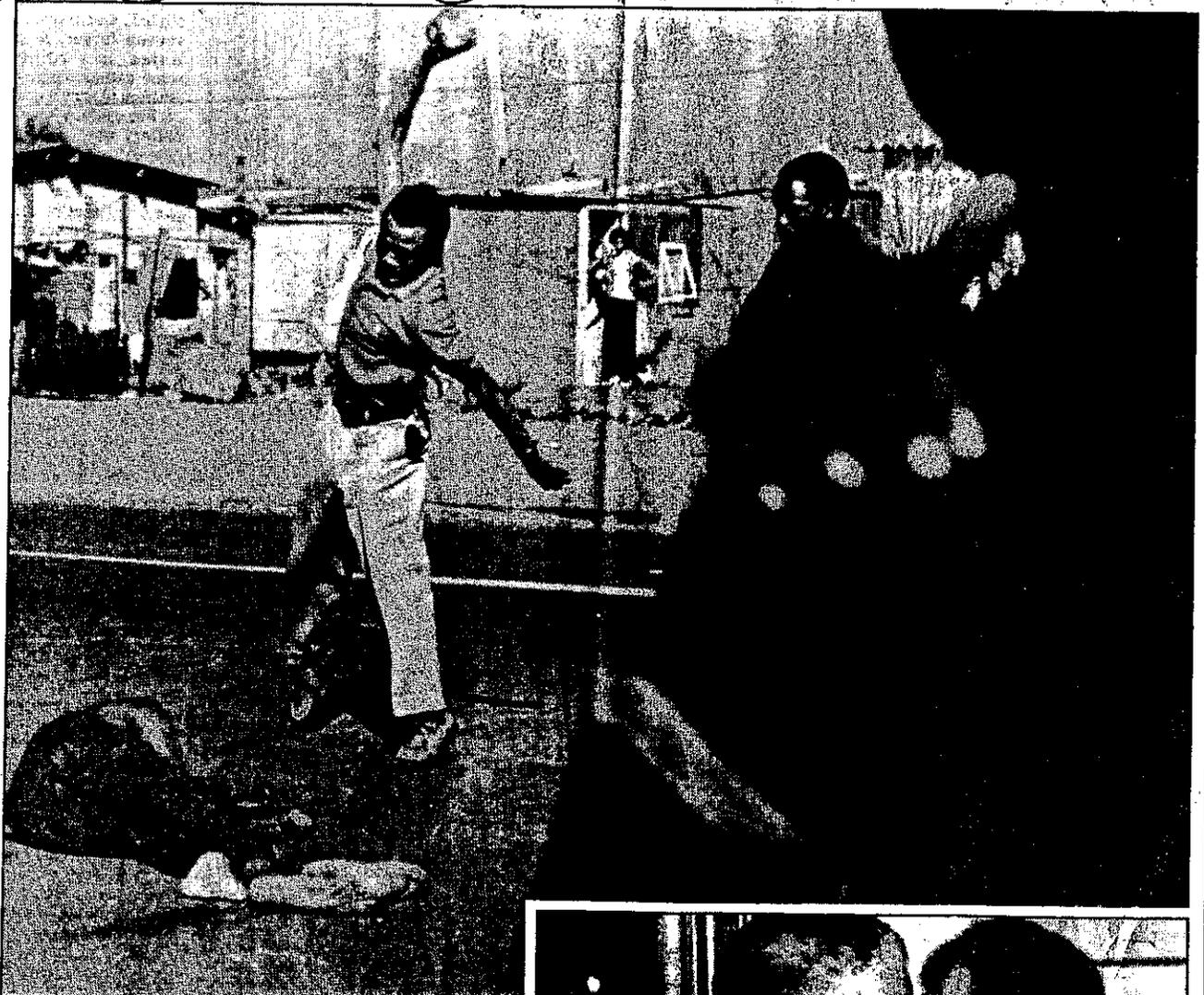
We have become all too familiar with incidents such as the burning of vehicles, the demands for assassins to be handed to the people to administer justice, the deliberate and cold-blooded shooting of a bus load of schoolchildren, inflammatory remarks to "kill the boere", attacks on the elderly and, above all, the endemic killings of IFP and ANC supporters.

In the worst days of American gangsterism, the rival mobsters could at least say that all they were doing was killing *each other*. For the thugs in the IFP and the ANC, however, anyone who gets in their way is fair game.

THE late Jan Hofmeyr pointed out that throughout the country's history there have been forces pulling South Africans together and others pushing them apart. We now have the best opportunity yet of coming together, but it seems to be slipping rapidly beyond our grasp.

The main culprits for the morass in which we find ourselves are the ANC, IFP, PAC, and National Party. But the Church, and more especially the South African Council of Churches, must share some of the blame.

Once the country had committed itself to a negotiated constitution-making process, it was no longer necessary for churches to continue identifying with resistance movements. Their task then should have been to revert to a neutral position and ensure all parties acted responsibly and with commitment to the awesome task entrusted to them. Instead, they identified far too closely with the ANC and, as a consequence, are now in danger of losing their moral authority. The



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To recognise the underlying cause of violence is to start the process of solving it. Central to that process will be for Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela to agree to differ, then to appear on as many public platforms together as possible and to help their followers understand how violence harms their cause.

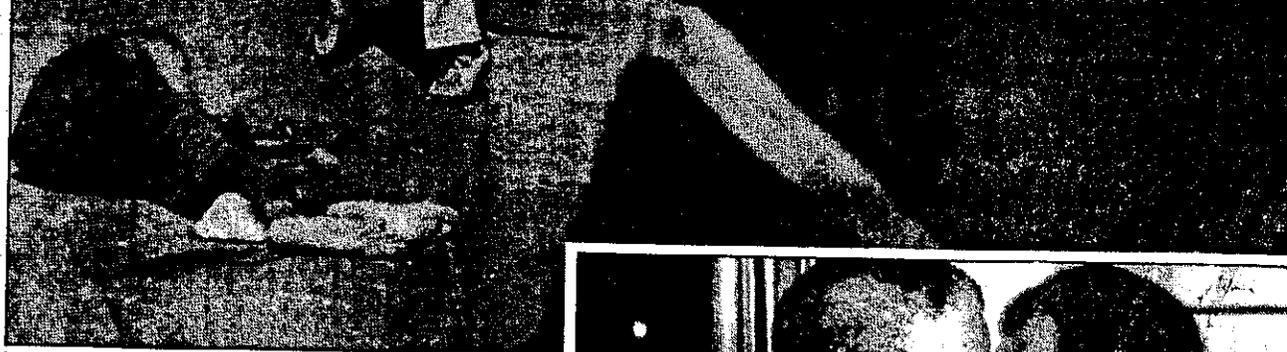
The reason why the ANC will not approve of such a *toendering* is ostensibly that it lends credibility to the IFP. But this stage has long been passed. The IFP has established its credibility and is a major political player in its own right.

The human condition being what it is, there is a tendency to put a gloss on unacceptable actions. G K Chesterton pointed out that "murder" sounds a lot better if it is called something like "social subtraction". In South Africa we call mass violence, intimidation, destruction and pillaging "mass action", reverse discrimination, "affirmative action", and mob rule and street justice, "democracy".

THERE is a tendency to say the present violence is part of a "transitional phase" South Africa is experiencing and that the majority of South Africans will adjust to blacks in government and will recognise that an accommodation has to be made, which will not be easy.

But the problem is that violence is becoming endemic. The longer it lasts the more easily it becomes part of an integrated lifestyle and the more difficult to eradicate.

This makes it folly to expect



SICKENING SYMPTOM: Political differences are settled with brutal finality and the average citizen has become inured to the horror.



IRON FIST: Martial law is seen as essential to giving the peace players breathing space.

electioneering in the future South Africa to consist simply of canvassing, genteel persuasion and *huisbesoek*. The only *huisbesoek* a future South Africa is likely to see will be: "If you don't vote for us, we will burn your house down."

South Africa cannot go back to the old ways, but it moves forward to the future at its peril. What alternatives are available to it? **Declare martial law:** It is not an ideal solution, but it is not as bad as it sounds. It will have the advantage of stamping out violence, particularly if it sets out with that one purpose in mind.

It will also give the country the breathing space it so badly needs and allow for evolutionary progress. The principal drawback is that it treats the symptoms and not the causes.

Impose a constitution: Ideally a constitution should be approved by

as wide a spectrum of people as possible. It should include a Bill of Rights, a separation of powers, an independent judiciary, a wider separation between the executive and legislature that prevails now, a devolution of power to regions and entrenched clauses.

ALSO, there must be an upper house representing regions and interest groups with the principal purpose of preventing a recurrence of oppression by one group at the expense of another. But if people will not show tolerance towards each other, they will have to be coerced to do so. The constitution should be imposed unilaterally. People will grow to like it.

There is an Oriental saying that Western people fall in love and

Martial law and a joint ANC-IFP platform are keys to aiding change

then marry, whereas Eastern people marry and then fall in love (this may account for our high divorce rate). A similar process is likely to apply to an imposed constitution. If the system is seen to work, it will come to be loved.

It will be argued that since the ANC, PAC and the other "liberation (another evil euphemism) movements" have not approved it, they will revert to the armed struggle. However, the moral basis for their doing so, will have gone and they will be seen purely as power-seeking organisations.

Laissez faire approach: This consists of drifting along pretty much as we are doing now and hoping for the best. It is not a real alternative.

United Nations solution: This is the worst possible course. Nine-tenths of United Nations efforts to solve the internal problems of countries



BRIDGING THE GAP: Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a 1991 peace drive. They must again project this image to mellow their followers.

has been either ineffectual or totally disastrous.

Emigration: A solution available largely to the more affluent sections of the population, unless you are lucky enough to be a refugee.

There is one other avenue which remains to be explored and this is more in the nature of a last hope than as an alternative solution. There are many people and organisations outside of the established political framework who possess a great deal of political clout.

These include churches, business organisations, mothers and fathers of victims, writers, artists, scientists, elder statesmen and the majority of decent and peace-loving people in all political organisations who need to muster their support in a last super-human effort to make it known to the leaders of all political forces that the nation has tolerated as much as it can.

There is much merit in locking up all the participants at the multi-party conference and only letting them out once they have arrived at a solution.

SOUTH Africa deserves far better than a simple choice between neo-Nazis on the one hand and militant trade unionists, communists and demagogues on the other. This was precisely the choice which confronted the German nation in the 1930s. Let us all hope that the similarity ends there.

□ The writer is a former Professor of Sociology at Witwatersrand University, Columbia University, New York, Ben Gurion University of the Negev and Haifa University.

South 815 -12/5/93

Verwoerd to address Parow ANC

By Quentin Wilson

WILHELM VERWOERD was two years old when his grandfather and apartheid's architect, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, was assassinated in

1966.

Now the 29-year old Verwoerd is taking ANC politics into the heart of his late grandfather's stomping ground: Parow.

Next week, the ANC is to hold

its first public meeting in the traditionally white conservative town, and Verwoerd, together with ANC publicity officer, Mr Carl Niehaus, will address the Parow locals.

"I grew up hearing only positive things about my grandfather," says Verwoerd, who joined the ANC last year. "But my beliefs began to change when I spoke to people whose lives had been wrecked as a consequence of apartheid."

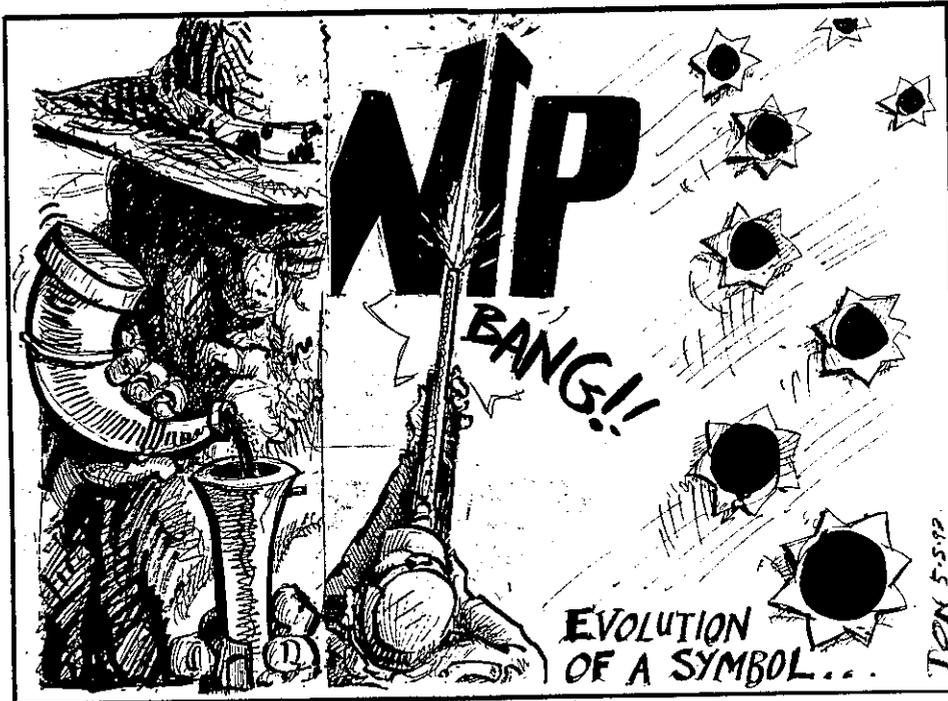
"It is not enough for us as white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to apologise for the mess apartheid has created.

"We have to take on a large part of the responsibility of building a new nation," he said.

Verwoerd says his ANC allegiance has effectively cut ties with many family members.

But, says Verwoerd, his political home in the ANC has also "liberated" him from "a very narrow, impoverished view of life" and he is happy "being part of the South African majority".

Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairperson, said it will be the first time in ANC history that the organisation has planned a public meeting in a traditionally conservative white suburb. It is time for the ANC to move into the northern suburbs and to educate conservative whites about the ANC."



Labour puts its case for an ANC alliance

South 815 - 12/5/93

BEFORE February 2 1990 South Africans lived in a very rigid racially structured society. Each group was insulated and estranged from the others. This abnormal situation provided the so-called coloured community with a false sense of security.

Since 1990 South Africa has embarked on the long and difficult road of democratisation.

We have now entered the stage of a radical transition from the abnormal apartheid state to the ideal of a non-racial democratic social and political order.

While the political elite in our country have adapted to this transition, one finds that their supporters have not adapted as easily to the new circumstances.

One of the reasons is the inadequate political organisation which has thus far failed to break through traditional social and political boundaries, especially amongst the democratic forces.

In order to successfully campaign in a community one needs to intimately understand the nature of such a community.

The so-called coloured community is by nature very conservative and religious.

The vast majority are only prepared to get involved in politics insofar as it affects their immediate socio-economic needs.

As a deprived community this characteristic sometimes makes them vulnerable to the politics of patronage which the NP has very successfully applied so far.

One also finds that as a conservative community the majority of coloureds fear radical change in the social political order. This fear for the unknown drives them to support the status quo.

It is very clear that decades of NP propaganda against the ANC and Africans, coupled with the social isolation experienced under apartheid have made the so-called coloured people fear the prospect of majority rule in South Africa.

While some vividly respond to the injustices inflicted upon them by the NP, the bulk seem to be either apathetic or suffer from amnesia when it comes to the track record of the NP.

It would appear that the majority of coloured people have less repugnance for the evils of apartheid, than for the prospects of a genuine democratic majority government.

It is against this complex background that one approaches the campaign for the



**SPEAKING
OUT**

**Desmond Lockety,
Labour Party of SA,
House of Representatives
MP for Northern Cape**

coloured vote in South Africa's first democratic election.

The LPSA who for the last 27 years together with others struggled for a non-racial democratic order believes that it is incumbent upon us to make our contribution to address these misconceptions and fears, and to ensure that the so-called coloured community will make the right choice in such an election.

We believe that by entering into an electoral alliance with the ANC we can break down the perception that it is a black organisation

'By entering into an electoral alliance with the ANC we can break down the perception that it is a black organisation. We can help to protect the ANC as South Africa's only truly non-racial political organisation'

struggling primarily for the attainment of black people's rights and needs.

We can help to protect the ANC as South Africa's only truly non-racial political organisation, where all communities are adequately represented.

We believe that in the election campaign greater emphasis should be placed on the political empowerment of communities to drive home the idea that, through their political involvement in the democratic forces, they can protect what is dear to them, provided that it is conducive to democratic values.

The LPSA has more experience than any other political organisation in campaigning among the so-called coloured people.

We can contribute towards a breakthrough for the democratic forces.

We share the ultimate goal of a non-racial democratic political and social order. However, it remains a continuous challenge and struggle to transform our abnormal apartheid structured society into this ideal.

It is in endeavouring to do this that we have unconditionally extended our party's hand of friendship to the ANC.

We hope that through co-operation and joint action in an electoral alliance under the leadership of the ANC, we can instill the confidence among all our people that democracy can work in South Africa.

We hope that this will lead to an overall improvement in the quality of their lives.

Handwritten mark or signature.

Azapo looks to the future

STAR 815193

CAPE TOWN — The president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, is a busy man: he heads a political movement while teaching at a college at Cambridge University 10 000 km away.

But Mosala is unperturbed about the workload. He believes his movement has an important role to play in preventing the country from sliding into total disaster.

The University of Cape Town religious studies senior lecturer plans to return next month from his three-year sabbatical leave at

Cambridge University in the UK to assume his Azapo post full-time until the end of the year.

He believes that Azapo's unique experience of having confronted the Government from inside the country over the years has helped the movement develop a clear picture of the Government's "deceit and evil manoeuvres".

Azapo was also striving to represent the neglected interests of ordinary black people whose land was controlled by a white minority. Until the land was restored to its rightful owners, democracy was a farce.

This weekend Azapo, so far the only significant political organisation shunning

THIS weekend the Azanian People's Organisation, the only significant liberation organisation spurning the negotiations, is reviewing its stance on the talks. VUYO BAVUMA talks to the movement's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

constitutional talks, is holding a special congress in Johannesburg to decide whether to use the negotiating table to agitate for "ordinary black people's interests".

Though Mosala, who is in South Africa for the congress, refused to commit himself on whether the movement would join the talks, he said it was en-

couraging that what Azapo had relentlessly fought for was now on the negotiating table: a constituent assembly, the need for an international monitoring team and the installation of a transitional executive authority.

Mosala said Azapo was disturbed about the high level of violence ravaging the country.

"I have been watching the

situation in Angola and Yugoslavia carefully. If we are not careful, we will have such horrifying violence in our country.

"Ordinary people will suffer. We have fooled around for three years. The issue should have been the transfer of power from the minority to the majority; of course, this should have been done through demo-

cratic processes."

Mosala (43), who, like many of his colleagues worked with Steve Biko — credited with being the father of Black Consciousness (BC) philosophy — believes that the ideology is still relevant today.

There was a lack of respect for black life, and the violence within the black community was patently criminal and not revolutionary, he said. The core of the BC philosophy was respect for each other and encouragement of people to take charge of their lives. But most people were colluding with the oppressors by being meek.

Mosala rejected the accu-

sation that Azapo members were armchair critics, saying that the BC movement was being subverted through the denial of resources. Since the rise of the United Democratic Front, BC organisations had been deliberately starved of vital resources by funders. It had to rely on its members' contributions. Despite this, the movement could not be "pushed away".

Commenting on the future, Mosala said freedom-loving black people should form a united front and present their demands to the Government. "If we can't get it right now, we may never be able to get it right," he said.

wife. The soft-spoken, grey-haired woman, dressed in a neat wool suit, said that digging bunkers on their farms and taking up arms would be the next step to fighting for what they want. "Today could be the start of the farmers taking up arms." Kingsley's chilling sentiments were echoed by many of the khaki-clad farmers who attended the rally on Thursday. Speaker after speaker at the meeting, organised by

BIGGING IN THEIR HEELS: The farmers' gathering in Potchefstroom had one message: Enough is enough. And they're prepared to back their demands with whatever it takes.

the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions, called on farmers to mobilise themselves, their families and even their farmworkers against threats to their security, new labour legislation — and negotiations. South African flags were waved alongside flags from the old Boer Republics. Banners proclaimed: "Ek is 'n Boer en 'n farmer: kom 'try'

my" (I am a Boer and a farmer: come 'try' me). Kingsley's family have been in South Africa for generations and her grandmother was imprisoned in a British concentration camp almost 100 years ago. "We want to farm and be successful, but we will not live under a black government. They number so many, we will be engulfed. We feel we will not have a say."

Leeudoringstad farmers Hennie Maas and Sas Botha said they would never be able to live under a black majority government. "I feel threatened by the ANC. A black government will take over the country and we will lose our farms. We are here today fighting for our own properties and very livelihood. If we do not stand together, it's over — the end."

They said there was nowhere left to trek and they would take up arms, if necessary, to fight for their country. Kosie Pieterse, a cattle farmer from Bray in the Vryburg district, said the main problem for the farmer was economics. "The price of petrol is up, diesel is up, mealie seed is up — yet we are getting 50 percent less for agricultural pro-

ducts and meat, and consumers are paying more. Where does the money go?" Khaki-clad Jan du Preez, who farms with game and cattle in the Vryburg district, said he was angry at the proposed new Labour laws which provide minimum pay scales and regulate working conditions for farmworkers, and the Government's surrender to pressure from the ANC and Con-

over law and order. They can't even protect the people who provide the country with food." The bottom line, Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said to loud cheering, was that there would be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the farmers' cooperation. "After this meeting, you will be able to tell your grandchildren you were there when the farmers decided: So far and no further!"

● Photograph: KAREN SANDISON

● Here's to the good, old days.
JOE LOUW laments over the demise of old-style shebeens. See Page 9

Relocate SA fugitive, urges Zambia

LUSAKA — Zambia has requested the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to send fugitive South African Katiza Cebekhulu to a third country to avoid "misunderstandings" between Zambia and South Africa.

The UNHCR representative in Zambia, Abou Moussa, told Saturday Star in an interview that the Zambian government wanted a rapid solution to the Cebekhulu problem. Cebekhulu was a key witness in the Winnie Mandela

AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

trial. He escaped from South Africa and found his way to Zambia in March 1991. He has since been languishing in Zambian prisons.

Moussa said Cebekhulu had made it clear he would not return to South Africa for fear of his life.

"He is in preventive custody and we are trying to re-settle him in another African country so that he can be free. He has expressed fear about going back to South

Africa and it is not our intention to send him back."

His going home should be voluntary, Moussa said.

Asked how many countries had been approached regarding the Cebekhulu case, Moussa said: "I can't give you the number of countries but I know my head office has done quite a lot. If we find a place for him tomorrow, we will arrange that he leaves." He also agreed that as long as the problem was outstanding, everybody would like to find a solution.

Zambian Minister of Home Affairs Newstead Zimba declined to comment, saying: "I am still waiting for a reply from the UNHCR — you ask them to comment." Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga earlier this year wrote to the UNHCR requesting it to find another home for Cebekhulu. Prison authorities say they are stuck with more than 100 prohibited immigrants, including Cebekhulu. Most of those have been rejected by their governments, and others fear for their lives. Most of them are Zaireans.

Most whites query Mandela's sincerity

CAPE TOWN — Only one in five South African whites believe that ANC president Nelson Mandela is sincere about wanting to solve the problems of this country.

That is the outcome of a survey by Research Surveys' Omnicheck division, which interviewed 500 black men, 500 white men and 800 white women in March.

They were asked how sincere they thought each of the leading politicians was about his desire to solve the problems.

White Mandela's sincerity among whites was suspect, 92 percent of black men believed he was sincere.

President de Klerk surfaced as the only leading politician seen by both black and white South Africans as being sincere. Two-thirds of all respondents

saw De Klerk as being either totally, or quite, sincere.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi enjoyed the confidence of most whites (to almost the same extent as De Klerk). However, four in five black men felt he was "not at all" sincere.

Conversely, while most whites doubted the sincerity of Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan Africanist Congress, this leader, too, succeeded in convincing black men he meant what he said.

Common ground was also found by the two race groups in their assessment of Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party. The DP will be concerned to learn that their leader was considered by half the sample to be "not at all" sincere. — Sapa.

Immigration curb soon

MANDY JEAN WOODS

DESPITE its international image of a country riven by violence, South Africa has become the residence of choice for many foreigners, with some SA missions abroad receiving as many as 2 000 inquiries a day!

Given this situation, stricter measures to deal with this increase in applications would be introduced, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday.

This situation had become particularly problematic since the opening up of eastern Europe, Schutte said. "Because the majority of people applying do not qualify, a situation has developed where agents or people applying for permanent residence on behalf of immigrants blatantly assist in making fraudulent representations," he noted.

To counter this, substantial fines — with or without a prison sentence — would be imposed in future.

"The capacity of South Africa to absorb prospective immigrants, especially in the prevailing economic climate and particularly in the category of persons wishing to settle here as workers, is extremely limited," Schutte said.

The bona fides of prospective immigrants who claimed to be financially independent or in a position to establish job-creating industries and other acceptable business ventures would be thoroughly investigated, he added.

Talks planning body claims great progress

THE 10-member planning committee which facilitates negotiations claims to have made "tremendous" progress on issues it had been asked to make recommendations on, including the name of the process itself and the constitution of technical committees.

The planning committee, whose members participate in their personal capacities and not as representatives of political parties or organisations, yesterday recommended to the 26-delegation Negotiating Council (NC) meeting at the World Trade Centre that the multiparty talks simply be called the Multiparty Negotiations Process. But even if accepted, it may not mean that debate on the name for the process has necessarily ended.

The planning committee has also nominated people to serve on the seven technical committees whose formation was approved when the NC met last week.

Drawn up by a three-member subcommittee of the planning committee — comprising National Party constitutional adviser Fanie Venter, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj and KwaZulu government representative Dr Ben Ngubane — the nominations are believed to have the blessing of the planning committee.

The various technical committees and the people nominated to serve on them:

KAIZER NYATSUMBA Political Correspondent

University of Zululand; Professor Herbert Vilakazi; Professor P J Coetzee; and four representatives of the National Peace Committee.

● Constitutional matters: Professor Marius Wiechers of the University of South Africa; human rights lawyer Advocate Arthur Chaskalson; former Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dikgang Moseneke; Dr Fanie Venter; J F Kirsten; Professor G E Devenish; and Prof Zacharia.

● Fundamental rights during the transition: Advocate G H Grove; Advocate Z Yacoub; Professor L M du Plessis; and H Corder.

● Transitional executive council: Professor D van Wyk; Professor Fink Haysom; Dr J C Heunis; and M E Mapheto.

● Independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority: Advocate David Dison; Dr B de Villiers; Advocate P Pretorius; and former KwaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza.

● Independent electoral commission: S T K Ndlovu; Professor D Davis; R P Roshental; and Advocate L Laubscher.

● Repeal of discriminatory legislation: Advocate Pius Langa; Advocate C Nkabinde; Professor John Dugard; and Professor M G Erasmus.

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Southess's job on line
With Liverpool manager
Graeme Southess's job on line, his side take on Spurs.



Azapo reviews stance on multi-party negotiations

CT85/9B Political Correspondent

(117)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will hold a conference this weekend to review its stance on negotiations.

Azapo resolved at its congress in Port Elizabeth at the end of last year that it would not engage in talks with the government. The only item it was prepared to discuss with the government was the handing over of power to the majority.

The meeting at Wilgespruit, near Roodepoort, will review this stance, particularly now that the PAC is represented at multi-party talks.

Azapo will decide on negotiations — Mosala

(11A) ARG 8/13/93

PROFESSOR Itumeleng Mosala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, is a busy man. He heads a political movement while teaching at a Cambridge college about 10 000km away.

But Professor Mosala is unperturbed about the workload — in fact, he believes, his movement has an important role to play in preventing the country from sliding to total disaster.

In June the UCT senior lecturer in religious studies plans to return from his three-year sabbatical leave at Cambridge to assume his Azapo post full-time until the end of the year.

He believes Azapo's unique experience of having confronted the government from inside the country over the years has helped the movement develop a clear picture of the government's "deceit and evil manoeuvres".

Azapo was also striving to represent the neglected interests of the ordinary black people whose land was controlled by a white minority.

Until the land was restored to its rightful owners, democracy was a farce.

This weekend Azapo, so far the only significant political organisation shunning constitutional talks, is holding a special congress in Johannesburg to decide whether to use the negotiating table to agitate for "ordinary black people's interests".

Though Professor Mosala, in South Africa for the congress, refused to commit himself on whether the movement would join the talks, he said it was encouraging that what Azapo had relentlessly fought for was now on the negotiation table — the constituent

assembly, the need for an international monitoring team and the installation of a transitional executive authority.

But Azapo was disturbed about the level of violence.

"I have been watching the situation in Angola and Yugoslavia carefully. If we are not careful we will have such horrifying violence in our country.

"Ordinary people will suffer. We have fooled around for three years; the issue should have been transfer of power from the minority to the majority. Of course, this should have been done through democratic processes."

Professor Mosala, 43, who like many of his colleagues worked with Steve Biko, believes the black consciousness ideology is relevant today.

There was a lack of respect for black life and the violence within the black community was patently criminal and not revolutionary at all.

The core of the black consciousness philosophy was respect for each other and encouragement for people to take charge of their lives.

Professor Mosala rejected the accusation that Azapo members were armchair critics, saying that the BC movement was being subverted through the denial of resources.

He said that ever since the rise of the United Democratic Front, BC organisations were deliberately starved of vital resources by funders.

Commenting on the future, Professor Mosala said freedom-loving black people should form a united front and present their demands to the De Klerk government.

THE 10 middle-aged men — seated around a rectangular table on the first floor of the shabby World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — are collectively known as the Planning Committee.

Their job is to smooth the talks-path for the 26-party negotiating council that haggles over SA's future in the full glare of the world's spotlight.

But each one of these men has a mandate from his leader — to cut the best deal possible for his party. And it is here that the compromises that will dictate the course of this country are hashed out before being scrutinised in the public forum.

When the 10 men enter the room, they leave behind them the rhetoric and antagonism that has become the daily fare of the press.

In their "personal capacities" they represent the main political forces in the country.

They are the Concerned South Africans Group consisting of the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party — but not the CP, the government, the ANC alliance with the Transkei and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

On the edges, watching the first round as the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Cosag lobby that their deal is the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

The Planning Committee has less than a month to produce the goods.

Leader of the Cosag lobby is Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, a medical doctor, the party's national chairman and the planning committee's self-appointed elder statesman.

Stubborn

Dressed in his trademark suspenders, which serve little purpose other than to adorn his robust belly, Dr Mdlalose stands back during much of the debate, graciously allowing his two partners in the Cosag alliance to get hot and sweaty over points that concern his party — in particular, regionalism and violence.

He then timeously intervenes to settle the

room, he is an enthusiastic first-time player, thriving on the process, but subdued by the courtship dance of the government and the ANC of the Cosag lobby. He takes a middle road in promoting the process, careful never to rock the boat.

His neighbour to the left is the slightly built and boyish Constitutional Minister and chief negotiator Roelf Meyer. He takes a fair and apparently honest approach in debate, always maintaining his cool when riled.

When trying to convince the participants, he seldom raises his voice and often uses a self-effacing manner.

Across the table is the ANC's secretary-general and chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa, who sometimes finds the contents of his electronic diary more interesting than the proceedings.

When his intervention is necessary

— and in a manner too smooth even for a margarine advertisement — he slowly and patiently explains his party's viewpoint.

He will magnanimously concede an insignificant point to a Cosag opponent and then shrewdly scores a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei's chief state law adviser Zam Titus, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei's position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kind reason and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the acceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steely resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and

Plotting and planning in the 10-man committee



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
He gives a point while he scores an advantage



COLIN EGLIN
The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel



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SOUTH AFRICA

Natal Indian Congresses.
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He then timeously intervenes to settle the feathers with the kindly voice of Cosag reason. He can be stoically stubborn and maintains a tolerant but dignified silence at the waves of hilarity that often convulse the room.

Seated on his left is his Cosag ally, Mick Webb, the overweight and red-faced adviser to Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and a King Williams Town lawyer. He is quick to raise his hand to question any perceived slight, over-anxious to go on the attack and is undoubtedly the most dominant voice in the proceedings.

He is bolstered in his querulousness by Bophuthatswana minister of defence Rowan Cronje, a former minister under Rhodesia's Ian Smith and brother-in-law to CP MP Tom Langley.

Meticulously toupeed, he is smooth and articulate, always agreeable to ensuring the continuation of negotiations but careful to often reserve the tiny homeland's right to abstain from binding decisions.

Separating the Cosag lobby from the government representative is the PAC's Benny Alexander, neatly dressed in a suit and tie, having forsaken his grenadilla-coloured wrestling outfit and uncompromising rhetoric displayed at the talks forum last month.

The youngest participant in the



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
 He gives a point while he scores an advantage



COLIN EGLIN
 The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel



ROELF MEYER
 The Minister with a cool, fair and honest approach



FRANK MDLALOSE
 The kindly voice of reason who settles ruffled feathers

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The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and diligent fashion, but without the keen sensitivity to nuance that the other facilitators display.

Logical

Often forgetting to switch on his microphone, he will irritably boom forth what he sees as the most no-nonsense approach to a particular issue, and for some reason, the rest of the squabblers come to heel.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, habitually dressed in his tired red socks, makes his points best by leaning forwards on his crossed arms.

His arguments are always calm, reasoned and logical, never disregarding principle for consensus, but neither sacrificing progress for political gain.

The proceedings of the 10 are kept for the record by Gillian Hutchings, a seconded employee from the Consultative Business Movement.

Ever watchful over the proceedings is the CBM's Theuns Eloff, head of administration for negotiations who constantly anticipates the moment which will spell either breakthrough or chaos.

— EDYTH BULBRING

Negotiate devolution or conflict and partition will follow, writes Simon Jenkins

SA's 'Great Barter' continues

THE death of Chris Hani is a tragedy but not a disaster. He was that rarest of politicians, a man who could translate demagoguery into *real-politik*. He was charismatic and pragmatic. He understood the balance of power in his country. He had won the confidence of the white-led army, and was a plausible future leader. That is why he was killed.

The result has not been the predicted bloodbath; "political violence" in South Africa is, according to the Race Relations Institute, at its lowest level since 1989, even after Hani's death. Huge efforts have been made by black leaders to end intercommunal killings.

So what is happening? South Africa refuses point blank to conform to the apocalyptic model which analysts have tried to impose on it since the Soweto riots of 1976.

That model is a lurid picture of white fascist repression, bloody black rebellion, white retribution, stern outside intervention, the collapse of order and the advent of black rule. The hands on this clock are always set at five minutes to midnight. Time is always running out. Everything from the birth rate to the price of gold spells doom. Karl Marx may have been wrong everywhere else, but here on the tip of Africa he can make

his last stand.

This is rubbish. I have been visiting South Africa for 15 years, and the model has served neither as analysis nor as prediction. It still underpins news reports, congressional inquiries, sanctions and debates. The one blessing of the model is that for two decades it has kept South Africa politically and economically isolated. Americans, Europeans, the United Nations, everybody has twiddled thumbs and waited for "Afrikanerdom to collapse". It has not done so. This has protected both black and white leadership from the curse of divided societies, meaningful intervention by foreigners.

Meanwhile, sanctions disciplined the South African economy and probably strengthened it. The country was not inflated and rotted by IMF and World Bank loans behind a protectionist wall. Imports were cut and exports promoted. South Africa had to manage its budget and restrict capital outflow. Moaning about the economy is second only to rugby as a national sport, but the result of the sanctions is the most powerful commercial machine in the southern hemisphere.

My preferred model to help explain South Africa is different and messy. There is no tidy post-colonial handing over of the seals of office, no lowering of the flag, no

sounding of the last post.

There is simply a continuation of the Great Barter, the negotiated change in the composition of South Africa's ruling élite. The ANC's moderate leadership, tenuously built around Nelson Mandela and the party boss, Cyril Ramaphosa, is as frightened as President de Klerk of full and early elections. Under proportional representation, the ANC is unlikely to gain an overall majority of seats. Its immaturity and factionalism would be on public display.

The barter in which both leaders are involved is as old as the hills. It is that of a ruling élite widening its popular legitimacy in exchange for a share in the spoils of office. Such bartering is far more true to the historic spirit of Afrikanerdom than the futile escape into apartheid of the 1960s and 1970s. It is a barter for group survival.

The deal is taking two forms: co-opting leaders of the ANC into actual government, and setting up a separate, rolling debate on constitutional change. This debate has democracy on the horizon, but with a gulf of fog in between.

Co-option is well under way. To the visitor, South African politicians are extraordinarily pally. They meet at conferences, at seminars, at negotiations, on holiday even. And they talk power. There are no intermediaries, no elder

statesmen, no interfering great power diplomats. It is as if years of isolation have left both sides with nobody else for conversation: when Mandela left Robben Island for a mainland prison, the former state president, P W Botha, was said to have genuinely enjoyed their occasional chats.

President de Klerk and Mandela are likewise close. They made separate television appeals for calm following Hani's killing. They now stand together, joint leaders of their country, despite neither having won a nationwide election. Those who predicted that both of them would by now be undermined by extremists have been proved wrong.

The finance ministry has a full corporalist structure in place, discussing with the black unions and the ANC's economics-team everything from housing policy to the budget. The dismantling of food price control has been delayed, and subsidies have been maintained in response to black pressure. Afrikaner nationalism's socialist roots have been refertilised by contact with township politics. Chris Hani was involved in integrating the army command. By the end of the year, De Klerk's interim executive council will formalise this multiracial coalition.

Few involved in the constitutional debate expect or want an immediate handover of power to

the ANC. All know that the result would be a shambles (Africa has come far since the 1960s). Mandela acknowledges that full black rule is unlikely until the turn of the century. He knows that the economy and South Africa's fractious politics need stability and a strong hand at the top if there is to be any progress towards a new constitution. Stability must be built upon a *de facto* white-black coalition.

Those who wish to worry about South Africa should worry less about the extremists, hog the headlines and sow mayhem though they do. The centre will hold because it has too much to lose, and the firepower and ruthlessness to keep it. South Africa is too rich a prize to be sacrificed to the guns of the Right or the pangas of the Left.

In any new constitution emerging from the negotiating process. I believe the danger lies elsewhere. The new white-black coalition is already centralist, some would say socialist. All talk of devolving power to regions founders on the twin leaderships' fear of losing power and patronage to the periphery.

The wild card, Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is demanding *de facto* independence for Natal. This is being refused. The constitutional thinktanks that bubble round the negotiations are heady

with such words as "confederalism" and "consociationalism", with Swiss and German and American templates of devolution. They murmur about blocking thirds and fancy franchises. They seek geographical codes for differentiation by colour and tribe.

To the panjandrums of the coalition, of black and white nationalism, this is all waffle; they want one South Africa, one central power, one party, one state. Yet if recent world history teaches any lesson, it is that divided societies do not live happily under unitary constitutions.

From India to Yugoslavia, from Ireland to Spain, from Canada to Northern Ireland, sane constitutional reform begins with devolution. Power must be shared not just within the élite but with groups that are best represented by partially self-governing regions. This is not a choice. If devolution is ignored, regions will wield the sessionist veto. Pretoria will never hold Natal to a unitary constitution.

If President de Klerk and Mandela cannot see that, then no consensus will hold for long. Devolution must be negotiated or conflict and partition will follow. Does anyone need telling that today? — The Times.

● Simon Jenkins is former editor of *The Times*. □

START 10/2/93

11A

11B

STAR
10/5/93
Sermon defended

CAPE TOWN — Senior Anglican clergy yesterday defended Archbishop Desmond Tutu against criticism over the style in which he delivered his sermon at the funeral of slain South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani.

This follows a number of individual and parish objections from within the Anglican Church from people who, the archbishop's press secretary John Allen said yesterday, appeared unhappy with his performance.

The Cathedral Chapter of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town said in a statement "those unaccustomed to political funerals in the black community" may have been alarmed by proceedings.

But Allen said Archbishop Tutu's style "helps to ease people's frustrations".

He said the objections probably came largely from conservative white members. — Sapa.

Split Azapo to announce talks stance

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Star 10/5/82
11A

The Azanian People's Organisation will announce its final position on negotiations today after its two-day special consultative conference at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort at the weekend, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday.

At the time of going to press last night, top Azapo strategists and rank-and-file members from across the country were still debating a resolution drawn up by a technical committee on negotiations.

Sources within the organisation said Azapo was divided down the middle on negotiations.

While one group felt that now was the time for the organisation to take part in multiparty talks, the other remained sceptical of the Government's willingness to relinquish power to a democratically elected constituent assembly, and therefore opposed negotiations.

And sources yesterday believed the anti-negotiations group would win the day.

So far the Black Consciousness organisation has refused to hold talks with Pretoria, and has called on President de Klerk's Government to resign before Azapo could talk to it.

Star 10/5/93

ANC planners to meet in secret

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent



CAPE TOWN — The ANC's national working committee (NWC) will meet in secret for three days this week to discuss strategy — including the need for members to avoid actions that could be used to stir up right-wing resistance.

It is understood that the need for disciplined behaviour at meetings and elsewhere will share the agenda with discussions on the negotiation process.

NWC member Joe Slovo said last night that the meeting would be on "strategic perspectives ... to reflect on all recent events, including the new moves by the right wing".

Slovo said he had been encouraged by President de Klerk's weekend warnings to the right wing.

"You don't get anywhere by appeasing fascism," he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed that the meeting will be held at an undisclosed venue this week.

At the weekend, De Klerk lashed at extremists on both the Right and Left.

Part of the President's statement is being interpreted as a final warning to the right wing.

A senior Government source said last night: "What the President is doing is putting them on notice that if they push further ... then he will act." He said it was significant that the Presi-

dent had specifically warned against trying to politicise the security forces.

Warned De Klerk: "Any attempts to undermine the integrity of the security forces or to subvert their loyalty to the State are viewed in an extremely serious light."

Extremist right-wing pressure groups were "playing with fire, and violations of the law by their side will be dealt with just as strictly as violations by left-wing extremists".

● Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said "the future might be too late" to remedy South Africa's turmoil. He urged De Klerk to discuss the nitty-gritty of negotiations with him, reports Sapa.

Star 10/5/93

Bring to light plight of women

By Shirley Woodgate

11A

Women needed sharp teeth and big mouths "to bite" and draw their plight to the attention of those in power to whom they are invisible, ANC Emancipation Commission deputy chairman Frene Ginwala yesterday said to resounding cheers from 150 women.

ANC research department head Ginwala was speaking at a three-day seminar on gender equality held by the fledgling Women's National Coalition in Johannesburg.

Co-sponsored by the Washington-based Lawyer's Com-

mittee for Civil Rights Under Law, the seminar was addressed by local speakers and guests from Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Uganda, Namibia, Thailand, Bangladesh, Norway, Kenya and the United Nations' Angela King.

Thailand speaker Suteera Thompson said women constituted half the world's population, produced half the world's agricultural production, headed a third of the world's households and worked two thirds of the world's working hours.

Yet they earned only a tenth of the world's income, owned a hundredth of the

world's property and constituted two thirds of the world's illiterate population.

This was despite the adoption of the Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women by the United Nations in 1979 which was accepted by about 100 nations by 1989.

Ginwala said it was significant no parties competing to become the government had given any thought to women, and the two major technical committees at Codesa — those on constitutional affairs and independent elections — consisted entirely on men.

ANC, allies still want action

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress PWV region and its allies at the weekend re-affirmed their commitment to "rolling mass action", saying such protests ensured the current political process was given the necessary urgency.

At a media briefing after a meeting here to assess mass protests, ANC regional spokesman Mr Jabu Mleketi said the situation at grassroots level had

changed since the death on April 10 of SA Communist Party (SACP) general-secretary Mr Chris Hani.

People were now more organised around specific issues.

He said the meeting had focused on four areas of mass action.

Proposals covering these areas would be put to other organisations at a meeting on Thursday.

"Our proposals include consumer boycotts, marches and

mass demonstrations," said Mr Mleketi.

Another congress official, Mr Paul Mashitela, said there was no conflict between the ANC PWV region and ANC headquarters over mass protests.

On Friday night, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a meeting would be held soon to review mass action in the light of the dramatic progress made at constitutional talks.

Time provisionally wound up

BIDA 10/5/93

SUSAN RUSSELL

TIME Holdings was provisionally wound up in the Rand Supreme Court on Friday, soon after obtaining liquidation orders against three subsidiaries.

The Time group applied for provisional liquidation early last week, but withdrew the matter after the judge expressed concern that the application, brought by its directors, was not supported by a shareholder or creditor.

Time was granted provisional winding up orders against subsidiaries Time Property Developments R McCarthy and Time Housing late on Thursday.

An application for the provisional winding up of Time Holdings was brought by Time Consolidated Investments on Friday.

Time Holdings CE Colin Hibbert blamed the group's situation on financial institutions' withdrawal from the mass housing market and on R5m unexpected damages

arising from an unresolved dispute with Basil Read.

Hibbert said in spite of the demand for housing built by Time, prospective purchasers were unable to obtain mortgage finance.

As a result, Time found itself having to service about R10m interest a year on borrowings without having the requisite sales to finance this.

Hibbert said the dispute with Basil Read over timeous completion of a project in Rosebank had left the group having to finance unforeseen damages of more than R5m until the dispute could be resolved in arbitration.

Time's bankers had refused to advance the group bridging finance until the damages could be recovered from Basil Read, Hibbert said.

ANC concerned about farm exodus

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC was concerned about a potential flight of agriculture skills as white farmers became increasingly worried about their security, ANC agriculture official Derek Hanekom said at the weekend.

He said farmers seemed to be staying put for the moment, but a marked increase in inquiries by farmers considering selling up and leaving SA had been reported.

He admitted that ANC youth league official Peter Mokaba's "kill the farmer" slogan had made it more difficult for the ANC to address misconceptions about the organisation's future agricultural policy with farmers.

A spokesman for a western Cape estate agency dealing in agricultural property said farmers from elsewhere in SA were showing growing interest in wine and fruit farms in the area because they were not the target of violence.

Transvaal and Natal farmers were, however, struggling to sell their properties at reasonable prices, indicating a declining interest in agriculture in those areas.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said farmers would not be intimidated into leaving their land.

The meeting of farmers in Potchefstroom last week demonstrated a new spirit among the farming community underlying their determination to defend their properties and livelihood, Bruwer said. While some farmers had left SA and headed for Zambia, this had been for economic and not political or security reasons.

Umkhonto free to train in SA

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT would not oppose the training of Umkhonto we Sizwe members within SA borders provided no laws were broken, Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said at the weekend.

Umkhonto would be free to do the same kind of training presently undertaken by organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Government would, however, oppose any efforts to "usurp the functions of the police and SADF", he said.

Commenting on a report that the ANC had struck a deal with government allowing it to train its military wing inside SA, Kotze said he was unaware of an agreement on the matter, but Umkhonto training in drilling and marching was "within the letter of the law".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the issue had been discussed in meetings with government, but cautioned that negotiations were not at a point where a firm deal had been concluded on the matter.

He said security matters would probably be the last area where agreement was reached because of their centrality to the balance of political power.

Government and ANC negotiators reportedly reached the compromise in discussions about a special national peacekeeping force to police violence-ridden areas once a transitional executive council came into being.

Umkhonto free to train in SA ~~govt~~

(11A) RAY HARTLEY ~~8872~~

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ANC 'may insist' on marching

BIDM 10/5/93
GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE ANC might insist that it be allowed to proceed with marches and demonstrations even when it has not received permission, spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The ANC's PWV region reaffirmed its commitment to "rolling mass action" to speed up the political negotiations. While the ANC had not taken a decision actively to defy an order banning marches, Niehaus said that such a ban would not simply be accepted.

He said the ANC was worried about a "growing tendency" for government to clamp down on marches. On Friday a Cosas march through Johannesburg was banned and police prevented students from leaving the townships.

Niehaus said that the ANC would meet various parties such as the police and national peace secretariat before proceeding with demonstrations.

But the organisation would be "extremely reluctant" to obey a ban, he

said. He claimed the ANC's concern about marches being banned was shared by several international observer bodies.

"They are concerned that people are being denied their democratic rights," he said.

Sapa reports that at a media briefing after a meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend to assess mass protests, ANC regional spokesman Jabu Mleketi said the grassroots situation had changed since the murder of SA Communist Party head Chris Hani.

He said people were now more organised around specific issues such as the education crisis.

He said the meeting had focused on four areas of mass action — civic struggles, worker issues, the creation of a peace corps to allow communities to police their own areas and other sectoral matters.

Proposals, which include consumer

boycotts, marches and mass demonstrations, would be tabled at a meeting next week.

Another congress official, Paul Mashitela, said there was no conflict between the ANC PWV region and ANC headquarters over mass protests. On Friday night, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said a meeting would be held soon to review mass action in the light of progress made at constitutional talks.

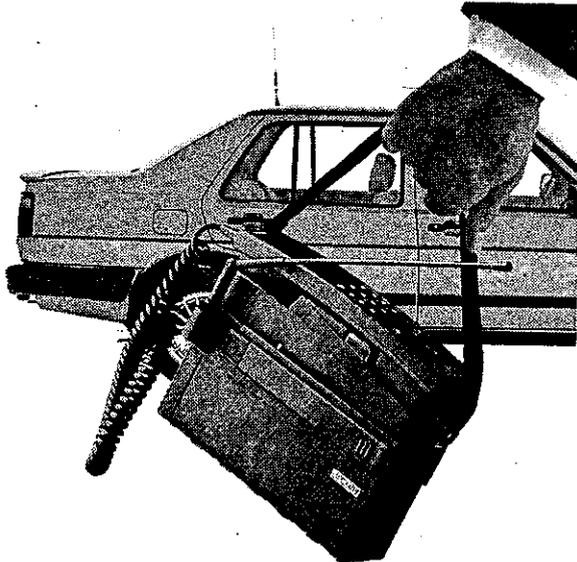
Reuters reports from East London that businesses in the Border area have joined the ANC's mass action campaign.

The Border Business Action Committee yesterday announced a two-week plan of action starting on Wednesday.

On the same day, the ANC planned to start 24-hour occupation of Border towns, but the BBAC has suggested a rally instead of occupation. It said action had to be peaceful and avoid disruption of industry and business.



do things



Cosatu's call to Derek Keys

BIDM 10/5/93
ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU has called on Finance Minister Derek Keys to investigate the investment of R20bn in three major projects.

The federation said most of the money would be spent overseas, whereas "the national economic forum is arguing about spending only R60m on job creation".

The three projects are Columbus and Alusaf and the proposed cellular telephone system.

Cosatu made demands aimed at suspension of tenders for the phone system and for other contracts to be placed locally.

031) 700-4415

NEWS South Africans 'won't be blackmailed' ● Progress needed to avoid recession

ANC slams spoilers

Sowetan 10/5/93

■ **RIGHTWING THREATS** Government

urged to take legal action against

preachers of hatred: ~~20/5~~

THE AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) has called on the Government to take legal action against rightwingers who incite racial hatred and threaten to use violence to undermine constitutional negotiations.

"They must be charged and brought to book to the fullest extent of the law," the ANC said in a statement on Saturday.

The organisation was objecting to racist slogans by farmers at a western Transvaal rally last week. (IA)

Thousands of Transvaal and Free State farmers gathered in Potchefstroom on Thursday to protest violence against white farmers and to highlight rightwing demands for self-determination within a future political dispensation.

The ANC said that faced with such provocation "the people of South Africa

will not fold their arms and allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia.

"We will take the necessary steps to ensure that negotiations proceed with speed and that firm decisions are taken about the introduction of a transitional executive council and an early election date." ~~20/5~~

The ANC believed that everyone, including those who gathered at

Potchefstroom, had the democratic right to place their proposals on the negotiating table.

"However, like all participants in the negotiations, they must be prepared to accept the basic rules of a democracy. If after due and democratic consideration their proposals are not adopted they must be prepared to accept it. The African National Congress is similarly prepared to accept the final outcome of a fully democratic process." -- Sapa

IFP marches for 'fair' coverage

Sowetan 10/5/93

■ ANC's mass action also on receiving end:

SECURITY forces on foot and in scores of armoured vehicles threw a ring of steel around the SABC on Saturday afternoon when about 6 000 Inkatha supporters arrived to hand over a memorandum protesting against alleged bias from the corporation.

One of the memoranda was addressed to the African National Congress alliance although the earlier plan had been to deliver it to the ANC offices at Shell House. *(113)*

Mr Hennie Bekker, the IFP's new white parliamentary recruit, said that in the interests of peace the party had rescinded this idea.

The IFP youth brigade, which organised the event, accused the SABC of marginalising the IFP and of biased coverage.

It said in the memorandum it did not want to get special treatment from the corporation, or from the print media, but only fair and equal coverage, the same as that given to the ANC alliance.

The political playing field should be levelled, said the youth brigade.

The memorandum also called on the ANC to halt its intended mass action campaign because it would create violence and was detrimental to the economy. -- *Sapa*.

Azapo to announce today its 'final stance' on talks

ARC 10/5/93

11A

□ Groups split on Nats' willingness to relinquish power

Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation will today announce its final position on negotiations following its two-day special consultative conference at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort at the weekend, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said.

The conference, attended by top Azapo strategists and rank-and-file members from across the country, was last night still debating a resolution drawn by a technical committee on negotiations.

The meeting had been expected to end about noon.

Azapo's stance on negotiations will now be announced a Press conference in Johannesburg today.

Sources within the organisation said Azapo was divided down the middle on the question of negotiations.

While one group felt that now was the time for the organisation to take part in multi-party talks, others remained sceptical about the government's willingness to relinquish power to a democratically elected constituent assembly, and therefore opposed negotiations.

And yesterday sources believed the anti-negotiations group in the organisation would win the day.

"It appears this (negotiations) is an involved matter which congress is taking very seriously. The congress was supposed to have ended four hours ago, but it had to be extended because of the nature of the discussions.

"We are optimistic that whatever po-

sition is taken will be a unifying one," said Dr Mokae.

So far the Black Consciousness organisation has steadfastly refused to engage in talks with Pretoria, and has called on President De Klerk's government to resign before Azapo could talk to it.

The organisation last year appointed a facilitator to present its views to the government and arrange a meeting between the two parties, but early this month Azapo put a moratorium on talks between itself and other parties and organisations until this weekend's special congress.

With the Pan Africanist Congress now represented in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, Azapo is the only prominent organisation on the left not involved in negotiations.

REPUBLICAN

Threat tops bosberaad agenda

ANC bid to avoid fanning right-wing ire

BIDAY 10/5/93.

11A

BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC has called a three-day bosberaad this week to thrash out new strategies "to take the negotiating process into its next phase", with the perceived right-wing threat topping the agenda.

Senior negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday a central focus of the national working committee meeting would be to look at ways of ensuring that "our members do not play into the hands of the right-wing counter-revolutionary forces".

Slovo said ANC members often fuelled or encouraged right-wing backlashes, and the meeting would try to thrash out an internal code of conduct. "We will be looking at the finer details of how our members conduct themselves in all facets of their lives, the slogans we have been using and statements made at our meetings."

He identified a growing concern that mobilisation efforts by the group of retired generals could be aimed at a coup. Slovo did not believe the generals had a strong enough base to carry out a coup successfully, "but they are desperate and we know that anything is possible — and there is potential for them to do a lot of damage".

The ANC was encouraged to some extent by President F W de Klerk's weekend statement which showed "he is not allowing himself to be terrorised by the right wing, and that swift movement to a settlement is the only way to proceed." However, "one problem we have is that De Klerk seems to be contemplating interfering in democratic rights of other people."

Friday's negotiations, he said, had virtually cleared the way to agreement on substantive constitutional matters. With a

view to smoothing the path, the ANC would be taking a closer look at several issues, including refining its stance on regionalism. It would discuss the powers, functions and duties of regions, with the main focus on regional operations during transition. Finality on regional powers would be decided by an elected constituent assembly.

Another NWC member said it was time Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group saw clearly how far the ANC had moved on regionalism. "There are going to be regions with entrenched powers and functions within a unitary structure with strong central control." The bosberaad would have to look at ways of increasing pressure on government either to cut its ties with Inkatha or to drag it into agreement. "Government cannot continue trying to have an alliance with Inkatha while also trying to move with us into a government of national unity. De Klerk must exert pressure on Inkatha and withdraw the funding which allows them to continue operating as spoilers."

Slovo said the ANC was still insisting on some form of joint control of the security forces. But it was not interested in day-to-day control at the level of the SAP's crime control operations. The joint structures "must have the power to influence the command levels so that we can ensure the security forces do not interfere with political process".

Friday's negotiations were considered successful as parties now had a target to work towards, following agreement that an election date be set within four weeks.

Attacks on media slammed

Sweeten

11/5/93



THE ANC and the PAC yesterday condemned attacks on journalists, saying this was not consistent with democratic practice. (11A)

The organisations said a campaign to educate their followers was necessary if youths were to understand the role the media. (11A)

Representatives of the organisations were speaking at a media workshop organised by the Media Workers Association of South Africa

held at a Johannesburg hotel.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa for the PWV region said the media had a vital role to play in the democratisation of society.

"As such I do not think political organisations should seek to silence the media."

PAC official Mr Basner Ngceba decried "inflammatory utterances by all political organisations".



Star 11/15/92
DIA

Security call stands - ANC

The ANC has flatly rejected suggestions that it is shifting its position on joint control of the security forces. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said last night it still insisted on multiparty control — through the proposed transitional executive council sub-council on security matters — during the election run-up. — Political Correspondent.

ANC plea to Germans

BONN — ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he wanted German companies to help black South Africans emerge from white minority rule. (HA) (20)

Sapa-AP reports that Mandela also asked Chancellor Helmut Kohl for financial help for the ANC. (20)

The ANC needed money for its electoral campaign and for educational programmes for black South Africans, who had never voted before, Mandela said. He would not say how much he sought, but said: "I do not expect to return to Johannesburg empty-handed."

Mandela did not meet business leaders during his one-day stop but said he wanted to encourage German companies to come to SA. B/om 11/5/93

CHRIS BATEMAN reports from London that Mandela and ANC deputy international affairs head Aziz Pahad left Frankfurt for home last night.

They also met Social Democrat leader Gunter Verheugen, Foreign Secretary Klaus Kinkel and his predecessor — an old friend of Mandela — Hans-Dietrich Genscher.



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ntil May 24. A place in the
ful. Albion Mbinda was one
Picture: Gary Bernard

ANC set to join Met Star 11/15/93 Chamber

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The ANC is poised to join the Central Wits Metropolitan Chamber and will press for the speedy installation of nonracial interim government for Greater Johannesburg, says ANC local government head Mathole Motshekga.

He confirmed yesterday that the ANC, in a joint workshop with the SACP and Cosatu, had decided to join the Met Chamber. But, he added in an interview with The Star, the ANC believed that basic restructuring of the chamber was necessary.

Furthermore, the ANC would not endorse any decisions on new service tariffs for Soweto until nonracial interim government was in place in the Greater Johannesburg metropolitan area.

At a conference in Sandton yesterday, Motshekga said that all apartheid local authorities should go, and go soon. "Our struggle should no longer be limited to harassing black councillors."

At the same conference Minister of Local Government Dr Tertius Delpont reiterated the view that the only way to stabilise local government was to introduce elected councils as soon as possible.

● Reshaping our cities
— Page 9

ns to death

rived on the scene. Her brothers — aged 18 and 20 — who also lived at the commune, were taken to the HF Verwoerd Hospital where they were treated for shock and smoke inhalation.

Eyewitnesses Martin van der Walt (30) and Danie Holtzhausen (28) said the woman was still alive when they were trying to extinguish the flames.

"She was calling for help but we could not get close enough because of the heat," Van der Walt said.

A police spokesman said an electrical fault was possibly responsible for the fire.

Residents' rights group launched

By Cyril Madlala

An non-political organisation to protect the rights and interests of Johannesburg inner city residents was formed last night at a meeting chaired by DP MP for Hillbrow, Lester Fuchs.

The Johannesburg Democratic Residents' Association (Jodra) said its objectives were to negotiate equitable rentals; protect property values; promote home-ownership and educate residents on their rights and duties.

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Battle lines are forming amid talks of settlement, writes Patrick Laurence

Star 11/5/93
Reality tempers the optimism

POLITICAL conflict is looming in the coming month, which — barring superlative wisdom from South Africa's leaders — will resemble the proverbial clash between the irresistible force and the immovable stone.

Multiparty negotiations have deferred but not averted the conflict. The adoption last Friday of a declaration of intent to set a precise date for a nonracial election in the next four weeks obscures rather than reconciles the divergent interests of the main antagonists.

The irresistible force is represented, primarily, by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and FW de Klerk's National Party but includes a range of political actors from the Transkei government to the Pan Africanist Congress.

Although divided on many issues, they are united in their conviction that a nonracial election for an interim parliament-cum-constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity should be held before the end of April next year.

A loose alliance of conservative forces, the Concerned South Afri-

cans Group (Cosag), constitutes the immovable stone; it includes the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volkunie (AVU), the largely Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

Cosag is strongly opposed to holding an election in the prevailing climate of violence and opposed in principle to the notion of mandating a popularly elected constituent assembly or constitution-making-body to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Commitment to set "an exact election date" in the next four weeks is linked to, and dependent on, delegates at the multiparty talks agreeing on — in the words of the declaration — "binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process" and an "adequate time-frame" for implementing these decisions.

These fine-sounding phrases mean that the delegates will have to concur on the form of the future South African state, including the tricky questions of where — and by whom — regional boundaries will be drawn and, as important, what powers will be allocated to regional governments.

In large measure that problem is subsumed in another: who will draft the final constitution, an elected assembly, as agreed by the ANC, the PAC and the De Klerk administration, or the multiparty forum, as mooted by the IFP and its Cosag partners?

Friday's adoption by the multiparty negotiating council of the declaration of intent — like the earlier adoption at Codesa of a similar ringing declaration — has generated an aura of euphoria, a sense that the interlocutors are, at last, moving forward.

But optimism, however sorely South Africa needs it, must be tempered with reality.

Friday's declaration of intent must be juxtaposed with another event which took place at about the same time: the formation in Pretoria of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront and its rejection of the "present negotiating process in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination".

The formation of the Volksfront signals the death knell of hopes that the fracturing of the CP last year — which led to the birth of the AVU — was a prelude to fur-

ther fragmentation of the right wing and its disappearance as a potent political force.

It simultaneously serves as a warning that the CP and the AVU — both members of the Volksfront — will withdraw from negotiations if they believe that the principle of self-determination is neglected or dismissed at the multiparty talks. As Ferdi Hartzenberg, acting leader of the CP, puts it: "If that door is closed, we shall not stay there and arrange our own funeral."

The Volksfront's primary objective is to unite Afrikaners in defence of their right to self-determination. Its secondary objective is to stiffen the resolve of Cosag to defend self-determination as a general principle. Both impinge on the negotiating process.

The office of one of the former generals involved in the formation of the Volksfront, General Tienie Groenewald, contains maps which depict more than the proposed Afrikaner volkstaat; the maps, drafted by the Eenheidskomitee (Unity Committee), show the location of proposed states for the Tswanas, the Zulus and the Xhosas.

Thus the fight for an Afrikaner

volkstaat is linked to the struggle for separate states — or autonomous regions within a loose federation — for their black allies in Cosag. The quest for an Afrikaner volkstaat supplements the IFP's objective of a largely autonomous KwaNatal and demands for continued regional autonomy by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

It is the potential link between Afrikaner conservatives and, above all, Zulu traditionalists which makes them a force to be reckoned with. Jacob Zuma, deputy general secretary of the ANC and himself a Zulu, admits that he is worried by the prospect of an axis between those sectors of the Afrikaner and Zulu communities.

Another anxiety is beginning to haunt De Klerk's NP: continuing defections from its ranks to a reunified Afrikaner Right. The four retired generals who were involved in the formation of the Volksfront are all former loyalists of the PW Botha administration. As new converts to the Afrikaner right wing, they give substance to the NP's fear.

The ANC sees the struggle for an Afrikaner state and for black ethnically based states as a bid to perpetuate apartheid in a dis-

guised form. It warns: "The people of South Africa will not fold their arms and allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia."

Significantly, De Klerk, in his most recent address to the nation, uses similar rhetoric: "South Africa would be dragged back into the past. International isolation would return, sanctions and economic collapse would follow, violence would increase and a bloody Bosnia-like civil war could ensue."

The only difference is that De Klerk is chastising "extremists of the Left and Right, asserting that both are involved in a 'desperate' bid to disrupt the negotiations."

De Klerk concludes: "The only reasonable prospect available for South Africa — if it wishes to avoid such a catastrophe — is to proceed swiftly to the conclusion of the present negotiations and the installation of a government of national unity, drawing its authority from a new and carefully crafted constitution."

The problem, however, is that conservative forces see that as a route to servitude, not salvation. □

Star 12/15/93

Threat to negotiations from extremists is growing

DESPITE the optimistic noises coming from the World Trade Centre, the negotiations are in fact at a particularly difficult and dangerous stage.

On the one hand, agreement is tantalisingly close. The Government and the ANC, representing perhaps 80 percent of the population, have narrowed their differences to a point where they could reach agreement right now.

But the deal cannot be closed because the lesser parties in the Cosag alliance — the so-called Concerned Southern Africans Group — are holding out for demands which the major parties cannot concede.

And while the haggling continues inconclusively, it is becoming clearer by the day that delay is explosively dangerous. In the emotionally charged atmosphere following the assassination of Chris Hani and the arrest of three Conservative Party members, the radical wings of both the black Left and the white Right are whipping each other up with fiery rhetoric and threats of a race war.

Both the major parties are coming under increasing pressure



Allister Sparks

from these radical elements. As one key negotiator confided, if there is no agreement by the end of May, the ANC is going to be under heavy pressure to withdraw from negotiations.

It has to be able to show results to its impatient youth: it cannot just sit there month after month getting nowhere.

Likewise with the Government. There was a time when the National Party felt time was on its side, letting the ANC twist in the wind while it put together its own multiparty alliance.

No longer. There is a keen awareness now that the longer the talks drag on the more the Government loses legitimacy, the more the violence increases and the more the National Party loses support to the Conservative Party and, in Natal, to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

As a Cabinet Minister put it last

Friday: "The worst scenario is if the major parties reach agreement but lose control over their own constituencies. Then we'll have a very dangerous situation indeed."

So time is critical. What is needed to neutralise the wild voices on the Left and Right is for the parties of the centre to move forward fast to an agreement and then an election, giving the country a sense of momentum and letting the voters cut the obstructive minority parties down to size.

But this cannot happen as long as there are holdouts: the minority parties of Cosag for their unattainable demands; the Conservative Party for its separate white state, unacceptable because there is no part of the country with a white majority which means blacks would have to be forcibly removed from the *Boerestaat* or disenfranchised; and the Inkatha Freedom Party for a form of confederacy designed to set up Natal for a Katanga-style secession.

Both insist that the form of state embodying these demands must be agreed upon now, before an election, and be binding on the elected constituent assembly

which will draft South Africa's new constitution.

The reason they are demanding this up-front decision is that they know the election will reduce them to minority status, too small to achieve what they want in the constituent assembly. Which is also why the major parties will not agree in advance to such Balkanisation.

Meanwhile, the filibuster continues, with the IFP and the right wing holding out for what cannot be conceded — and as time ticks by the threat from the extremists increases.

What is to be done? Some analysts are saying the only way is for President de Klerk to move forward to an election with the ANC and other supporting parties, and if necessary clamp down on the dissenting minorities. But it is doubtful whether De Klerk has the political will to do that.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has suggested that De Klerk should hold an all-race referendum to legitimise such a move. But to hold a national referendum and a general election in quick succession in South Africa's present climate of violence is a daunting prospect.

It would also leave the problem of dealing with the dissenters unresolved. Both Inkatha and the rightwingers, with the ex-generals in command, would be certain to oppose the referendum and seek to disrupt it in areas they control.

Implicit in the suggestion, therefore, is that De Klerk would have to be prepared to crack down on the dissenters, perhaps even declaring martial law. For him to act thus against his own kith and kin would be political dynamite.

The only alternative is to try to coax the IFP away from its unholy alliance with the rightwingers. The trouble is that while this may be possible in the give-and-take atmosphere of the negotiating committees, the man responsible for the IFP's decision-making is not there.

While his chief negotiators, Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane, show signs of flexibility in the discussions, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi remains isolated from the chemistry of the negotiating process in his capital of Ulundi, surrounded by foreign advisers of dubious motivation.

There is an onus here on those international governments and agencies which have supported Buthelezi over the years and inflated his ego and expectations well beyond what his support on the ground justifies.

Buthelezi is in large measure their creation, just as Jonas Savimbi is in Angola, and if these countries and foundations do not want to see another disaster in South Africa as they are currently witnessing in that ravaged land, now is the time for them to use their influence on the IFP leader to let the process move forward to agreement.

They must persuade him that the near-independent status he demands for KwaZulu-Natal is a non-starter. No constitution-making forum could possibly accept such a thing as a binding precondition. Let Chief Buthelezi argue for it in the elected assembly by all means, but then he must be prepared to accept the verdict of the democratic process.

Every region and every cultural group is entitled to fair consideration in the building of a new nation. But none is entitled to hold the country to ransom. □

Even moderate hearts are hardening

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Abbey Makoe

AFRIKANER leaders such as the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche were hardening the hearts of even the most moderate blacks.

This was said by callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

An irate Edith of Alexandra Township, told host Tim Modise "white people's land is in Holland".

"Terre'Blanche does not have land if the one he talks about falls within the boundaries of South Africa," Edith said.

She said to the best of her knowledge, when white people came here many years ago they brought with them "about five or six wives".

When Modise asked her about the multitude of white people in the country, Edith responded: "They are so many today because so many crooks came here."

Last night's show was an open line. Sinki, who called from Tembisa, criticised both Cosas and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee for conniving with each other before imposing their decisions about school

boycotts on the communities.

Sinki said Cosas' call to pupils to return to classes was also a mockery as, on Monday, most left class as early as 11am.

Sowetan 11/5/93

He was pessimistic about the recovery of lost teaching and learning time, dismissing claims of "seriousness about catching up" as feeble.

A Wattville, Benoni, resident, James, criticised some Radio Metro announcers for using "American jargon" while on the air. He said foreign pronunciation misled children.

Eddie, of Cape Town, said Jay Naidoo of Cosatu was misleading workers in the clothing industry with promises of more money from long-term savings.

Nokuthula of Soweto suggested

there should be a Children's Day, just as there was a Mother's Day and Father's Day, to which Modise said he thought every day was children's day.

"Inkatha supporters sometimes do wrong things. They harass and kill innocent people when they return from their rallies."

Nicolas Tshabalala, Durban

"I was impressed with the way Felicia Mabuza-Suttle handled the issue of the aged on TV."

Pusho, Hillbrow

BOOKS

Another title
SACHS
would serve
cause better

ALBIE Sachs glosses over some serious issues. Instead of answering his own questions, he dishes up rhetoric on federalism and affirmative action, writes JAMES MITCHELL.

ALBIE Sachs is such an attractive front man for the ANC/SACP alliance — soft-spoken, warm-sounding, ever-smiling even though partially crippled by a bomb attack from the regime — that it is hard to avoid being beguiled by what he has to say.

Besides, he writes as well as he speaks, which makes it all the more necessary to look carefully at what he glosses over in *Advancing Human Rights in South Africa*.

In all honesty this slim work should be called *Advancing ANC/SACP control of South Africa*. Then at least we would know where we were.

Take for instance his discussion of federalism. He sets up the concept as a kind of straw-man argument, intending only to knock it down.

He talks of "reverting to the four old provinces, or else recognising the bantustans with their ludicrous boundaries. Neither of these solutions is defensible. The only notional justification for federal boundaries would be ethnic autonomy. Yet this is totally unacceptable in South Africa ..."

Why so? Nowhere does he give a direct answer. Rather, he uses the technique of labelling previous attempts at devolution as having been associated with "authoritarianism, corruption, underdevelopment, and marginalisation ..."

All good, clean rhetoric, but irrelevant to the question. If he looks around the world, rather than just at his two narrowly selected examples of Germany and the United States, he will discover that where minorities of whatever kind really want effective devolution, it is generally first called "unacceptable" by the majority.

You want devolution because of religion? Unacceptable, they say in Lebanon. You want it on language grounds? Ask them in Switzerland or Belgium, where they fought before coming to terms with it. On ethnic grounds? Totally unacceptable to Azeris and Armenians ... which might be why they are currently cutting each other's throats. On religious/language/ethnic grounds all at once? Tito said it was unacceptable, and look what is going on in the former Yugoslavia. On economic grounds? No

way, they say in the United States ... as various social classes lock themselves up in their chosen suburbs, demanding the right to tax and educate themselves as they see fit.

In other words, if people care enough, on whatever "unacceptable" grounds, they will fight for the right to be their own bosses.

Read Sachs on "affirmative action and black advancement in business", as one chapter is headed. "We are against group rights, whether in the realm of politics or of business," he writes, going on to explain how quotas must be imposed on business in the name of, well, group rights. He approvingly cites Nafcoc's 3-4-5-6 programme (in each case not less than 30 percent of boardroom members black; equity held 40 percent by blacks; 50 percent outside purchasing from black suppliers; and 60 percent black involvement in management).

Implementing all this is to be the responsibility of business, he writes. Nowhere does he suggest that those wishing to own or control business have a duty to themselves to get on with it, rather than expect it to be given to them.

The Afrikaners mobilised their capital — educational and monetary — and broke the Anglo-Saxon/Jewish monopoly of mining finance. At various times all sorts of groups have found and exploited economic niches out of all proportion to their ethnic percentages of the total population.

Should Greek Cypriot cafe owners be forced to hand over the equity they have struggled for? Jewish dentists make way for those less qualified? Portuguese greengrocers? Coloured fishermen? Afrikaans farmers?

If so, I think Mr Sachs should tell us. He should also tell us who, if anyone, will protect us from an over-mighty government.

Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? To dismiss the judiciary of the past as supinely executive-minded is all very well. Now to deny the right of judicial review in the future for fear that it will automatically be violently anti-statist is a little ingenuous. Either one or the other, please, Mr Sachs.

● *The author is Books Editor of The Star.*

● *Advancing Human Rights in South Africa* by Albie Sachs (Oxford R34,99).

Star 11/6/93

Cape schools defy ANC, stay away

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

While it was back to school yesterday for thousands of pupils countrywide who heeded the call by the ANC to return to classrooms after a week-long protest action, western Cape high schools remained empty.

Department of Education and Training (DET) spokesman Geoffrey Makwakwa said there was a total stay-away in Cape Town.

The ANC was battling yes-

terday to arrange an urgent meeting with the western Cape branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to persuade it to suspend the protest over a R48 matric exam fee.

ANC western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak said that while the organisation sympathised with Cosas, the ANC was concerned about action which may lead to injury and loss of life.

A spokesman for the Cape Town office of the National Education Co-ordinating

Committee, Sihle Moon, said normal tuition could resume tomorrow.

Schools in the eastern Cape, Pretoria, Soweto and on the East Rand reported good attendance, and principals said they hoped the situation would soon be normal.

Makwakwa said it was "quite encouraging" that certain regions had heeded the call to go back to school.

A survey in Soweto yesterday showed most schools reported attendance of up to 80 percent.

Police general heads investigation

Rightist plot to murder Slovo

By Jacques Pauw

The Star has uncovered details of a right-wing plot to assassinate SA Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo.

Sources allege four right-wingers — three South Africans and an eastern European — plan to shoot Slovo, also a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), in front of his Observatory home in Johannesburg between May 15 and 21.

Planning of the "hit" began a month ago and reached the final stages yesterday.

The SAP was informed of the plot late last week and Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux of police headquarters in Pretoria has personally taken charge of the investigation. He is being assisted by two warrant-officers.

ANC legal adviser and NEC member Matthew Phosa yesterday said Police Commissioner-General Johan van der Merwe had confirmed the plot and subsequent police investigation.

Phosa said he was disturbed by the fact that the ANC and Slovo were informed about the plot only yesterday — three days after police discovered evidence that rightwingers may be plotting Slovo's death.

Allegations of the assassination plot follow the murder of SACP general secretary Chris Hani in front of his Boksburg home last month. After the arrest of Polish-born Janus Waluz, police discovered a hit list containing, among others, the name of Slovo. His life has been threatened several times over the past few years.

The Star was told that the police had, as yet, been unable to make any substantial breakthroughs in their investigation, nor had they been able to establish the exact right-wing links of the alleged conspirators.

The names of two of the four conspirators are known to The Star.

AWB links

The alleged leader of the cell is an English-speaking Johannesburg electronics expert, whose name The Star is withholding for legal reasons. His right-wing connections are at this stage still unknown, although he is said to have links with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The other is Peter Slovak (phonetic spelling), a jobless eastern European who is said to have left Hungary some years ago and has since been involved in the Johannesburg underworld.

Slovak met the alleged leader of the plot in a bar in Berea, Johannesburg, about a month ago and was recruited soon afterwards to drive the assassin's getaway car. The leader allegedly promised Slovak that the "organisation" would look after him after the assassination had taken place.

Since then, regular meetings have taken place between the two men.

According to The Star's information, they met yesterday to finalise plans for the assassination.

● To Page 3

Plot to murder Slovo

● From Page

The conspirators have allegedly done intensive reconnaissance of the street Slovo lives in.

They are said to have used a white Toyota Cressida which has been seen by locals who reported the presence of the car to the police.

The plot is said to entail the following:

● Slovo's house is situated near the offices of the Associated Scientific and Technical Societies of South Africa in Gill Street, Observatory.

● The assassins plan to get access to a tower next to the offices from where they would be able to see Slovo's house.

● They plan to assassinate him with a hunting rifle fitted with a telescopic sight as he leaves for work in the morning.

● According to their planning, it will take officers from Yeoville station at least three minutes to reach Slovo.

● The getaway car is said to be a Ford Laser registered in the name of a German immigrant who has left the country.

ANC launches campaign against criminal element

THE ANC Eastern Transvaal regional executive committee has requested its branches to continue arresting criminal elements outside and within the movement who hijacked legitimate protest actions for criminal purposes.

However, branches were called upon not to hand criminals and agents provocateur to the SAP for formal prosecution, but to "local prosecutors" for "community prosecution".

Last week the ANC and its youth league called on members to apprehend those responsible for the killing of four policemen in Dobsonville, and to build relations with "progressive sections of the police".

However, in yesterday's statement the region urged branches not to assault or abuse suspected criminals.

"The ANC will ensure that the peace corps are well trained in all aspects of community policing," the committee said.

The committee condemned the arrest of three members of its leadership in connection with the citizen's arrest of alleged looters during a protest march in Witbank

on April 28.

The ANC members were arrested and charged with assault after executing a citizen's arrest of three men the organisation claims were found looting and burning shops during the march from Kwaguqa township.

Police spokesman Capt Theo du Bruyn said the alleged criminals brought to the station by the ANC were released as no evidence or witnesses were presented.

He added the men had been heavily assaulted before being handed over to the police, which was why charges of assault and abduction were laid against those who "arrested" them.

He said the assault accused included the ANC's Witbank secretary Lazarus Maduma, 20, ANC chairman Hussain Verachia, 32, and 28-year-old Patrick Khoza, alias Banda.

The men appeared in court on May 7 and were then released with a warning to appear again on June 4.

STEPHANE BOTHMA

Jobs on show at Career 2000's latest expo

PRETORIA — SA's largest employment exhibition, Careers 2000, opened its doors to the public at the Pretoria showgrounds yesterday.

About 60 exhibitors, including some of SA's biggest employers and employment bodies, would be providing information on career choices and employment opportunities, exhibition director John Toerien said.

The exhibition was aimed at providing appropriate information to all those seeking a career choice, Toerien said.

ADRIAN HADLAND

The Manpower Department's organisation for trade testing would exhibit at Careers 2000 for the first time, he said.

Representing career fields which had been declared "designated trades", its exhibit would include information on the aviation industry, tyre and rubber industry, mining, textiles and printing industries.

The exhibition, open from 9am to 6pm daily, closes on Saturday.

SA poised for breakthrough on accord for the future,

SAYS FW (IA) (50)

PRETORIA — SA had reached the moment of truth and, despite the violence, "something wonderful" was happening in the country, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"We are on the brink of a breakthrough to reaching an accord in which a stable and prosperous SA can be built.

"If we can overcome the last few hurdles we stand to play a decisive role in southern Africa," he told an international conference at the CSIR.

It was the third time in a week that De Klerk had expressed optimism about the

negotiations process. Similar sentiments were voiced at the end of last week by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and other key negotiators.

De Klerk said SA was ready to enhance the living standards of the entire population of southern Africa by providing agriculture and its related sectors with the best technology.

Addressing delegates to the conference on cereal science and technology, he said more and more African countries were reaching out to SA as the gateway to sub-Saharan Africa. With the involvement of

GERALD REILLY

the international community, "we can become that".

Political factors that had hampered co-operation were changing. Today SA was back in the international community. "I believe our vision of a just, stable and prosperous SA will become a reality. We are on the brink of a breakthrough."

This would bring about closer co-operation in southern Africa. The dream of a southern African economic community would become a reality.

Agriculture would play a major role. To ensure food security and adequate economic activity to provide a livelihood for a growing population, agriculture, of necessity, had to be developed to its full potential in the region.

SA had the capacity and the desire to make available its technological services to its neighbours on a partnership basis.

SA was not only self-sufficient in food production but was a net exporter of food. The total contribution of farming to the national economy amounted to 35%.

Agriculture was one of the most impor-

tant stabilising factors in SA and it was the logical starting point of any strategy to get Africa out of the doldrums.

It was up to leaders in Africa and international agencies involved in Africa to accept the challenge to improve living conditions. The alternative was hunger, famine and destitution.

De Klerk stressed that a thriving agricultural sector could be maintained only if technology kept pace. Research and development in agriculture had had outstanding results. SA had attained the status of leader in food production on the continent.

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Azapo rejects negotiations

Star 11/5/93
11A
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has decided against participation in the multi-party negotiations, arguing that the forum as constituted is undemocratic.

Announcing the decision at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said although his organisation was not opposed to negotiations in principle, it would not participate in multi-party talks.

This was because the negotiations forum as presently constituted was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution for our country and people".

However, Azapo would engage the Government, which was the negotiator wielding

power in the country, in bilateral talks in Botswana soon when discussions would focus on a constituent assembly and a transfer of power to the majority.

The decision was taken at a special two-day national congress at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort at the weekend, attended by 1 500 delegates.

Mosala said the meeting with the Government, arranged by Azapo's Botswana-based facilitator Archbishop Khotso Makhuu, could take place "very soon".

Azapo's Zimbabwe-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, would attend.

Mosala said Azapo, which was opposed to a government of national unity, would like the Botswana meeting with the Government "to decide more specifically" on general elections for a new government.

and included prominent businessmen.

Police also announced that a 69-year-old pensioner had been arrested after allegedly shooting at a police helicopter because it was "noisy".

Police liaison officer Major Andrew

Military Hospital at Voortrekkerhoogte. The gardener was not injured.

A police helicopter was then summoned to help trace the robbers and as it circled above area the pensioner shot at it with a .38 revolver.

No to multi talks

■ Azapo maintains status quo and 'intensifies struggle':

By Lulama Luti

THE Azanian People's Organisation continues to play its cards close to its chest, opting not to join the multiparty talks. *Sweetan 11/5/93*

Instead, the organisation decided at a special congress in Roodepoort at the weekend to maintain bilateral talks between itself and the Government.

The organisation also resolved to retain Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of the Central and Southern Africa Province of the Anglican Church as facilitator of the talks between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the Government on the other. *(S.A.A) (I.A)*

Addressing a press briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said his organisation believed the current multiparty talks were never intended to deliver freedom to (black) people.

"We can't be blamed for delaying the process (of negotiation). There have been negotiations for three years and nothing of significance has been achieved."

Azapo also rejected the notion of a government of national unity, saying it believed strongly that there was still a chance that the other members of the liberation movement would join ranks with the organisation and speak with one voice against the Government.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said: "In principle, we are not opposed to talks but what we are saying is that the regime has not pointed out clearly that it is ready to relinquish power."

The two-day congress pledged its unwavering support for the BCM and its liberation wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, saying the struggle had to be intensified on all fronts.



Reason for houses backlog

■ No national policy:

THE lack of a uniform national housing policy for South Africa was partly responsible for the country's housing backlog, regional director of the Department of Housing, Mr John Africa, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing the 21st World Housing Congress, he said that until 1985 all State housing projects were undertaken without consultation. *(S)*

The department's self-help programme, had provided homes for 80 000 people in seven years. — By Joshua Raboroko and Sapa. *(S)*

THE Kagiso branch of the African National Congress has vowed that the consumer boycott aimed at white businesses in Krugersdorp will make previous ones seem like a Sunday school picnic. *Sweetan 11/5/93*

The consumer boycott, launched on Saturday, followed the arrest of Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye, in connection with the assassination of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani. *(S)*

Linked to the protest action is a set of eight demands which would determine the resumption of buying in the white Conservative Party-controlled town. These include the resignation of all Krugersdorp city councillors, the installation of an "interim administration accountable to the democratic majority in Krugersdorp" and the provision of security for "all leaders of the people".

Three die in crash

TWO staffers at the Soweto campus of Vista University and a seven-year-old child were killed when their car collided with a taxi on the Old Potchefstroom Road in Soweto on Sunday night.

The dead are Mr Richard

and Khumalo's daughter, Mbali.

Khumalo (33) of Protea North, was chief librarian at East Rand campus of Vista University. The taxi driver allegedly ran away.

Pig put in coffin

THE Nuuanu firm of undertakers in Honolulu has agreed to apologise and pay about R2 million in compensation for putting a dead pig in the coffin of Mimi Goldberg, whose family's Jewish faith regards pigs as unclean.

It was an accident, the undertakers explained in a statement.

R20 000 grabbed

THREE armed men robbed a petrol station in Athlone, Cape Town, of more than R20 000 yesterday.

The police said the halaclava-clad men threatened a petrol attendant before demanding the money and escaping.

Offices vandalised

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's Youth Brigade offices in Germiston were vandalised by unknown assailants on Sunday night, an official claimed. *(S) Sweetan 11/5/93*

ANC to review developments

■ Movement will focus on Chris Hani's assassination:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE national working committee of the African National Congress meets for a three-day *lekgotla* from today to discuss current developments in South African politics.

Spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said the *bosberaad* was a regular strategic getaway to "discuss the current situation". He would not disclose the agenda and venue.

The NWC is expected to focus on events since the Chris Hani assassination on April 10 up to the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront last Friday.

Negotiations and the progress made

so far at the World Trade Centre would influence strategy.

The ANC is especially concerned about the emergence of the far rightwing coalition and will focus on its impact and assess whether this poses any threat to peace now or in the future.

The NWC will formulate guidelines regarding the use of slogans in the wake of the "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" debacle.

Already worrying over the exodus of whites from South Africa amid fears of an impending civil war, declining economy and increasing violence, the ANC is also concerned about a potential flight of agriculture skills as white farmers become increasingly worried about their security.

WINDS HOW OPEN

Azapo rejects multiparty negotiations

AZAPO yesterday reaffirmed its opposition to multiparty talks and its commitment to all forms of struggle for liberation, including an armed struggle.

The organisation told a news conference in Johannesburg it would seek the emancipation of the masses through bilateral talks with government.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala said a weekend congress had concluded that the current multiparty negotiating forum was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution".

Publicity secretary Gomolemo Mokae said a democratic negotiating forum would be the one in which only liberation movements and government took part.

Mosala said Azapo's constituency rejected the current multiparty talks as they

~~WILSON ZWANE~~ WILSON ZWANE

had failed to resolve the political impasse. "For that reason, Azapo resolved to limit itself to bilateral talks — on neutral ground — with the regime through the facilitating structure already set up."

Mosala said Anglican archbishop for central and southern Africa Khotso Makhudu had been appointed by Azapo to facilitate talks between itself and government. A meeting between the two parties would be held in Botswana soon. Azapo wanted the agenda to include activities of all armed formations, a constituent assembly acceptable to all people and the transfer of power to the majority.

● Picture: Page 5

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ANC to thrash out strategy

Political Correspondent

THE ANC's national working committee today begins a three-day bosberaad — or lekgotla — to thrash out negotiation strategy.

Issues likely to receive attention include:

- The latest moves by right-wingers.
- The ANC's position on regionalism.
- The use of mass action.
- A possible shift in ANC's demand for joint control of the security forces.

(11A) CT 11/5/93

Azapo bent on struggle

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Azapo reaffirmed its opposition to multi-party talks yesterday — and its commitment to all forms of struggle, including armed struggle, for liberation.

The organisation told a news conference here it would seek the emancipation of the masses through bilateral talks with the government.

Azapo president Mr Itumeleng Mo-

(11A) CT 11/5/93
sala said a weekend congress had concluded that the current multi-party negotiating forum was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution".

Publicity secretary Mr Gomolemo Mokae said a democratic negotiating forum would be the one in which only liberation movements and the government took part. He said Azapo rejected the multi-party talks.

Mandela calls on Germany for aid

(11/19) 27 11/5/93
BONN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who sought to discourage investment in South Africa during a visit three years ago, said here yesterday he wanted German companies to help black South Africans emerge from white minority rule.

Mr Mandela also asked Chancellor Helmut Kohl for financial help for the ANC.

Mr Mandela left Frankfurt for Johannesburg last night after meeting with the German premier and opposition leaders.

Mr Kohl told Mr Mandela he endorsed plans for an all-party transitional government in South Africa.

He also stressed Germany's willingness "to promote peaceful change" in the country, as well as "forge wide-ranging co-operation with a new South Africa", a spokesman said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC needed money for its electoral campaign and for educational programmes for black South Africans. He would not say how much he sought in his meeting with Mr Kohl, but said: "I don't expect to return empty-handed to Johannesburg." — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Police investigate ~~plot~~ plot against Slovo

LLOYD COUTTS

POLICE yesterday refused to release details of an alleged plot to kill SACP chairman Joe Slovo, but said they were doing everything possible to investigate death threats and apprehend those responsible.

The ANC announced yesterday that preparations to assassinate Slovo had been under way for weeks.

It said while police had received a confession from an alleged conspirator last week, no action had been taken to date, and police had yet to inform Slovo of the plot.

Police spokesman Maj Ruben Bloomberg said police were not prepared to comment further on the sensitive investigation.

An earlier police statement claimed Slovo had been informed of the plot, and added the SACP chairman had been satisfied with his own safety arrangements.

Progress in the probe into the alleged plot had been destroyed by a reporter entrusted with sensitive information who had published it without consulting police.

The Star reported yesterday that it had uncovered a right-wing plot — finalised on Monday — to kill Slovo, which was said to involve three South Africans and an eastern European. *1107 12/5/93*

Slovo told a news conference yesterday he had not been contacted by police. Police, however, said he had been "contacted telephonically" by a liaison officer.

The ANC and SACP had taken immediate measures to address Slovo's security but believed the prime responsibility for his protection rested with the state.

ANC holding internal talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress's senior planners met yesterday to discuss the organisation's strategy at multi-party talks aimed at moving South Africa to democracy.

Although the venue and agenda of the three-day meeting has been kept secret, senior ANC strategist Mr Joe Slovo said the mobilisation of the right-wing to press demands for a white homeland would be discussed.

White supremacists have threatened that if their demands for a separate state were not met they might resort to secession. — Sapa

Curb rightists, urges Mandela

Star 12/15/93

11A

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the Government to act against the "very serious" right-wing threat.

He was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Europe.

Commenting on the uncovering of a right-wing plot to assassinate SACP chairman Joe Slovo, Mandela said the ANC "unreservedly condemns violence as a means of settling political problems or of dealing with opponents".

"We hope the Government is going to carry out its duty of maintaining law and order and of ensuring that people carry out their activities in a peaceful atmosphere," he said.

"We must take the threat from the right wing very seriously because they are firmly entrenched in Government structures," Mandela said when asked about the Afrikaner Volksfront, launched while he was



Nelson Mandela . . . trip was worthwhile.

overseas.

"We hope the Government will stop warning us about the danger of black surrogates and will concentrate their attention on the real threat to negotiations in South Africa — that is from the right wing," he said.

He said precautions had been taken for his personal safety, and described his trip overseas as "worthwhile".

In London he met British Prime Minister John Major, among others,

and addressed parliament. In Germany he met Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

"There is a great deal of goodwill for South Africa overseas and the reception I received was very warm," a relaxed-looking Mandela said.

"The response to the critical issue of resources was also very positive and I come back feeling that our friends are there, that they are strong and prepared to play a positive role in helping to see that the process moves forward as speedily as possible," he said.

● Mandela will receive the International Activist Award from the Gleitsman Foundation today in Johannesburg for his "extraordinary commitment towards abolishing apartheid in his native land".

The Gleitsman Foundation is an American non-profit-making organisation promoting social activism, according to an ANC statement.

NP 'sukkels' to sign up coloureds

Southern 815 - 12/5/93

Many political analysts and observers believe that Coloureds could vote for the National Party. But **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE** says they might be wrong, if NP membership figures are anything to go by:

2000 (17A)

IT HAS almost become a truism that the National Party will "take" the Western Cape in a national non-racial election. Expecting that there will be a regional or federal government system, the NP believes it could rule the Western Cape.

although most have around 200.

This gives the ANC a minimum of 8 000 card-carrying coloured members, excluding those who have signed up in predominantly white or non-racial areas and branches.

No up-to-date figures on NP membership could be obtained.

The confidential internal document shows that during July 1991 to June last year, the NP set up 42 new branches in the Boland, the Peninsula, Tygerberg and Southern Cape — almost all in coloured areas.

These branches accumulated an amount of 3 439 signed-up members in that period; some branches having less than 50 members.

The NP has stressed that it tries to sign up coloured members in existing — traditionally white — branches. So the total could be more by now.

But perhaps if it were so, the NP would not be so coy about disclosing figures.

Mr Carel Greyling, executive secretary of the NP in the Cape Province, says coloured membership is definitely on the rise, and a lot more branches are being set up. He declines, however, to give figures for branches or membership.

A quick analysis of the available statistics, however, makes it doubtful whether the NP matches the amount of coloured card-carrying members of the ANC.

The NP's biggest area of coloured support in the Western

And just to be sure, the party is putting a lot of its resources and election expertise into the region.

Most of the available opinion surveys suggest that at least 60 to 80 percent of coloureds are pro-NP inclined, despite being disenfranchised by the same party.

This has led several analysts to predict that the NP could have a landslide in the Western Cape.

But a closer look at the membership figures of the two biggest political groups in the Cape — the ANC and NP — does not necessarily reflect this conventional wisdom.

According to internal NP figures leaked to SOUTH, the party might have considerably fewer card-carrying coloured members than the ANC in the Western Cape.

Analysing the available figures is complicated because membership is not documented along racial lines. But the branch figures can be assessed according to group areas and townships.

The ANC has launched 62 of its Western Cape branches in exclusively or predominantly coloured areas. These branches have to have at least 100 members each,



CARRYING A CARD: The ANC has signed up more coloured members than the NP

Cape seems to be Mamre, part of the Atlantis constituency of Mr Abe Williams. The NP had 664 card-carrying members there a year ago.

At the same time, its membership for Macassar, also represented by a NP MP, was 47, in Manenberg 25, in Retreat 34, in Strandfontein, 51, in Hawston 30, while Robertson

had 80, Heideveld 87 and Belhar 82.

Bontcheuwel, which according to myth is now openly NP, had 92 members, while Bishop Lavis wrote in 281 and Elsiesrivier 184.

Of course, membership figures are no indication of electoral support, although they may help a per-

ty's campaigning and canvassing.

What is noteworthy is that membership of either the NP or the ANC is only a tiny percentage of the estimated coloured voters in the Cape of Good Hope area. A Codesa working document put these around 1, 5 million and at least half of the nearly three million voters in total in the region.

The assessment that the NP might get up to 80 percent of the coloured vote, also needs to be seen against research showing that 50 percent of coloured people, mainly women, are either uncertain about their alliances or are apolitical.

Based on the fact that they admire President FW de Klerk and support his reforms in opinion surveys, it is then extrapolated that they might vote NP in an election.

In fact, they may constitute a swing vote — and move either way. Some may abstain from voting altogether.

The NP also has to compete with the Democratic Party for the coloured vote, while the Labour Party has the support of at least seven to ten percent of coloureds.

Mr Cameron Dugmore, regional organiser of the ANC in the Western Cape, says the region's own survey shows that at least 30 percent of urban middle class coloureds will vote ANC, and a minimum of 10 percent the NP.

In the case of working class coloureds, more would vote NP.

Dugmore says there has been a flurry of coloureds and whites who joined after the Hani assassination and the Agenda TV debate on the coloured issue.

"We are confident we will take more than 50 percent of the coloured vote in the Western Cape", he says.

A lot could still happen in the run-up to an election. But the NP may 'sukkel' — because rounding up the coloured vote will not be plain sailing.

Star 12/15/73

ANC ready to enter AWB den

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC tomorrow goes into what it has described as the "lion's den" when it launches a campaign for Afrikaner support in the conservative stronghold of Parow.

The northern Cape Town suburb is regarded as a stronghold of the AWB, which has warned that the ANC is

"sticking its head into a bee's nest".

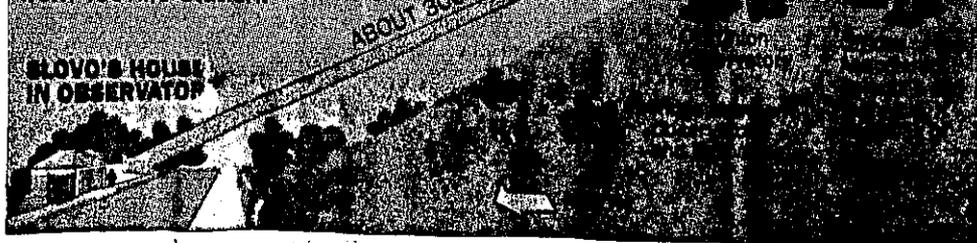
ANC western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak said last night that the organisation was taking all possible precautions to ensure that the meeting goes off without incident — particularly in the light of a number of anonymous threats and some anxiety expressed by the public.

The ANC met with the regional peace committee on the

issue yesterday. Boesak repeated a demand that the Government take issue on threats from the right wing.

The meeting in the Parow Civic Centre — which lies in Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel's constituency — is the organisation's first attempt to hold a gathering in an Afrikaans-speaking white stronghold.

Similar meetings are planned across the country.



'Gang leader' talks to Star

Winnie, Mokaba on hit list

STAR 12/5/93.

11A

By Brendan Templeton,
Bronwyn Wilkinson
Kaizer Nyatumba and
Charmeela Bhagawat

The alleged leader of the gang planning to assassinate Joe Slovo last night told The Star the group had also targeted Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

After The Star exposed the plot yesterday, the man — whose name is known to this newspaper — came forward to claim in an interview that the two had been marked for assassination, along with SACP chief Slovo.

He denied being leader of the group, and after initially saying he had decided while serving in the SADF to kill Slovo, he later said he was merely prepared to offer help to the would-be assassins "within the law" and would do nothing that was illegal himself.

In a rambling interview littered with racist remarks, he described himself as a "sympathetic confidant" of the assassination gang.

He said the scheme to kill the three ANC leaders was hatched the day SACP chief Chris Hani was assassinated.

The final decision to go ahead with Slovo's assassina-

tion had been made on Saturday, he said.

Asked what he hoped to achieve by their assassination, he said: "Nothing really. We will just rid society of a few radicals."

He denied he had met the other men on Monday afternoon as stated in The Star, saying he had been at work from 8 am to 11 pm. But The Star's sources are confident that he met the other conspirators that day.

He said he had decided in 1987 while serving with the Defence Force's Reconnaissance Battalion that one day he would kill Slovo.

'Gadgets'

But later he said he would never do anything illegal and had no plans to kill the SACP leader himself. He was willing to give his confidants as much legal assistance as possible, he said.

He also denied he was an electronics expert as stated in The Star yesterday, but said he had worked for Armscor and had helped them design "gadgets".

He became very emotional at one stage, breaking into tears when a song came over the restaurant's loudspeakers. The song reminded him of his sister and mother, he explained.

Meanwhile, a row has de-

veloped between the police and Slovo over whether police had warned Slovo of the plot to assassinate him.

The Star yesterday revealed that four right-wingers — three South Africans and an eastern European — planned to shoot Slovo between May 15 and May 21.

Slovo told a Johannesburg press conference yesterday that the first he had heard of the plot was when The Star's investigative reporter Jacques Pauw contacted him.

But Colonel Johan Mostert, spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, was adamant that police had twice told Slovo of the plot and he had twice refused offers of police protection.

In radio, television and telephone interviews yesterday — as well as in a statement — Mostert gave different dates for when police had spoken to Slovo.

At the press conference yesterday, the ANC expressed grave concern that the police had not informed Slovo of the plot.

Slovo's name was on the hit list found in the Pretoria home of Polish-born Janus Waluz, who has now been charged with the murder on April 10 of SACP general secretary Chris Hani.

● To Page 3

Winnie, Mokaba on hit list

● From Page 1

Slovo said he had not been offered protection. But Mostert said Slovo had refused SAP offers, saying he said he had a career and life to lead and could not allow threats to rule his life.

Slovo said it was clear that as more progress was made in multiparty negotiations, the right wing was becoming more desperate.

ANC NEC member and lawyer Matthew Phosa said not even SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe had been told about the plot when he first spoke to him on the telephone on Monday.

He said it was not until an hour later that Van der Merwe told him he had since been briefed about it.

The ANC said a number of ANC leaders, including ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and spokesman Carl Niehaus, had received death threats since Hani's murder. The organisation took these threats very seriously and had since stepped up the security of its leaders.

However, both Slovo and the ANC said it remained the police's responsibility to provide protection to all South Africans.

The ANC, therefore, expected "a thorough and accountable" investigation into the plot and would like the surrounding environment of both Slovo's home and work "to be secured in consultation with us".

According to Pauw's sources, the four rightwingers planned to shoot Slovo in front of his home in Observatory.

He was to be shot with a hunting rifle from a nearby communication tower.

focus on liberation

WE ARE MEMBERS of a movement in which one of the most fundamental rights is the right to think. We broke away from white liberal organisations because we would not allow white people to arrogate to themselves the role of thinking for and on behalf of black people.

The freedom of the black person to think, to act, to live, to love — in short — the fundamental freedom to be, is one of the inalienable rights which black consciousness exists to fight for. This freedom is to be exercised everywhere and all the time, outside and inside the organisation.

In this organisation, we think and let think. It has never been a crime to think. It will be a tragedy of unspeakable ideological proportions if the right to think were to be eroded.

Not a crime

This freedom is to be exercised everywhere and all the time. We think and let think.

We do not have a history of ideological labelling as a strategy for criminalising our own members. That practice is not about to start or to be tolerated.

The contrary can only obtain at the cost of a fundamental change in the nature of the organisation and of its relations to some of its members, the present speaker not excluded.

Today, as in 1990 when De Klerk emerged with his strategy of short circuiting the Azanian revolution, the real issues that affect freedom of black people are still being sidelined.

It is instructive to examine the language of politics.

No one, except ourselves, speaks of liberation any longer. There is not even an attempt to disguise the deep-seated reformism.

Not even freedom is envisaged for our people.

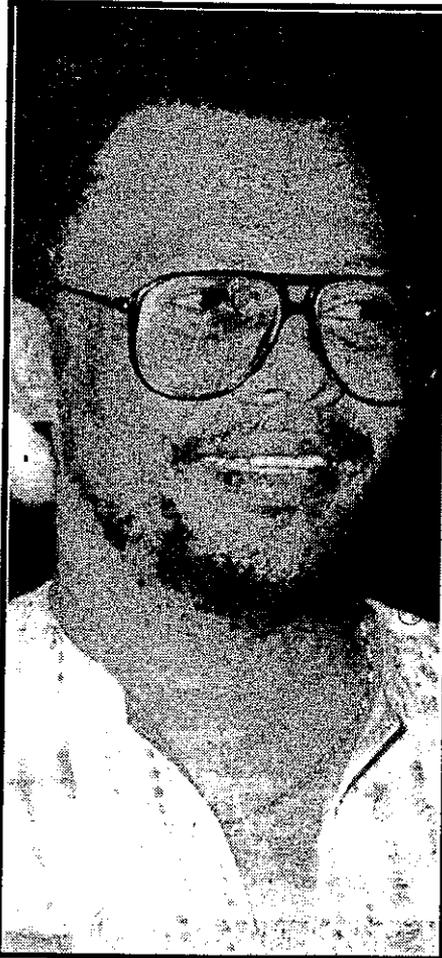
Today, as in 1990, only Azapo continues to insist that (President FW) De Klerk has a constituency that he is answerable to and that elected him. To expect him to serve any other constituency is downright stupid and makes for unforgivably bad politics.

Today, as in 1990, white people continue to despise black people notwithstanding what their international cousins say on their behalf.

They continue to act purely on the basis of white interests and refuse to come to terms with the reality that they have overstayed their welcome in Azania and abused the hospitality of their hosts. It is time plain language is used in talking to white South Africans and in preparing them for a future under black majority rule, if they care to stay.

Unless the settler-colonial mentality of the likes of Roelf Meyer changes, the future may be less than pleasant for the white settlers in this, our land.

This is an edited version of a speech given by **Professor Itumeleng Mosala**, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, at the organisation's meeting at Wilgespruit, Roodepoort, at the weekend:



Professor Itumeleng Mosala ... president of Azapo.

It must be said loud and clear to all white people here and abroad that Azania belongs to the Azanians.

Non-Azanians are welcome here to visit or to settle on terms set by the Azanians themselves. But before that, the situation of theft of the land and the resources of the Azanian land and people must be corrected.

I therefore call on the masses of our people from all walks of life and in all organisations to deal a death blow to the white arrogance which continues to dominate life in occupied Azania.

Our people must fight with all means necessary to take power to rule their country, to rule

Sewetani
12/5/93

their land, to rule their economy, to rule their culture, to carve out their own future, to be people in their own land, through their own culture, on their own terms.

It is the pervasive arrogance of white people which threatens the future of this country. It is an arrogance which displays itself everywhere. It is there in areas of employment; it is there in the schools; it is there in academic circles and especially at universities; it is there in general social relations; it is there in the media; it is there in the entertainment industry; it is there in the economy and in the department of education; it is there on the streets of cities; it is written everywhere.

Everywhere and in everything they do and say white people presume their superiority. Their arrogance is in the churches and if there is a heaven, I will be very shocked if white arrogance does not permeate that area as well.

Our congress takes place at a dangerous time in our country and in the world. There are crises everywhere. And in this country it is our people, black Azanians, who are bearing the brunt of these crises.

There are extremely dangerous flash points around the world today. These include occupied Azania. What is happening in Yugoslavia can easily happen in our country. It is not funny, it is dangerous.

What is happening in Angola can easily happen in our country. And, again, it is the majority of black people who are and will suffer from these crises.

Flash points

We have to be careful not to be party to an attitude of mind that allows our country to slip into chaos, only because white arrogance will not forego the reins of power.

We have a responsibility to save our country by liberating it, by acting rationally and responsibly to save our country by liberating it; by putting the interests of our people and the future of our country above all else.

There is a challenge facing all Azanians which is more than the sum of all our policies and ideologies.

We will not allow the imminent burial of tyrannies for whom the sun is now inexorably setting to go down with our land and our people. Azania must be saved. Azania must be liberated.

Anger at plot to kill Slovo

Sewetan 12/5/93

A ROW IS BREWING OVER the response of the police after a plot to assassinate South African Communist Party national chairman Mr Joe Slovo was uncovered.

The African National Congress yesterday refuted claims by the police that they (police) had informed Slovo about the plot.

ANC head of information and publicity Dr. Pallo Jordan told a Press conference in Johannesburg that the police had failed to act and inform Slovo after receiving a full confession from one of the alleged conspirators.

"It is also cause for concern that, although police received a full confession from one of the participants on May 7, no action appears to have been taken and to date police have yet to inform Joe Slovo of the plot," Jordan said.

The confession is reported to have included the names, addresses and car registration numbers of the conspirators. *The Star* newspaper reported yesterday that four rightwingers — three South Africans and an Eastern European — had planned to shoot Slovo at his Observatory, Johannesburg, home between May 15 and 21.

Police spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said police became aware of the plot on April 29. "We told him the following day and he declined police protection," he said.

Slovo denied this yesterday, saying the police had never told him about the plot.

"I first heard this last Friday from *The Star*

By Mzimasi Ngudle

journalist Jacques Pauw. They've not yet come to me," Slovo said.

Jordan accused the security forces of lacking the will to stop rightwing terrorism, which had increased since the assassination of SACP leader Mr Chris Hani.

Slovo said: "There are still people within the level of the State apparatus who are not as anxious to protect political leaders. Police failed to act when AWB leaders, immediately after Hani's death, uttered words which were an open and blatant incitement to murder."

Jordan said the ANC wanted to know how investigations were progressing.

He said the ANC wanted to know what action Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel took after Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe was contacted by the ANC on May 10.

Jordan also said the plot and several death threats to ANC leaders were part of a broad rightwing conspiracy to sabotage negotiations.

He said two NEC members, Mr Tokyo Sexwale and Mr Carl Niehaus, also received death threats.

Slovo warned that assassinations of political leaders might "bring the negotiation process to the brink of collapse".

He said the plot was directly linked to the assassination of Hani. Slovo's name appeared at the top of the hit list found by police at the home of Mr Janus Waluz, Hani's alleged assassin.

People are a vehicle for freedom 11A

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Abbey Makoe

MEMBERS of liberation movements were a vehicle for the total emancipation of the oppressed masses, a senior member of the Azanian Peoples Organisation said last night.

Speaking during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show, Mr Lybon Mabasa said this did not necessarily mean that vehicles were always in a good condition.

Mabasa, who is Azapo's assistant general secretary, was Tim Modise's guest on the show.

Explaining why Azapo was still refusing to participate in the multiparty talks, Mabasa said: "Blacks will be interested in negotiations where the transfer of power will be on top of the agenda."

Asked what would Azapo do if there

was to be an agreement on an election date, Mabasa responded: "Voting does not necessarily mean freedom. How elections are handled is a determining factor to freedom."

"It is all very well talking about elections at Kempton Park but the issue of political power is not being addressed," Mabasa said.

He said Azapo was not of the view that apartheid could be democratised.

"Except for the ANC, PAC and the

SACP, the current talks are full of parties who know nothing about democracy," he said.

He called on the security forces to be "quarantined" before elections.

Asked if that was

possible, Mabasa said Namibia was a living example that it was.

"Oppressive regimes the world over do not relinquish power," Mabasa said, adding that that was why Azapo was prepared to fight for freedom "by any means necessary".

"We need not limit the struggle of the people. Azapo has not placed a moratorium on any form of struggle," Mabasa said.

Daniel of Hillbrow said Azapo was seeking publicity by staying out of the negotiations, to which Mabasa said: "If we wanted publicity we would perhaps have gone to Kempton Park."

"The PAC and the ANC have no business sitting around the negotiations table. There are no gains that they have made so far."
Chris, Cape Town

"I really appreciate Azapo's strategy. You and the ANC are doing very, very well."
Jabu, Soweto

"The ideal point for us would be for the liberation movement at large to confront the regime from the same point."
Lybon Mabasa

The medals have been confiscated and will be returned to relatives of the dead war veterans.

Leaders at 'mercy of NP'

THE leadership of the ANC, PAC and SACP who have been returning to South Africa since 1990, remain in the country at the mercy of the National Party. *Sowetan 13/5/93*

They would not receive absolute indemnity until they had abandoned the armed struggle, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in Parliament last night. *(SAPA)*

"They (the ANC) have only suspended the armed struggle, they have not abandoned it," he said.

He was defending a motion placed before Parliament yesterday which, if passed, will give President FW de Klerk the power to extend indemnity to leaders of liberation movements for another year.

In simple terms, only De Klerk can decide whether the leaders of the liberation movements are arrested *en masse*. *(SAPA)* *(11A)*

ANC-aligned Independent MP Mr Dave Dalling said last night the motion was particularly outrageous as it gave the Government a hold over the leaders of the liberation movements, probably in an effort "to make them more pliable in negotiations".

Sowetan regrets the error

IN a report in *Sowetan* yesterday on the closure of the University of Bophuthatswana, a sub-headline inadvertently referred to Turfloop University having being closed until further notice. *Sowetan* regrets the error.

'Why I withdrew from plot to kill SACP's Slovo'

■ Informer feared eruption of civil war:

A POLICE informer implicated in the alleged plot to kill SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo yesterday said he told the police of the scheme on April 29 - the day after he had been approached to take part in it.

Identified only as "Slovak", the balaclava-clad informer told a media conference in Pretoria he had told the police of the plot because he knew another political killing, following the assassination of SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, "could lead to civil war".

Slovak, believed to be of Hungarian descent, told how the plot had been disclosed to a "fake police captain" who turned out to be Jacques Pauw, the reporter who broke the story in *Sowetan's* sister newspaper *The Star*.

According to police, the premature leaking of the story severely jeopardised their investigation into the role of the shadowy figures behind the plot.

They said they were investigating possible charges against Pauw. - Sapa.

Sowetan 13/5/93

Students come together in drive for peace

By Michael Sparks

The loudest applause at yesterday's launch of a "students for peace" initiative went to one of the youngest speakers there — 12-year-old Kirsty Matthews from Kensington Junior School.

She read out a letter she and five classmates had written to ANC president Nelson Mandela the day after Chris Hani's funeral. The girls had apologised that, in wanting to work for peace, all of them were white, and asked Mandela whether he could refer them to black girls of the same age who might want to work for a similar goal.

The peace initiative at the Barnato Park High School in Berea, Johannesburg, brought together representatives from 10 schools to light candles as a

symbol of peace.

Student representatives would pass the message of peace on to at least two other schools.

Included in the initiative were schools from Soweto, Alexandra, Kensington and Helpmekeer Girls School.

David Storey of the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat told the more than 700 pupils that it was very moving for him to see so many people working for peace since so much of his work involved watching violence and its effects.

Barnato Park students' representative council chairman Benny Motau, who was instrumental in setting up the initiative, told the students it was no longer good enough to wait for adults to try to provide peace.

"We, the youth, need to make peace, and perhaps show the adults how to work for peace," he said.

Activist Award for Mandela

By Brendan Templeton

The plot to kill South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo was an attempt to force the ANC into violent confrontation, ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night.

Accepting the Gleitsman Foundation's International Activist Award at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, Mandela said right-wing elements wanted to spark off a racial civil war.

Activist Helen Joseph was granted a posthumous award at the same ceremony for her contribution to social and political change.

The Gleitsman Foundation said Mandela was chosen for the award because it was "an appropriate time to honour the commitment of a man whose name has virtually become synonymous with equality and human rights".

Mandela shared the award of \$100 000 (about R318 000) with Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng, China's longest-held political prisoner.

Boycott over Mandela ends

MIAMI. — An economic boycott launched by Miami's black leaders against south Florida's tourism industry has ended, nearly three years after local politicians infuriated the black community by snubbing South African anti-apartheid leader Nelson Mandela.

The boycott, in which local black leaders pressured national organisations to cancel conventions or ignore Miami as a possible venue for their meetings, is estimated to have cost south Florida \$50 million (about

ARGT 13/5/93
R150 million) in tourism revenue.

The boycott, launched after Mr Mandela was ignored by local politicians during a trip to Miami, ended with an agreement between the black community, business and civic leaders, black lawyer H T Smith said.

The agreement includes more loans to black businesses, increased deposits in black-owned banks and a move to heighten the presence of blacks on corporate boards, he said. — Sapa-Reuters.

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Several leading ANC members could expect full indemnity from prosecution for politically motivated crimes only if the organisation abandoned the armed struggle, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

His remarks came after sharp criticism in Parliament from ANC Sandton MP Dave Dalling, who said several top members of the organisation had a sword of Damocles hanging over their heads because the Government had not granted them full indemnity.

Coetsee said: "The sword of Damocles is made of ANC reluctance to abandon the armed struggle ... They have only suspended the armed struggle.

Indemnity
Star 13/5/93
sword over
ANC leaders'
heads — MP (IA)

Complete amnesty can only go hand in hand with the abandonment of the armed struggle."

Several members of the ANC national executive committee have temporary indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1990.

According to Dalling they include Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in chief Joe Modise. Yesterday's exchanges came during a de-

bate in Parliament on a notice of motion tabled by Coetsee calling for the extension of the Act for another year.

Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the motion had been tabled because half the ANC executive would be locked up if the legislation were not extended.

"They will not accept the Further Indemnity Act and, to the credit of those who have chosen not to shelter behind the (Act), we support this motion," Leon said.

Dalling said that while he supported the motion, it was outrageous that many among the top leadership of the ANC had not been granted permanent indemnity. He said Coetsee was trying to hold the ANC leaders "hostage".

The extension of the Act was accepted by all parties.

Slovo informant in fear of his life

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The man who told police and The Star about the plot to kill SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo is living in fear of his life.

Hungarian Peter Slovac is under police protection while a hunt is in progress to find others who may be involved in the plot.

He appeared at a police press conference in Pretoria late yesterday, where it was also disclosed that a docket on the case was being prepared.

Slovac, who said he was from eastern Europe, was, during questioning at the conference, also identified as a police informant who has been working on various cases for the SAP. Police confirmed this.

Slovac — a man of medium build, with intent, staring eyes, and who faced the media with a balaclava hiding his face — said he had been warned by a bogus "investigating officer", whom he named as Danie Odendaal, that he would be killed if he spoke further to police about the Slovo plot.

This warning had been given after he last week "unwittingly" provided investigative reporter Jacques Pauw of The Star with details of the alleged Slovo plot. He claimed Pauw had been introduced to him by Odendaal as "a police Security Branch captain from Pretoria".

Pauw has denied impersonating a policeman.

Odendaal had heard about the plot through being present when Slovac first made his report to police.

Describing himself as a 33-year-old who had been living in South Africa for 10 years, Slovac said that on April 28 he had renewed acquaintance with a man in a Berea, Johannesburg, club who had asked him whether he wanted to take part "in the plot" of Joe Slovo.

The following day he had gone to the police with the

● To Page 3 ●

Informant living in fear

● From Page 1

story because "I was aware it was the wrong thing to do" (to kill Slovo).

"I told them of my participation in the proposed killing, which was planned for between May 15 and 21, and that Slovo would be shot from a high building (or tower) from which my friend claimed he could see into the Slovo house."

Slovac was to drive the getaway car.

As far as he knew, there were three people involved, but he was also aware of other people behind the plot.

Slovac said Odendaal had last week asked him to tell the story to a "police Security Branch captain from Pretoria".

The "cover story" used was that two officers officially investigating the

case were under pressure because of alleged leaks which had taken place and that their jobs were in jeopardy. Pauw had been "sent from Pretoria" to look into the leaks.

It was after this interview last Sunday night that Odendaal allegedly warned him not to "open his mouth to the (real) Slovo investigating officers or else he (Odendaal) would 'blow my arse'".

Slovac alleged Pauw had paid Odendaal for obtaining the information about the plot.

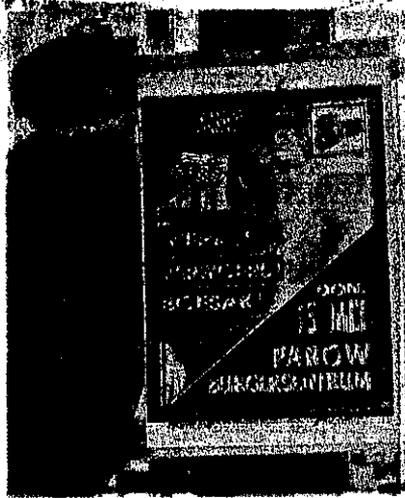
When the story was published in The Star on Tuesday, he was interviewed by the "real officers" who wanted to know where the information had come from.

A police spokesman said investigations into the plot were under way.

Now: Nkosi in Afrikaans

ARG 13/5/93
(11A)

ANC 'mouse' versus National Party 'lion'



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

VERWOERD? Sonja Garcia, 19, seems to wonder about this poster. In Afrikaans, saying a Verwoerd will speak at tonight's ANC meeting in Parow. The speaker is Wilhelm, grandson of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd.

NKO SI KELEL' IAFRIKA

Allerhoogste God, seën Afrikal Hoog sal ons die vryheid's vaandel dra
Skenk o Heer milddadig U genade om mekaar in liefde op te dra
Allerhoogste God seën Afrikal Maak ons vry van sonde en van kla

Wanneer ons in ons gebede vra: seën Heer, seën Suid-Afrika
Anders staan ons skuldig en verslae: Al Heer, ons seën Suid-Afrika
Laat ons sonder ophou bid en vra: Red Heer, red Suid-Afrika

Refrein

Seën Heer, seën Suid-Afrika
Daal neer, daal neer
Al Heer, ons Suid-Afrika
Daal neer o Gees, daal neer o Gees
Red Heer, red Suid-Afrika
Daal nou neer

Daal neer, daal neer
Daal neer, o Gees staan ons by, Hemelse Heer
Daal neer, daal neer

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and TOS WENZEL
Political Staff

THE ANC's secret weapon to win over Afrikaner hearts in Parow tonight is an Afrikaans translation of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, the Xhosa hymn generally regarded as South Africa's black national anthem.

Hundreds of copies of the Afrikaans version will be distributed in the Parow Civic Centre tonight when the ANC holds its first meeting in the conservative northern areas stronghold.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the movement believed the hymn would unite South Africans.

"It's important for people to sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika in their language. They will not only feel comfortable, but understand that they have nothing to fear."

Meanwhile, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, who is the MP for Parow, has assured Western Cape ANC chairman Dr Allan Boesak that "the lion will not hurt the mouse" tonight.

He was reacting to a remark by Dr Boesak that the ANC was going "into the lion's den" by having a meeting in Parow.

'Feel free'

Mr Kriel said: "I want to give him the assurance that the lion will not hurt the mouse."

"He can feel completely free to have a meeting in Parow. The Nationalists of Parow will not bother him because they recognise the right of all political parties to meet in our town."

"I trust the ANC will keep to its undertaking to come and talk to the people of Parow and that it will not cart in busloads of its supporters from elsewhere. This would make a joke of his meeting."

"I also understand that if I hold a meeting in an ANC 'area', Dr Boesak will guarantee me the same right of freedom of speech", Mr Kriel said.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the meeting would be in the minor hall at the Parow Civic Centre, which seats 394, starting at 8pm.

"We're expecting a big turnout."

The meeting has been widely advertised in the Western Cape but the movement has not laid on buses to bring supporters from the townships.

Police take steps to protect farmers

8/10/93 13/5/93

THE SAP would take immediate steps to improve the security of people living on farms and smallholdings and, where possible, policemen would be placed on farms of vulnerable elderly people, police commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe said yesterday.

The move followed several recent murders which apparently had political motive, he said.

But SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) president Boet Fourie warned that if the police security measures were not effective it would be difficult to stop retaliatory action on the part of farming communities.

The SAAU has called on President F W de Klerk urgently to reintroduce the death penalty and to use the full power of the state to combat murder and lawlessness, particularly on the platteland.

The appeal came after discussions yesterday between the SAAU's general council and Van der Merwe and other police generals.

Van der Merwe said the police had, for some time, been busy with comprehensive steps to improve the security of those living on farms who were regarded as being particularly vulnerable.

Manpower in the affected areas would be increased as soon as possible and, where the manpower position allowed it, policemen would be placed on the farms of the elderly people concerned, he said.

Patrols would be intensified and Van der Merwe appealed to all residents in affected areas to protect themselves.

Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen said "every member of the force that can be spared" would be used to protect people living in "sensitive areas".

Security firms invaluable, says ANC

8/10/93 13/5/93

PRETORIA — Private security companies would be an invaluable resource for SA but the industry needed to be better regulated, ANC security head Joseph Nhlanhla said yesterday.

Speaking at a conference on security in SA at Pretoria University, Nhlanhla said the industry should consider introducing its own code of conduct to prevent intervention by the state.

In order for the private security companies, which currently employed 300 000 personnel, to "assume a positive role in the unfolding situation," adequate conditions of employment, training and compensation would have to be standardised.

8/10/93 13/5/93

STEPHANE BOTHMA
and GERALD REILLY

She said police reservists would also be used in affected areas, which included the Free State/Transkei border where several attacks had taken place recently.

All trained police reservists in the eastern Transvaal had been called up for service following recent attacks on elderly people in the area, regional commissioner Maj-Gen Chris Smith announced.

Since the death of SACP leader Chris Hani on April 10 there have been nine attacks on old people in the region, and during 1992 there were 67 attacks.

Roadblocks, patrols and police visits to farms have been stepped up.

After the SAAU discussions with police top brass yesterday, Fourie said where necessary unrest areas would have to be proclaimed and curfews introduced.

On the controversial issue of labour legislation for the agricultural industry, Fourie said the SAAU had decided it would in future negotiate with government only on a basis of a single amended Act.

The SAAU, he said, rejected the possibility of extending the principles of the Wage Act to agriculture.

This view would be passed on urgently to Manpower Minister Leon Wessels.

Fourie said the general council reaffirmed that unity and co-operation within organised agriculture was imperative. It pledged itself to establishing an "unstoppable" united front in the interests of the farming community.

□ Sapa reports that Lettie Opperman, 62, was shot dead in her bed on her White River smallholding by two burglars early yesterday. Her husband was wounded.



Transvaal Rural Action Committee new SABC board at a public hearing.

No insurance for mediators

8/10/93 13/5/93

Political Staff

NO INSURANCE company had been willing to provide cover for members and staff of the 11 regional peace committees, the national peace accord reported yesterday.

The 78 staff members also did not receive fringe benefits, the internal peace institutions directorate said in its 1993 report, tabled in Parliament.

However, internal peace institutions executive director T D Rudman praised regional and local committees for their role in combating violence and intimidation at grassroots level.

"The object envisaged, which has in fact been achieved, was that the regional and local committees would, by negotiating with the parties involved, resolve disputes that cause or could cause public violence and intimidation, that they would consult with the authorities concerned, especially on planned public action of a contentious nature in order to prevent conflict and to monitor the implementation of agreements that may result."

The directorate was consulting donors and the insurance industry on launching a special fund for those who might become victims of violence.

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(11A) ADRIAN HADLAND

It was also vital that the industry ensured its members were politically neutral, Nhlanhla said.

Brig Gert Jonker of the Correctional Services Department told the conference, organised by the Institute for Strategic Studies, that communities had to assume more responsibility for the rehabilitation of criminals.

Structures such as correctional boards and local parole boards should be used by the community to combat crime at a grassroots level, Jonker said.

Representatives from the SAP and the Namibian police also presented papers.

...ive Party President's Councillor Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye and Polish immigrant Mr Janus Walus, were a short distance from the home and later said they had found a "hit-list" in his

Leaders at 'mercy of NP'

THE leadership of the ANC, PAC and SACP who have been returning to South Africa since 1990, remain in the country at the mercy of the National Party.

They would not receive absolute indemnity until they had abandoned the armed struggle, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in Parliament last night.

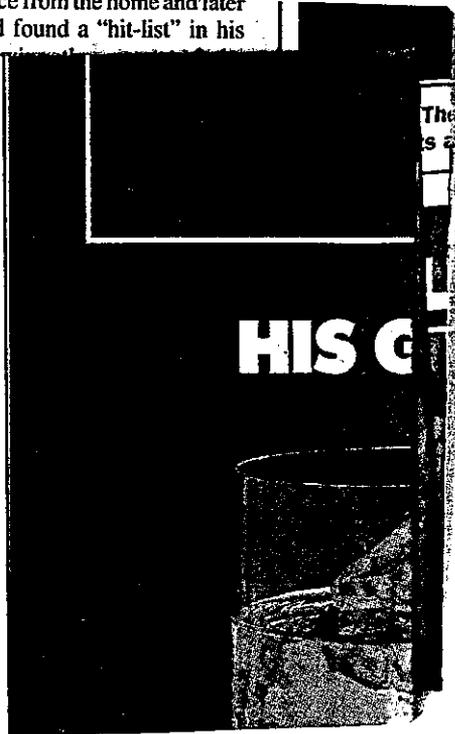
"They (the ANC) have only suspended the armed struggle, they have not abandoned it," he said.

He was defending a motion placed before Parliament yesterday which, if passed, will give President FW de Klerk the power to extend indemnity to leaders of liberation movements for another year.

In simple terms, only De Klerk can decide whether the leaders of the liberation movements are arrested *en masse*.

ANC-aligned Independent MP Mr Dave Dalling said last night the motion was particularly outrageous as it gave the Government a hold over the leaders of the liberation movements, probably in an effort "to make them more pliable in negotiations".

Sawetam 1315193



ANC memorial service in UK

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Political and human rights representatives from many countries and organisations are to attend a memorial service for former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo here on Saturday. The ecumenical service will be led by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. (A)

Mr Mendi Msimang, head of the ANC's British mission, said they had been overwhelmed by messages of condolence and respect from around the world.

Winnie: New blood needed in leadership

11A

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday denied she wanted the youth to physically take over the fight for democracy in South Africa.

Mrs Mandela was defending her call, made in the days following South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani's assassination, for the youth to take over the struggle

and defend the revolution.

The statement had been taken out of context and she had only meant that the ANC leadership should be infused with younger blood, said Mrs Mandela.

She blamed the media for projecting a distorted image of her as a militant and controversial figure.

She said she believed in negotia-

tions that were genuine and that would bring a lasting solution and peace to South Africa.

No sane person could not believe in negotiations, she said.

But leaders at the talks had to represent the sentiments of their constituencies and had to carry the support of the "masses" with them.

Politicians should be careful not to be seen to be "selling out the

masses", she said.

Mrs Mandela also denied reports published recently in a London newspaper that she had said some members of the ANC hierarchy were involved in Mr Hani's death.

She said that was "lunacy on the part of the reporter", and the story should be "rejected with the contempt it deserves". — Sapa

CT13/5/93

ANC coup in conservative suburb

Star 14/5/93

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC poured into the conservative stronghold of Parow last night for its first meeting in the white, predominantly Afrikaans, northern Cape Town suburb.

The Parow Civic Centre was packed with more than 500 ANC supporters of all races while a group of rightwingers stood outside.

Some tried to get into the hall but were ejected when they refused to be searched.

There was a heavy police presence outside the hall.

Hundreds of ANC supporters had to be turned away because the small hall was full.

Those inside heard ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus calling on all Afrikaners to stand together.

"If you are genuine patriots and believe in de-



Grandson . . . Wilhelm Verwoerd sings the ANC anthem at the Parow meeting. He urged Afrikaners to join the ANC

mocracy, then . . . there is just one place for you, (and) that is the ANC."

Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of apartheid architect Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, told the gathering of his "great relief" when he realised he could be part of the broader South African community and not a "small, threatened" part of it.

Sapa reports there was

not a murmur of protest when everyone was asked to stand halfway through the meeting to learn and sing the new Afrikaans version of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. The audience, at least half of them white and local, did it again at the end.

"It is a liberating feeling to take this step and no longer be part of a fearful and threatened minority," said Ver-

woerd to applause and foot stomping.

He told the audience how he had grown up traditionally Afrikaans and Nationalist, and how as recently as 1988 in Lusaka, he felt almost a traitor to his brother doing military training when he had to reluctantly shake the hand of the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo during a student mission to Zambia.

"I am much more than just the grandson of a symbol," he said.

"I am the symbol of a new generation which wants to stand up for democracy."

Too many were still caught up in the "we" and "them" syndrome, sitting behind high walls fearing the "they" who were threatening "our" houses, he said.

"Accept that we are all together in this country. It is a new and exciting way to think about who you really are."

ANC man 'blocked inquiries'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former ANC security department official Mr Mzwai Piliso had refused to co-operate in efforts to investigate complaints of human rights abuses in ANC camps in Angola between 1985 and 1987, ANC legal department head Mr Zola Skweyiya said yesterday.

Mr Skweyiya was testifying on the first day of public hearings by the Motsuenyane commission into alleged abuses by ANC members in the camps. (1A)

The commission, headed by former Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane, was appointed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela last year to investigate whether abuses had taken place in the Angolan camps. CT/4/5/93

ANC plans to expand in northern areas

ROGER FRIEDMAN (11A)
Staff Reporter ANC 14/5/93
ANC strategists have cast the Parow meeting as the start of a "major effort" to extend the movement's influence in the northern areas.

They believe the meeting was "a huge success".

Regional chairman Dr Alan Boesak told guests at a cocktail party before the meeting he hoped "that seeing each other here will be

the beginning of a network. "We hope to ensure that after tonight people will see each other again to swap ideas and offer advice."

ANC deputy secretary in the Western Cape Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the "success" of the meeting had disproved misconceptions about the ANC and its support base.

"We think it was a huge success," he said.

"The number of people who attended exceeded all

our expectations and we believe this can be the start of a major effort by the ANC to extend our influence in the northern suburbs."

● Responding to criticism of the size of the venue, Mr Hofmeyr said the minor hall at the Parow Civic Centre had been one of the biggest venues available. The large hall is being renovated.

"We tried to organise sound outside but the police would not allow it," he said.

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town

THE African National Congress, all set to woo white Afrikaners in conservative Parow, found itself pipped to the post by the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

No sooner had the ANC announced it would be entering the lion's den to hold its first-ever public meeting in the former National Party stronghold, then IFP posters sprouted, advertising a meeting in the same venue a day earlier.

IFP organisers said this week they had not planned to steal the ANC's thunder, having planned their meeting several weeks ago. It was the IFP's third public gathering in the western Cape, all of them so far held in white

Romancing the whites of Parow

w/m aef 14/5-20/5/93

suburbs. Media liaison officer Cloete Breytenbach said more meetings, reaching deeper into the heart of Afrikanerdom in the Boland and along the Cape's West Coast, were planned.

The ANC intends doing exactly the same. Announcing his organisation's recruitment drive among Afrikaners, western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak told how Chris Hani's murder had prompted a stream of calls from Afrikaans-speaking whites saying the time had come for them to join the ANC.

"We have a growing conviction that

many white South Africans are totally disillusioned with the political process and the lack of leadership and vision in the NP, which cannot break with its past and can't present anything acceptable for the future," Boesak said.

Ask the IFP why they're focusing their efforts on whites and the answer is almost exactly the same: "We've had a lot of calls from NP, Conservative Party and Democratic Party members, but especially from NP people who feel the party has no leadership and no credibility," Breytenbach said. "(IFP leader Mangosuthu)

Buthelezi offers them hope because he wants a federal system with no dominance by a central government — and he's saying the same things now he said 20 years ago." (11A) (26)

The good burghers of Parow may feel flattered at the attentions they're receiving, but would do well to closely scrutinise their political suitors' motives. (11A) (26)

Political analyst Robert Schirrer, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, sees the ANC's move as an imaginative, bold step, but ultimately a symbolic attempt

to demonstrate a commitment to non-racialism which it has so far been unable to realise on the ground.

The IFP, on the other hand, he sees as engaged in realpolitik — trying to present itself as a credible alternative to the NP, and boost Buthelezi's waning image as a national leader.

Buthelezi's appeal to whites, said Schirrer, lay in his being a symbol of the tame black man, the guy you can do business with. But, he warned, it was likely this "romantic support" — similar to that whites once showed for Unita leader Jonas Savimbi — would erode as people came to know more about the personalities involved and what was at stake.

SOUTH AFRICAN socialism mirrors the international predicament of the philosophy: confused and badly in need of a kickstart.

Organised workers under the Congress of South African Trade Unions are moving in a "corporatist" direction, seeking co-determination of industry with business.

Despite the socialist elements within the Freedom Charter, notably its call for the nationalisation of the banks, mines and monopoly capital, the African National Congress distanced itself from socialism a long time ago.

And while the South African Communist Party is growing (it has almost 50 000 members in nine regions), its philosophy increasingly sounds like Western European-style social democracy, rather than socialism in the Marxist sense.

The SACP's immediate plans are to fight the election under an ANC banner and not on a socialist ticket. The challenge, says politburo and central committee member Jeremy Cronin, is to get democracy in place and to strengthen the fast-fracturing working class. There will be no one-party state; instead, the SACP says that socialism will have to be achieved within a multi-party democracy.

For now though, the party has thrown its weight behind a reconstruction accord with the ANC (as the future government) and the Mass Democratic Movement — a term Cronin uses to speak broadly of civic organisations, women's organisations and trade unions.

In return for its electoral support, the ANC will have to commit itself to key gains for the working class, including job creation schemes and social benefits such as pensions and free health care.

The reconstruction accord is a stepping-stone to socialism for Moses Mayekiso, a central committee member of the SACP and the head of the South African National Civic Organisation.

Other building blocks include the rearrangement of production to empower workers on the shopfloor — such as the raising of skill levels and a union role in framing industrial policy — and the creation of negotiating forums (economic, housing and electricity) to give unions a say in the allocation of resources and the delivery of services.

"We are faced with stages," says Mayekiso; "socialism doesn't just drop from the sky."

Cronin says that conditions for socialism in South Africa are good: workers are well-organised into unions, civics and other organisations. There is a grassroots understanding of socialism and "anti-capitalist sentiments are strong". The assassination of its leader, Chris Hani, has ironically galvanised strong support for the SACP, its leaders and communist symbols on the ground.

But some question the "stepping-stone theory" — the idea that a worker state can be gradually constructed on a co-determinist foundation. "Reconstruction accords and forums can open the way to socialism, but nobody is ask-

Socialists in SA struggle to rev it up

W/Imail
14/5-20/5/93



South Africa's various vehicles of socialism have veered off the road.

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

ing how this will be done," complains Karl von Holdt, editor of the *South African Labour Bulletin*.

There is a perception that social democracy may be the end, not the beginning of the SACP's programme. Many of the party's stated socialist aims, including "a mixed economy and the opening of markets", says Von Holdt, are in fact classic social democratic tenets.

What of the party's relationship with the ANC? There are widespread predictions that once a new government has been elected and the ANC is in power, many of its socialist members will peel off and join more radical organisations.

The party does not discount the possibility of contesting a future election as a workers' party with a clear socialist manifesto. "I hope this won't be necessary," says Cronin, adding "I would like to see the ANC transforming itself into a working class, socialist party in the

medium-term. There's got to be the heart and soul of the party and it stays true to its historic mission."

The battle, according to Cronin, will be a more fundamental one: socialist organisations versus themselves socialist. The debate, he says.

If there has been a rethink in a "reformist" direction in the East European countries, Cronin says, it is not at centralised state level that smaller-scale privatisation is to continue.

In its latest paper, "The transition to democracy", the party says "state ownership is neither sufficient, nor the only or most effective form of ownership."

In the transition phase, Cronin says, there will be joint control of resources, worker participation in place at factories, and "empowerment of workers."

Other left organisations are questioning their Marxist roots, but Cronin is examining or redefining their account of late 20th century capitalism.

Comrades for a Workers' Party, a small grouping of unionists, are disillusioned with the ANC's need to redefine socialism. They say the lessons of bank nationalisation have to be heeded to avoid trade unionist Tony Drove's disaffected followers. The ANC will leave at the mercy of the unemployed and build a workers' party.

The Workers' Organisation for Action (Wosa), with 500 members, is for a return to "class politics" and for an elected workers' party. But its general secretary, John Condes, concedes that establishing a "worker owned production" need not be a goal.

These must be put in perspective, says Cronin, as the working class is not organised as in the 1930s.

For Joe Kelly, of the Workers' Party of South Africa, a TSPU split from the party last year split from the party, he debated in isolation in the past. Socialist forces have to debate and plan.

Cronin would like to see the South African grouping of 90 socialist sections from that context, up the challenges of the present.

But, perhaps the ANC's Mayekiso: "There is a disarray ... in the

ZULU king Goodwill Zwelithini is expected to call a number of mass rallies (*imbizos*) — one of which would be attended by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — in a fresh initiative aimed at ending the carnage among his subjects.

This is the latest sign that Zwelithini is set to move above party politics on the question of violence.

At a rally in Wema, near Durban, two weeks ago, Zwelithini stunned Inkatha supporters by departing from his prepared speech to tell them: "I know some of you carry weapons and are involved in the violence. Enough is enough. Stop the killings."

The king's about-turn stems from a series of meetings between a "Concerned Group of Zulus", who include Inyanda Chamber of Commerce president Roger Sishi, ANC leader Jacob Zuma and Pan Africanist Congress leader Joe Mkhwanazi, and advisers of the king. Among the latter are Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and kwaZulu deputy minister of works, Velaphi Ndlovu.

The initiative also has Buthelezi's support, suggesting he is prepared to share the monarch

King wants goodwill between IFP, ANC

W/Mail 14/5/93 - 20/5/93

*The king of the Zulus is to rise above
party politics in an effort to stem the
violence in Natal.*

By **FAROUK CHOTHIA**

with the ANC.

Sources said that at a meeting last Friday, the Concerned Group and Zwelithini's advisers had agreed that the king should call mass rallies attended by members of both organisations.

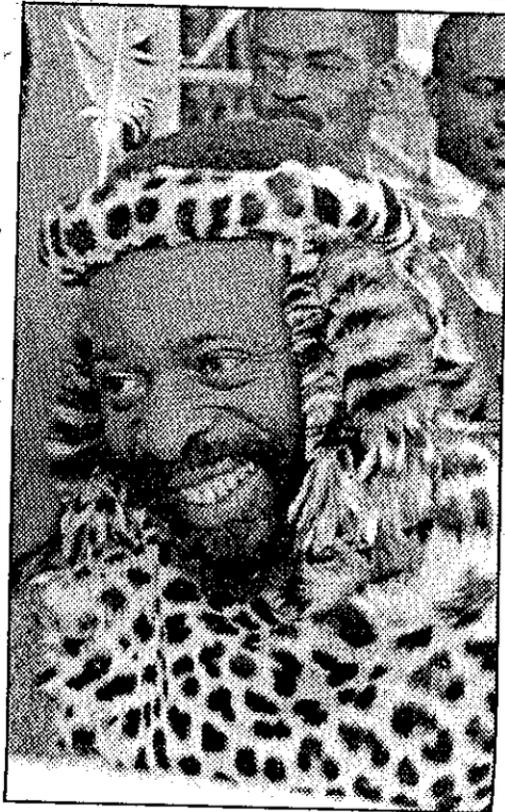
The first rally, most likely in Durban, would be attended by regional ANC and Inkatha leaders. Mandela and Buthelezi, the sources said, would attend a subsequent rally — the first time that the two have shared a platform, though Buthelezi has been pressing for it since Mandela's release three years ago.

The Concerned Group and Zwelithini's advisers — who have formed a joint committee — will meet Natal businessmen today to urge them to make funds available for the rallies. "It must be a non-party initiative," said one source.

Once Zwelithini is satisfied that all the groundwork has been laid, he will call a major press conference, announcing plans for the rallies and assuming a new role in South African politics.

Both sides stand to gain by the initiative. Buthelezi, who has been increasingly marginalised in the national political scene, would once more capture the limelight.

The ANC stands to benefit by loosening Buthelezi's stranglehold on Zwelithini, in the hope that this will erode the IFP's support among Zulus.



King of goodwill ... Zwelithini

Murder: jail term suspended

Court Reporter

A former police reservist was given a wholly suspended sentence following his conviction in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday for murdering his mother's boyfriend during an argument about rape of a 12-year-old relative.

Mr Justice Hannon found Barend van der Walt (28) of Fairview, Johannesburg, had been acting under "a high degree of provocation" when he shot Francois Jean Stephen Cronje on April 17 last year.

Agreeing with a witness who described Cronje as "a pig", the judge said Cronje had made Van der Walt's mother's life a misery. He accepted Van der Walt was afraid of Cronje and that there was no love lost between the men.

Although Van der Walt should have reacted differently, the judge found mitigating factors outweighed aggravating factors. He sentenced the first offender to six years, suspended for five years.

Info on camps was classified, ANC probe told

By Montshiwa Moroke

The head of the ANC's constitutional department yesterday told an ANC-appointed inquiry that he had been threatened with detention while trying to establish whether the organisation had held prisoners.

The existence of ANC detention camps was classified information known only in ANC military circles, Zola Skweyiya told the commission of inquiry chaired by Dr Sam Motsuenyane.

"As head of the Justice Department I wanted to know who they were and why they had been detained.

"I could not perform my duties because of the lack of co-operation from some ANC members. Some even threatened to detain me.

"Most of the detainees were

from the 1976 generation. Before then detention camps were unheard of."

The commission was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate, among other things, whether specific ANC members had committed acts of cruelty towards former detainees, whether there were missing people and, if so, the circumstances under which they disappeared.

The commission plans to present its report to Mandela by the end of June.

Earlier, ANC stalwart Andrew Mlangeni said he had seen ANC prisoners in Kampala, Uganda, but none had complained about maltreatment.

The hearing continues.

● The German-based International Society for Human Rights yesterday recommended that a special UN fund be created to provide reparation to victims of ANC abuses.

Star 14/5/93

11A

3/11

ANC camps-probe official tells of detention threat

11A ARG 14/5/93

□ Holding of prisoners 'was known only to MK members'

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The head of the African National Congress constitutional department has told an ANC-appointed inquiry that he was threatened with detention while trying to establish whether the organisation had held prisoners.

The existence of ANC detention camps was classified information known only in ANC "military circles", Mr Zola Skweyiya told the commission of inquiry into allegations of human rights abuse of ANC prisoners and detainees.

The commission, under the chairmanship of Dr Sam Motsoenyane, is sitting at the FNB Stadium outside Johannesburg.

Other commissioners are Judge Margaret Burnham from the United States and advocate Mr David Zamchiya, a former permanent secretary for jus-

tice, legal and parliamentary affairs in Zimbabwe.

Mr Skweyiya said rumours had been circulating that the ANC was holding prisoners, including people believed to have infiltrated the organisation. The information was a secret known only to those within Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the ANC's armed wing.

"As head of the justice department, I wanted to know who they were, how many they were, where they were and why they were detained. I could not perform my duties because of lack of co-operation from some ANC members. Some even threatened to detain me.

"Most of the detainees were from the 1976 generation. Before then detention camps had been unheard of. For those who had left the country between 1962 and 1966 discipline was carried out through political action.

"We came from ANC branches and were delegated to MK, unlike the 1976 crop who went straight to MK. They first had to be politicised, to be disciplined before they could get the honour of carrying a gun."

The commission was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate, among other issues, whether specific ANC members had committed acts of cruelty against former detainees and prisoners and whether there were people who were unaccounted for and, if so, the circumstances under which they were alleged to have disappeared.

The commission plans to present its report to Mr Mandela by the end of next month.

Earlier, ANC stalwart Andrew Mlangeni said that during one of his visits to Kampala,

Uganda, he had seen ANC prisoners who had either been caught smoking dagga or had been punished for having left camp at night to go to a nearby village.

None of them had complained about maltreatment, he said.

ANC intelligence and security man Lizo Njenje (alias Gibson Makhanda) said "the struggle" at various stages had put pressure on executive members.

Cross-border raids had created a general climate of fear and uncertainty.

The hearing continues.

● The German-based International Society for Human Rights released a summary yesterday of its report on ANC abuses of dissidents in which it recommended that a special United Nations fund be created to provide compensation to victims of ANC maltreatment.

Top award for those who make ripples of hope

Star 14/5/93

IIA

IT'S not easy to live a useful life; most of us are too damned busy getting by.

Which always bothered Alan Gleitsman, a social activist trapped inside the body of a Los Angeles television and movie distributor — until he sold his business seven years ago and set out to reward those to whom it had been given what he himself had been denied by the exigencies of ownership.

Thus it was that at an award ceremony at the Carlton Hotel on Wednesday night, 63-year-old Gleitsman found himself at the side of Nelson Mandela as his Gleitsman Foundation, established to recognise and promote social activism worldwide, presented a \$100 000 (R380 000) cheque to the ANC president — a man whose life, in Gleitsman's view, epitomises the power of activism.

It was Robert Kennedy, speaking in Cape Town during his tour of South Africa in June 1966, who defined for all time the imperative to activism:

"Few will have the greatness to bend history itself; but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of those acts will be written the history of our generation," he said.

"Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope. And crossing each other from a million different centres of energy and daring, these ripples build a current which can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."

Gleitsman took the first paragraph for his foundation's statement of purpose. It began its work in 1989, setting up boards of judges and advisers that included such luminaries as South Africa's Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Walter Sisulu, former UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, and Jihan Sadat, widow of assassinated Egyptian president Anwar Sadat.

The foundation makes three types of awards for social activism. The first, for "people who make a difference", honors American citizens "who have risen to challenge and correct injustice in their neighbourhood and the nation".

The second is directed at full-time college undergraduates; five are selected each year for their efforts.

This week Nelson Mandela had the International Activist Award bestowed on him by the Gleitsman Foundation in recognition of his contribution to the struggle for social justice. PAUL BELL gives a background to the foundation.

The third is the International Activist Award, made for the first time this year and shared by Mandela and jailed Chinese dissident Wei Jingsheng. It will be offered every alternate year.

Gleitsman himself is a quiet, soft-spoken man who appears deeply grateful for the opportunity he has created to associate himself with the work of social activists. These people move him.

He tries to comprehend the magnitude of their suffering or struggle and manages only to express wonderment, saying frequently of people — Mandela, Wei, or the man he spoke to while visiting an informal settlement earlier this week: "I can't put myself in his shoes."

And he is battling to come to terms with South Africa.

After all he has read and heard and watched on television, he is amazed to find that "while the rest of the world is splintering, South Africa is coming together".

Does he really think Mandela needs yet another award? "No", said Gleitsman. "There's nothing the Gleitsman Foundation could ever do to add to Nelson Mandela's importance to the world. To us he just epitomises the results that activism can achieve."

And where does the money go? "Well, that's a very personal thing. We give to the individual, not to organisations. Most times the recipients have very little of their own. One once told me he would put it aside for his retirement. Another gave his award back to the foundation. But it does materially contribute to their ability to be activists..."

Which doubtless goes to the heart of Alan Gleitsman's own activist imperative. He couldn't be there himself but the money he made behind the lines, he's now sending back to the front. It's inside the Kennedy guidelines. □

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 14/5/93.

Consensus breaks out

11A
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After a month of stress and tension triggered by the Hani assassination, last Friday's meeting of the 26-party negotiating council ended on a note of high optimism, pulling SA back from the jaws of disaster and leaving it staring at a settlement instead.

Little wonder that President F W de Klerk has since been sounding so upbeat about the future. "Something wonderful is happening in the country," De Klerk said, referring to an imminent breakthrough in the talks, when he addressed delegates at an international science and technology conference this week.

The political centre appears to be firming — not least because of threats from the extreme Left and Right to trash negotiations and bring on a race war. The danger in April's events seems to have had a chastening effect on all the players, hardening their resolve to find each other across the negotiating table.

"This has been one of the most constructive meetings ever at the World Trade Centre," chimed the leader of the NP delegation, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, after the May 7 indaba. "I noticed an urgency to get on with it. The whole spirit was good." It was indeed, and seemed to have rekindled the bonhomie that marked the early days of Codesa.

Even the Inkatha and KwaZulu government teams, in contrast to the previous week, seemed far more relaxed and in tune with the flow towards consensus. The way now seems clear, after weeks of procedural wrangling, to resolving substantive constitutional issues, based on draft formulations by technical subcommittees, the first of whose reports are expected at today's meeting of the planning committee.

De Villiers's sentiments were echoed by government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, who said the agreements had vindicated his optimism in the negotiations process, the PAC's Benny Alexander (who has taken so well to the process after his time spent dissembling over the activities of Apla), and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Said Ramaphosa: "We see the resolutions on the formation of technical subcommittees and the setting of an election date within the next four weeks (for elections to be held not later than April), as a clear victory for the negotiation process, whose stature is raised. It will inspire confidence among our people." For, aside from the national interest, progress — specifically towards one man, one vote elections — is vital to the ANC's leaders. They need to contain the mass action hotheads in the organisation who argue that three years of negotiation have not advanced the cause.

Ramaphosa said the resolutions adopted

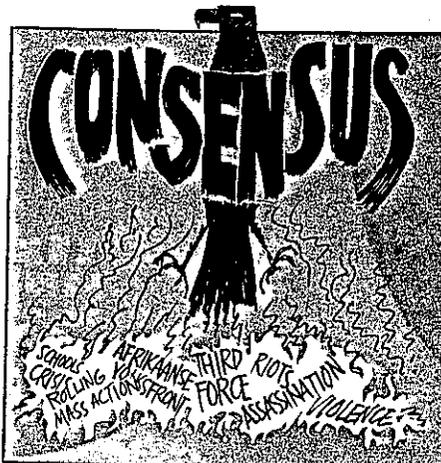
would ensure speedy progress. Describing the decision to set an election date within a month as a "gigantic step," he said announcement of the actual date would "shoot like a star across the SA sky... We've now come to grips with the real negotiating process and are proceeding with urgency."

Regionalism, too

Another important development was unanimous agreement to a late suggestion by Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje for the planning committee to consider appointing another technical committee to look into the boundaries, functions and powers of regions. This, said De Villiers, was something the NP had urged in bilateral talks. "Unless there is agreement on this issue, progress won't be forthcoming. This is therefore a very constructive decision," he explained, adding that the day's events augured well for the future.

Ramaphosa, asked if the gap could be bridged with the CP on regionalism, said that "negotiations are about trying to find one another and reaching compromises." He looked forward to negotiating with the CP on the regional question.

Meyer, who singled out the agreements on setting up technical committees charged with constitutional matters and on the question of violence, said important outstanding



DATED 14/5/93

issues concerned: how a transitional constitution would function; the decision-making procedure and functions of a transitional executive council; regionalism; and power-sharing. It was not possible to expect final detailed agreement on a constitution, but, rather, on principles and the ways of taking the process forward. The decision on setting an election date had shown that consensus could be developed within a few meetings, across a spectrum ranging from the CP to

the PAC.

The CP's Tom Langley and Ciskei's Mick Webb, however, reserved their positions on the declaration of intent that includes setting an election date.

The Afrikaner Volksunie supported the declaration on condition that: a decision was reached accommodating "the Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation"; violence was curbed and intimidation ended before an election is held; and private armies were disbanded.

Asked why consensus had broken out, Meyer said all 26 parties had indicated their commitment to the process. "The feeling I got was of urgency to make progress and overcome the difficulties of this period."

Of concern to the press after the meeting was the question of the rightwing mobilising under retired generals, following their Potchefstroom *saamtrek* the previous day at which the Afrikaner Volksfront was launched under a bewildered-looking former SADF chief, Constand Viljoen.

The closer we moved to a settlement, said Meyer, the more we can expect this kind of thing — which is aimed at preventing one coming into being. It was a danger from Left and Right extremes and partly reflected uncertainty as to the next step. The best way to cope with it was to ensure clarity in the process. Ultimately, it was only through a negotiated political settlement that a solution would be brought about, said Meyer, adding that the extremists had to be brought in to the process.

The CP and AVU, as representatives of the right wing, were part of the process and both had indicated in parliament that they wanted bilateral talks with government. The AVU was meeting De Klerk on Tuesday and the CP's Ferdie Hartzenberg had agreed in principle to a similar meeting. As to groups such as the AWB, "the security forces are always in a state of preparedness." AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche had last week met Law & Order Minister Hennis Kriel — suggesting that matters were under control.

Don't incite

De Villiers emphasised the need for all political leaders to reduce inflammatory statements and create a climate conducive to tolerance.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo — who, it emerged this week, might be on an assassination hit list — said the ANC alliance supports a government of national unity "precisely as a way of clipping the wings of such (rightwing) forces. We must be careful not to play into the hands of the Right by demagoguery. They will be only too ready to

P.T.O.

FM 14/5/93 .

TRANSITION

11A



The centre can hold

The political breakthrough for which both government and the African National Congress tell us we are poised is wonderful news, coming after much mayhem, indiscriminate slaughter and pervasive fear.

Division rather than unity is the more usual outcome of such morbid situations. Indeed, with the farmers massing in Potchefstroom and black schoolchildren turning on their teachers and almost everyone besides, there is certainly evidence of growing social strain in our broader society.

Why, therefore, should we take seriously the "something wonderful" that President F W de Klerk says is emerging from the constitutional talks? The answer is that, for some time now, despite the frequent setbacks and the obvious obstruction from reactionary and radical fringes, the leadership of the National Party and the ANC have been enlarging their common ground.

Both sides know that whether they gain power or not in an election based on universal franchise, both would be irrelevant if anarchy should consume the country.

Both know that the prospects for peace and democracy are critically dependent on the performance of an economy that experienced a decade of declining growth in the Eighties and has shrunk during the first three years of the Nineties, with new fixed investment now so low that we are consuming our future means of sustenance.

Both know that black education has to be improved if what Lord Macaulay called the race between education and democracy to produce responsible citizenry is to be won.

Both feel the constraints of a common impotence — the government, because it cannot move towards either democracy or economic revival without the explicit support of the ANC, and the ANC, because it does not have the legitimacy of responsibility in government.

Both lack the moral rigour and political cohesion of their former ideologies: socialism for the ANC and apartheid for the Nats. They are both ideologies that have been exposed as socially and economically bankrupt.

The ANC has watered down its collectivism to demands for anti-trust laws and a policy of affirmative action. Both have had such dubious utility in the US that they are unlikely to be vigorously pursued.

The Nats are embracing capitalism with all the rigour of recent converts — but implementing the reforms necessary for its achievement with what might be considered circumspection by some and cunning subversion by others.

In addition, the ANC has a leadership that is lacking in vigour and is fearful of losing support in a demographic situation that does not necessarily favour its often assumed dominance.

Should most Indians and coloureds,

some Zulus and nearly all whites vote for the Nats — and with a significant proportion of young ANC supporters below voting age — the ANC will have a tough election fight on its hands.

For their part, the Nats are understandably reluctant to use their former instruments of oppression to enforce social order, in case such action should fan an already inflammatory social fabric and erode their reform credibility.

The elites on both sides have something else in common — a shared inclination for individual power and prosperity.

Almost all fundamental dissent between the two has either disappeared or is disappearing. Common cause is greater across the narrowing leadership gap — though ostensibly it is widening at grassroots level.

The prospects are robust for rapid agreement. With them goes a tacit understanding that speed is important if they are to become tangible.

The outcome will most likely be a government of national unity, embracing ruling elites who are more class-conscious than race-conscious and who increasingly seek to make common cause with business rather than the trades unions.

The attitude of the ANC to the first Derek Keys Budget made that very clear: what criticism there was came from the unions, not from the mandarins in Shell House, who claimed they would have conceived something similar.

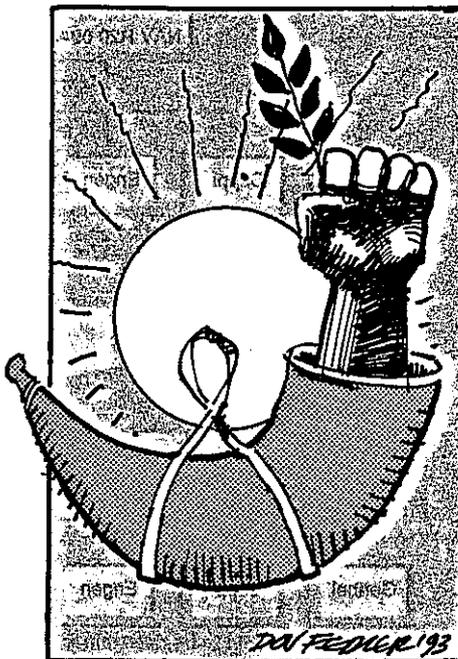
Once the elites are united in government, sharing in the responsibilities inherent in that role, many of the demands for education, housing, electrification and other social facilities will assume a new — and less daunting — proportion. For current aspirations extend far beyond the deprivations caused by apartheid and are as much the consequence of industrialisation and urbanisation as they are of that unfortunate social experiment.

Where social policy falls short of calming rebellious youth, the governing elites will draw on their legitimacy by election to justify whatever authoritarian measures might be required.

Increasingly, the dissenting groups and ideologies, the radical or conservative minorities will be stigmatised as disruptive of good order.

The great potential for their marginalisation seems to have penetrated with precision to neighbouring and client capitals, especially Ulundi.

There is nothing novel in this interpretation. In similar circumstances, the outcome of independence in countries like Kenya and Malaya was much the same. What is required of a new administration if order is to triumph over anarchy is the capacity to recognise the public interest in the broadest sense and the determination to pursue it with vigour, honesty and good government. ■



Radicals and rumps

FM 14/5/93

IIA



Prof Alf Stadler, head of the department of political studies at Wits University, puts into perspective the sometimes unnerving features of our political transition.

Beyond the confusion and turmoil that SA is experiencing, a pattern is emerging in political positions and debates. It became evident in the stalemate of the Eighties: the intense mobilisation of opposition could hurt the regime but not overthrow it and the regime could contain but not defeat the opposition.

The result was February 2 1990.

This outcome deeply influenced the character of political conflict and debate. It determined that the leaders of the NP and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would negotiate around the premise that there will be a basic continuity in the State system.

Both partners made significant changes in policy and strategy. The government had to effect an internal reform without a reliable electoral base, in the face of an apathetic bureaucracy and hostile elements in the security establishment. ANC leaders had to extricate themselves from making the country ungovernable while avoiding alienating constituencies which remained committed to mass action. It also softened demands for the radical reconstruction of the economy.

The continuities in the State, the attempt to demobilise mass action without alienating its leaders and the formation of a consensus involving the main political actors are not rare in recent transitions. Similar developments took place in Italy after 1944, Kenya during the Sixties and Zimbabwe during the Eighties. All experienced intense mobilisation against the regime, with a broad spectrum of opposition combining in a liberation

struggle involving mass action, industrial strife and peasant rebellion. These culminated in a broad coalition. Conservatives predominated; radicals were minor partners.

The new regimes retained important features of the old: arbitrary powers; continuities in the civil service, judiciary and security apparatus; and controls over political activity. Radicals were extruded from the alliance, marginalised and sometimes criminalised. Virtual one-party states were established in Zimbabwe and Kenya, and a stable conservative coalition in Italy.

This pattern suggests that there will be three main elements in our political life: a centrist coalition, a radical opposition and the rump of the old regime.

The main force will be a centrist coalition dominated by those leaders occupying the key positions in the NP and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, who are committed to the notion of national unity, maintenance of law and order, and economic growth combined with a degree of land redistribution, some of it symbolic.

Among them, they could initially command the support of upwards of 80% of the electorate. They will supply the main elements of the leadership, policies and ideas of the next decade. The ANC will constitute the most important element in this coalition; it will of course itself be a coalition of diverse interests in African society — businessmen and professionals, unionists, civics and traditional leaders. The Nationalists could disappear as a distinct group but the space they occupy will probably attract support from conservative coloureds and Indians as well as most of the whites.

The radicals will seek support from groups opposed to or apathetic towards the compromises demanded of the participants in the centrist coalition. Without a clear political identity or leadership distributed among all the main African movements, these radicals

sense that a new political constitution will expose a huge constituency which will not benefit from changes in the State's policies or the complexion of its policy-makers. They will be susceptible to demands for more radical measures. How the centrists will deal with the challenge from the radicals will partly depend on the way the radicals play their hand.

There are several options: co-option, inoculation and repression. Co-option involves bringing opponents into government. It is a strategy that usually fails as political divergences become difficult to paper over. Inoculation involves taking over some of the opposition's policies or strategies, enough to render them impotent but insufficient to produce significant changes. (Land redistribution policies are important strategies aimed at disarming radicals.)

Changes will come slowly for the unemployed, the uneducated and the people in the countryside.

Radicals might be tempted to try to force the pace through an effort to seize power or disrupt government, thus inviting repression.

One element of the rump of the old regime, the white far Right, could be propelled by dreams of a restoration into armed uprising or terror.

The other part of the rump, comprising elements in the homelands which will be unable to gain sufficient support to win a place in the national political arena, might also wage campaigns of violence against opponents.

There is a real possibility that repression will be used against either or both of the groups — the radicals and the rumps — that will occupy the peripheries of the political society.

They will offer a new regime that takes decisive action against them the opportunity to win a great deal of political support.

Cracks in ANC, Cosas link

CT14/S/93

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
and RAMOTENA MABOTE

CRACKS in the relationship between Cosas and the ANC appeared yesterday at a Mass Democratic Movement press conference in the wake of violence related to the continuing education crisis.

Cosas vowed at the press conference to continue to stone and burn vehicles owned by "big business" and the Department of Education and Training and said it would continue attacks on the freeways because this was where these vehicles passed.

A statement handed out at the press conference said the organisations present condemned the attacks on motorists and vehicles — but Cosas spokesman Mr Ndoda Ngemntu insisted that the controversial "Operation Barcelona Flames" would not cease.

At another meeting, attended by more than 1 000 students, staff and workers at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville, ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni joined Cosas in criticising those leaders who had slammed students' actions "without understanding what was happening on the ground".

At the MDM meeting Mr Ngemntu

stressed that the Cosas attacks were not racist and cited the example of a white DET representative whose vehicle had been burned in Nyanga this week. "Nobody harmed him or hurt him. He just walked away," he said.

He claimed there was no rift between Cosas and ANC leaders.

"Cosas is an independent student movement. We will never be tired of listening to the ANC. They are the leaders, of course. But they know they cannot say they will stop our campaign. They know they don't have a right to do so."

The students would not stop learning and study groups were being encouraged at home and at school, Mr Ngemntu said.

ANC assistant regional secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said it was hoped that, through the discussions under way, the organisations would be able to reach a common perspective.

● ANC spokesman Ms Sue de Villiers said last night that the regional leaders had not had time to answer questions put to the organisation by the Cape Times yesterday.

The Cape Times wanted to know if Cosas had been asked to stop the "Operation Barcelona Flames" by the ANC and if it was being defied by the student organisation.

Struggle to keep the peace as ANC enters 'lion's den' in Parow

□ Tension high, but meeting ends virtually without incident

ROGER FRIEDMAN
and MICHAEL MORRIS
Staff Reporters

TENSION gripped the milling crowd at the Parow Civic Centre as strained peace monitors, observers and marshals kept the peace in a five-hour stand-off between ANC supporters and angry rightwingers.

A bomb disposal truck in front of the hall, a medics station and ambulance at the back and scores of Red Cross and St John Ambulance first-aiders set the scene at the Voortrekker Road venue of the ANC's first meeting in the "lion's den" of the northern areas.

But it went off virtually without incident.

Ranks of police stood by across the street as AWB supporters gathered on the open concrete forecourt and, only metres away, ANC supporters began chanting and toyi-toying.

The hall, with a capacity of 450, was packed well before 8pm, and another estimated 500 people stood outside.

The ANC crowd of several hundred, cut off from proceedings inside, milled uncomfortably, cheek-by-jowl with their arch-opponents, the AWB, who stood their ground and looked on grimly, sometimes taunting others or cursing them.

Peace monitors and marshals had their hands full.

One of the burliest of the AWB supporters insisted on repeatedly pushing his way

through the ANC crowd, declaring it was his right to "walk wherever I want to in this part of the world".

Marshals linked arms to cordon off sections of the opposing sides on countless occasions or rushed to calm angered supporters.

Free Cape Movement protesters carrying sharply phrased posters — "ANC in '93 means war in '94" and "The Cape says no to communist mobs" — above their heads were largely unmolested as they meandered through the crowd, a section of which pounded the steps in an almost constant toyi-toyi to "struggle" chants and shouts of "Viva, ANC".

And grey-haired Ms Ray Carter of Women for Peace, clutching a candle and a handful of pamphlet prayers, weaved her way unconcernedly among chanting pupils and towering, bearded men, spreading the Gospel of peace.

But, as the evening wore on, the tension rose.

AWB (Western Cape) leader "General" Steph Jacobson, who had arrived with about 20 "heavily armed" followers, said the AWB was "not interested in listening to the ANC".

"They will soon listen to us. We are just going to watch, but if the s... hits the fan..."

A youthful follower armed with a truncheon and bover boots said he had turned out to "protect my town from the barbarians".

Elsewhere in the crowd, a



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, the Argus

SEA OF FISTS: Hundreds of black and white clenched fists are raised during the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* in Afrikaans at the end of last night's Parow meeting — the ANC's first in the conservative northern areas.

Monte Vista resident said he was "coming to watch the show" while a Parow resident said he was open minded and had come to see what was going on.

A National Party supporter told of his "hard week's work" and resultant desire to have a good laugh.

Another Parow local said he had come to listen to the "atheists" while an Elsie's River

ANC supporter said: "We are all South Africans and must come together to solve our problems."

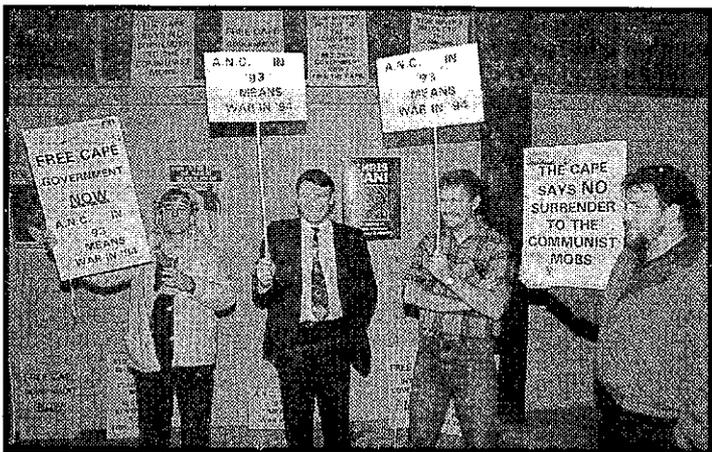
A Ravensmead woman said she would be a member of the Parow constituency one day and had come to see how welcome she would be.

Riversdale MP Mr Douglas Josephs said he had come "out of curiosity to see whether the ANC can attract support in the

white areas".

Peninsula Technikon human resources manager Mr Nick van Oordt said he had come to support the ANC.

Fears mounted that there might be bloody clashes when the meeting ended and the audience spilled out into the street, but a co-ordinated effort between marshals and monitors succeeded in keeping the two sides apart.



RIGHTWING PROTEST: A group of rightwingers express their disapproval outside Parow Civic Centre.

Link man tells of Slovo plot

Star 14/5/93
By Paul Bell

Danie Odendaal, the key link in the chain which led to the revelation of the Slovo murder plot, emerged yesterday to tell his story to The Star.

Odendaal, the man who introduced Star reporter Jacques Pauw to his informant on the Slovo murder plot story, denied he had represented Pauw as a member of any arm of the security or intelligence services.

Police have accused Pauw of impersonating a police officer.

The informant, known as Peter Slovac, appeared, hooded, at a media conference this week to say that Odendaal had told him Pauw was "a police Security Branch captain from Pretoria".

Odendaal, who describes himself as "a police agent", claimed he had first met Slovac last week, in the course of a sting that SAP detectives were trying to set up to trap several dollar counterfeiters.

At a meeting in a Berea, Johannesburg, last Wednesday, said Odendaal, and in the company of five detectives, he was introduced to Slovac as a member of "the CID" and as "the best of the best" in operations of this sort. Odendaal gave his name as "Glen".

Slovac was to be the go-between who led



Odendaal . . . "doing the police a favour".

Odendaal and the police to the counterfeiter. The two men remained in touch during the week, meeting several times to establish the connection with Slovac's counterfeiter.

Last Friday, between 9 am and 10 am, they agreed to meet at the Yeoville water tower. They drove around, passing time while waiting for a meeting with Slovac's police handler.

Slovac then confided to Odendaal that he was working on an investigation of a plot to kill SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, and that he had reported his findings to a police colonel at John Vorster Square and been referred to one of the group of detectives who had been present at the Wednesday meeting in Berea. (Slovac has claimed Odendaal was present when he passed on his information to the

police, which Odendaal denies.)

They were driving through Joubert Park when Slovac spotted a man, whom he identified as John Beck, driving a white Nissan light delivery vehicle, who was at that moment pulling up outside the Karos Hotel.

"He's the guy who's going to pull the trigger," Odendaal claims Slovac told him.

On Sunday, said Odendaal, Slovac showed him the place at the Yeoville tower from where Slovo was to be shot. Later that evening the two men were due to meet to pursue the counterfeit money sting. In the meantime, however, Odendaal had called Pauw of The Star. When Pauw returned his call at 7.45 pm, Odendaal told him what he had heard about the Slovo plot. Odendaal agreed to take Pauw to meet Slovac later that evening.

Slovac called Odendaal at 8 pm. They agreed to meet in front of the cafe on the corner of Abel Road and Tudhope Avenue in Berea in an hour-and-a-half. Odendaal then called Pauw back and arranged to have Pauw pick him up.

In the car they discussed how Pauw should establish his credentials with Slovac. Odendaal wanted to introduce him as a policeman. Pauw refused, but if Odendaal was forced to say some-

thing, to describe him as being from "national security" (there is no such agency).

In the end, Odendaal claimed, he said nothing. At the rendezvous, Pauw parked while he went to meet Slovac. He was away from the car for no more than four or five minutes, during which time he simply told Slovac there was someone he wanted him to meet.

When they returned to the car, Odendaal introduced Pauw as "Andre". The three went to Rockefeller's club in Yeoville and had a few drinks.

"Jacques asked Slovac to tell him the Slovo story. Then, when Jacques asked him to spell John Beck's name, Slovac asked me if Jacques was a reporter."

Both Pauw and Odendaal denied that Pauw was from the press.

"Slovac said he would trust Jacques because he was with me," said Odendaal.

"As far as I'm concerned, if I hadn't blown the story, the police would have spent months keeping this lot under observation and spent a lot of money. And think of the international response if the plot had gone ahead.

"I'm doing the police a favour. Peter (Slovac) is just a dumb f. . . ."

● Snagged on horns of dilemma — Page 11

What went wrong with black consciousness?

wlmail 14/5-20/93

Why has black

consciousness been

reduced to neat rhetoric

and guilt-tripping

sloganeering, asks former

Azapo president

SATHS COOPER

BLACK consciousness and the organisations claiming it as their article of faith have reached a crossroads in our country. This is not only because of the somewhat confusing responses emanating from spokesmen of the Azanian People's Organisation about their participation in the negotiations process, but particularly because of confusing statements about the world view itself.

Serious questions are raised by recent developments in our country, perhaps more than the available answers.

The mark of the relevance of any social phenomenon is its ability to confront realistically the challenges and demands of the time. It is simply not good enough to rely merely on history (especially when current reality is ignored), to hanker after the past (especially at the expense of the present and future), to

glibly retort without considering the effects of such knee-jerking, to label and be contemptuously dismissive of everyone who does not fit our own constrained conceptualisation of the world. Oh, how apartheid South Africa has socialised us!

Increasingly, many of us who were there at the front door in the early 1970s when black consciousness was ushered in, laying the foundations for the national conscientisation and subsequent massive mobilisation that the country experienced over the next two decades, have been adding to the questions that confront our country.

We wonder exactly what went wrong when the very ideals and objectives that the architects and adherents of black consciousness

stood for, envisioned, fought and sacrificed for are reduced to neat rhetoric and guilt-tripping sloganeering that attempt to cut to the quick and condemn beyond the pale anyone who demurs or offers an uncomfortable interpretation of where our society stands.

"You cannot be psychologically liberated when you stay in a squatter camp," said Dr Nchaube Mokoape on TSS last Sunday. In the same programme, Dr Gomolemo Mokae said that when one wants to know about Islam one does not ask the Pope.

Black consciousness was never the elitist phenomenon that seems to be implied by Mokoape. Conditions of physical deprivation certainly do not determine cognitive, psychological or physical limits.

Paternalists and other racists have long attempted to demonstrate, without success, that people born into lower socio-economic circumstances are less intelligent and consequently less able, of lesser leadership material and less entitled to the same treatment in society. But, knowing Mokoape, I do not believe that he would have intended such a construction.

Nevertheless, living conditions, whatever the element of choice, are

not at all an indicator of psychological liberation.

Black consciousness is also not the exclusivist preserve of a coterie and those on whom they may choose to confer ordination.

Are millions prevented, as victims of apartheid, to comment on that vile phenomenon? Are we restrained to relying only on the National Party (new look or otherwise) for authoritative interpretations and definitive pronouncements on apartheid (whether as concept, intention or effect)?

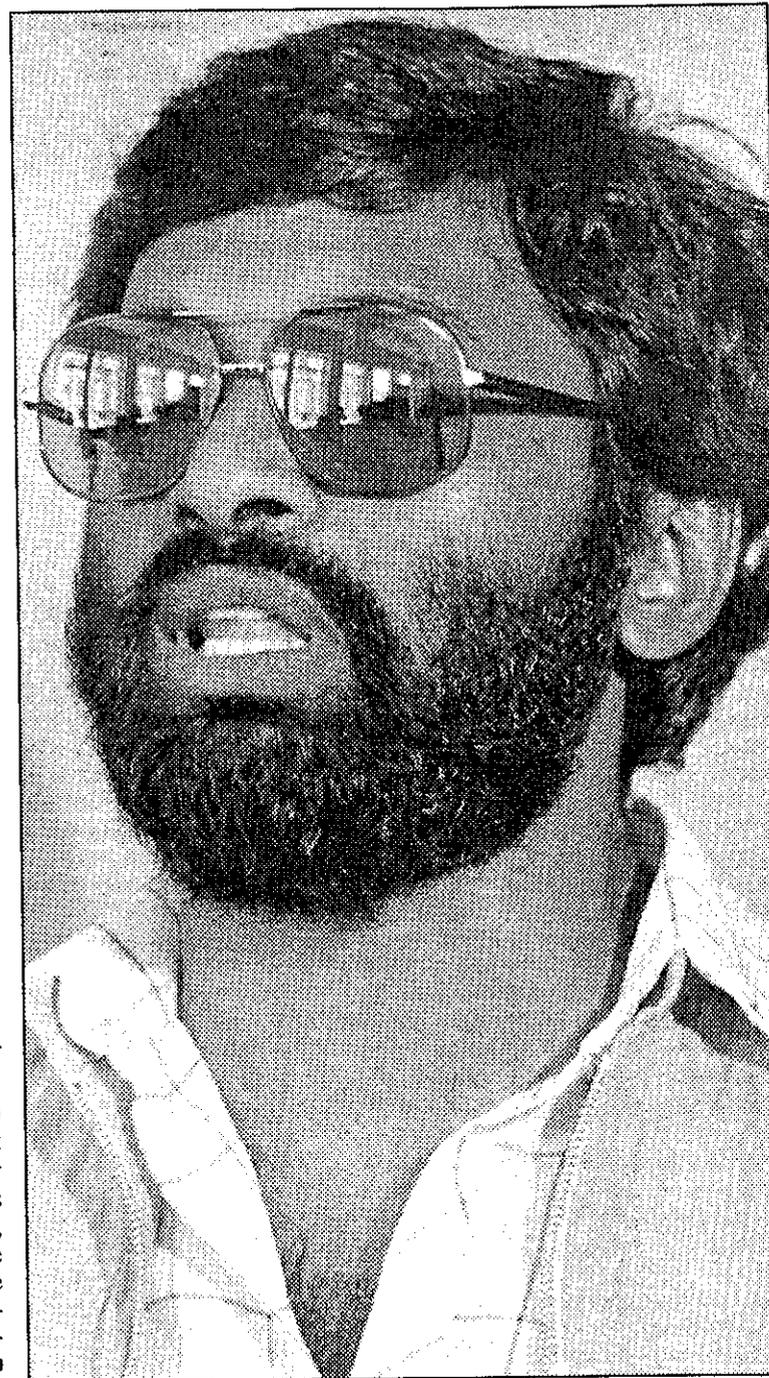
There are shades of the "all ye who are not with me are against me" and the "sole and authentic representative" ethos which so severely contributed to the political intolerance and fratricide that our country has been so painfully witnessing, and which Mokae himself I know would not want to be part of.

Sadly, certain current espousers of black consciousness have trivialised the world view and rendered it more effete — succeeding where the most rabid detractors and opponents have failed, creating the wish-fulfilment of an intellectual armchairism.

But even they will not be able to destroy the singular contribution that black consciousness has made to our sorry landscape: its motivating scores of thousands of young and old alike, its overarching effect on many in the current national leadership who were influenced by it in the 1970s, its predictive ability, its changing of the terrain of change, its insistence on restoration of human dignity and rights — indeed, its demands almost in grasp.

Black consciousness is a valid world view that has to be tempered by obtaining conditions, not imprisoned by the past or fettered by its present copyright claimants, who would fossilise its emancipatory humanisation.

Black consciousness cannot be judged only by current and solo performance (or lack of it); neither can it



Saths Cooper ... 'Echoing empty militancy serves to lose support'

be reduced to a narrow set of inaccessible, pristine principles which appear to provide a smug satisfaction to the few; nor can it be expected to perform political miracles devoid of a clear programme of action.

Echoing empty militancy does not achieve results, however strident; rather, it serves to lose existing and potential support.

●Saths Cooper is a former publicity secretary of the Black People's Convention. He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the "Frelimo trial" in 1974, and after his release became president of Azapo. He is currently executive director of the Johannesburg-based Family Institute.

New ANC branch

*Sowetan
14/5/93.*

AN ANC branch has been launched in Bophuthatswana's Luka area near Rustenburg, the organisation said yesterday. It said 17 more branches would be launched in the area over the next few weeks. (C) 11A

— Sowetan Reporters and Sapa



focus on reconstruction

T HIS country has many memorable legends and a considerable store of cultural artifacts we have ignored at our peril.

My attention was brought to this by a black South African, Dr Stanley Letanka, now living in Britain.

A few years before I started the thinking on Nation Building, Dr Letanka, a family friend from the days of the old Sophiatown, said he and other expatriates were exasperated by and weary of the same tired political argument, the same angry rhetoric.

The world, he said, needed something new, something more inspiring and visionary, particularly from strife-torn places like South Africa.

Dr Letanka was a visionary. He said these things a few years before Mikhail Gorbachev introduced his world-shaking reforms in Russia and before Mr FW de Klerk's speech in 1990. He opened, for me, visionary vistas, touched on creative impulses that were lying dormant in me and I dare say many of my folk.

So, in 1988, soon after I became Editor of *Sowetan*, I wrote a paper on an idea that came to be called Nation Building. I painted a canvas that took some South African history into account, that informed itself of some African history and part of the history of the world.

Before I touch on that, let me bring you to the present by drawing a view, a type of legend surrounding the spate of burials we have recently had.

South Africans were given a view that was exclusively black when the SABC showed the Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo funerals. For the first time in many years white South Africa was let into a drama-filled picture of black life — the good, the dignified and the anger.

Chris Hani's death was symbolic in more ways than one. The political aphorism that says the tree of freedom is watered with the blood of martyrs was given what was to me effective and striking demonstration. Many who did not previously think much of Mr Hani came out in total solidarity. Others, including the State President, were shaken by the reaction to the death of this man, who was generally regarded as some red hot terrorist or worse.

It was a cathartic experience for blacks who may have and probably are still having doubts about the suitability of negotiating with the once hated and totally mistrusted enemy.

Oliver Tambo's funeral was not as emotive, perhaps, because he died a natural death but also because he did not strike the radical chord in many young people who saw him as part of the Old Guard.

The 1960s are a significant historical era to start this story. It was then that the late British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, delivered

This is a speech delivered by **Aggrey Klaaste**, Editor of *Sowetan*, at the Liberty Life VIP convention held at Sun City:

Sowetan 14/5/93.

his "winds of change" speech. The democratic winds of change which he had imagined would blow through South Africa and the continent ran red with blood for many years.

Dr Kwame Nkrumah told black leaders to seek the political kingdom first and everything would fall into place. To his and everybody else's surprise nothing fell into place after Uhuru.

In America Martin Luther King gave his "I have a dream" speech. That dream, for many black Americans, is something of a nightmare.

Finally, in 1960, the ANC and the PAC were banned, a watershed event whose effects are felt today.

These events that, for the benefit of my discourse, must include the way the Afrikaners built their nation, "*Die Volk*", before and after 1948, to contextualise the Nation Building thinking.

South Africa must use the black population as the foundation to one nation. That foundation has been destroyed by apartheid.

Historical events

Nation Building uses these major historical events to inform the route to that eventuality. For if those actors who influenced the history of the past had dwelt more urgently on rebuilding and reshaping the oppressed or colonised people, the democratic winds of change would have started 30 years ago.

Steve Biko and his Black Consciousness apostles had hold of part of these truths. They recognised the damage caused to blacks, the damage to our bodies, to our minds and to our spirits. They spoke of a process of building that they described as conscientisation.

They created a confrontationist Black Power position which led to Biko's death.

They might not have said it but in the end they probably believed that all South Africans should be involved in repairing apartheid's damage.

Today the same process has different definitions; some call it redistribution of resources, some call it black advancement and others say it is affirmative action. At *Sowetan* we give it a broader socio-political and economic description; we call it Nation Building.



As a newspaper we are able, or have a choice (a difficult one in fact) to stay clear of ideological definitions that narrow or limit the creativity of the idea. The idea itself is common sense. Unless the majority of blacks are turned into useful, productive, healthy and satisfied parts of our society, there will never be peace in South Africa.

We can and must do it together. It will need the commitment and the combined resources of all South Africans. We have done some of the spade work. We have traversed the difficult terrain of matching white financial resources with black manpower. We have traversed and in a special way overcome the age old race problems involving co-optation at the best of times and selling out at the worst.

We have to a large extent succeeded in impressing politicians from the entire spectrum of black politics. We have not been able to impress our ideas on Afrikaners or other white rightwingers. But we will.

We wish to educate all South Africans that blacks in particular need to be developed economically, spiritually and otherwise for our united survival. That will lead to a diminution of political and criminal violence.

Finally, we will tell our Afrikaner fellow South Africans and others who might be fearful of blacks that people who are proud of who they are, who have a grip on the essential ethical ideas like Ubuntu in their armoury, will not necessarily wish to crush the self-determination of others. We will tell them it is perfectly in order for them to have their "*Boerestaat* or *Volkstans*" but to have them rather as a colourful and effective part of the total South African race tapestry; a rainbow coalition of black, Asian, so-called coloured, Afrikaner, English and other races.

The Nation Building ethos finds the social engineering of the apartheid architects as distasteful and unacceptable as that which wishes to force the various South African tribes, black, white and brown, together in a multiracial melting pot.

We have excellent Asian communities that should be an example to the type of diverse ethnic and even exotic, if you like, communities that can make up the South Africa of the future.

Verwoerd grandson in tears over cheers, chants of Viva!

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE grandson of one of Afrikanerdom's most prominent figures has appealed to Afrikaners who want their own homeland not to regard those who join the ANC as traitors but as political opponents.

This appeal was made by Professor Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of the former Prime Minister and National Party leader, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, in conservative Parow last night.

One of two Afrikaners who spoke at the ANC's first venture into the northern areas rightwing stronghold, the Stellenbosch University philosophy professor said apartheid was an immoral failure and an imposed system of injustice.

He was given a standing ovation, mixed with chants of *Viva Verwoerd*, before and after his address.

Professor Verwoerd, who sat on stage with the ANC's regional leadership, was often overcome by the emotion of the meeting and frequently wiped tears from his eyes.

Looking comfortable behind a microphone and facing a barrage of newspaper photographers, he spoke about his past, the fears of Afrikaners, and the joys of being part of the ANC.

He was a student living in a university residence when he heard over the radio in 1985 that South African security forces had attacked ANC bases in Harare. He recalled that he applauded at the time.

Four years later he felt like a traitor when he shook the hand of Communist Party stalwart Joe Slovo especially "because my brother was fighting in Angola".

Professor Verwoerd said he understood why some Afrikaners wanted their own homeland.

The main reason why he had not joined the ANC sooner was out of consideration for those Afrikaners and their feelings for Dr Verwoerd.

He said that it was a wonderful feeling no longer to be part of a threatened minority, but to be a member of a national liberation movement.

He said those seeking their home in their proposed Afrikaner homeland of Oranje should be more tolerant of Afrikaners who were ANC members.

"They should not call us trai-



AMANDLA: ANC Afrikaners Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, and Carl Niehaus sing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* in Afrikaans. ANC (Western Cape) secretary Tony Yengeni is on the left.

tors but see us as political opponents."

Many whites had not really realised what had happened in South Africa, he said.

Some might say that they had had good intentions with apartheid, but the truth was that it was an immoral policy which failed and had imposed injustice.

ANC national spokesman Carl Niehaus, the other Afrikaner who addressed the meeting, said the historic gathering was one of the biggest gifts he and his colleagues on stage had been given.

"Tonight we bring a message that we want peace. But we want a negotiated peace which will lead to justice."

He warned the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volkunie, which have joined constitutional negotiations, to stick

to the rules of democracy.

Referring to the Committee of Generals, he said he had read that former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen had said he was willing to talk.

Although the ANC's doors were open, it did not expect General Viljoen to talk with an R1 rifle on his shoulder.

He said the tragedy of President De Klerk's apology for apartheid was that it had not been unqualified.

"He's saying it was not so bad."

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the movement was committed to the principle of non-racialism.

There would be no departure from this policy even if the Pan Africanist Congress did accuse the ANC of sounding like whites.

11A ARG 14/5/93

ANC man 'spurned abuses probe'

31007 145793
FORMER ANC security department official Mzwai Piliso refused to co-operate with efforts to investigate complaints of human rights abuses in ANC camps in Angola between 1985 and 1987, ANC legal department head Zola Skweyiya said.

Skweyiya was testifying during the first day of public hearings yesterday by the Motsuenyane commission into alleged abuses by ANC members in the camps.

The commission, headed by former Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane, was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela last year to investigate whether "specific and named persons belonging to the ANC have committed acts of cruelty towards former detainees and prisoners".

Skweyiya, who was appointed ANC offi-

RAY HARTLEY

cer of justice to investigate alleged abuses in 1985, said the security department regarded information on its activities in Angola in this period as "a military secret".

"He (Piliso) told me very clearly that I would never get co-operation from him. I could not carry out my duties at that time as the officer of justice," he said.

He had experienced hostility from security department officials and had been threatened with imprisonment when he requested permission to visit the Angolan camps between 1985 and 1987.

Skweyiya said the "new crop" of Umkhonto we Sizwe recruits, who fled SA

□ To Page 2

ANC probe

31007 145793
after the 1976 school riots, had shown less discipline than earlier ANC recruits delegated to join MK by ANC branches inside the country. "The only thing they wanted was to carry a gun."

He said he had been able to visit Angola only in 1987 after security department changes had led to better co-operation.

Skweyiya testified that the ANC had conducted elaborate court proceedings to ensure fair trials for those charged by the security department. Abuses in the camps were alien to the ANC's traditions of fair trial and the standards it set itself as a liberation movement.

Earlier, the commission heard evidence from ANC security department official Gibson Makhanda. Makhanda said the atti-

11A 252
□ From Page 1
tude of the ANC leadership at the 1985 Kabwe conference, where a code of conduct was drawn up to limit abuses in the camps, was that "everyone in the ANC should work to strengthen the security department". He said the ANC leadership, including then ANC president Oliver Tambo, was "extremely upset about what was taking place" in the camps.
□ The International Society for Human Rights released its report on human rights and the ANC yesterday. It claimed the killing of detainees continued after "public declarations of regret" by the ANC in 1990. The ANC was still maintaining prisoners "according to reports from the autumn of 1992", it said.

ANC uses celebrities to woo Afrikaners

THE ANC will today announce a major drive, to be backed by personalities such as ponytailed folk singer Anton Goosen and Wits scientist Johan Prins, to win the hearts and minds of Afrikaners.

Goosen, whose songs include the cynical Boy van die Suburbs, writer Madelein van Niekerk and several others are expected to shock the Afrikaans cultural world by publicly proclaiming their ANC membership at a media briefing.

A spokesman for the personalities said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus would launch the initiative at the briefing.

An advertising campaign calling for

IIA RAY HARTLEY ~~SECRET~~

democratic elections and demanding government action against the right wing would also be launched in the Vrye Weekblad newspaper today, the spokesman said.

The advertising campaign, which was not an ANC initiative, would be endorsed by prominent Afrikaner personalities who were not necessarily ANC members, including actress Grethe Fox and offbeat musician Johannes Kerkerrel.

The spokesman said many Afrikaners had joined the ANC after the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hanu, but no precise figures were available.

B1007 14/5/93



Frene Ginwala



Ellen Kuzwayo



Thandeka Mgoduso



Albertina Sisulu



Dr Mamphela Ramphele

Women in Parliament

Sowetan 14/5/93

OUR CHOICES Women elect their Ministers for the future non-sexist South African government:

By Pearl Majola

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN, especially blacks, have over the years looked enviously at the Margaret Thatchers and Corazon Aquinos of this world.

Should we have a democratic, non-sexist government that will give women equal opportunities to take up cabinet posts, which women should be in Parliament and why?

Sowetan spoke to some women leaders across the political spectrum and from community-based organisations to find out.

Ms Gill Noero of the Democratic Party said new portfolios would have to be created because the present ones did not represent all the needs and interests of the majority of the people.

Her choice is Ms Dene Smuts, a DP MP. Her portfolio would be Youth Empowerment and head of Constitutional Courts.

"Dene Smuts has done a lot of work in youth empowerment. The idea of constitutional courts would be to guard against the violation of human rights."

Ms Angie Makwela of the Career Women's Association of South Africa emphasised the need for affirmative action and the need for women in Parliament who will be able to work with grassroots women and develop them.

Her choice is Ms Anne Letsebe for Social and Community Services.

Letsebe is a lecturer in the School of Social Work at Wits University. She is co-convenor of the National Women's Coalition and president of the South African Black Social Workers' Association. She is knowledgeable and has a genuine concern and commitment to gender related issues and the welfare of the community.

Ms Nomonde Jatta of the Imbeloko Women's Organisation said she would elect any woman who would be able to do the job.

She prefers women who communicate with grassroots women.

She suggested: Ms Thandeka Mgoduso, a psychologist, as Minister of Health and Social Welfare and Ms Mojanku Gumbi, constitutional affairs secretary for Azapo for Minister of Constitutional Affairs. Gumbi is an advocate and director of the Black Lawyers Association's Legal Education Centre.

Ms Lindiwe Zulu of the ANC Women's League said South Africa had a wealth of capable and qualified women leaders.

One of her choices is Ms Thelma Mntso of the SACP for Human Resources and Social Welfare.

"She has always been interested in the welfare of our people. In Uganda she encouraged

contrades to get to local schools and universities," she said.

Her other choice is Ms Bongive Njobe who would be in the Ministry of Agriculture and Environment. Njobe is one of a few women who have a special interest in agriculture. She has worked with the ANC's Land Commission.

Mrs Winnie Serobe of the Ikageng Women's Club said her main concern was education. These are her candidates:

Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo, well-known for her community work, would be put in charge of education. "Kuzwayo pays a lot of attention to education, both for the young and the old and is involved in, among other projects, adult literacy," Serobe said.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu as State President. "Sisulu has a cool head, is organised, committed and able to listen. Those are the most important leadership qualities," she said.

Mrs Ntombentle Zungula of the African Women's Organisation stressed the importance of sound economic and justice systems for the new South Africa.

These are her choices:

Ms Nothemba Mlonzi, an attorney from Butterworth, Transkei. She would take the position of Minister of Justice.

"She understands and can interpret every facet of South African law and politics. She is a determined, decisive, disciplined and straight forward woman," said Zungula.

Ms Nomthetho Simeleane for the Finance Ministry. Though a South African, Simeleane is head of Economics at the University of Swaziland.

"The use of land for economic balance has been one of her main emphases. I feel she would be able to rescue us from the present economic crisis."

Ms Suzanne Vos of the Inkatha Freedom Party said there were many women worthy of considerations for jobs in Parliament, both within IFP and outside.

She would elect **Professor Harriet Ngubane** of the University of Cape Town for the Department of Womens Affairs.

"She understands the issues facing women and can make a valuable contribution in changing things."

Mrs Babette Kabak of the Women's Lobby which was formed to educate women on the drawing up of the new constitution and whose aim is to fight for a non-sexist South Africa. She chose **Dr Frene Ginwala** and **Dr Mamphela Ramphele** for Women's Affairs and Health and Human Services respectively. Ginwala is convenor of the National Women's Coalition and head of the ANC's research department. Ramphele is the vice-principal at the University of Cape Town and well-known for her community work.

Women face stiff penalties

Sex selection of babies may be outlawed:

Sowetan Correspondent

BOMBAY, India—Lata is an Indian housewife with three children and a growing desire for a son. She is pregnant again and determined to abort if tests show a female foetus. But women like Lata may not be able, legally, to avail themselves of abortions related to sex selection for much longer.

A national law to regulate the misuse of amniocentesis and other tests that can detect the sex of a foetus could be passed in the next three months.

In amniocentesis, a hollow needle is inserted through the abdomen of a pregnant woman to obtain amniotic fluid from her womb. It is usually performed to detect genetic abnormalities. The procedure carries a small risk of miscarriage.

The law's most controversial aspect has been its penalising of women. Women, as well as doctors, who use the test to detect and then abort female foetuses face up to three years in jail, although so far none has been charged. "A woman should not be punished."

Her choices are determined by family pressures and society.

"No family feels complete unless they have male children," says gynaecologist Geeta Pandya, who offers a controversial sex pre-selection technique.

A 32-year-old woman attending her clinic faces typical family pressure. The woman, who has two daughters, had two abortions after tests showed the foetuses were female.

Ever since it was introduced in parliament in 1990 the draft legislation has been sidelined by other issues — falling governments, political upheavals and religious disputes.

"Every time, something more important comes up," says Chainika Shah of the Forum Against Sex Determination and Sex Pre-selection, a Bombay-based group that campaigns against the misuse of technologies such as amniocentesis.

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Department of Justice
- Mrs Asha Moodley

Women Ministers

- Dr Rina Venter
National Party MP
Minister of Health and Welfare
- Sheila Camerer
National Party MP
Deputy Minister of Justice.

NP lashes out at ANC

Political Staff

AN ANC pamphlet being circulated to white communities in Natal was "deceitful and scurrilous" and had no place in the South Africa of today or the new South Africa, the NP said yesterday.

The pamphlet, issued by the ANC southern Natal region, questioned whether the country was under the "grip of the military junta".

It also accused President F W de Klerk of trying to reintroduce a state

11A

of emergency "through the back door" by threatening to declare more unrest areas.

Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett said the pamphlet's call to combine talks with pressure was a blatant attempt at blackmail "and smacks of crude intimidation".

Mr Bartlett yesterday also rejected Inkatha allegations that the NP was conniving with the ANC "or any other party".

CT 15/5/93

The moderating radical

"NO WONDER they hate him," a diplomat remarked 18 months ago during the first legal congress of the SACP on South African soil in 40 years. "He is so effective."

The diplomat was referring to the hatred many white South Africans have for Joe Slovo, national chairman of the SACP and a senior executive member of the ANC.

The diplomat's statement remains valid. The white-haired Slovo, one of the most able men in the ANC-led tripartite alliance, is still enemy number one for many whites, particularly those on the Right. Their hatred is in-

PATRICK LAURENCE appraises and profiles Joe Slovo (right), veteran communist, anti-apartheid fighter and a figure who inspires fear and hatred, admiration and affection.

fused with fear.

Slovo was on the "hit list" allegedly found in the home of Janus Waluz, one of three people charged with the murder of SACP



general-secretary Chris Hani, and top on the list of an alleged cabal of conspirators reported to have been planning to kill him between May 15 and 21.

Slovo bears the hatred of his white compatriots stoically. "If I am the number one enemy of the whites, I am the number one friend of the blacks," he says philosophically. His statement about the esteem with which blacks regard him is not boastful. At ANC rallies the loudest cheers are often reserved for him.

Slovo, who is in his mid-60s and fighting bone marrow cancer, is an able orator at mass rallies and a superb speaker at smaller meetings. A convinced communist despite the collapse of such regimes in eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Slovo's language is uncluttered by Marxist jargon. His points are made simply, forcefully and lucidly.

Villain

For decades whites have been told that communists are behind every manifestation of black rebelliousness. For years black rejection of apartheid was blamed on the Soviet Union.

Slovo, the white communist, is easily identifiable as the villain. His Jewish background compounds the bigotry of his political enemies. Until recently the stereotypical communist in the mind of white rightists was a rootless, cosmopolitan Jew.

During the 12 years of P W Botha's administration, communism was identified as the driving force behind the "total onslaught" against South Africa. Slovo was portrayed as being at the centre of the onslaught, a

KGB colonel who took his orders directly from the Kremlin.

There is an element of truth in the portrayal of Slovo as the driving force behind the fight against minority rule. It is the corollary of the diplomat's remark about his competence.

Slovo is a former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff. He helped launch the underground struggle in the early 1960s after the ANC was outlawed and to revive it in the 1970s after most of the high command, including Nelson Mandela, had been captured and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial of 1963-64.

The son of a van driver, Slovo is a lawyer by training and a politician by inclination. Perhaps his most important contribution to the SACP has been to provide it with a rationale to meet the crisis which overtook communism three years ago.

In his theoretical monograph *Has Socialism Failed?* he argued that communism had to revive and strengthen its links with democracy, and conceded that vital ties had been severed by the "commandist" regimes of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

There is a degree of irony in the perception of Slovo as white public enemy number one: his influence in the ANC alliance is a moderating one, stereotypes of radical Reds notwithstanding. He, perhaps more than any single person, is responsible for the ANC's acceptance of the need for an interim government of national unity.

Slovo has reason to be bitter and vengeful; his first wife, Ruth, was killed by a parcel bomb in 1982.

Hani, his friend and comrade of many years, was murdered, allegedly by fanatical white rightists.

Yet he remains a restraining influence, warning comrades not to underestimate the dangers of counter-revolution, urging them to accommodate and neutralise white fears through the establishment of a government of national unity and, above all, seeking to smooth and accelerate the process of black emancipation.

South 15/5 - 19/5/93

'ANC acting like Nats' — Cosatu leader

By **Quentin Wilson**

COSATU regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse has criticised the ANC for "starting to act like

the NP government".

Referring to the ANC's call made earlier this week for students to return to school, Arendse said the ANC was

wrong to make the call "without promising pupils a real change in their education system," Arendse said.

"Personally, I believe pupils

should go back to class, but then the ANC should also provide a programme that will bring about real change. (11/17)

"At the moment the call is being made in a vacuum. So far, negotiations are carrying on indefinitely with little evidence of real progress being made.

concerned with soft positions and strategies — we are a revolutionary organisation fighting a war," Cosas executive member Mr Vuyiso Tyhahlisu said.

"Whatever discussions we have with other organisations, we are not prepared to compromise our militancy.

"They are welcome to make their contributions to our struggle in the way which they see fit, but our programme will remain unchanged."

Tyhahlisu spoke out strongly against ANC Western Cape chairperson, Dr Allan Boesak, who condemned the violence arising from Cosas's campaign.

Irresponsible

"Elements in the ANC, particularly Dr Allan Boesak, are being irresponsible in the way they are commenting on our campaign.

"Boesak's remarks are not typical of what we expect from a radical revolutionary movement like the ANC.

"Students have been a little bit demoralised by what he said."

Cosas reiterated its demand that the Department of Education and Training scrap exam fees, and called on students to occupy unused schools to hold classes there.

Cosas asked students at tertiary institutions and teachers to support its campaign.

Liberation movement

"For the ANC to tell pupils they have 'made their point' and should now return to class is more a government response than a worthy response of a liberation movement," Arendse said.

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said in response: "The call for pupils to return to school was not only made by the ANC, it was jointly decided by the ANC and the majority of teacher, pupil and parent organisations.

"In that sense, we did not act like the government, we properly canvassed the views of other concerned groups before we came to a decision.

Strategy

"Whether or not our programme properly resolves the crisis is a question of strategy and therefore up for debate."

Cosas, however, is not about to cool off its campaign for an end to exam fees and free education for all in response to appeals from the ANC.

"We are not a liberal organisation



REPERCUSSIONS: A looter takes advantage of a pupils' protest Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Death threats to Cape ANC leaders

South 1515 - 19/5/93

By Quentin Wilson

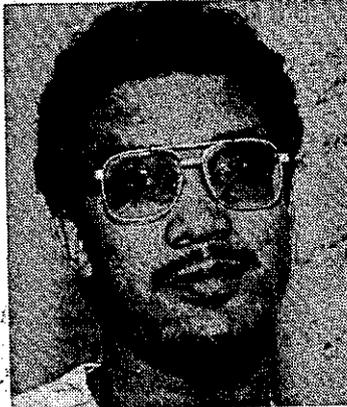
WESTERN Cape ANC leaders have been dogged by sinister telephone calls — some threaten assassination and others promise to blow up the ANC's Woodstock offices.

The increase in intimidation is being taken seriously in the light of Chris Hani's murder

A group of people identifying themselves as 57 retired SADF officers have been telephoning ANC leaders, warning that they will avenge each white death by killing an ANC leader.

"We are tightening security because we take the threats seriously," said ANC assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

"Obviously we are not going to say what it involves — that is part of our precautionary measures."



NEVILLE NAIDOO

In some instances, callers show a sinister ability to track down ANC members.

Mr Neville Naidoo, ANC Youth League secretary, told of a threatening call intended for him last month.

"On the spur of the moment, I decided to visit a friend's house," said Naidoo. "I did not tell anybody I was going there

and yet that is where they telephoned."

Although Naidoo left his friend's home shortly before the call threatening him with death, the caller knew of his visit — as he insisted on speaking to Naidoo directly.

"There are a number of sinister aspects to the incident," said Naidoo. "Firstly, they could only have known about the visit if they had been following me, and secondly, how did they know the telephone number?"

Ms Zou Kota, ANC elections organiser, was given a hit list over the telephone. It included Mr Tony Yengeni, and national leaders Mr Joe Slovo, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Thabo Mbeki.

"I could tell by the man's accent that he was an Afrikaans speaking white," said Kota. "He said they were based in the Western Cape and were not affiliated to any organisation."

South Profile

Faan Naude *South 15/15-19/15/93*

If the hub of development in Cape Town's informal settlements is the Cape Provincial Administration, its pivot is the CPA's regional director for community services, Mr Faan Naude. **CHIARA CARTER** interviewed him:

ALTHOUGH he maintains a low public profile, Mr Faan Naude, 52, is one of the most powerful men in the Cape.

In addition to directing Community Services, Naude is also administrator for three black local authorities — Ikapa, Victoria West and Beaufort West.

Ikapa alone has an estimated population of about 300 000 and includes Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu, Browns Farm, Millers Camp, Nyanga Bush and Black City.

As administrator, he is the council for three townships, but Naude said he rules through "consultation and consensus".

He meets monthly with an advisory committee in each area and also consults with community organisations, including the South Africa National Civic Organisation and the Western Cape United Squatters' Association (Wecusa).

As administrator, Naude said he is committed to providing the best possible services.

He hoped that black areas will eventually improve their financial position.

Like all Black Local Authorities (BLAs), Ikapa's financial base is fragile. However, its situation is not as dire as that of Lingeletu West.

Naude commented: "Ikapa needs a financially stable basis to render services. Like other BLAs, Ikapa has no economic base. There is not

enough activity to raise money. Finance comes exclusively from rent and service charges, as well as central government's bridging finance. The area has a relatively high rate of payment — 46 percent — but we need more money."

Despite feeling the financial squeeze, Naude disagreed with the view that black areas will need bridging finance for a long time.

"We cannot perpetuate the present situation. We must reach a point where bridging finance augments, rather than is the mainstay, of income," he said.

Naude said he has added his voice to that of the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, in requesting an official commission of inquiry into allegations of corruption at Ikapa. They are awaiting the state president's decision.

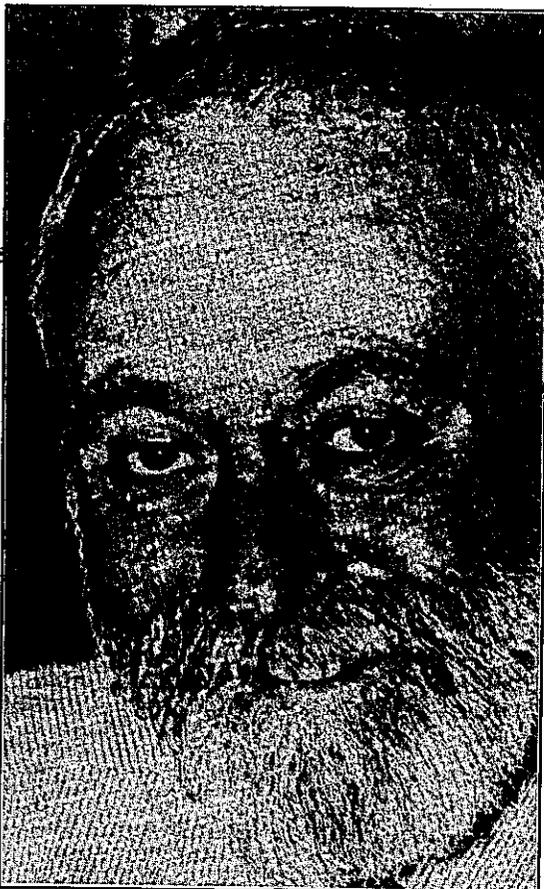
"The commission must be transparent, so that justice can be seen to be done. It must have the power to subpoena, cross-examine and take statements under oath," he said.

Naude has no illusions about the state of play in local government.

"The present black local government system is purely a transitional phase towards an acceptable system.

"We are busy with a holding action to ensure necessary services are rendered," he said.

Naude acknowledged the pace of change in local government has been too slow, but said this was



because local government was so significant.

"Central government rests on local government," he observed.

He said the spotlight had swung to local level government because negotiations at national level were not directly impacting on people on the ground.

He said that whatever the political changes, development must continue "undisturbed".

Community involvement was a principle for development.

Naude explained: "Unless there is community participation and approval for a project, it won't work."

He said NGOs and private enterprise all played an important role, but acknowledged the CPA was the major role player in development in the Cape. He said this was a result of its experience and capacity to deliver.

"It is inevitable we would be seen as the hub of development."

For Naude the process of devel-

'Unless there is community participation and approval for a project, it won't work'

opment is essentially one of stabilisation.

He explained: "You give a person the right to a site and this takes away insecurity. They build shelters and settle down within the community. Their lives, and the community, are stabilised."

The Serviced Land Project (SLP) is a good example of the inclusive approach favoured.

The project involves a range of organisations and local government structures which meet in a "two-legged" forum.

The CPA holds bilateral meetings with Wecusa, which withdrew from the forum.

Naude said the tricky question of land allocation, rumoured to be used by leaders to entrench power, is "under examination" by the SLP.

He said the perception that the CPA had an unnaturally close relationship with Wecusa, and in particular with Crossroad's leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, was false, and the CPA had only once used the organisation as facilitators.

"We have the same relationship with Wecusa as any other group. Our commitment to community involvement in development means we have to work closely with organisations like Wecusa," he said.

"People in congested areas live under harsher circumstances than those in brick houses, so we have prioritised serviced land projects.

"We try to be sensitive to dynamics, but we have to work with communities and their leaders.

"It is a catch 22 situation — we are accused from both sides of favouritism," Naude complained.

South 15/5 - 19/5/93

ANC to 'occupy' towns?

By Chris Mabuya

AT LEAST four major towns in the Border region have been targeted for "24-hour occupation" this week.

East London, Queenstown, Fort Beaufort and King William's Town are among the towns which will be occupied Thursday and Friday, ANC media officer Mr Mcebisa Bata said.

The ANC tripartite alliance and the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) in the Border region have called on all communities to join the occupation.

"We wish to stress that this will be peaceful action aimed at reinforcing the demands for speedy movement towards the resolution of the problems of our country," Bata said.

"These demands — the immediate

installation of a Transitional Executive Council, the announcement of the election date and strong action to curb growing right-wing violence — have been on the negotiating table for some time now.

"We say De Klerk and his colleagues must act now. We will help them to act on our demands by stamping with our feet in the streets of our towns and cities," Bata said.

Preparations were being made for the deployment of a large number of marshalls. Bata said the alliance hoped followers would maintain "the highest standard of discipline".

"We warn agent provocateurs and elements with criminal intentions to stay away from the action. We will not hesitate to deal appropriately with such elements," Bata said. — **enews**

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Mass action passion fades

5/5/92 (11A)
MARITZBURG. — The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's mass action campaign for this week ground to a halt yesterday as the crowds failed to turn up for a planned march on police headquarters in the city.

The alliance leadership here was locked in discussion late yesterday to re-assess the programme and decide on strategy, following the small turnout.

ANC deputy chairman Mr Blade Nzimande said previous mass action had affected the mobilisation for this week's planned mass action. — Sap (11A)

Groundwork laid for nitty-gritty negotiations

Star 15/5/93

THE foundation has been laid for the first substantive negotiations to take place on Tuesday.

Discussions will be shaped by the preliminary reports of seven technical committees. The reports were discussed yesterday by the planning committee.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer cautioned that the Negotiating Council would not be able to take decisions — “with very few exceptions” — at Tuesday’s meeting.

After yesterday’s planning

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

committee meeting, negotiators were unanimous in their praise for the work of the technical committees. (IA)

It was understood that most of their preliminary reports contained details of the Codesa agreements and reports.

Not all the 26 participating groups have yet sent their submissions to the technical committees. The deadline for submissions is Wednesday.

Interim reports will be sent

to all negotiators today to enable them to prepare for Tuesday’s meeting.

The previous Negotiating Council meeting, three weeks ago, was marked by complaints that negotiators received documentation only an hour before the meeting began.

The chairman of yesterday’s planning committee, Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin, said the agenda for the Negotiating Council would not be cluttered with procedural matters. It would focus on violence and constitutional issues.

The technical committee on

constitutional matters has recommended that a commission be appointed to consider regional boundaries.

The issue will be discussed on Tuesday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it was still possible to reach agreement by the end of the month on transition.

He said a three-day meeting of the ANC’s national working committee focused on the organisation’s approach to the negotiations process and ways of dealing with the right wing.

Afrikaner homeland still a hurdle

Star 15/5/93

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A negotiations crunch over self-determination for Afrikaners in their own territory is still looming in spite of support by the Government for the principle.

The two major players in the process — the Government and the ANC — have their own ideas about self-determination, and both will provide cold comfort for volkstaters.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week that the Government was "convinced that a feasible form of self-determination for all, including Afrikaners, could very well be accommodated within its own constitutional plans".

This was a reference to the "checks and balances" to protect minorities that the NP wants built in to a new constitution, and by no means stretches to a volkstaat.

He went on to announce that the Government and National Party "have no objection in principle against the Afrikaner Volksunie's (AVU) ideal of Afri-

ANC to hold talks with Right

Star 15/5/93

The ANC has decided on immediate steps to enter into talks with the Committee of Generals and the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) to seek a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

This emerged yesterday when the ANC issued a statement after holding three days of talks at an undisclosed venue on the current state of play in South Africa.

The decision of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging

and the Mine Workers Union to join the AVF was indicative of the growing momentum of the white ultra Right, the ANC said, adding that "bellicose racism" offered no real solutions to the problems of such people. "The ANC remains convinced that a peaceful solution, in the interests of all South Africans, can be found through negotiations," it said in announcing the move to engage the new front in talks.

— Sapa.

kaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation in which no form of race discrimination is allowed and citizen rights are extended to all inhabitants.

In effect, Meyer — speaking after heading a Government delegation's meeting with the AVU on Tuesday — was agreeing that the issue should be aired at negotiations and that the Government would support such discussion.

The ANC's Carl Niehaus also agreed that self-determination should be on the agenda at talks, but the AVU and others in favour of self-determination would have to accept the "rules of democracy" in negotiations. Conservative Party negotiator Dr Pieter Mulder contended that Meyer's "in principle" agreement was anything but an "historic breakthrough", as AVU leader Dr Andries Beyers had felt moved to comment.

He pointed out that the Government had already placed self-determination on the talks agenda before Codesa broke down in May last year and it was now being addressed by a negotiations technical committee.

However, Beyers did point to a positive spin-off when he said the Government's stance "makes it worthwhile to proceed with our participation in negotiations".

Some observers believe the lifting of hopes in right-wing circles by Meyer's statement may also have been a shrewd move to boost the moderate AVU over the increasingly militant CP.

They point out that the AVU's profile has been sharply raised in recent weeks by its role in the Afrikaner Volksfront and, in particular, its association with former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen.

They also say the AVU's softer approach towards attaining an Afrikaner homeland may find a more sympathetic hearing from the ANC in a meeting being arranged at present.

SA pressing Sweden to cut ANC funding?

By Christelle Terreblanche

ALLEGATIONS of diplomatic pressure by the South African government have emerged as part of a heated debate in Sweden on whether the country should continue its aid to the ANC.

An article in a Stockholm daily newspaper quotes a memorandum written by the Swedish secretary of state for foreign affairs, Mr Lars Ake Nilsson, after a meeting with South African ambassador Mr Eugene Myburgh on March 16.

According to the memorandum Nilsson was asked to commit his country to a date to end aid to the ANC. He replied that aid would be stopped no later than July 1993, although this would depend on political developments.

Nilsson's reply has caused an outcry in Sweden as the issue has not yet been debated in parliament.

An informal debate on sanctions and aid is scheduled for next week and all indications are that full-scale continuation of aid to the ANC will be approved.

Mr Magnus Walan, a Swedish journalist and anti-apartheid campaigner, sees Nilsson's statement against the background of previous pressure.

He told SOUTH that earlier this year South Africa's Swedish desk expressed concern to the under-secretary at the Swedish Legation in Pretoria about Sweden's continued aid to only one South African political organisation.

Walan said the legation was told this could negatively affect the issuing of employment permits to

Swedish aid workers in South Africa.

"This could well mean a threat of expulsion," Walan said. He believes Nilsson buckled under the pressure and tried to arrange a compromise.

However, Mr Frederik Jorgensen, political secretary of the Swedish Legation, said this has not been interpreted as a threat or pressure.

But he emphasised that no decision has been taken by Sweden despite the assurances given to the South African ambassador.

He said the Swedish under-secretary for international co-operation, Mr Alf Samuelsson, will visit South Africa in June and that "Swedish support for the ANC will certainly be on his agenda".

Mr Patrick Evans, a spokesper-

son for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, would not confirm or deny pressure on Sweden.

South African legislation prohibiting political parties from receiving foreign aid was abolished at the beginning of this year.

In Sweden an informal agreement states that once a movement becomes a political party and takes part in an election, aid has to cease.

This implies that one of the ANC's major funding sources will dry up as soon as it becomes a political party and participates in a democratic election.

The issue of money remains a sensitive one with the ANC, which has stated that it needs at least R80 million for an election campaign.

Sweden gives the ANC approximately R50 million a year.

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SI Times 1516193

Wilhelm breaks apartheid mould

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

(11A)

IF the old ideologue and apartheid patriarch, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, had heard his grandson, Wilhelm, on Thursday night proclaiming the virtues of the ANC and denouncing the NP, the oubaas would surely have turned in his grave.

At Parow Wilhelm came to bury the past and declare his grandfather's apartheid policy a failure and an injustice.

And, some would say almost "miraculously", the victims of apartheid accept-

ed his confession of the sins perpetrated by his forefathers. They were prepared to forgive unconditionally, and there could have been no greater symbol of that forgiveness than the rendition of the ANC's national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, in Afrikaans as a tribute to Wilhelm and the new brotherhood the ANC is seeking with Afrikaners.

The Afrikaans version had its own irony — it was translated, among others, by Professor Dirkie de Villiers, son of IL de Villiers, the composer of *Die Stem*, which is traditionally regarded as the national anthem of whites only.

clipped 16/5/93

Tigane is a powder keg

By DAN DHLAMINI

AN ANC man was fatally shot and another wounded in Tigane yesterday.

The gunning down of Oupa Matlhoko and the injury of Oompie Sekonya by alleged Inkatha bands, comes hardly a week after the slaying of three other ANC members in ANC-Inkatha clashes that have erupted in the small western Transvaal township.

Matlhoko was killed with a shotgun on Friday, a day before yesterday's mass funeral for Kleinbooi Kwaho, Daniel Secha and Hester Morebudi.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 25 people have been killed in Tigane and police have failed to arrest a killer who roams the streets with a shotgun causing havoc. They have offered a R5 000 reward for information.

'Now I know how good I am'

AYANDA BAKU left SA in 1976. She was 19. She left the country to join MK because "there was no point in confronting the boers with stones when they were shooting us with guns".

When she got to the camp she found the men supportive. They found the presence of women comforting because it proved that the burden of the struggle was being shared.

What Ayanda found difficult about being a woman soldier was to



AYANDA BAKU

postpone having children. In fact, even getting married was difficult because couples were bound by camp rules; they had to be-

have like everyone else. Sometimes marriages broke up because couples were often sent to different countries.

However, she found that there were great possibilities for development. Even the illiterate were given scope for improvement. Literacy classes were compulsory.

Women rose to occupy previously male-dominated positions such as those of instructors. Women could compete even for selection for combat missions;

like Thandi Modise and Nomkhosi Mini, who was murdered by the SADF in Maseru.

Ayanda began by compiling and reading the news in the camp and found herself working for Radio Freedom.

She is grateful for this experience "because I would have never known how good I am". She was seconded to Angola's Radio Nacional where she worked for five years. Now back in SA, she is looking for an opportunity in broadcasting.

City Press 16/5/93

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How they plotted to kill Joe Slovo

5 Times 16/5/92
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THE PLOTTERS: A shadowy businessman and an Eastern European immigrant

THE PLOT: Assassination of Joe Slovo with a high-powered rifle from a tower

THE UNRAVELLING: One of the plotters is an informer

THE PROSPECTS: Almost nil

When a right-wing conspirator began recruiting members of a hit squad to assassinate Joe Slovo, he made one major error.

SPECIAL REPORT By DE WET POTGIETER and NICK OLIVARI

One of the first men he lured into his sinister web was a police informer — identified this week as Peter Slovak, but, in reality, a Hungarian immigrant named Peter Psenak.

The plot to kill the former SA Communist Party leader was hatched in a seedy working men's club, known to regulars as the Polish Club.

Situated on the corner of Olivia Street and Tudhope Avenue in the Johannesburg flatland of Berea, the watering hole is more of a shebeen, frequented by German and East European immigrants.

Here, over a period of two months, the plot to kill Slovo was hatched.

In an exclusive interview with the Sunday Times this week, Mr Psenak, 33, told how an electronics expert and ardent rightwinger drew him into the plot he exposed last Friday.

told me there was a plan to kill Slovo between May 15 and May 21. He wanted me to drive the getaway car," said Mr Psenak.

At first, he said, "I didn't believe he was serious, especially because after the newspapers said Janusz Walus was telling the police everything about the Hani murder, he started clammup up."

"After a few days, he started talking about the plan again, and on Wednesday April 28, he drove me in his bakkie to Gill Street, Observatory, where Mr Slovo lives, and pointed out his house."

"I told him there was no way anyone could shoot Slovo there, and the next day I went to John Vorster Square to tell the police."

THE PLOT UNRAVELS

The man Mr Psenak spoke to was Brigadier Chris Langenhoven.

For police investigating the plot, the next 12 days were critical.

Believing they were on the verge of a major breakthrough in obtaining information about a suspected mastermind behind a series of plans to assassinate political figures, they sent Mr Psenak back into the field to find out everything he could from the conspirator.

On Sunday May 2, Mr Psenak met him at the Polish Club again, and the next day gave the investigating officers the information he had gleaned.

Later that day, Warrant Officer JL du Preez briefed his super-



LINE OF FIRE . . . the tower from which the would-be assassin planned to fire the fatal shot Pictures: CHRISTINE NESBITT

riors, Colonel D Swanepoel and Major L van Huysteen, at John Vorster Square about the progress of the investigation.

It was at that meeting that the decision was taken to inform Mr Slovo that his life could be in danger. Captain Chris Wilken, of the SAP's community relations department, was instructed to carry out this task, and telephoned Mr Slovo the next morning at his office in Shell House.

Throughout his association with the conspirator, Mr Psenak was also feeding information to the police about a smuggling operation involving counterfeit US dollars.

Detectives investigating this

racket introduced him to another informant, Danie Odendaal, on May 6. They were supposed to arrange a sting operation which would allow the police to trap the counterfeiters.

While planning the sting operation, Mr Psenak said, he was "influenced" by Odendaal.

"He gave me the impression that he was a very important man working undercover for the police. For some reason, during my meetings with him, I told him about the plot against Slovo."

"He tried to persuade me to sell the information to the ANC, but I didn't want to do that."

Last Sunday afternoon, Mr Psenak and the plotter met again.

FROM HERE A SNIPER WITH A HUNTING RIFLE COULD HAVE SHOT JOE SLOVO . . . BUT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN EASY



HEARMARKED FOR DEATH . . . Joe Slovo's home in Gill Street, Observatory, which the plotters had kept under surveillance

"We arranged to see each other on Monday or Tuesday to make the final arrangements. He was going to tell me then about a contingency plan for the assassination."

But that meeting never happened.

On Sunday night, Mr Psenak and Odendaal had a rendezvous in Berea.

"I found it funny that he didn't pick me up in his Toyota Cressida as he usually did. There was another man with him in a white Golf."

"He drove to Rockerfellas in Yeoville, where Odendaal introduced the man as a captain in the security police from Pretoria."

"I was very suspicious, and actually quite scared, but I couldn't get away to phone my contacts in the police."

"Odendaal said the 'captain' was investigating claims that the two investigating officers working with us were actually leaking the information we were giving them."

"I believed him, and I told the man everything I knew up to then about the assassination plot."

"Then Odendaal said he could get me money if I needed it, and warned me he would burn my arse if I told anyone about the meeting, including the two investigating officers."

"I'm scared of Odendaal — he's a scary, unpredictable man — so I said I'd keep my mouth shut," said Mr Psenak.

But on Monday morning, he was hauled in — and told by the investigating officers that the "captain" was, in fact, Star newspaper reporter Jacques Pauw.

"I was shocked. That night the detectives took me to Observatory and I pointed out to them the



THE TARGET . . . SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo

Slovo house, and the tower he was supposed to be shot from," said Mr Psenak.

THE PROSPECTS

But could the plot have worked? Arms expert Hilton

Hamman is doubtful.

"A fatal shot fired from the top of the tower opposite the Slovo house is theoretically possible, but it would need a marksman of at least Olympic standard."

And, said Mr Hamman, since

the target would probably have been inside his car when the assassin sighted him in the cross-hairs, "he'd have to shoot blindly."

"If the gunman was using a .375 or equivalent hunting rifle, the bullet would have to have a full metal jacket or be a monolithic solid made from brass. Either way, the bullet would almost certainly deflect as it passed through the car, and lose accuracy."

Mr Hamman said a bolt-action rifle would have to be used, and it would take the most expert marksman a minimum of two seconds to reload and resight.

"I would say if this was the plan to kill Mr Slovo, he had a much better than average chance of surviving without a scratch," said Mr Hamman.

Police have confirmed they are holding Johannesburg businessman John Beck in connection with the assassination conspiracy.

Getting to the killer's tower

THE top of the Air Force communications tower from which Joe Slovo was supposed to be shot is at least 500m from his garage.

From this vantage point, the roof of the Slovo house in Gill Street, Observatory, is clearly visible — but only one of the garage doors can be partially seen.

Perched on Observatory Ridge, the 50m tower is situated on premises occupied by the Associated Scientific and Technical Society of South Africa, which provides administrative services.

According to Mrs Jenny Nel, manager of the society, the keys to the tower were kept at the security gate until a week ago, and "anyone" claiming to be from Telkor,

which manufactures telecommunications equipment, could have obtained them.

SA Air Force spokesman Colonel Tom Michell denied this, and said the only sets of keys to the tower were held by the SAAF and Telkor, which maintains the equipment housed in the tower.

Getting to the base of the tower is relatively simple and, on two or three evenings each week, members of the public drove right past.

The tower is surrounded by dual three-metre cyclone fences, four metres apart. The outer perimeter could be breached by cutting the padlock at the gate, cutting the fence or climbing over.

The inner fence is rusted and,

although once electrified, there is no evidence of recent use. The second entrance gate is unlocked.

However, access to the tower itself is barred by double steel doors, 20cm thick and connected to an alarm system.

If these could be breached, an intruder would be confronted by a lever-locked corrugated iron door — and 200 steps.

The only three points for a sniper to take aim would be on the 13th and 19th landings, or the top.

Assuming that the sniper managed to reach the top and fired at a car leaving Mr Slovo's house — which would be visible for about 30m in either direction — he would face the problem of escaping.

■ R48 deadlock, low pay hike spark protests

■ Calls by ANC, peace body fall on deaf ears

C Press 16/5/93

CHALKS DOWN

Foreign players to take health tests

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE NSL has introduced tough medical tests to screen foreign players for serious diseases, including Aids.

Two African players were turned back to their countries when they tested HIV positive.

NSL chief executive Tso Modise would not disclose names yesterday, but confirmed two clubs had repatriated the players after they had tested positive.

The decision to screen players was taken after protracted consultation with several parties, including the South African Football Medical Association (Safma).

"The matter was debated at length, and we are not going out to look for Aids only. There may be several tropical diseases one has to know about," Modise said.

Players' medical reports would be forwarded to the NSL, and appropriate decisions would be taken in each case.

He's 60, she's 13 and ... pregnant!



By THEMBA KHUMALO

EDUCATION in black schools faces a new crisis with the South African Democratic Teachers Union vowing to down chalk from May 24 - despite appeals from the ANC and National Peace Accord.

And in a further move set to put teachers and pupils on a collision course with the authorities, the Congress of South African Students has decided to intensify its mass action to force the Department of Education and Training to scrap the R48 exam fees completely after the DET this week dug in its heels on the fee. Deadline for payment expired on May 7.

An appeal by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that actions by students

and teachers should avoid the loss of more schooling days, was politely brushed aside by both organisations who said they had had enough of the DET's hard line.

Sadtu president Shepherd Mdelane, told delegates at an urgent education summit, called by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee at Wits University that teachers had voted overwhelmingly in favour of a national strike to protest against the retrench-

ment of teachers and the proposed five percent teachers salary increase in July.

The summit was attended by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu. Attempts by National Peace Accord chairman John Hall to have the students and teachers sign the 1991 Peace Accord were shot down by Sadtu and

Cosas leaders.

Speaking at the summit Cosas president Moses Maseko said: "The very people who signed the accord two years ago are setting dogs on students holding peaceful marches. We doubt very much the capacity of the accord."

He however emphasised that the planned mass action would not necessarily take students away from school.

This was after the new SACP secretary-general Charles Ngakula had expressed concern that student/teacher ac-

tions might lead to the collapse of education in black schools.

The DET embarked on a massive advertising campaign in newspapers last week advising students to send their fees directly to DET offices.

Speaking on the occupation of white schools, Ramaphosa warned delegates that the democratic movement had no quarrel with whites.

He said energy should be directed to the system that created the imbalances.



NO, SIR ... Appeals by the ANC's Ramaphosa politely brushed aside. ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

TOP PAC officials, including Apla chief Sabela Phama, have been implicated in drug deals by a probe commissioned by the organisation itself.

The drug connections of five PAC officials and two Apla members were revealed in a secret report this week. At the same time it was disclosed that a number of senior PAC members had refused to hand back properties to the financially-strapped organisation to be sold off to raise funds.

The report follows a committee of inquiry commissioned by the PAC's NEC last year and was carried out by two lawyers, advocate John Renene and attorney Moss Mavudla. Both are also members of the PAC.

Those allegedly implicated in the scandal are five top PAC members who, at the time of their involvement with drugs early in 1991, were operating as part of the PAC's external central committee.

Believed to be named in the Renene/Mavudla report — apart from a Comrade Phai who was found guilty in Harare of drug trafficking in 1991 — are four other members of the then external committee of the PAC. Three of the five are currently holding positions in the PAC hierarchy. One has left the PAC.

Also named in the report are two Apla members based in Dar es Salaam —

Top PAC officials in drugs scandal

S/Times 16/5/93

IIA

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

Mr Phama, who is Apla's chief commander, and another Apla external central committee member known as "Comrade Barnie".

Mr Phama recently granted an interview to SABC-TV in which he justified the attacks on policemen and whites in the eastern Cape.

The report on PAC officials involved in drug traf-

ficking was to have been tabled at this year's April annual congress of the PAC, which was postponed.

The Renene/Mavudla committee was appointed after the PAC's first deputy president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, refused to implement an NEC instruction issued last year to expel PAC members who were implicated during the Harare court case.

Meanwhile, it has also been established that the PAC's financial position is so precarious that it can hardly pay the salaries of staff and is unlikely to fight the coming elections on its own because it cannot raise the estimated R30-million needed.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander sent a

circular to all staff this week warning that head office was no longer able to grant salary advances.

In addition, top PAC officials are facing accusations of trying to enrich themselves; they allegedly refused to co-operate in handing over assets acquired abroad while the PAC was banned in South Africa.

During its 30 year ban the PAC was generously supported financially by overseas countries.

In the process the organisation acquired various properties worth millions of rands in London, Birmingham, New York, Lesotho and Botswana, as well as eight properties in Harare. The eight properties in Harare included one in Samora Machel Avenue.

If you're a winner you

PLOT 'MASTERMIND'

HELD

Man to face murder
SI Times 16/5/93
 conspiracy charge
 after informer talks



By DE WET POTGIETER, NICK OLIVARI and BRIAN SOKUTU

POLICE are holding the alleged mastermind of a plot to assassinate SA Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo.

Mr John Beck, 37, was arrested at his flat in Parktown North, Johannesburg, in the early hours of Thursday. An SAP spokesman confirmed yesterday that Mr Beck was being held for questioning under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act — the section which allows for detention during questioning.

He will appear in court early this week on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. The plot entailed shooting Mr Slovo with a high-powered rifle from a tower near his Johannesburg home.

Mr Beck was arrested after a police informant known as Peter Slovak, but who is, in fact, Peter Psenak, 33, blew the whistle on the alleged plot. Mr Psenak emigrated to South Africa from Hungary 10 years ago.

Mr Beck, described as a computer fundi by people who know him, was retrenched several months ago by an electronics company where he was employed to build personal-computer boards.

For the past two months he has worked for Meteor Fire and Security, based in Westdene, Johannesburg.

Unaware

Yesterday, the company bakkie he received as one of his perks was parked next to a white Alfa Giulietta in the parking area of the block of flats where he has lived for the past five years.

A spokesman for the company said he had not seen Mr Beck "for a day or two", but did not know he was in custody.

Mandela and FW to share US medal of freedom

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will hold a historic joint meeting with President Bill Clinton when they visit the US to receive a joint honour on American Independence Day, July 4.

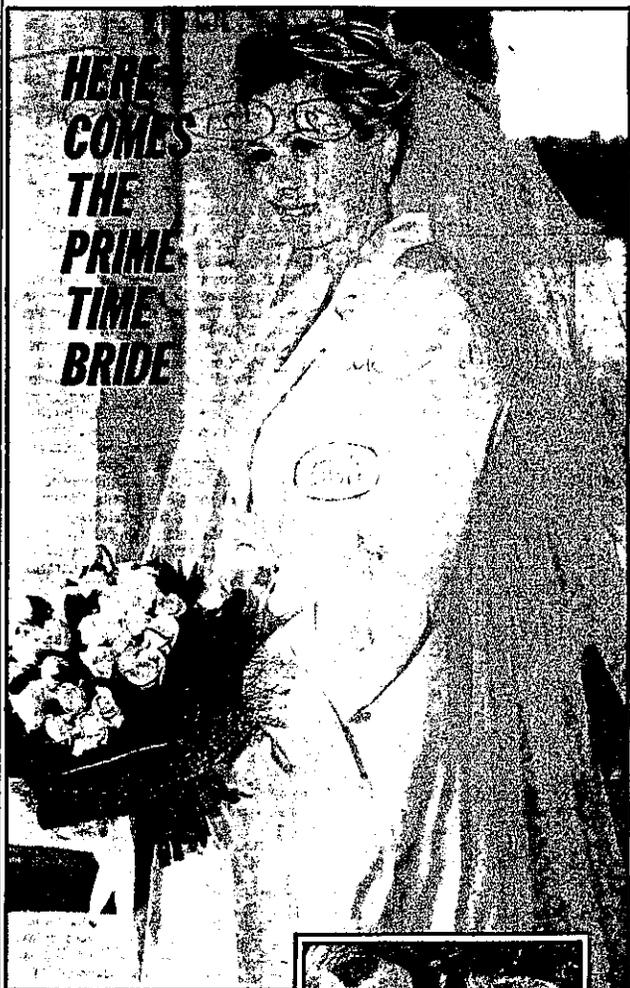
The two South Africans will stand together before Philadelphia's famed Liberty Bell to receive gold medals struck in honour of leaders and organisations deemed to have followed in the traditions of America's founding fathers.

The ceremony — near the spot where America declared its independence in 1776 and where its founding Fathers gathered to write its constitution in

By SIMON BARBER
 Washington

election date that will have enabled Mr Mandela to call for the removal of remaining sanctions.

The Philadelphia ceremony and the meeting with Mr Clinton will focus American attention on South Africa and could be a powerful vehicle for impressing on state and



HERE COMES THE PRIME TIME BRIDE



LOVELY TV newsreader Ellen Erasmus married Kroonstad businessman Ralph Morton, 44, at the Linden Presbyterian Church in Johannesburg yesterday. Ellen, 33, looked radiant in an ivory satin dress designed by Paris-based Andre Vermeulen. After the ceremony and reception with 100 family and friends, the couple left for a 10-day honeymoon at a secret venue in the mountains.

Pictures: CHRISTINE NESBITT



OT TARGET: The view of the tower from Joe Slovo's gats

Picture: JOHN HOGG

Bank boss blames 'only

THE N-5000

played to build personal-computer boards.

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Yesterday, the company bakkie he received as one of his perks was parked next to a white Alfa Giulietta in the parking area of the block of flats where he has lived for the past five years.

A spokesman for the company said he had not seen Mr Beck "for a day or two", but did not know he was in custody.

Mr Beck's neighbours said they had not seen him around either, but were also unaware of his arrest.

Mr Beck — who has a ruddy complexion, thinning blond hair and wears glasses — has no known right-wing connections.

One resident of Park North Heights, Fourth Avenue, said Mr Beck "seemed very liberal".

"I don't see him as a right-winger, and can't understand why he would live here if he is. The entire top floor of this block is occupied by blacks," said the man.

Though a number of residents in the block said they knew Mr Beck, none seemed to know him well.

Divorced

One described him as having a "quiet lifestyle" and giving the impression that he was "effeminate".

In striking contrast, a shopkeeper on the ground floor of the building said he had "a violent temper".

A neighbour said he had occasionally seen Mr Beck — who is divorced — with women, and described him as "very English ... I always thought he was an ex-Rhodesian".

The Sunday Times tracked down members of Mr Beck's family yesterday, but they refused to speak about him.

Regular patrons of the Berea bar where he and Mr Psenak met were also reluctant to discuss Mr Beck — though happy to talk about Mr Psenak, whom many recognised from his voice on TV on Wednesday night, even though he hid his face with a balaclava.

The bar — tucked away

□ To Page 2

**HOW THEY
KILL JOE SLOVO**

Slovo 'mastermind' detained

□ From Page 1

behind a veterinary surgery — has an unmarked door, and patrons have to ring a bell to gain admission.

It is frequented by working-class East European, German and British immigrants.

While police insist that Mr Slovo was informed of the plot against him, Mr Slovo is adamant that he was not.

He confirmed that on

April 22 he was visited in his office at Shell House by Captain Chris Wilken of the police community-relations section and Warrant Officer JL du Preez.

They warned Mr Slovo that a white Toyota Cressida had been seen in the vicinity of his house in suspicious circumstances, and that his life could be in danger.

Mr Slovo told the police he did not expect them to guard him "24 hours a day"

and would take the necessary precautions to ensure his own safety.

However, Mr Slovo denies that he received a phone call from Captain Wilken on Tuesday, May 4, and was told that the police had uncovered a plot to assassinate him.

"I heard for the first time of the plot to murder me when I was phoned by a reporter last Sunday," he said.

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Mandela and FW to share US medal of freedom

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will hold a historic joint meeting with President Bill Clinton when they visit the US to receive a joint honour on American Independence Day, July 4.

The two South Africans will stand together before Philadelphia's famed Liberty Bell to receive gold medals struck in honour of leaders and organisations deemed to have followed in the traditions of America's founding fathers.

The ceremony — near the spot where America declared its independence in 1776 and where its founding Fathers gathered to write its constitution in 1789 — will be rich in symbolism, linking South Africa's transition to the birth of America's democracy.

IIA Agreement

On a more practical level, President Clinton will see both leaders as he prepares for his first summit with the seven major industrialised countries in Tokyo on July 7.

It is hoped he will carry with him a powerful message that South Africa must be helped over the daunting economic hurdles to democratic transformation.

Key to the success of this will be agreement by South African parties on a transitional executive and an

By SIMON BARBER
Washington

election date that will have enabled Mr Mandela to call for the removal of remaining sanctions.

The Philadelphia ceremony and the meeting with Mr Clinton will focus American attention on South Africa and could be a powerful vehicle for impressing on state and local politicians that the time for sanctions is past.

The Philadelphia Freedom Medal has also been awarded to Polish leader Lech Walesa, former US President Jimmy Carter and late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, the driving force behind the American Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision on desegregation of schools in the southern states.

A South African government spokesman yesterday confirmed that Mr de Klerk would travel to the US in July to accept the award. However, he said, the details of the meeting with President Clinton had not yet been finalised.

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Northern Areas bring country

16/5/93. S Times (C/metro) 16/5/93

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A SCATTERING of farms to the north of Cape Town dating back to the days of the Dutch East India Company were the humble beginnings of what is today known as the "Northern areas".

Sounds of cannon-fire booming from the top of Tygerberg Mountain to alert inhabitants of arriving ships and scenes of ox wagons trekking from outspan to outspan through the area to and from Cape Town are now fading memories of what once was.

Today, urban sprawl has taken over and clusters of flourishing towns and cities have spread north as far as the eye can see.

Just a heart beat away from the Mother City, the outlying northern areas boast breath-taking panoramic views of mountains, the oceans and valleys.

And with all its modern amenities and open space, the area offers the convenience of town-living in the country.

Luxury shopping malls abound. There are cinemas, a theatre, an abundance of restaurants, each with their own mouth-watering speciality.

A wine route and nature conservation reserves as well as a spo-

radic collection of national monuments are also waiting to be explored.

Education centres such as the University of the Western Cape, Peninsula Technikon and the University of Stellenbosch Graduate School of Business and Extramural Faculty along with other tertiary educational centres are situated there.

All of this has helped make the "Northern areas" one of the fastest growing shopping areas.

For shoppers, Goodwood, named after a famous racecourse in England, can shop till they drop in Voortrekker Road - the life-line of the town. Or the luxurious N1 City Mall, with its fantasy Wonderland, is an exciting food and entertainment centre.

Goodwood dates back to September 10, 1885 when the Cape Colonial government gave permission for the establishment of farming operations to Michiel Joseph Louw.

But it was really JM Joyce of the firm, Joyce and McGregor, which still exists today, who started the town.

Land surveyor, William Versfeld, brother of the legendary Loftus Versfeld of rugby fame, laid out the first 100 plots of the original

township.

A land mark in the town is the Cape Showgrounds. Completed in 1954, it is owned by the Western Province Agricultural Society and plays host to the annual Cape Show and several other specialised shows and sporting events.

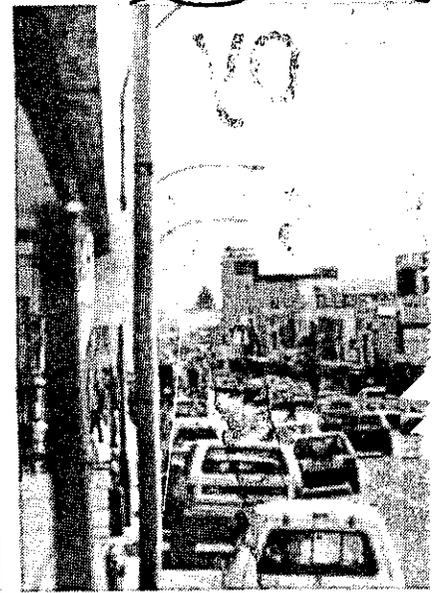
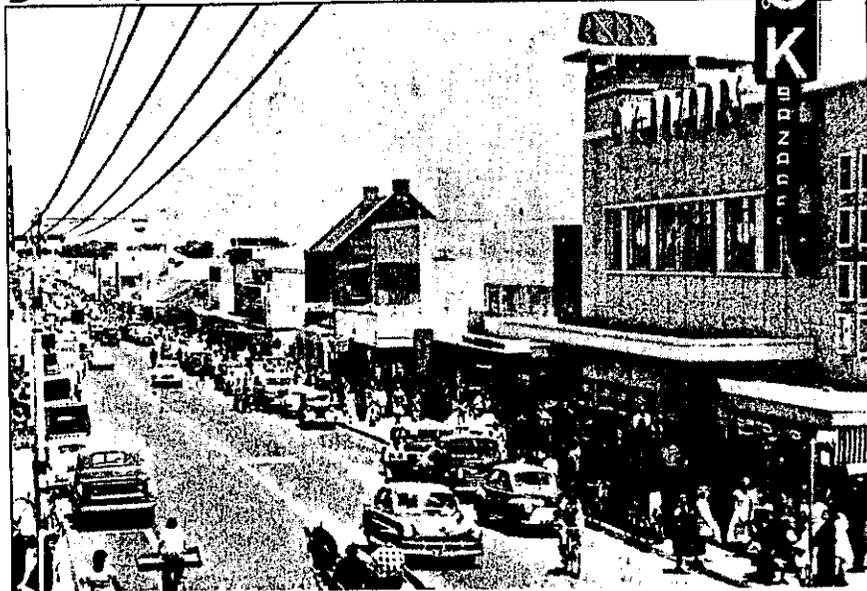
Heading down Voortrekker Road, Goodwood gives way to the town of Parow, nestled at the foot of Tygerberg Mountain.

Named after a shipwrecked Prussian master mariner, Captain Johann Heinrich Ferdinand Parow, today it is a bustling town.

Today Voortrekker Road, the heart of this vigorous town, is a shoppers paradise with all kinds of shops, coffee shops, and restaurants.

Shopping malls and a flourishing flea-market

But the growing town has not forgotten its history - a few national monuments coupled and craft fair held three days a week are also there to be explored, with other historic sites have been preserved for posterity. The first church built in 1906 still exists today as the church hall of the Dutch Reformed Church in Sarel Celliers Street. Other historical monuments include the statue of Captain Parow, a VOC



THE OLD AND THE NEW ... Voortrekker Road has developed into the hearthrob of the

cannon used on the Tygerberg to warn inhabitants of impending attacks or as a sign to farmers to bring their fresh produce to visiting ships in Table Bay. National monuments include two Victorian houses in Hopkins Street and a mausoleum on what used to be the historic farm, De Plattekloof granted to J D de Beer in 1700.

Today the residential area of Plattekloof phase III is being built

there. Claimed to be one of the most sought-after residential areas in the Cape Peninsula, Plattekloof offers a magnificent view of the majestic Table Mountain, flanked by Devils Peak and Lions Head as well as

the two oceans. Parow is also home to Tygerberg Hospital, one of the largest academic hospitals in the country.

Bellville, one of the fastest-growing cities in the country, was originally the site of the farm

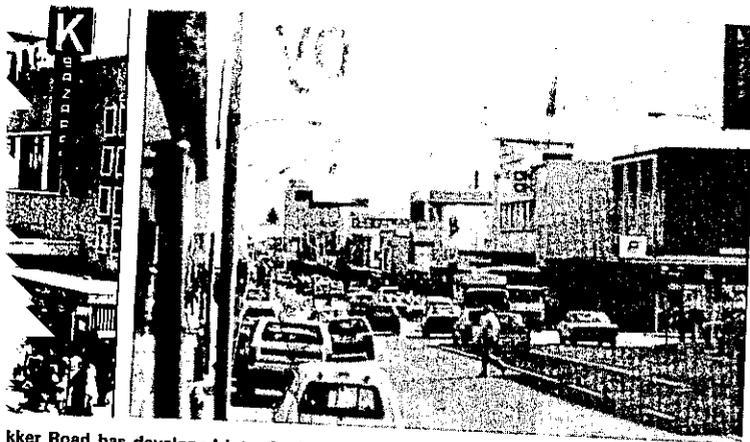
Lowenstein given to a freeburger named Maarten Poussion by the Dutch East India Company in 1701.

Its first name was Tygerberg, now Tygerberg, and later became known as "Twaalf Myl" (Twelve

Miles) - witness to Cape's history.

An old building stands in the heart of Bellville, giving the area its name as a village.

Before



...ker Road has developed into the hearthrob of this bustling area

ans. Parow is to Tygerberg one of the demic hospi- country. one of the ving cities in y, was origi- e of the farm

Lowenstein given to a freeburger named Maarten Poussion by the Dutch East India Company in 1701. It's first name was Tygerberg, now Tygerberg, and later became known as "Twaalf Myl" (Twelve

Miles) - which is the distance to Cape Town. An old rock milestone giving the distance stands in the very centre of Bellville today serving as a clue to it's origin.

Before the coming of

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railways. Bellville was used mainly as an outspan on the Cape Town to Stellenbosch trail by weary travellers.

The outspan, which stood on a piece of hard ground at the edge of the sand dunes making up the Cape Flats was known as Hardekraaltjie (hard little kraal) today, the spot of a popular caravan park.

In 1861, a village had grown and so Twaalf Myl was renamed Bellville, in honour of Charles Davidson Bell, Surveyor-General of the Cape.

Bellville, which is also one of the country's fastest growing centres for business and industry has something for every-

one. it's prestigious shopping centres and central business district are a shoppers delight.

Tyger Valley is home to the regions biggest shopping mall, Tyger Valley Centre, which offers over 250 stores, restaurants and entertainment venues all under one roof.

For performing arts fans, there is a theatre and an open-air amphitheatre.

Bellville's Afrikaans Theatrical Society is one of the oldest in the country.

For nature lovers there is a wealth of flora and fauna to be discovered in the Tygerberg Nature Reserve created by the city of Bellville to preserve the rich natural heritage of the area.

The reserve, despite being adjacent to a residential area, is home to many small animals and birds. It also offers walking trails and picnic facilities.

A mini-Cape development of scale model buildings and a model

farm where children can make friends with the animals will enchant the whole family.

Beyond Bellville, at the eastern foot of the Tygerberg, looms Durbanville, a popular town in a rural setting with views of the undulating foothills to the Hottentots Holland Mountains.

Established in 1806, the town has undergone many name changes.

Originally known as Pampoenekraal, it went on to be called D'Urban after the Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and then renamed Durbanville in 1886.

National Monuments and other historical monuments abound in this lush residential town.

Onze Molen, a tower-mill, stands as a proud centrepiece in the middle of a residential development.

While the exact building date is not known, it is thought to have been built by burgher, Johannes Jacobus Uys, in 1801.

Rust-en-Vrede, a historic complex from the 1840s and 1850s, was used as a magistrates court and a jail. Today it is a cultural centre.

A Clay Museum is also situated at Rust-en-Vrede.

The Dutch Reformed Church in Weyers Avenue built in 1826 has been declared a national monument, and also of historical interest is the All Saints Anglican Church in Durbanville Avenue, built in 1860.

Restaurants are aplenty ranging from Chinese and Italian food to succulent steaks and seafoods.

Durbanville, originally an area where grapes were grown, has its very own wine route. While wine fundis savour the taste of the wines they can soak themselves in the rich history of the farms which date back to the late 1600s. One of the historic wine, grain and stock farms established on the Tygerberg slopes is Altydgedacht, which dates back to 1698.

Diemersdal, one of the well-known vineyards of Durbanville, was originally granted to Hendrik Sneewind by Simon van der Stel in 1698.

Bloemendal is one of the original freehold farms dating back to 1702. It was given to Cornelius van Niekerk. Today it's wines are sold out until September.

The town's world famous rose garden with it's many scents is just one more sweet smelling reminder of country living.

The Durbanville Rose Garden used by nurseries from all over the world, it has about 300 rose varieties in it.

Brackenfell, meaning "fernhill" has it's origin tucked away to the days when the area served as the crossing of the roads. The first farm called "Kruispad" dates back to 1712. And twenty-three years ago it was a conglomerate of smallholdings which has subsequently given way to development.

Brackenfell, one of the newer residential towns, has a thriving central business district, with its innumerable shops and shopping centres catering for all needs.

The Brackenfell Hypermarket, once the only one in the Western Cape, continues to draw people from all over.

With so much to offer it is not surprising that towns to the north have become so popular.

CIPRESS 16/5/93
Winnie justifies her statement

WINNIE Mandela has defended her call – which is being investigated by the police – for the youth to take over the struggle and defend the revolution.

In a recent radio interview, Mandela said the statements had been taken out of context. (11A)

She said her calls were directed at a particular situation and not as a solution to SA's problems.

Mandela said she believed in negotiations that were genuine and that would bring a lasting solution and peace to SA.

C Press 16/5/93
ANC captures Afrikaner hearts

IN the Cape this week the ANC invaded the NP's heartland and proved itself capable of providing a viable political vehicle for Afrikaners.

It also proved it was able to mount a serious challenge to the NP among both the white and coloured communities of the western Cape by addressing their concerns for the survival of their Afrikaans heritage.

Wilhelm Verwoerd spoke in conservative Parow, commanding everyone's attention much like his grandfather did. But the message was as different as the occasion - bringing together the very people his grandfather had tried to drive apart.



MK women speak out

FIGHTERS ... Women, such as this platoon commander leading her men at Oliver Tambo's funeral, served with distinction in MK — but they faced the universal problem of sexism in the armed forces. US President Bill Clinton recently ordered the Pentagon to allow US women to serve in the frontline of battle.

By ZANELE VUTELA

WOMEN have served the ANC's guerrilla army well — but many feel patronising male attitudes kept them out of the military frontline.

City Press spoke to a number of these brave women.

Jackie Molefe left the country at the tender age of 17 in 1964.

She was recruited for military training just after Nelson Mandela had been sentenced.

"I was very young," she said, "but I knew exactly what I was doing although I did not know that I would be gone for such a long time."

Jackie's parents had been involved in the ANC since she was a child. She says: "I was always tormented by seeing my father — the head of the family — being insulted and searched by young white cops."

She left with a group of 10 men. When they reached Dar es Salaam she discovered there were three women among 1 000 men. At Odessa in the then Soviet Union where they were trained, the number of women rose to 11.

She said: "Because of

department. She joined as the only woman.

"I am not ashamed to say that I used my department to uplift women. I helped establish the Ruth First Training Centre in one of the camps in Angola."

In 1987 she became a member of the ANC NEC. She is still head of communications. "I think a future army needs a code of conduct in which sexism will be punishable," she said.

"Phindi" was 15 when she left the country in 1980. She wanted to go for military training but was persuaded to go to school first. She went to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tan-



VETERAN ... Dipuo Mvelese fought in SA.

of 17. She had only attended Cosas meetings but through her activist boyfriend, Vincent, she read banned literature. She also attended Saturday school and was taught by ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

The hanging of ANC guerrillas was the final factor.

"I was shocked. I never really believed they would do it." Soon afterwards she, Vincent and another friend left the country for military training.

She was thrilled at being given a carbine on arrival at the camp. It was feared that Unita would attack.

She later became a platoon commissar, an instructor in artillery and a political instructor.

She left Angola in 1986, worked underground in Botswana for a while and then entered SA at the beginning of 1989 to work with Operation Vula. She was arrested with others in 1990. They eventually received indemnity in 1991. Dipuo now works for the ANC's department of political education.

Like Jackie, she feels sexism prevented women

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11A [scribbles]



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She said: "Because of the ratio of men to women, bad feeling ran high and sometimes the men would insult us and call us names. Of course some women did flirt a lot and this sometimes led to fights."

There were fears among the leadership that the presence of women would cause confusion in the camps.

The women had worked out a code of conduct "to ensure our survival because we saw no life outside the movement".

We had to work together to make sure that our presence in the army was not disruptive, and, with time, attitudes changed and we began to gain the respect of our male comrades."

After training - she specialised in communication - the women were fit and strong and they expected to be sent to SA for combat.

"Unfortunately women were mostly sidelined into clerical jobs," she said.

However, in 1977 Jackie was approached by the late Moses Mabhida to join the Revolutionary Council and head the MK's communications

"I am not ashamed to say that I used my department to uplift women. I helped establish the Ruth First Training Centre in one of the camps in Angola."

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VETERAN ... Dipuo Mvelase fought in SA.



INNER BATTLE ... Jackie Molefe fought chauvinism in MK.

zania where she completed her O-levels. Then she worked for a year as a clerk in the treasury department.

In 1985 she finally joined MK and worked so hard that after a while she became an instructor.

She was then sent to Lesotho in 1987 and in 1988 she entered SA to work with underground structures of the Special Operations Unit. She managed to hide herself so well that she was able to find a job in Hillbrow.

She was arrested and prosecuted for possession of a pistol in 1991 after Askaris tracked her down.

She said that after she was released she was watched closely.

She now works for the ANC head office.

Dipuo Mvelase left home in 1983 at the age

of 17. She has a boyfriend, Vincent, she read banned literature. She also attended Saturday school and was taught by ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

The hanging of ANC guerrillas was the final factor.

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Like Jackie, she feels sexism prevented women cadres from taking part in the combat.

Daisy Fortune Chiloane was also 17 when she left home in 1978. She had been a pupil activist at Tlakula High School in KwaThema when she was arrested.

After a week in police cells where she said "they beat us like hell" she was asked to turn state witnesses by the cops. She agreed - even though she did not know who she was to give evidence against! - and was released. She then left to join the ANC in exile.

She was furious deep inside and opted to train immediately.

In Angola, during cultural activities, it was discovered that she could sing and she was seconded to Amandla, the ANC's cultural troupe.

That was in 1980 and she stayed with the touring group for years.

Daisy fell pregnant and had to leave the war zone in Angola to start a new life in Tanzania where there were facilities to raise kids.

She is back with Amandla which intends touring the mines - for like the struggle, the show must go on.

ANC veteran's body found

over ten
THE body of Kagiso
ANC veteran Mr
Serman Rankhabo, who
disappeared during the
funeral of slain SA Com-
munist Party chief Mr
Chris Hani, was found at
the Boksburg Govern-
ment Mortuary yester-
day. *(IA) (18)*

Rankhabo (73) of
Masedi Street, was last
seen boarding a bus at
the FNB Stadium for
Hani's burial.

Relatives said there
were bruises on
Rankhabo's forehead
and back.

'Don't expect bloodless change'

By Bob Tilley
Star Foreign Service

BONN — ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned German leaders yesterday not to expect a bloodless handover of power in South Africa.

In talks with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, Mandela said his organisation could not guarantee an absence of violence in the "difficult times ahead".

He said he expected an announcement of an election date before the end of this month and appealed for German financial assistance to en-

able the ANC to stage an effective campaign.

Kohl made no concrete offer to Mandela, according to Bonn government officials.

Kinkel broke off a meeting on the Bosnian crisis with other European Foreign Ministers in Brussels to return to Bonn to meet Mandela.

In his one-day visit to Bonn, Mandela also met Kinkel's predecessor, Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Having sought to discourage German business with South Africa during a visit three years ago, Mandela now wants German companies to invest in South Africa as it moves away from white minority

rule. South Africa is one of Germany's major trading partners.

Mandela was not scheduled to meet German business leaders during his stay, but he hoped, through Kohl, to encourage the business community to create jobs and training programmes for the estimated six million unemployed South Africans, said Sankie Nkondo, ANC representative in Bonn.

The ANC also wanted Germany to help pay for its electoral campaign and for education programmes for South Africans who had never before voted, she said.
— Sapa-AP.

Financial community told to get house in order

By Bruce Cameron

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress has bluntly warned South Africa's financial institutions to restructure or be restructured if it is to form a vital link in the upliftment of the poor.

The warning came in a speech made by Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC department of economics, to the World Housing Conference on Friday.

But in an interview after the meeting, Manuel said the ANC would prefer to negotiate a change in attitude with the financial institutions rather than force them to help finance so-

cially responsible projects, particularly housing.

Manuel's warning follows increasing criticism of banks and building societies for raising charges across the board, while retaining high interest margins and effectively forcing thousands of people out of the formal banking system.

Mike de Blanche, deputy chief executive of Absa and president of the Mortgage Lenders' Association, said in an interview it would be very difficult to restructure banks because they had been developed to deal with the formal sector of the economy.

This was why the banking

sector was supporting the development of the proposed Community Bank, which would be able to provide a wider and cheaper service.

Manuel said the ANC was planning to initiate a series of conferences with financial institutions, including the Council of SA Banks (Cosab), the Life Offices Association (LOA) and the Institute of Retirement Funds.

He said the ANC hoped to reach consensus with the institutions and in so doing lay the basis for them to restructure themselves.

The Independent Development Unit — which was established by the LOA to help fi-

nance projects for the poor — had been offered by the LOA as an alternative to the re-introduction of prescribed investments.

He hoped a similar agreement could be reached with all financial institutions.

The LOA had indicated that if this did not work, it would not oppose prescribed investments so strongly.

In his speech, Manuel said banks and buildings societies were almost entirely structured to meet the needs of their white and corporate clients.

The situation was compounded because corporate clients were also the owners of banks.

As a result, lending practices discriminated against individuals and enterprises outside the conglomerates.

"The formal banks hardly address or understand the needs of the majority of the population," said Manuel.

A stinging indictment was levelled at banks for squeezing low-income earners out of the formal system.

BH Pieters, managing director of the recently established Metropolitan Housing Finance Co-operative, told the conference that access to credit and savings facilities had been an indispensable element of socio-

economic development world-wide.

But in South Africa access to finance was limited, costly and directed to sophisticated First World needs, while "every month new and increased service charges are being introduced by SA's major banks, forcing the closure of thousands of savings accounts and other facilities".

Pieters doubted whether it was possible for a First-World bank to reposition itself to serve a broad market. An example was that banks were unable to offer housing loans below R30 000.

Star 17/1/93

11A

11B

11C

War of words over plot *Star 11/5/93* to kill Slovo

The ANC and SAP were engaged in a verbal battle last week over whether police had informed SACP national chairman Joe Slovo about the plot to assassinate him that was revealed in The Star.

What the police said: "During the course of the investigation into a threat made against his person, Mr Slovo was visited by Captain Wilken and Warrant-Officer Du Preez on April 22.

"During the visit, Mr Slovo was once again informed of the threats made against him. The SAP at Yeoville had been alerted to the fact that the occupants of a white Toyota Cressida were keeping Slovo's house under observation. As the registration number of the vehicle was not recorded, it was not possible to trace it.

"A written statement was obtained from Mr Slovo on April 22.

"Later, as a result of information received from a person who came to the SAP, Mr Slovo was contacted telephonically by the police and informed that the police had obtained information concerning the white Cressida which had kept his house under observation of which he was informed earlier. He was again warned of the threat.

"Mr Slovo's allegation that he was not informed is untrue and Tuesday's confusion about the dates on which he had been informed arose because police spokesmen had to rely on sources other than the investigating officers for information."

What the ANC said: Slovo has said he is prepared to testify under oath to the Goldstone Commission that police did not inform him of the



Joe Slovo . . . at the centre of the row.

latest plot to kill him. He challenged police to appear with him.

The ANC said: "The first Comrade Slovo knew of the plot was when he was contacted by Jacques Pauw of The Star.

"The police did not inform Comrade Slovo at any stage about the assassination plot, or that a white Toyota Cressida had been seen several times outside his house.

"The police only visited Comrade Slovo after the ANC contacted them more than a month ago with regard to the death list issued by Eastern Cape AWB member Johan Steyn, on which Comrade Slovo's name appeared.

"The ANC told the press on April 20 or 21 that police were doing nothing about the Steyn threat.

"The police paid a single visit to Comrade Slovo to discuss Steyn's death list. No other matters were raised and there has also not been any follow-up from the police.

"The written statement taken by the police concerned the Steyn issue, and had nothing to do with the assassination plot exposed by The Star.

"The ANC has contacted its lawyers about the SAP's misrepresentation of the facts."

ANC won't fight poll as a political party

ARG 17/5/93

(11A)

~~3544~~

□ Yengeni says change would send out 'wrong signal'

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and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff**

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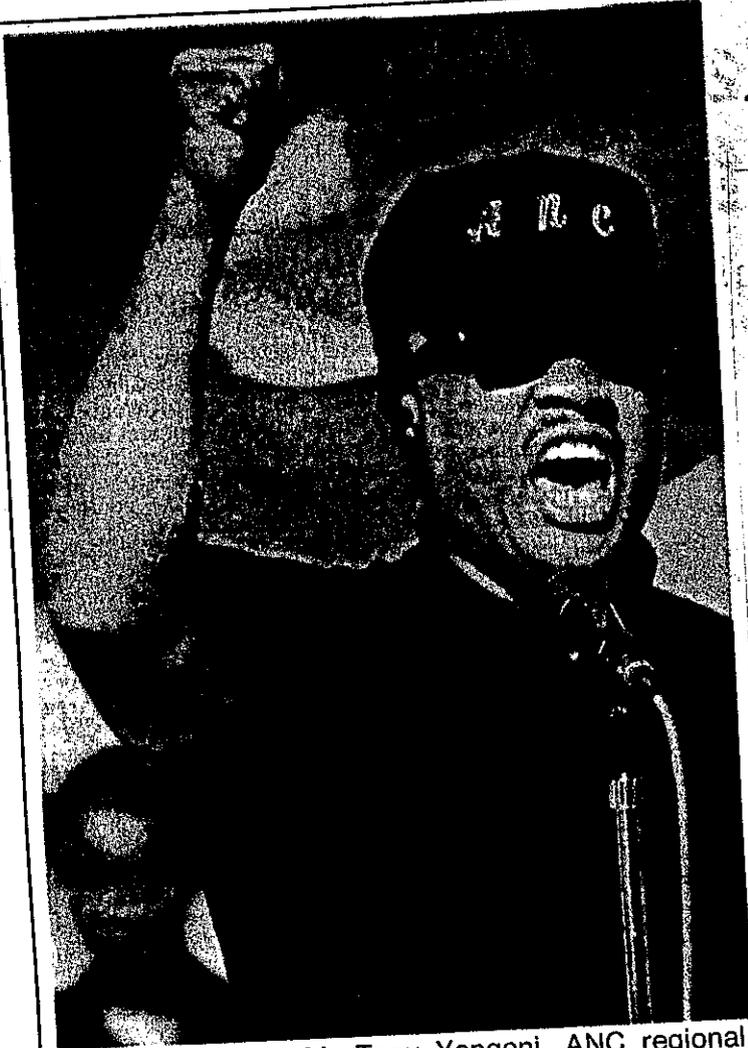
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RALLYING CRY: Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary for the Western Cape.

Good-humoured doctor a beacon of hope in troubled times

HE IS a dapper, neat man, with just a touch of frost at the edge of his beard, and eyes as lively as a bird's on a bright winter's day.

He is smaller than he seems in photographs of him or on television. But such is the energy, the magnetism of Dr H Nthato Motlana that one walks away from a meeting with him feeling buoyed up, glowing.

A born leader of men, he is the newly appointed chairman of the Council for Population Development. It is a Government position, but the ANC member and Soweto community leader shrugs that off with a mischievous grin.

"With an interim government pending," he says, "I could

Profile

Dr Nthato Motlana was recently appointed chairman of the Council for Population Development. MICHAEL SHAFTO reports on his encounter with one of today's most influential leaders.

square my conscience... soon I could be working for the next government."

As a person of high standing in the medical and socio-political worlds, Motlana brings a

wonderful sense of good humour to everything he touches upon, be it a story about his years as a rabid supporter of Benoni United — he was chairman, after all, for 10 years — or the plight of a woman with 11 children.

He's the sort of man who inspires one with hope, who makes you believe there is still a future here in this new South Africa of ours — despite the uncertainty, the daily killings, the distrust that is withering the vine of goodwill on both sides of the colour fence.

Constantly in demand and a member of more boards — well, almost — than he can recall, we had just enough time for an early breakfast at his

Diepkloof Extension home before he left for a morning packed with appointments and meetings. And this would be followed, as usual, by the daily opening of his rooms at the Lesedi clinic in Soweto at 2.30 pm.

We had got on to soccer and the fluctuating fortunes of his favourite team, Orlando Pirates, when suddenly he looked at his watch and apologised that he had to be "off... away, another busy day".

He confesses to sleeping like a baby. No wonder. He deserves it.

As an only child — an unusual circumstance in the black community — you might say he is the perfect choice for his new Population Development as-

ignment. On the other hand, he admits to marrying a second time (after divorce) and having six children from the two marriages.

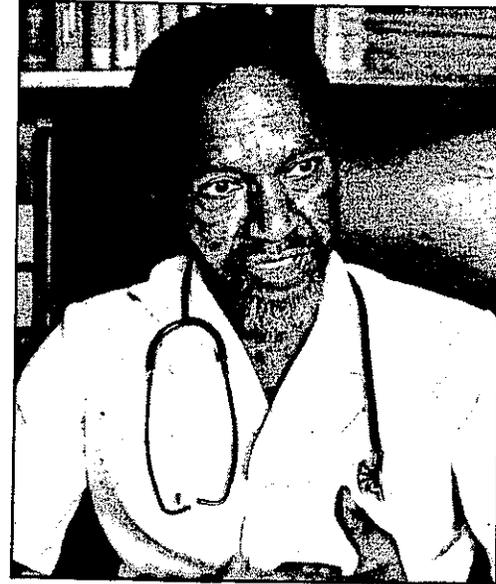
"But perhaps it's like the ex-coacher becoming the game-keeper," he laughs, that innate good humour emerging again, "I have the experience to preach to others."

People often tell him that he is smaller than they expected. Well, that's fine because Motlana in Tswana means "small". His given name, Nthato, means "the loved one". Sixty-eight years ago when he was born in the western Transvaal at Marapyane — or, in Afrikaans, Skilpadfontein — his mother told him he was "a lovely little boy who never gave any trouble".

Being an only child was lucky for him, says Motlana. "Otherwise my mother, as a domestic worker, on £10 a month, could never have afforded to educate me. If I'd had brothers and sisters, there would have been no education and no Dr Motlana today."

His first teacher — "under the traditional maroela tree" — at primary school in Marapyane, had himself only a Std 2 education. "He chewed tobacco, gave you a good kafferklap if you didn't pay attention... and did a wonderful job. And we didn't rubbish him, tell him to go to hell as kids have been doing to teachers for far too long now.

"It is the major problem of black education today. It has



Influential leader... Dr Nthato Motlana.

course he worked hard and is specially gifted, but who should be on hand as a neighbour in Benoni at just that moment? None other than the late Oliver Tambo, then practising as a lawyer in Johannesburg. With personal tuition, he got Motlana through matric mathematics in just six months!

Motlana, who today is Nelson Mandela's personal physician, did his housemanship in Port Elizabeth and joined Baragwanath Hospital, intending to specialise. But, never far from controversy, he resigned over the discrimination existing in canteen facilities.

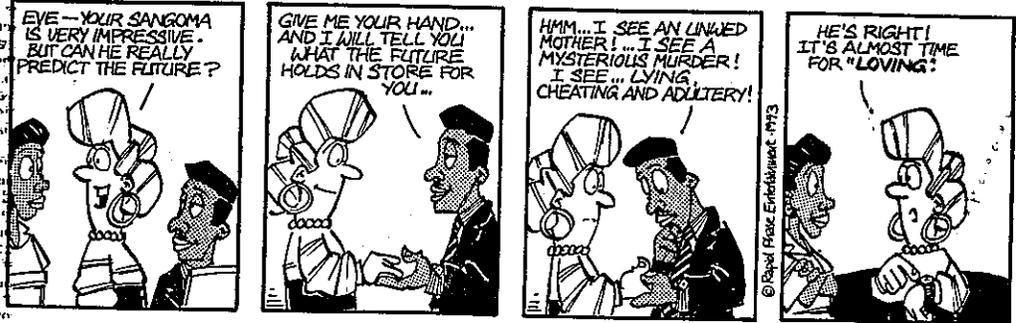
His chief areas of interest, the doctor will tell you, are black education in all its forms, economic empowerment of black people, and health. He is chairman of the Lesedi clinic — the first black-owned private hospital — and a founder of the only exclusively black medical aid scheme in the country.

He passionately believes in the future of this country. "We have to get it right... just as the IFP and ANC must get it right. We cannot afford another Angola here."

He looks sombre for a moment, then, smiling, he adds: "Whites must have faith; things will come right for us all. And to blacks, whenever they feel down, I say this: remember what Helen Suzman said, years ago, in our darkest times. She said, 'I wish I were a 10-year-old black child now... that is who the future would belong to.'"

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



left black teachers demotivated and destroyed their credibility and confidence."

He matriculated at Kilnerton High School — later closed down by Dr H F Verwoerd because it was in the wrong area — and went on to Fort Hare University where one of his fellow-members in the ANC Youth League was leader of the IFP,

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Luck seemed to crop up for Motlana at just the right moments, like sixpences in a Christmas pudding. His only problem when he emerged from Fort Hare with a BSc was that he had matriculated without maths, and that was essential if he was to enter Wits University to study medicine. Of

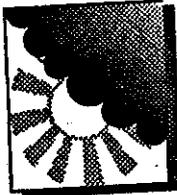
[Handwritten signature]

apparently returned fire. — Staff reporter.

ANC's 'dreadful' record

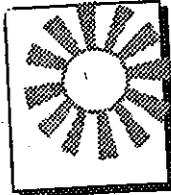
The ANC had a "dreadful" record of dealing with its opponents and critics, according to the International Society for Human Rights. In a 32-page report issued by its headquarters in Frankfurt, Germany, the society said that although reconciliation was necessary in South Africa "it needs to be stated frankly that there can be no stable and sustainable future without a full investigation of past wrongs". — Star Foreign Service.

3 weather



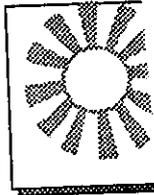
TVL/OFS

Tvl: Partly cloudy in north-east and lowveld; otherwise fine and warm.
OFS: Fine and mild.



NATAL

Cold over interior; otherwise fine and warm.



CAPE

Fine and mild.

TODAY

The woman (24) was in a serious condition. Her daughter, 18, was also seriously injured. Their names have not been released as they are in the custody of the police in Gazankulu. The woman has been notified.

Star files symbolis



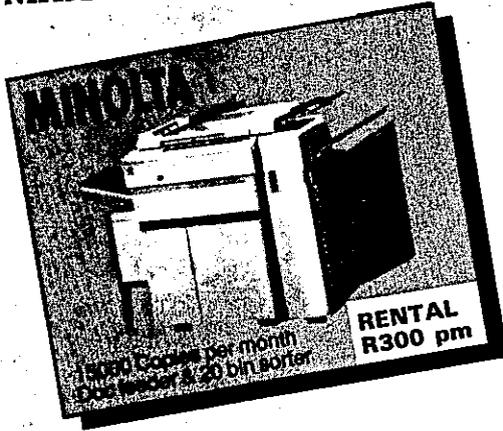
Nelson Mandela... passing the baton... here from... the deg... negotiat...

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ARG 17/5/93

(11A)

~~35/11~~

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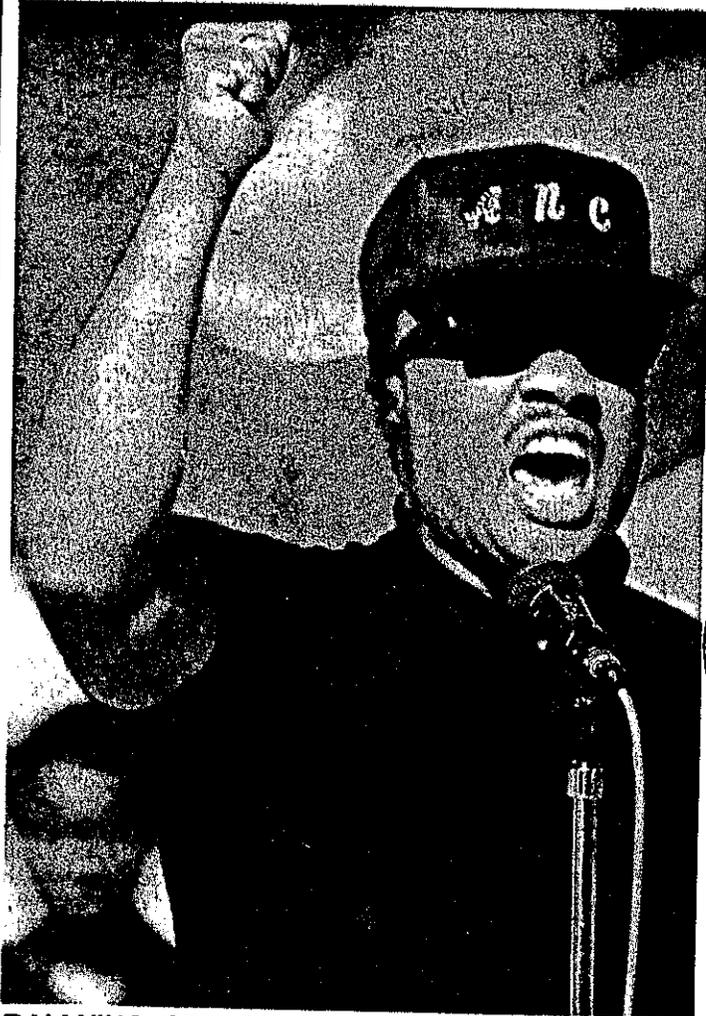
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RALLYING CRY: Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC regional secretary for the Western Cape.

ANC denies

SADF, MK

set to merge

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has rejected suggestions that Umkhonto we Sizwe is poised to be incorporated into the SADF and that its members would take up positions to the level of general.

However, a Defence Ministry spokesman said yesterday that exploratory talks were taking place with a variety of organisations and it was "only logical" that all armed forces "should be consolidated as soon as possible in the interest of peace".

A senior ANC source and leading negotiator said the organisation did not want MK to be merged into the current SADF "with all its baggage".

A report yesterday saying the merging of MK into the SADF could take place within weeks "sounds like a Government kite-flying exercise" to fend off ANC pressure.

He pointed out that the ANC wanted a new defence force created out of existing armed forces. He also said the organisation's first objective was for the security forces to be placed under joint political control.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said the report was "speculative" but confirmed that exploratory talks over a future SADF were taking place.

DP to drop 'nice guy' image

BLOOM 17/5/93

TIM COHEN

HERMANUS — The DP is planning to shed its "nice guy" image, emphasising instead its potential as the balance of power in a new government in which it aims to achieve at least three Cabinet seats.

At a DP weekend briefing, members spelt out the new approach and potential of the party, which they said could gain 15% of the total vote, 60 seats, in a new Parliament.

Recognising that the impending election would be decisive for the party, members said the DP was no longer interested in playing a "facilitator/mediator" role. The DP was more interested in emphasising its capacity to govern effectively, and could adopt slogans like "NP/ANC rule or DP government" and "Make the DP your guarantee of good government".

The DP had established a "war chest" specifically for the election campaign, the Helen Suzman Trust, and aimed to raise R20m in SA and overseas.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said, based on a survey of opinion polls conducted independently so far, it was clear that even with its current support, the DP was sure to make up part of the new government. The DP's support now consisted of 3% of black voters, 18% of white, and about 13% of coloured and Asian voters, indicating 7% total voter support.

The surveys showed the DP's potential was 12% of blacks, 25% of whites, 43% of coloureds

and Asians, indicating a total potential support of 18,3% of the electorate.

In addition, the surveys showed NP support waning fast across the board, the ANC holding its black support, and the DP losing black support but gaining elsewhere.

Andrew said there were good reasons to believe the cut-off point for an interim Parliament would be 1% of the total vote, partly because the multiparty forum was likely to be decided on an inclusive, low figure. In addition, the ANC was likely to support this because it would want to minimise the possibility of being in a Cabinet with only the NP as partner.

Speculating about a possible outcome of the election, Andrew said the ANC was likely to get 49% of the total vote, 197 seats and 10 Cabinet posts. The NP would get 17% of the total vote, 69 seats and four Cabinet seats — only slightly more than the DP.

The IFP would get 7% of the total vote and it, the PAC and the CP would get only one Cabinet seat each.

Party leader Zach de Beer said the DP would have to be more strident in its approach, and would probably campaign on two fronts: the DP as the party of peace and the DP as the party with members potentially best at governing.

Mandela gets a bear hug in northern Cape

Own Correspondent

(11A)

KIMBERLEY — ANC president Nelson Mandela received a tumultuous reception in Kimberley and Upington on a visit to mobilise the coloured vote.

He met businessmen, religious leaders, teachers, students, police and SADF officers, and Upington's mayor and town council.

But it was the coloured community the ANC had clearly come to court. At a meeting in Upington some members of the audience, overcome with emotion, wept.

Keimpees teacher Abie Olivier told Mandela it was a very emotional day.

"I want to ask one thing, Mr Mandela," he said. "Can I come up and hug you?"

The audience roared its approval when Mandela hugged him. BLOOM 17/5/93. Mandela had the crowd on their feet when he made his opening remarks in Afrikaans.

Speaking to about 5 000 people at the Upington Stadium later, Mandela said he was convinced the ANC had the full support of the "so-called coloured community".

Referring to the NP's wooing of the coloured vote, Mandela said the party had to be destroyed because it was not fit to govern.

"Have you forgotten how they persecuted you, how they took away your land, how they took away your vote? They want to use you to disguise their racism," Mandela said.

CAPE TOWN

Star 115 193

Award 'will symbolise new SA'

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In the eyes of many Americans, South Africa's government of national unity will begin on July 4 when President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela jointly receive the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty Medal and the accompanying \$100 000 (R318 000) prize.

The announcement of the award followed agreement from the two leaders to attend the award ceremony together, according to members of We the People 200, the organisation sponsoring the event.

Whether or not there has been agreement by then on an interim government and a date for South Africa's first nonracial elections, many Americans now closely monitoring events in the country believe that the joint visit to the US will symbolise the sort of nation-



F W de Klerk ... passing the baton.

al unity which many here hope to see emerge from current negotiations.

De Klerk and Mandela are virtually certain to meet President Clinton during their visit, but whether they do so jointly or separately has not yet been decided and may well depend on



Nelson Mandela ... accepting the baton.

the degree of progress in negotiations.

Clinton is expected to attend the ceremony which is to take place at Philadelphia's historic Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago. It is likely to be the focal point of the

US's national day celebrations on July 4.

A traditional July 4 parade will take place before the medal is awarded.

The Philadelphia Liberty Medal and prize was established in 1988 to honour "an individual or an organisation — from anywhere in the world — that has visibly demonstrated leadership and vision in pursuit of liberty of conscience or freedom from oppression, ignorance or deprivation".

The international selection panel which chose De Klerk and Mandela includes prominent leaders in the fields of politics, business, science, and the arts.

Commenting on the award today, South Africa's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, said: "Many people have, and continue to contribute towards the democratisation process in South Africa, but none more than President de Klerk and Mr Mandela."

Mandela to meet Major and Kohl

RAY HARTLEY

ANC president Nelson Mandela, during his week-long visit to Europe which starts today, will encourage British and German leaders to invest in SA once a transitional executive council has been established.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mandela, who left last night for meetings with British Prime Minister John Major and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, would be reiterating the ANC's "basic message" that transitional structures needed to be established urgently.

Mandela was also scheduled to address both houses of the British parliament and to meet British Secretary for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Douglas Hurd, the ANC said yesterday.

Mandela would meet Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoko for lunch today and British Labour Party leader John Smith tomorrow before returning to SA next Tuesday.

Mandela's overseas visit comes after Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent trip to the UK and Italy where he promoted foreign investment and met the Institute for the Reconstruction of Industry.

Last month Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone travelled to the US in an effort to raise funds for development.

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BLOM 115793

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Mandela courts N Cape voters

(11A)
CT 11/5/93

From RONALD MORRIS

KIMBERLEY. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela received a tumultuous reception in Kimberley and Upington at the weekend on a visit intended to mobilise the coloured vote, and has given the assurance that the coloured people are important to the ANC.

Maintaining a punishing schedule on Saturday, Mr Mandela met with businesspeople, religious leaders, teachers, students, senior police and SADF officers, and with the mayor and town council of Upington.

But it was the coloured community the ANC has clearly come to court. The strategy appears to be successful — at a meeting in Upington with teachers, religious leaders and students some members of the audience, overcome with emotion, wept.

One man, a high school teacher, asked Mr Mandela if he could hug him. The audience roared its approval when Mr Mandela did so.

He had the crowd on their feet when he made his opening remarks in Afrikaans.

Buthelezi meeting

Asked about recent press reports that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini was seeking a meeting between Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and himself, Mr Mandela replied: "I have done everything in my power to get Chief Buthelezi to work closely with us in bringing about democratic changes.

"He wants to meet with me but what is the point of us meeting now? Let us meet as a group of leaders, because the collective wisdom of all is better than the wisdom of two individuals."

Asked how the area could be economically stimulated, Mr Mandela said the ANC was aware the Northern Cape needed resources to develop.

One of the mistakes made by the present and previous governments was to concentrate resources in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth while other areas were neglected.

ANC for 'peaceful actions'

11A

ET 17/5/93

Staff Reporter

THE ANC's policy on mass actions was that they "should be peaceful and disciplined", the organisation's Western Cape region said in a statement at the weekend.

It was responding to inquiries about whether it had asked the Con-

gress of South African Students (Cosas) to stop stoning and burning cars.

There appear to be clear differences of opinion between the ANC and Cosas concerning these actions.

The ANC said it supported the demands of Cosas for the scrapping of examination fees, and for decent and equal education "for all our people".

"We would like to emphasise that Cosas is an independent organisation, and that they are entitled to their own programme of action.

"We are currently meeting with Cosas to discuss ways in which we can support them in their demands, and to attempt to find common ground about the areas where there are differences in approach."

The ANC said it would not conduct a debate with Cosas through the media,

Supports Cosas on exam fees

as it did not believe this was constructive or conducive to resolving the crisis.

"We will pursue this issue directly with Cosas," it said.

The ANC took strong exception to certain remarks Cosas had made about Dr Allan Boesak, the Western Cape chairman of the ANC.

This is apparently a reference to a Cosas statement that leaders trying to exercise control had "no knowledge of student conditions".

These remarks were "unjustified and untrue", the ANC said.

● Cosas has decided to occupy unused or under-used white schools, again after strong ANC pressure against marching on white schools.

A summit meeting of "stakeholders" in the education crises convened by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee was held at the University of the Witwatersrand on Saturday.

The meeting decided that "underutilised institutions of learning" would be used.

Delegates called on the white community to take cognisance of the education crises, and to help resolve it.

Denial on MK joining forces with SADF

Saseteru 17/5/93

By Joshua Raboroko

■ New, representative army must be built on democratic principles:

THE African National Congress yesterday dismissed reports that Umkhonto we Sizwe is to join the South African Defence Force, saying it wanted a new army built on democratic principles.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said there was no possibility of Umkhonto we Sizwe joining the South African Defence Force "within a short period of time".

The organisation was responding to a report in an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper that the military wing of the ANC could join the SADF within a few weeks.

The report also said Umkhonto we Sizwe,

The SADF has been discredited and is an unacceptable army in South Africa

together with its general, Joe Modise, had come to an agreement on the possibility of joining the security forces.

The report came after Minister of Defence Mr Kobie Coetsee said he would speed up the possibility of such a move.

Addressing a meeting in Tweeling in the Orange Free State last week, Coetsee said between 8 000 and 12 000 members of MK could be incorporated into the SADF soon.

Marcus said the report created the wrong impression. The SADF had been discredited and was an unacceptable army in South Africa, she said.

The ANC wanted a new professional army that would be built differently from the old SADF.

It was unlikely that MK would join the SADF. "We want a new army created according to democratic principles," Marcus said.





Good to have you home, Baby

ON TOP OF THE WORLD ... Newly crowned World Boxing Organisation flyweight champion Jacob "Baby Jake" Matlala is being welcomed by fans at his home in Meadowlands, Soweto, yesterday after his sensational win against Pat Clinton in Glasgow, Scotland, at the weekend.

PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

FW, Mandela to meet

on crisis

Sowetan 18/5/93

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

THE SA DEMOCRATIC Teachers Union has cancelled both meetings with the Department of Education and Training and the National Education Department.

But in a major effort to defuse the volatile situation resulting from the education crisis, State President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela are to meet, possibly within days.

Sadtu was scheduled to meet with the DET today and another meeting with the NED was to be held tomorrow.

Sadtu said yesterday they had already communicated their dispute on salaries and rationalisation to De Klerk's office.

Minister of National Education Mr Piet Marais was expected to step in yesterday "as a matter of urgency" to avoid a deepening of the education crisis. The National Peace Committee yesterday has also moved to stem the tide of destruction of the past weeks.

The chairman of the NPC, Mr John Hall, yesterday said he was prepared to help any attempts to defuse any further incidents of conflict and wrangles around education.

"I am disappointed that opportunities for win solutions may have been missed through lack of communication and the structures of the peace accord will continue to offer their facilities to try to overcome shortcomings and difficulties," Hall said yesterday.

Meanwhile, the Southern Transvaal region of Congress of SA Students said the march through Johannesburg today would go on as planned, whether or not permission was granted.

Cosas spokesman Mr Vitalious Xaba said: "It is our right to gather... it is freedom of assembly. It's not a question of permission being granted or not but a question of discipline."

The build-up to the national teachers' strike next Monday got off the ground yesterday as pupils and teachers in major cities took to the streets in protest against the education crisis.

Durban at standstill

In another development, about 2 500 technikon and university students brought Durban's city centre to a standstill yesterday.

This was during a march to protest against the education crisis in general and the problems at the University of Bophuthatswana in particular.

Meanwhile, students at the University of Zululand near Empangeni boycotted classes in protest against the appointment of Professor Charles Dlamini as rector of the university.

Students claimed that Dlamini's appointment was an undemocratic process and was against the views of a large constituency of the university.

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ntla Segobodi ● *SABC's bias against Azapo condemned*

What a sickening attitude

Sowetan 18/5/93

Comment by Elliot Makhaya

JUST a week ago Dr Gomolemo Mokae, publicity secretary of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, was interviewed on *Newsline* by Leslie Mashokwe.

During the interview, Mokae pointed out that Azapo was given very little time on the goggle box.

A few days later Azapo held a special congress at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort and the Auckland Park "boys" did not see it worthy to cover the congress.

An Azapo member, Shiiko Ramasela, phoned the SABC during the 6pm news bulletin and asked why his movement's congress was not broadcast.

A man who answered the phone allegedly told him: "Azapo should not expect coverage as long as it does not join the multi-party talks at Kempton Park."

I am not a political animal, but I think this is not on. If this is true, then it's definitely sickening.

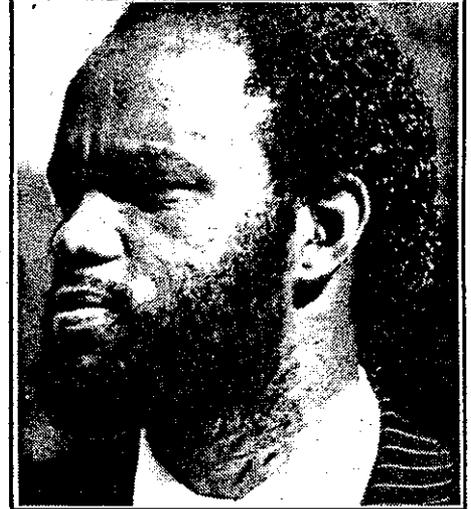
Only snippets of the congress were screened during the subsequent news bulletins.

All movements, even if they are Phumelangaphandle Silwe Party of Tweebuffels, deserve equal treatment on the box and other media. They pay the same taxes as you and I do. (20) (11A)

Azapo's Nchaupe Mokoape once asked: "Has the SABC not forgiven the Black Consciousness Movement for dethroning white liberals as self-appointed thinkers of the black people?"

Can we argue with Nchaupe Mokoape?

It is about time the electronic media ceased to be a guardian of people's thinking. The presence or absence of propaganda can only be measured by the amount of discussion that takes place on TV, and by the amount of suppression of dissenting views. Sounds like propaganda, isn't it?



Leslie Mashokwe



Mandela wins some N Cape hearts

By RONALD MORRIS

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela won the hearts — if not the minds — of businessmen, police and army officers in traditionally conservative Upington on his run through the Northern Cape at the weekend.

Speaking to police officers, Upington mayor Mr G Esterhuizen, mem-

bers of his town council and business people, in a local hotel, Mr Mandela was given a standing ovation.

Mr Mandela assured Colonel L Kotze, Officer Commanding Group 23, that even though some SADF and SAP officers would be retired, they would not be discriminated against and all contracts would be honoured after a merger of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the SADF. Senior officers would

not be sacked if they were not MK members, he added.

Mr Mandela said an ANC government would channel resources from other prosperous areas to the agriculturally-dependent Northern Cape — and as an incentive, businesses which relocated to the area, would not pay taxes for the first five years.

Such was the interest in Mr Mande-

la's message that a locomotive on its way past the Upington stadium, where Mr Mandela addressed about 6 000 people, stopped so its white crew could hear him speak.

The mainly Afrikaans-speaking crowd roared its approval when he said an ANC government would maintain Afrikaans and change it from a language of oppression to a language of liberation.

(11A) CT 18/5/93

From Page 1
the rival organisations who clashed outside the court building.

Four women were stabbed in the incident and taken to hospital.

There was a heavy police presence outside the building yesterday and in the

February 20 last year, and fired on a group of traffic officers the following month after going through a speed trap.

The trial is being heard by Judge M C de Klerk and two assessors.

● Picture: Page 3

Young Boipatong survivor identifies alleged attacker

BIDM 1815793
DELMAS — A matriculant, who lost three family members and narrowly escaped death himself during last year's massacre in Boipatong, yesterday identified one of the KwaMadala Hostel residents as his attacker.

The young man, who may not be named following a court ruling that residents of Boipatong testifying in the trial may not be identified, was the first of eight witnesses the State has called so far.

The youth said he was stabbed in his side with a spear, but managed to escape to safety. When he returned home later, he found his sister, brother and another family member dead.

He pointed out Mncediseni Sibongeleni Mkhize as the man who had stabbed him.

The youth, a Zulu, said he had no idea why they were attacked and said his family had no political affiliations.

When one of the attackers dragged his younger sister out of the house, he (the attacker) shouted "come dog", but said nothing else, the court heard.

Thirty-two former residents of the Kwa-Madala Hostel near Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle, have pleaded not guilty to 45 charges of murder, attempted murder and malicious damage to property.



STEPHANE BOTHMA

Earlier, the State withdrew murder charges against 15 other hostel dwellers, bringing the number of suspects freed since the massacre to 42.

The witness, cross-examined by two advocates for several hours on the identity of Mkhize, said he had no doubt in his mind as to the identity of the alleged murderer.

"If somebody does something bad to you, you never forget his face," he told defence advocates Vic Botha and Rian Strydom.

Another witness, who suffered no injuries but witnessed the large group of attackers roaming the Boipatong streets, said he saw a group of men entering the house of Paulina Dlamini, where the old lady lived with her grandchildren.

The group later left the house and when the witness investigated, he had found a very young girl, Maria, dead in the living room and Paulina severely injured in her bedroom. She was stabbed in her upper leg, the court heard.

At another house, he found a young boy with half his face hacked away and the boy's mother stabbed in the back and shot in the neck.

His evidence continues today.

Slovo plot man in court

MARIANNE MERTEN

FORMER SA Air Force radio technician John Beck will be held in Pretoria Central maximum security prison until he appears in court next week in connection with a plot to kill SACP chairman Joe Slovo.

Beck appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court for the first time yesterday. He was unrepresented and was not asked to plead. The case was postponed to May 25.

Senior prosecutor Hans Wolfaardt asked for the postponement, and requested that Beck be remanded in custody in maximum security.

BIDM 1815793
Investigating officer Sgt Chris Lombard of the Crime Intelligence Service said yesterday it was "a very difficult case in the sense that there were many little points to prove".

The police had to act quickly after Beck was named by an informer in connection with a plot to kill SACP chairman Joe Slovo last week, he said.

Beck is being held under section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

LS181 20019
Sankard

(4bb1)

Move expected to please Inkatha

ANC shifts its stance on regionalism

BIDAM 18/5/93

11A

A BREAKTHROUGH in constitutional negotiations is on the cards following significant shifts on regionalism by the ANC in its submissions to multi-party negotiations.

The ANC's new position would go a long way towards accommodating the anxieties of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), and in particular Inkatha, political observers said.

One source said the development was of such a nature that "Inkatha, and maybe even Bophuthatswana, would have difficulty in rejecting it easily".

The ANC's new stance was contained in a submission to the technical committee compiling documents on the various parties' policies on constitutional principles.

Attempts to obtain a response yesterday from Inkatha on the ANC's submission were unsuccessful.

The negotiating council meets today to consider reports of the seven technical committees and it is expected that parties could start substantive talks on constitutional principles, including the future form of state and regional powers. The Cosag parties have insisted that these items top the agenda.

The ANC's submissions to the technical committee on constitutional principles calls for national, regional and local governments to be set up democratically — with each having legislative and executive

BILLY PADDOCK

powers and functions. It implies that regions would also have their own constitutions and that their powers, functions and duties would be entrenched in the new national constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer is so optimistic at the new development that he says there is no longer any substantive difference on regionalism at the talks.

Meyer said negotiators were at the point "where a regional dispensation which has the hallmarks of federalism is in sight. It is something SA has never had before."

One source close to the committee working on the submissions said parts of the ANC's document came "straight from the Consultative Business Movement's report on regionalism and they have moved much further from the position they held after their national conference on regionalism".

One negotiator on the 10-man planning committee said yesterday the constitutional committee's report was extremely comprehensive and provided a good basis to start negotiating substantive issues. The report would provide a "workable and real compromise that could lead to a breakthrough in the talks". This would clear the way for the other issues to be tackled more quickly than anticipated.

To Page 2

ANC shift

11A 18/5/93

He said the ANC's submission would go "a long way to lessen the fears for Cosag even though it would not accommodate the CP's position of a confederal dispensation". It was now up to negotiators to "grasp the nettle and make good what the technical committee has started".

The one issue that would have to be negotiated carefully was the relationship between central and regional governments. Inkatha and others in the Cosag fold were demanding, among other powers,

control over regional security forces, which government and the ANC would reject. "It is now also time for Inkatha and Cosag to move and compromise accordingly in the spirit of goodwill," he said.

Another source said it was unlikely finality on regionalism or a transitional executive council would be reached by June 3. But there would be sufficient progress for the ANC to satisfy its commitment to supporters that an election date would be set and a broad enough agreement reached on transitional structures.

From Page 1

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Star 18/5/93
Bisho charges still to be decided

No final decision has yet been made on the prosecution of 70 people implicated in the Bisho massacre of at least 28 demonstrators, according to Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens.

However, Jurgens said it was "inappropriate to identify individuals at this stage".

The preliminary indictment lists 70 people, including ANC and SACP leader Ronnie Kas-

rils, and 69 members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

The first accused is the field commander — a lieutenant-colonel — of all CDF personnel deployed on September 7 1992 who allegedly acted beyond his authority by:

- Not ordering troops to fire only single shots at a breakaway group from the stadium.
- Allowing troops not to shoot

at demonstrators other than those in the breakaway group.

- Allowing grenades to be fired.

According to the indictment, the officer requested permission by radio from CDF deputy commander Colonel Dirk van der Bank to fire on a breakaway group, led by Kasrils.

Van der Bank relayed the request to CDF commander Brigadier Marius Oelshig, who gave

permission for single shots to be fired at the group.

The indictment said permission to order CDF troops to shoot was "obtained and given on false information". It was preliminary recommended that the lieutenant-colonel be charged with murder, attempted murder and culpable homicide.

According to the draft charge

sheet, Kasrils is to be charged with culpable homicide and was "the direct precipitating cause of the shooting".

The indictment said that by leading the group out of the stadium, Kasrils: "... outflanked not only the Ciskeian Police ... neutralising them as the primary law enforcement agency, but also the personnel of the National Peace Secretariat who were in front of the police line, thus bringing the group into direct and sudden confrontation with the CDF".

Star 18/5/93
Abuses in ANC camps possible, inquiry told

By Mokone Molete

The ANC's head of security during its years in exile yesterday admitted that human rights abuses could have taken place in the organisation's camps, but said this was not normal policy.

Mzwandile Piliso told a commission of inquiry led by Dr Sam Motsuenyane that the ANC had a code of conduct which did not encourage the use of torture to obtain information.

Admitting, under questioning, that abuses could have taken place, Piliso explained that the organisation operated under what it perceived to be conditions of war. He said many agents (of the South African Government) presented problems to the ANC.

"Under normal circum-

stances these agents were interviewed, except in 1981 when we heard that there was a plan to overthrow the leadership of the ANC. In that instance there were cases of people being manhandled."

He pointed out that those under his command were expected to adhere to a strict code of conduct which discouraged abuses.

Referring to Angola's infamous ANC Quatro camp, linked to many allegations of torture, he said a tribunal set up by the organisation to review complaints had been slow to act, due to work pressure.

Earlier, former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the commission that he never found the Quatro camp to be a bone of contention among inmates.

Star 18/5/93
Negotiations at critical juncture

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Negotiations enter a critical phase today with the start of the first substantive constitutional talks in the resumed negotiations process.

The meeting of the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre will discuss preliminary reports from seven technical committees.

These reports deal with constitutional matters, including self-determination and the form of state, violence, a transitional executive council (TEC), fundamental human rights during the

transition, an interim constitution, independent media, electoral commissions and the repeal of discriminatory laws.

A proposal by the committee on constitutional matters that a regional commission be formed to determine the boundaries of regions is expected to be discussed in the 26-party negotiating council.

The negotiating council will have to decide today how these reports are to be discussed.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has cautioned that no decisions, "with a few exceptions", will be taken.

Participating groups have to

submit their submissions to the technical committees by 5 pm tomorrow and the discussions will be open-ended until all submissions have been received.

Negotiators believe that the value of the submissions is that parties will now be forced to make their positions known publically.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has indicated that his organisation will table a resolution today on the Joe Slovo assassination plot.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander predicted a heated debate on the reports from the technical committees on the TEC and constitutional matters.



I nursed my hostage. Benthin

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I nursed my hostage. Benthin

ANC confirms it met Lonrho over paper

CT 18/5/93 Own Correspondent (17)

THE African National Congress confirmed yesterday that it held a meeting with the Lonrho chief executive Mr Tiny Rowland two months ago in connection with starting a newspaper.

An ANC spokesman said, however, that nothing concrete had yet been communicated to the organisation in connection with the project.

Mr Rowland announced this week his company could be starting a newspaper in partnership with the ANC. He said the former Observer editor, Mr Donald Treford, would run the paper.

Former ANC official tells of camp torture

810AM 18/5/93
FORMER ANC security chief Mzwai Piliso yesterday denied that he knew about torture in ANC "rehabilitation camps", except for one case in 1981, when there were fears about a plot to overthrow the ANC leadership.

Testifying before the Motsuenyane commission into alleged human rights abuses in ANC detention camps, Piliso said at the time ANC security forces had to extract information as "quickly and reliably" as possible. Suspected agents were beaten under their feet.

He told the commission, which was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela last year, that he took personal charge.

"I confess I was at the head. If anything was wrong, the man at the head takes the responsibility."

Reports of "gross abuse which were allowed to go unchecked for many years by the ANC leadership in exile" were issued recently by Amnesty International and the International Society for Human Rights.

According to these reports, camp inmates were severely beaten, forced to perform hard labour without proper nutrition and were denied medical care. Some were allegedly executed.

In 1983, Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres suspected of stirring up a mutiny were whipped and molten plastic was poured over their naked bodies.

Piliso told commissioner Margaret

11A
DIRK VAN EEDEN

Burnham he was not aware that any of the methods of torture listed by Amnesty International were used at the camps.

Piliso started his testimony by saying that he was "not sure" the commission was "in the interest of the oppressed people of the country" and that he would not have attended the hearings if he had not been instructed to do so by the ANC's leadership.

He said he believed at the time that the ANC was in a war situation and that conditions in, for example Angola, had been very poor.

Infiltrated

"There were times when we could not buy food and we went hungry for two to three days."

He said the ANC was "heavily infiltrated" by government agents. Former police minister Jimmy Kruger once said that out of every 10 volunteers crossing the border to join the ANC, five were government agents.

"Camps such as Quatro were not regarded as prisons but as rehabilitation centres. These young suspected agents grew up under apartheid, and they had to be rehabilitated."

Many of these former agents, he said, went on to become "high ranking officers" in Umkhonto we Sizwe.

NEWS Harding blockaded by radical v

Talks at a point of 'no return'

Sowetan 1915/93

■ Moment of truth has arrived for Conservative Party:

THE ANC and the Government last night agreed that negotiations were reaching a point of no return after yesterday's successful meeting of the 26-party negotiating council (IIP) (SATA).

The key players were confident that a date for the first democratic elections would be announced before June 3, when the negotiating forum meets.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the "moment of truth" for the Conservative Party had arrived because it was clearly seeking a "cessationist option".

The key points to emerge were the "demystification" of the right of self-determination and consensus that all constitutional principles were inter-related and could not be dealt with separately.

Negotiators said this meant that the Concerned South Africans Group had effectively waived their insistence that the form of state be decided before anything else.

The main achievements were:

- A report be drafted on constitutional principles which will form the broad outline of a new constitution;
- Draft legislation be prepared for an independent media commission and an independent electoral commission; and
- A regionalism commission submit recommendations within the next six weeks on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The debate was overshadowed by the first item on self-determination in the constitutional technical committee's report.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the NP's Dr Dawie de Villiers proposed that the report from the constitutional technical committee be dealt with in a "holistic manner".

They argued that the principle of self-determination had an impact on other constitutional principles such as regionalism, the form of state and a fundamental Bill of Rights.

1992/3 BOOKINGS NOW OPEN

FREE

NEWS Spotlight on ANC detention camps ● 72 injured and 85 nabbed on Day 8

ANC chief in Sowetan 19/5/93 quiz on camps

■ Motsuenyane grills Nhlanhla on 'rehabilitation' centres:

By Ruth Bhengu

HEAD of the African National Congress's Intelligence Mr Joe Nhlanhla told a commission of inquiry yesterday that no one ever died of starvation and torture in the organisation's detention camps. (S) (IA)

Nhlanhla was testifying before the latest commission, headed by retired president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industries Dr Sam Motsuenyane, into allegations of torture of ANC detainees in the ANC's "rehabilitation camps".

The hearing, at the FNB Stadium, has been taking evidence since last week.

Responding to questions by Motsuenyane, Nhlanhla said he did not know of anyone who died from torture in the organisation's camps in Angola, Tanzania and Uganda.

Asked if he knew of specific cases such as the death of one inmate named Seku in Zambia, Nhlanhla said: "Yes, I think I can recall a certain Twala who was buried in Swaziland."

About Zaba Maletsa, one of those who had revolted in one of the ANC camps and allegedly died in Quatro, Nhlanhla said: "I don't know the circumstances of his death because it was before my time as head. All I know is that Mrs Curtis Nkondo came to Lusaka and we went to meet her. I accompanied the president (the late Oliver Tambo) who told her that the comrade had committed suicide in a cell."

Concerning the death of a senior ANC commander, Mr Thami Zulu, in Zambia and who was believed to have been poisoned among other things, Nhlanhla said it was time Zulu's death was cleared "once and for all".

ANC won't offer legal help

Sawetani 19/5/93

By Mzimase Ngudle

■ Member alleged to have fired shots at IFP supporters:

THE African National Congress has refused to provide legal representation for a member who is appearing on multiple murder charges, the Rand Supreme Court was told yesterday. (IA)

Mr Justice MC de Klerk also turned down a request by Mr Michael Phama that the trial be adjourned so that he could meet the ANC. (IB)

Phama, an ANC member who allegedly fired shots at Inkatha Freedom Party supporters at a rally in Tokoza on the East Rand on September 8 1991, has pleaded not guilty to 21 charges of murder, 26 of attempted murder and four of possessing firearms and ammunition.

His *pro-deo* counsel, Mrs Riana Essack, told the court yesterday the ANC

had said it did "not intend to appoint legal representation for the accused".

She said the ANC was satisfied with the advocate appointed by the State who now had an assistant.

Yesterday evidence continued to hinge on whether State witnesses had correctly identified Phama as the person responsible for the shooting.

Inkatha welcomes concession

ANC clears way for talks breakthrough

8/10 AM 19/5/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday backed down on its demand that an elected constituent assembly be the only body to decide on the powers, functions and duties of regions — clearing the way for the most significant breakthrough in negotiations in the past two years.

Yesterday at the World Trade Centre the ANC accepted a resolution giving the technical committee the go-ahead to formulate recommendations on the structures, powers and functions of regions.

"The effect of this is that we have shifted the decision-making process forward and are showing doubters that we are serious about moving speedily forward," one ANC negotiator said. If the details were properly negotiated in the council, the elected body could approve them.

The aim of the ANC's decision is to accommodate the fears of, among others, Inkatha. It also signals acceptance that the multiparty forum could decide on such issues. Negotiators speculated that the trade-off the ANC sought was for Inkatha to accept the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Senior Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said that taken with the ANC's concession that regions should have original powers and that central government should have overriding powers only in areas where there were concurrent powers, Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position.

He welcomed the move but cautioned against overoptimism. Until these were written in stone and a constitutional court had been established to prevent the ANC from "changing its mind during the inter-

im government stage", his party would be suspicious.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said: "The concession by the ANC on original powers is very significant and once we have decided on the constitutional principles, it is effectively written in stone."

The 26-party negotiating council yesterday urgently instructed the technical committee to complete this work as the powers and functions of regions were "crucial to issues such as the form of state and self-determination, and will be a fundamental part of the constitution".

The committee was also instructed to make recommendations on constitutional principles and the constitution-making process. The resolution binds the council to getting a commission on regional boundaries off the ground by next week, to report back within six weeks.

The council also accepted what ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa termed "a major breakthrough on self-determination that will give certain parties great comfort". This was the technical committee acknowledging that self-determination was a right.

The committee said it was a right in the sense of making one's own choices, developing potential, securing one's well-being and not being subjected to undue external pressure and domination.

Indications from other negotiators are that the CP could walk out of the talks as its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland would not be accommodated.

It is also understood that government

To Page 2

Talks 8/10 AM 19/5/93

and Inkatha are pushing to make the interim constitution as comprehensive as possible, allowing the elected interim government little scope to make too many substantive decisions. Throughout proceedings yesterday, they pressed the technical committee to draft a fundamental and comprehensive Bill of Rights.

The committee looking at a transitional executive council was at pains to point out that it had difficulty with its brief because no decision on the council's establishment had yet been taken.

Felgate was concerned about the ANC submission to bring the TBVC states and self-governing states under its authority as

this reduced the powers of KwaZulu's legislative assembly.

But DP negotiator Ken Andrew said Inkatha had agreed to this at Codesa. It was impossible to contemplate all these separate authorities having their current powers in a run-up to elections.

Most of the reports from the technical committees were just noted because they were preliminary. Their members were instructed to prepare a second report by Friday.

The negotiating council would meet again on Tuesday, when serious discussion on the reports was expected to begin.

From Page 1
● Comment: Page 8

May 19 1993

Police send ANC youth group packing

□ Memo slams 'illegal' Bop regime

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

EIGHT ANC Youth League members left in a huff today after failing to get into Parliament Towers in the city centre to hand over and discuss a memorandum with two senior Bophuthatswana government officials.

The delegation, which included league regional chairman Mcebisi Skwatsha and secretary Neville Naidoo, arrived at the building at 10.20am for what they thought would be a meeting with Mr G E Sere, a Bophuthatswana embassy minister, and Mr T J Tsimane, the homeland's ambassador in Kimberley.

Police refused to allow them in and Mr Sere and Mr Tsimane met them outside.

Mr Naidoo said: "We have an agreement. Why are we not allowed in? I thought we had a meeting."

Mr Sere replied: "We don't have a mandate to talk to you."

Mr Tsimane said he and his colleague could not discuss the document with the delegation until they had seen its contents.

Mr Skwatsha said: "Can't we humbly ask that you allow us into your office so that we can hand over the memorandum and say a few words?"

Mr Tsimane said that was out of the question.

The delegation left for another appointment without handing over the memorandum.

● In the document, the league expressed its opposition to the "illegitimate" regime in Bophuthatswana and its attempts to stifle free political activity in the homeland.

109 114

APR 19/5/93

Star 196/93
ANC rejects

counsel for (IA) killing accused

Own Correspondent

The ANC has refused to provide legal representation for a man appearing on multiple murder charges, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

Mr Justice MC de Klerk yesterday turned down a request by Michael Phama, who has pleaded not guilty to 26 counts of murder and 21 of attempted murder, that the trial be adjourned so that he could talk to the ANC.

Phama, an ANC member, is charged with taking part in shooting at Inkatha Freedom Party supporters at a rally in Tokoza, on the East Rand, on September 8 1991.

Phama's pro Deo counsel Riana Essack said the ANC was satisfied with the State-appointed advocate, who now had an assistant.

The hearing continues.

- (3) Yes, from the South African Agricultural Union for the continuation of the scheme.
- (4) Yes. A media statement will be issued depending on the finalization of assistance measures and the outcome of the negotiations with the Department of Local Government and National Housing.

Senior Certificate: examination fee

*7. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:†

- (1) Whether it is the intention to reduce the compulsory examination fee for the Senior Certificate examination in respect of the various education departments; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant particulars;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B809E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

- (1) The Ministers responsible for the provision of education released a statement on 31 March 1993 according to which the Government authorized individual departments of education to reduce the 1993 Senior Certificate examination fees by a maximum of R24,00 from R72,00 to R48,00 with the provision that the loss of income be borne from their own funds or effected savings.

The hon the Minister of Education and Training has since announced that the 1993 Senior Certificate examination fees for the Department of Education and Training have been reduced by R24,00, while the Department of Education and Culture: House of Delegates have also reduced their fees by R24,00.

- (2) Yes. The Government is at present consulting role-players with regard to the levying of examination fees and will make an announcement as soon as a decision has been taken.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

Afrikaner universities: ANC/SACP alliance

*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether he intends taking any steps to ensure that universities considered to be Afrikaner universities do not fall into the hands of the ANC/SACP alliance; if not, why not; if so, what steps;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, firstly I should like to know what is meant by a university that is considered to be an Afrikaner university. In other words, is there a difference between an Afrikaner university and an institution that is considered to be such a university?

Concerning the further question as to what an Afrikaner university is, I presume that by that the hon interpellant means a university with Afrikaans as the medium of instruction and an ethos that reflects mainly the Afrikaner culture. There are such universities, of course, and I presume that it is in fact that medium of instruction and ethos that the hon member is concerned about. I share his sentiments in this regard. The best protection of the character and nature of a university, any university, lies in its autonomy. That autonomy is already one of the strong points of the university system in South Africa.

The protection of the autonomy of an institution is of vital importance to the university system of our country. The Government considers itself to be committed to the preservation of the autonomy of institutions, in a future dispensation as well, and will ensure this. The principle of autonomy has already been incorporated in the draft charter of fundamental rights. I am striving for the consolidation, stabilisation and expansion of the autonomy of our universities. This is the obvious and best way of protecting their nature and character.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I should like to quote what Oswald Spengler wrote in his work *Jahre in der Entscheidung* at the beginning of the century. I am going to read the English translation, because my German is not very good. It states:

The White races have descended from their erstwhile position. Yesterday they gave orders, today they negotiate and tomorrow they will have to flatter to be able to negotiate.

I think Spengler, if he could have looked at the present situation of the Whites in South Africa, would have said their negotiations were followed by dishonourable surrender, and that that dishonourable surrender was followed by an aggressive destruction of the property and cultures of the White civilisation. [Interjections.]

The hon the Minister and his party are now also working on their constitutional structures which they want to establish in Southern Africa. They are destroying the education facet of the Afrikaner's culture with their entire approach to Southern Africa. This question was most probably formulated in this way by the officials. I do not know whether the hon the Minister still understands who and what the Afrikaner is and which properties in this Southernland belong to the Afrikaner.

In March I asked the hon the Minister a question about the universities, and the Afrikaner universities in particular. I asked him whether he was aware of the fact that lecturers and students at some Afrikaans universities were doing their best to ensure the Africanisation of Afrikaans universities. By that I mean that they should become Black. The hon the Minister then said he was aware of that. I went on to ask him, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, whether he agreed with that. He then replied that it did not fall within his sphere of competence and that in any event he would not be presumptuous enough to interfere in discussions that were taking place in the academic sphere at tertiary institutions.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that he must not hide behind the autonomy of universities today. In Southern Africa there is a history of two standpoints in regard to the essential nature of a university. Wits and Ikeys and similar universities had a completely different standpoint on the matter. We on the Afrikaner side

said the universities in Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom, Bloemfontein and Pretoria were universities whose foundations were established and embedded in the milieu of the Afrikaner. [Time expired.]

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, we understand that in his dreams the hon member plays the role of the CP's university establishment committee. The DP decided to compose a manual for him. On the title page of the manual the following words appear: "Opgedra aan Rissiepit, Oud-Tuks akademikus, tans woord- lengtespesialis". The title of this manual is: "Die Bitterrissiefonteinvolkstaatuiversiteitsinstellingskomiteehandleiding". I think the hon member can practise his arithmetic and count the number of letters. He will find more than 41, which was the length of his longest word the other day.

I quote a few excerpts from the text for hon members:

As die voorsitter hande in die hare is, kry jou hande in sy hare met realisiëse standpunte.

The guidebook also says that the chairman may not mislead the proverbial blind in the CP by using the voice of Jacob but the hands of Esau. Furthermore the chairman must accept that a bill of rights will, in the first place, guarantee the academic freedom of universities, and that every university will determine its own ethos and character, and not the State. It also states that the State must pay all universities a subsidy on an equal basis, and that the State may not discriminate on the basis of the ethos and culture of the university. Moreover the manual also states that naturally universities must be able to approach donors in order to raise funds. They can ask for money in the same way.

I am satisfied that Afrikaners at the universities that are at present Afrikaner universities and Afrikaans universities are capable of dealing with matters themselves, without taking entirely to heart the first two points in the hon member's manual, and that he should not interfere with those universities.

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe said he wondered whether I still understood who and what an Afrikaner was. I want to remind the hon member that as recently as last week the esteemed

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CP frontbencher, the hon member for Meyer-ton, placed on record in Hansard that he felt that I was a good Afrikaner. I honestly cannot believe that there are such serious differences of opinion in CP ranks.

The hon member said I was hiding behind autonomy, but the point is that both the medium of instruction and the general ethos of a university are the result of the interaction between the institution and the community that is served by the institution. The ethos of a university is not something that is or could be forced on the institution from outside. It is the embodiment of forces within the university and the community it serves. This reflects the dynamics of the academic milieu of the institution.

Surely the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe is also part of the academic milieu of certain institutions. I want to ask him what he is doing, in his general conduct and in respect of universities, to maintain the character and ethos of universities that are important to him.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I want to tell the hon the Minister that I hope the discussion on these matters will continue for a long time. I hope the milieu in this country will be such that these discussions can in fact continue. I just want to ask the hon Minister who is sitting next to the hon the Minister of Education and Culture whether he recalls our ideals and standpoints with regard to Afrikaner universities during the years we were students together. I still stand by them.

In his party and in the nation that the hon the Minister wants to build in South Africa he wants a reflection of the population structure. In other words, his party must have a Black majority in order to govern. He maintains the same standpoint with regard to all other facets of his department, also as regards universities. He is integrating education in Southern Africa.

The hon the State President is holding talks with Mr Mandela today. What are they about? Let me quote to hon members what is happening today in the education systems of the other population groups. He wants to involve Whites in this milieu, from the pre-primary to the tertiary levels. I quote:

The crisis in Black education—boycotts, chalk-downs, burning of classrooms, attacks on headmasters and teachers, stoning of

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police and delivery vehicles—is about to deepen.

The other day Mr Mandela told young people in his community who could not control themselves that they should simply join uMkontho weSizwe and he would give them enough weapons. The hon the Minister does not have any idea of what the reality in Southern Africa is today. The right-wing front, which was established to consider every facet of the Afrikaner people in Southern Africa, was not established too late.

My experience is that communists and leftists are being pampered at our universities today. They are being allowed to continue with the destruction of the Afrikaner. "Zo zongen de ouden, zo piepen de jongen." The NP establishment, the Broederbond and everyone who goes along with that, have proceeded to corrupt our young people, so much so that they no longer attach any value to the heritage of the Afrikaner people.

The CP is very serious about these matters. We shall proceed with negotiations as far as we can, but we are mobilising in respect of every facet. In this Chamber today I want to tell every student and former student of Afrikaner universities that we shall have to mobilise ourselves in order to save what belongs to us.

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, I just want to tell the hon member who wants to mobilise that it will not be possible to maintain the character of any university in South Africa by way of mobilisation. If that is the hon member's purpose, I think he is mistaken.

I want to remind him that the principles of academic freedom and the administrative autonomy of institutions did not start with the history of South Africa. This is a process that has taken 900 years to crystallise. During that time experience has taught us that a sound distance should be maintained between the government of the day and universities.

If the hon member now wants us to interfere there, I want to tell him immediately that it will be a retrogressive step in South Africa. We are proud of the development of our universities. We do not want to create a situation in which our universities have virtually no autonomy and in which they are technically in fact administered as State departments.

Right at the outset the hon member quoted a passage and subsequently said I wanted to integrate education in South Africa. The issue here is not Afrikaner universities. The issue is White universities. I think that in future we shall be able to conduct a more meaningful debate if the hon member would rather ask his questions directly, for example what is going to be done to preserve White universities. In this way we shall at least be able to argue about the facts. The hon member need not conceal his question in such a way that it is difficult to debate with him.

Debate concluded

11A

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Service contracts of teachers: negotiations with governing bodies

*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

Whether, in the light of Regulation 6 (7) of 26 February 1993, teachers are permitted to negotiate their own service contracts in respect of unsubsidised posts individually with school governing bodies; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B801E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

No, according to Regulation 6 (7) of the Regulations relating to Governing Bodies of State-aided Schools, excluding State-aided Schools for Specialised Education, governing bodies may employ persons in unsubsidised posts "Provided that the conditions of service and other service benefits of such persons who are employed in teaching posts, shall be negotiated between the governing body concerned or a body authorised thereto by it, and the organised teaching profession as represented by the bodies and associations recognised in the province or region concerned under the Education Policy Act, 1967 (Act No 39 of 1967): Provided further that if a teacher is a member of a particular recog-

nised teachers' association, the negotiations shall be conducted by such association or body authorised thereto by it".

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply—I am addressing him in his legal capacity—is it not a fact that individuals have the right to negotiate their own contracts of employment according to the common law in South Africa? If that is so, is the statement which the hon the Minister has just read out not a total violation of the individual's right to negotiate his own contract of employment?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I paid a lot of attention to this matter before I made a decision. When I applied my mind to it at the time, I knew the hon member for Pinetown, for instance, would oppose any decision I decided to take. Nevertheless, on the basis of the advice I received at the time, I thought I had made the right decision in the interests of education as it exists today.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, if an individual school wished to employ an individual teacher and pay him or her out of its own funds, and if that school and teacher negotiated their own contract of employment in violation of the regulation which the hon the Minister has just read out, would the hon the Minister act to prosecute either the school or the teacher?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that is a hypothetical question which I would prefer not to reply to. All I can say is that I have had lengthy discussions with the TFC on this matter. They regard this in a very serious light and assured me that the whole process would be approached in a very lenient and flexible manner.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, did he carry out any negotiations with the Model C schools themselves in respect of this particular matter?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, there are approximately 2 000 individual Model C schools. Of course it would have been completely impossible for me to negotiate with all of them. However, I did negotiate with parties who gave me the assurance that they represented a number of such schools in particular instances.

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If we ask the Government today, however, who the enemy of South Africa is, they are silent. They say there is no longer an enemy. [Interjections.] Over the years MK and Apla have been regarded as the enemy because they committed acts of terror and aggravated the revolutionary climate in the RSA. That is why they were banned organisations.

*Mr R V CARLISLE: What about Derby-Lewis?

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: The hon the State President unbanned and legalised this organisation, however.

That member is just a Boerehater. That is all he is.

*Mr R V CARLISLE: Derby-Lewis is not a Boer! [Interjections.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: At the same time he promised South Africa solemnly that violence and terror would not be tolerated. Meanwhile the bloody wave of violence has engulfed South Africa, however. [Interjections.]

Mr R V CARLISLE: [Inaudible.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Apla accepts responsibility . . .

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Wynberg must contain himself. [Interjections.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Apla accepts responsibility for one act of terror after the other. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That also applies to other hon members.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: The hon the Minister of Law and Order himself says that many members of MK are nothing but criminals but the NP Government refuses to ban Apla and MK because then the negotiations will fail. [Interjections.] This Government regards negotiations more highly than the lives of men, women and children.

The new enemy, according to this Government, is the rightwing. Covert and overt operations have to be carried out against right-wing organisations. Agents, informants and infiltrators of the security forces are now being used against right-wing organisations. [Interjections.]

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It would be interesting to hear how many CP MP's telephone conversations are tapped. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, the fact remains that we are dealing here with a confirmed declaration of war on soft targets, namely White aged people on farms.

I just want to make this last comment. The Government is responsible for the large-scale disruption in Defence Force intelligence services which was caused by the destruction of the Directorate of Covert Collection of the Defence Force and the dismissal of intelligence officers.

By the way, at the time a great fuss was made about the fact that certain of these intelligence officers would be prosecuted criminally. To date we have not heard anything about this. They were not prosecuted. The Government owes these men an apology. Their names were dragged through the mud, and this must be rectified.

I contend that the good character and integrity of officers were infringed upon by the Government at the insistence of the ANC and the PAC. I think that this Government owes those officers who were falsely accused of crimes that they did not commit an apology.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I had high hopes that the hon member for Pietersburg would tell us why the hon member for Potgietersrus was not here, but apparently that is a secret. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg made a big fuss about the fact that we sit at the negotiating table and negotiate with these people. What are they doing at the negotiating table? Why are they doing? [Interjections.] Is he not there now, or was he there yesterday? Surely they are free to say that they are not negotiating until such time as these things have occurred. Why do they lay the blame and the responsibility only on us?

Dr W J SNYMAN: [Inaudible.]

*The MINISTER: No, wait a bit. The CP must accept responsibility now.

*Dr W J SNYMAN: It is the Government's fault.

The MINISTER: I wish to thank the hon member for Hillbrow for his contribution. The hon member is 100% correct, and he also answered

the question put by the hon member for Stilfontein. Will the banning of these organisations solve the problem? (11A) ~~827~~

*They are not going to disappear; they will merely go underground. If a person goes underground, one has not disappeared yet. [Interjections.] Let us therefore please deal with the matter in a pragmatic way.

The hon member said that we were no longer taking steps against the so-called enemy by means of intelligence. It is the policy of this Government that we do not investigate political parties as such with a view to security. This does not include organisations, however, that are still involved in the so-called armed struggle. It does not include those organisations.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Who is the enemy?

*The MINISTER: The hon member knows who I am talking about. He also asked how many CP MP's telephones were being tapped.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: That is a good question.

*The MINISTER: Oh, no! I can tell that hon member that in the sphere of security he is really not so important that we want to listen to his conversations. [Interjections.] He can say whatever he likes to whoever he likes. We shall not know about it. He must enjoy himself! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Self-governing territories: abolition of Act

2. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs: ~~827~~

(1) Whether it is the intention to bring the self-governing territories into a single South African political dispensation through the abolition of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No 21 of 1971); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B857E.INT

*The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon the State President announced in his Opening Address on 29 January 1993 that the Government, together with the self-governing terri-

tries, had started to investigate the possibility of joining forces in the administrative sphere. He also said that the Government would look at joint political decision-making and co-operation in a regional context.

In reply to a question from the hon leader of the DP, the hon the State President said the following on 4 February this year in the debate on his Opening Address, and I quote from Hansard, col 401:

There is no question about the self-governing territories, as they are, not disappearing . . . The leaders of those territories say the same thing. They do not want to continue as they are. There is consensus that a new, non-racial, geographically regional dispensation has to come about to replace the present racially based regional systems. However, this, the how of it, must be negotiated first.

The hon the State President went on to say (col 402):

As I have indicated, steps are being taken in the meantime to negotiate transitional measures. These include rationalisation and joint administration wherever possible. They also include measures to ensure clean administration.

†In the interim we have gone far ahead of this situation. At a meeting of a Conference on International Development Management on 9 February this year, the central Government, all six self-governing territories and the four provincial Administrations collectively resolved that constitutional change was inevitable and irrevocable, that final arrangements with regard to regional government would be formalised at the multiparty negotiating forum, that the Government would facilitate bilateral and/or multilateral discussions between the various provincial Administrations and the relevant self-governing territories in order to expedite more effective and efficient development and administration in the interim, and lastly that Government may proceed with the necessary legislation which would enable self-governing territories and the provincial Administrations, where applicable, to reach bilateral and/or multilateral agreements.

*Discussions have since been held with all the self-governing territories and the provincial Administrations involved on the introduction of

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INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Government's policy: MK/Apla

*1. Mr D S PIENAAR asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the legalization of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the military wings of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), respectively, and other organizations of this nature has involved any change in the Government's policy in respect of the handling of the said organizations by the South African Police; if not, why not; if so, (a) what changes and (b) with what result?

B832E.INT

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, before 2 February 1990 both uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla were declared illegal and as such subject to all the legal provisions that go hand in hand with this. As part of the ANC and the PAC these two organisations were, *inter alia*, legally prohibited from recruiting members, propagating their policy or promoting any of their objectives.

After the lifting of the legal prohibition on 2 February 1990, the two organisations could proceed with all legal activities and the SAP could not take steps against them purely on the basis of the fact that they had previously been declared illegal. This resulted in the SAP having to concentrate on actions which were illegal according to the law which applies to all persons.

If any of these organisations, such as in the case of Apla, are guilty of violence, the SAP conducts the necessary investigation and takes action, as in the past, according to the requirements of the law. The fact that an organisation is legal and can proceed with its normal activities does not mean, however, that the SAP close their eyes to any illegal acts which may be committed by such an organisation or some of its

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members. The law is enforced without regard to persons or organisation.

*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, the revolutionary onslaught on the existing order in the country has gained unprecedented momentum and shown progress since the beginning of 1990. We have good grounds for believing that the Government yielded to pressure and definitely made adjustments in respect of dealing with uMkhonto weSizwe and Apla, as the hon the Minister indicated now.

On 22 March the SA Police admitted through Lt Col Ray Harrauld that the security forces had been prohibited from taking action against Apla and MK from as early as 1990. In fact, the SA Police and Defence Force were prohibited from infiltrating these organisations at intelligence level to collect valuable information and in so doing to protect the public properly against calculated terrorists who continue with indiscriminate decimation and destruction like a murder machine.

How many murders have not already been committed on policemen and defenceless aged people on remote farms and smallholdings recently? Many of these murders and assaults are politically inspired and are the direct consequence of acknowledged terrorist organisations and their declared campaigns of *inter alia* "Kill a Boer, kill a farmer", "We are MK, we kill Boers" and "rolling mass action" which includes the envisaged occupation of White schools and the campaign for an election date and a so-called constituent assembly.

On 3 May the hon Chief Whip of the CP requested Mr Speaker in terms of the Rules of Parliament to place the entire matter on the Order Paper as soon as possible as a matter of urgent public importance. Meanwhile matters have not improved. At present two Whites are being murdered every day. Only yesterday two aged persons were blatantly struck down with pangas and bayonets and they are in a critical condition in hospital at present.

In a statement on 22 March the CP spokesman on law and order said amongst other things that we could not permit this state of affairs to continue. It had to come to an end. Surely we could not sit at the negotiating table and negotiate while agreement had already been reached in terms of the D F Malan Minute that the

murders would stop. How can the Government continue negotiating with terrorists and murderers who are negotiating while they continue to decimate and murder our people? [Interjections.] This cannot go on.

Negotiations must be stopped until violence has decreased in the country. Only then can further negotiations take place.

Mr L FUCHS: Mr Chairman, it is self-evident that any Government agency, including the SA Police, is obliged to treat a legal organisation differently from an organisation which is banned. The legalisation of MK and Apla would obviously have changed the attitude of the SA Police towards those organisations and the manner in which the Police deal with such organisations on a day-to-day basis. Even a primary-school child can understand this self-evident fact.

This leads one to ask why the hon member for Potgietersrus, who is not unintelligent, has framed his question in the way that he has. In asking this question he shows quite conclusively that he is a reluctant participant at the multi-party forum, because he realises full well that the negotiating process would not have got past first base had the ANC, the PAC and its armed wings not been unbanned. He is hoping, I suspect, that the negotiations will fail and that MK and Apla will be banned. His problem and that of the CP is that they are not committed to giving up the privileges which apartheid has bestowed on them.

The DP is firmly of the view that the restriction on persons or organisations, or their banning, aside from being morally indefensible, would only serve to exacerbate the violence in the country rather than to curb it. We accordingly welcome any change in attitude displayed by the SA Police towards these formerly banned organisations. We also fail to understand the logic of banning organisations when those organisations will shortly be incorporated into the security and police forces.

The level of violence in our country at the moment is completely unacceptable, but we firmly believe that if those organisations were still banned violence would be more pervasive. However, the unbanning of political organisations should not be perceived as an invitation to commit violent acts and to break the law. On the contrary . . . [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I just want to make a general comment. If one is asked to deal with an interpellation, one makes an appointment with the interpellator and, if one cannot be present for some reason or other, one normally says that one is sorry that one cannot be there. [Interjections.]

It appears to me that the hon the deputy leader has now taken over the interpellation in consequence of the election result regarding the deputy leadership, but I am very sorry that it has been done in this way. [Interjections.] Perhaps the hon member can tell us afterwards why it was done like this. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg referred to what a certain Mr Ray Harrauld had said about the SA Police. He said that he had received instructions from the Government no longer to take action against Apla and these people. I say that that is not correct. I do not know whether he was correctly quoted or not, but I want it placed on record that this Government did not give instructions that it was not permissible to take steps against Apla and MK if they contravened the laws of this country. Let there be no doubt about that.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Do you take action?

*The MINISTER: Yes. I shall indicate in the discussion of my Vote how many members of MK and Apla we have arrested recently. If that hon member would like to make a few inquiries, he would receive the necessary information in that regard. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg spoke about the murders of Whites. My heart bleeds just like his but other members of our society are also being murdered. There is a difference, however, between the policy of my party and his party. Whereas two White members die every day at the moment, 200 a day will die if we implement his plans. [Interjections.] That is the difference. [Time expired.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Mr Chairman, over the years the successes of our security forces have always lain in the fact that covert and overt operations were carried out against the enemy. [Interjections.] The enemy of the RSA has always been the revolutionaries—those organisations that perpetrated terrorism.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

ANC's Sexwale 'sexiest politician in SA'

B/Day 19/5/93.

11A

GAVIN DU VENAGE

TOKYO Sexwale is the sexiest politician in SA, in the opinion of white women from Pretoria to Sandton.

The ANC's PWV regional chairman received a big vote of confidence in a phone-in survey conducted by Radio 702's John Berks yesterday.

The impromptu survey was an attempt to find out who listeners considered the most popular and charismatic politician, and Sexwale won hands down, said programme engineer Craig Turner. The radio station received more than 50 calls in favour of Sexwale and most were from white

women, many of whom mentioned his sex appeal.

The former Robben Island prisoner beat new CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Van Zyl Slabbert, among others.

Sexwale was unexpectedly thrust into the limelight recently following the death of neighbour and long-time friend Chris Hani. Sexwale's unashamed weeping over the body of his friend was one reason for his new popularity, said some admirers.

Women callers said his tears showed him to be a warm, caring human being.

Sexwale was at first hesitant to discuss his elevation from revolutionary to sex symbol. "I was surprised," he said, when urged to comment. The public response was indicative of changes taking place in SA and signalled the end of an obsession with "terrorists with horns and tails".

He hoped his popularity with the fairer sex would translate into votes for the ANC, but said he would be happy for people to develop a sense of pride in their politicians, regardless of their beliefs.

Crucial meeting for Soweto today

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE ending of longstanding rent and service boycotts in SA's largest township hinges on today's meeting of the Soweto Crisis Committee in Johannesburg.

The committee is expected to review new proposals put forward by Soweto's civics, as well as suggestions by the major political organisations.

Payment levels in Soweto are less than 5% and residents owe R800m in arrears. Last week the TPA and Metropolitan Chamber issued warnings that unless the issue was cleared up soon, Soweto would not survive the transition to democracy.

Soweto stands poised on the edge of a "catastrophic" plunge into unrest and disease as services collapse.

TPA MEC Burger Lategan said last

week that even the most basic of services would come to a standstill because of the financial deficit.

The Soweto civics held a meeting at the weekend, and sources indicate that they have reached agreement on tariffs and interim arrangements for the overseeing of the township during the transition to new municipal structures.

Although the civics have remained silent about their proposals, sources said these would be put forward today, and would probably determine the outcome of the meeting. Also expected to attend today are the major political parties, the TPA and the city councils of Johannes-

burg and Roodepoort.

Quatro deaths 'in main from disease'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

"In that light one cannot say that the delay in overhauling the camp was undue. But, it is true that many things would not have happened if we could build the new camp."

He said that immediately after he took charge in 1987, criminals were separated from political prisoners and the criminals were removed from Quatro.

Any death in the camps had to be reported to the ANC's secretary-general. If someone had died unnaturally, his death had been regarded as a criminal case, until proven otherwise.

If it was proven that any person was responsible for an unnatural death, the case had been handed over to the authorities of the local government.

"It was an iron rule that the ANC would not protect its members if they committed crimes."

He said the treatment of detainees had been a constant point of discussion within the ANC leadership.

Sewage works blamed for polluting river

MARIANNE MERTEN

Act standards which applied to the Jukskei River. The test results would be sufficient scientific proof in court, if legal proceedings were initiated.

There was no direct link to the purification plant as the chlorine had been discharged over a sustained period.

Johannesburg City Council's deputy director water reclamation Tony Pitman said yesterday he was not convinced that the Northern Sewage Works' effluent had caused the deaths.

GOVERNMENT is considering legal action against Johannesburg City Council's Northern Sewage Works for discharging high levels of chlorine into the Jukskei River.

The chemical — used in sewage purification plants as a disinfectant — was possibly related to the recent deaths of fish in the river, a Water Affairs Department statement said yesterday.

Water Affairs director of water quality management Sakkie van der Westhuizen said chlorine tests conducted on Friday had showed levels in excess of the Water

Slovo plot: (11A) Hungarians have regrets

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The Hungarian government says it regrets that a man identified as Hungarian was allegedly a police informant involved in the plot to assassinate Joe Slovo.

The man's name is said to be Peter Psenak, who says he is from Hungary and has lived in South Africa for 10 years. Star 19/5/93.

A spokesman for the Hungarian embassy said it was regrettable Psenak had been identified as Hungarian because, following the arrest of a Polish immigrant in connection with the assassination of Chris Hani, "the impression may be that east Europeans from former communist countries are killing leaders of various organisations".

Crackdown means 'war', says ANC

Star 19/5/93
~~1978~~
Staff Reporters and Sapa

A security force plan to step up patrols, roadblocks and weapons searches in the western Transvaal to protect farmers was a "declaration of war" which would be resisted with unprecedented mass action, the ANC warned yesterday.

On Monday about 250 farmers met representatives from the SAP and the SADF in Potchefstroom to discuss the spate of attacks in the area.

In the most recent attack, an elderly woman was raped and her husband was shot and wounded in their western Transvaal farmhouse near Boons yesterday.

And, after an attack on Monday, a northern Transvaal farmer, Johannes Carstens (64), is in serious condition after he and his wife Hesther (55) were attacked on their farm near Pietersburg.

The security forces agreed to immediately "sharpen up" roadblocks, patrols and searches for illegal weapons.

They also agreed to investigate the possibility of imposing curfews and declaring certain districts unrest areas.

ANC western Transvaal spokesman Rankoa Molefe said roadblocks would amount to daily harassment of blacks — a "declaration of war" — and added: "We won't allow such a situation to happen."

Farmers gathered at police stations throughout the Free State yesterday morning to demand the introduction of curfews and police searches of black townships and squatter camps for illegal weapons.

However, Free State police said they were already doing all they could.

Quatro primitive, says ANC official

Star 19/5/93

By Mokone Molete

(IIA)

The present head of ANC security, Joe Nhlanhla, demanded that the infamous Quatro camp in Angola be revamped before he accepted the post, a hearing into alleged ANC human rights abuses heard yesterday.

Nhlanhla told the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry sitting at the FNB Stadium in Crown Mines, Johannesburg, that he was offered the position of head of security by then-ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He said he made it a condition of his appointment that the camp — cited in numerous reports as the centre of human rights abuses against ANC dissidents — be upgraded.

Asked what was wrong with the camp, he said: "The way it was built was primitive. The possibility of expansion was non-existent. We needed a big place to create facilities for recreation. It was created al-



Joe Nhlanhla . . . demanded that ANC camp be revamped.

most impromptu."

Nhlanhla said reforms were then introduced. Among these was the right of inmates to demand medical care and generally to be able to air their complaints.

Earlier, his predecessor as head of security and intelligence, Mzwandile Piliso, said that apart from ventilation in the cells, there was nothing

wrong with the camp.

Asked whether he was aware of any list of ANC members who had disappeared, resigned from the organisation, died or were jailed, he replied: "The present department of security has that list, although it may not be comprehensive."

He said such a list was kept during his time as head of the security department.

On the abuse of prisoners, he said: "Such (behaviour) was not only a breach of my own words but of the policy of the ANC."

A mutiny in 1983 was quelled with the help of the Soviets and Angolans. "A number of lives were lost," Piliso said.

Despite taking responsibility as head of the department, he could not say how those arrested in connection with the mutiny were handled: "I was not there."

Asked whether there was anything he regretted during his tenure as head of the department, he said "no".

He said he could not recall anyone being beaten to death or being starved as punishment.

Talks at 'point of no return'

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC and the Government last night agreed that negotiations were reaching a point of irreversibility after yesterday's successful meeting of the 26-party Negotiating Council.

The key players were confident that a date for the first democratic elections would be announced before June 3, when the negotiating forum meets. And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the "moment of truth" for the Conservative Party had arrived because it was clearly seeking a secessionist option.

The key points to emerge were the "demystification" of the right to self-determination, and consensus that all constitutional principles were interrelated and could not be dealt with separately.

Negotiators said this meant that the Concerned Southern Africans Group had effectively waived its insistence that the form of state be decided before anything else.

The main achievements were that:

- A report be drafted on constitutional principles which will form the broad outline of a new constitution.
- Draft legislation be prepared for an independent media commission and an independent electoral commission.
- A regionalism commission submit recommendations within the next six weeks on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The debate was overshadowed by the first item on self-determination in the constitutional technical committee's report.

ANC secretary-general

Star 19/5/93
Cyril Ramaphosa and National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers proposed that the report from the constitutional technical committee be dealt with in a "holistic manner". (S.A.)

They argued that the principle of self-determination had an impact on other constitutional principles such as regionalism, the form of state, and a fundamental Bill of Rights.

Many delegates echoed Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan's view that the technical committee had dealt with an emotional issue in a clinical way.

Afrikaner Volksunie negotiator Chris de Jager said he was happy that self-determination was a right and not a favour.

But CP negotiator Thomas Langley said he did not

share the euphoria of the others.

He claimed that a unitary state was the point of departure of the technical committee's report. In fact, it was a classic Soviet view, he said.

In its submission the CP said a number of states — and at least two, an Afikaner state and a new South Africa — should be negotiated.

However, Meyer warned that the time had come for the CP to submit its constitutional plan so that all delegates could evaluate the implications of the party's secessionist option.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said afterwards that no party could disagree with self-determination in a national context, (but) the PAC would never agree to the creation of many states within one country.

ANC's Sexwale 'sexiest politician in SA'

TOKYO Sexwale is the sexiest politician in SA, in the opinion of white women from Pretoria to Sandton.

The ANC's PWV regional chairman received a big vote of confidence in a phone-in survey conducted by Radio 702's John Berks yesterday.

The impromptu survey was an attempt to find out who listeners considered the most popular and charismatic politician, and Sexwale won hands down, said programme engineer Craig Turner. The radio station received more than 50 calls in favour of Sexwale and most were from white

B/day 19/5/93.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

women, many of whom mentioned his sex appeal.

The former Robben Island prisoner beat new CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Van Zyl Slabbert, among others.

Sexwale was unexpectedly thrust into the limelight recently following the death of neighbour and long-time friend Chris Hani. Sexwale's unashamed weeping over the body of his friend was one reason for his new popularity, said some admirers.

Women callers said his tears showed him to be a warm, caring human being.

Sexwale was at first hesitant to discuss his elevation from revolutionary to sex symbol. "I was surprised," he said, when urged to comment. The public response was indicative of changes taking place in SA and signalled the end of an obsession with "terrorists with horns and tails".

He hoped his popularity with the fairer sex would translate into votes for the ANC, but said he would be happy for people to develop a sense of pride in their politicians, regardless of their beliefs.

Tokyo Sexwale is latest sex symbol

(11A)

19/5/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Tokyo Sexwale is the sexiest politician in South Africa, say white women from Pretoria to Sandton.

The ANC's PWV regional chairman received a big vote of confidence in a phone-in survey conducted by Radio 702's John Berks yesterday.

The survey was an attempt to find out who listeners considered the most popular and charismatic politician.

Mr Sexwale said he was "surprised" by his elevation from revolutionary to sex symbol.

Help us, Sexwale implores Star 20/5/93 world

ANC leader Tokyo Sexwale yesterday called on the world to put together a Marshall Plan for South Africa to defuse what he called a "time bomb".

Sexwale, leader of the ANC's PWV region, said the ANC leadership had stepped in to control black outrage over the murder of Chris Hanu.

"What we did was merely to defuse a time bomb," he told the Foreign Correspondents' Association.

He said international aid on a scale echoing the US Marshall Plan for war-devastated Europe after World War 2 was vital to help South Africa become a working democracy.

Unrest (11A)

"The Marshall Plan is the critical element," he said, reminding the world of its moral responsibility to rehabilitate a country ruined by apartheid.

Sexwale said unrest was breaking out so spontaneously that the ANC "had to run to catch up".

He also said he backed the ANC's historic call for black South Africans to make themselves ungovernable.

"We have called for ungovernability. Why should the Government govern our people if we're in the struggle? We have the right to be ungovernable and to make apartheid unworkable."

In the short term he believed constitutional negotiators would succeed in putting together a democratic constitution, although it was wrong to raise hopes by constant harping on dubious breakthroughs.

In the medium term, political leaders would have to battle to inculcate a democratic culture and instil a sense of legitimacy in the new institutions.

The long term — delivering the hopes and expectations of a majority immersed in poverty — was the real problem, he said.

"We're not going to achieve that alone in South Africa without assistance from outside." — Sapa-AFP.

ANC to give a lesson in democracy

119 ARG 20/5/93

JOHNSON Ngxobongwana, for years the undisputed ruler of Crossroads, was the first to feel the heat.

He was followed by Jeffrey Nongwe, the former lieutenant who ousted him, and Mr Christopher Toise, a former rival in the often bitter and acrimonious battle for control over the squatters who made Crossroads and its environs their home.

All three are victims of the tentacles of democracy which have spread into communities they once ruled with an iron fist and where dissent was often a prelude to banishment or death.

Times have changed for them and other squatter leaders who had the ear of the United Democratic Front and ANC underground structures until 1990.

To enjoy the patronage, goodwill and friendship of squatter leaders — some call them warlords — the ANC often had to turn a blind eye to their excesses and undemocratic practices.

But February 2, 1990, sounded the death knell for the cosy relationship the ANC had to maintain if it wanted safe haven for its guerrillas operating in the Western Cape.

Two years ago the unthinkable happened when controversial Crossroads mayor Mr Ngxobongwana was forced to flee the settlement where he had been a strongman since 1975.

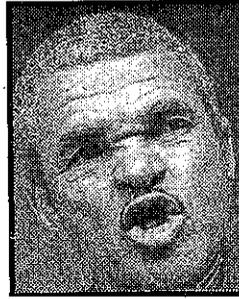
Today his home is Driftsands at Faure.

Mr Nongwe, his ally in the bloody conflict between the comrades and witdoeke in 1986, is now in control of Crossroads. But he, too, is feeling the heat from his followers, some of whom blame him

TODAY the ANC meets squatter leader Jeffrey Nongwe and his Crossroads followers to tell them they belong to an undemocratic era and it is time they submit to the democratic will of the people. DENNIS CRUYWAGEN of The Argus political staff reports.



Jeffrey Nongwe



Johnson Ngxobongwana



Christopher Toise

for the violence gripping the settlement.

The head of the ANC in Crossroads, his arm has been strengthened by his election as chairman of the 30 000-strong Western Cape United Squatters Association.

But he is unpopular. The ANC knows this and has to act if it wants its followers to believe it is serious about democracy.

Regional ANC deputy chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, a former insurgent who once used Western Cape squatter settlements as a base, admitted this week that Mr Nongwe was a problem.

"It's difficult to say when he's speaking as ANC branch chairman and as Wecusa head."

Mr Kalako led an ANC delegation to talk to Mr Nongwe on Monday in an attempt to defuse the situation.

"We agreed to hold a meeting today where we will discuss the

ANC's constitution and democracy."

Generally squatter leaders did not understand democracy.

"They want to control everything in their settlements. All organisations wishing to organise in their areas must report to them. They don't know the meaning of political tolerance and democracy," Mr Kalako said.

Residents also wanted the headman system to go.

"Mr Nongwe is the overall head of the headman committee. Residents believe the system is undemocratic."

Mr Kalako said the ANC was concerned about the severity of the allegations against squatter leaders.

"A heavy-handed approach won't solve anything but they must be taught to accept the will of the people."

ANC members were fighting one

another in Crossroads.

"We can't condone violence. Unpopular leaders have to be removed democratically. But they have to go. We can't cling to the traditional way in which politics was practised in squatter settlements.

"It's not going to be easy. We'll have to put our heads on the block because we can't allow an ANC branch to be run undemocratically," Mr Kalako said.

One of the major causes of the conflict is the unwillingness of residents living in Section 1 to move while the area is upgraded.

"We find ourselves in a situation where the branch can't meet."

Just as the movement knew how feelings were running high against Mr Nongwe, it knew Browns Farm was revolting against Mr Toise, a familiar praise-singer at ANC functions.

He, too, was ousted and today lives in Crossroads under the nose of Mr Nongwe, an adversary in the witdoek war.

"He was taken out by the people and is no longer chairman of the Browns Farm branch. There's an interim committee in control of the area," said Mr Kalako.

Apart from being accused of being undemocratic, Mr Toise angered residents by allegedly expecting each adult to contribute R2,50 a week towards his salary.

"They agreed to to pay him when they moved into Browns Farm. But when the anger against him increased, they refused to pay," Mr Kalako said.

The ANC also told Mr Toise residents had accused his "people of beating them up at night".

He left, but not willingly and not before seeking refuge in Nyanga police station.

'Talk with guns' — Gwala

DURBAN. — ANC Natal Midlands chairman Mr Harry Gwala called on members of the SA Students' Congress yesterday to learn how to handle firearms, saying if negotiations failed the students should negotiate through the barrel of an AK-47.

In an impromptu address at the Natal Technikon sportsground, Mr Gwala said he was not prepared to die for freedom, but was prepared to kill for freedom.

Earlier technikon and university students demonstrated in the city centre in solidarity with students at the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo), seriously disrupting traffic for about five hours.

Unibo has been shut for almost two weeks following clashes between the

homeland police and students.

Traffic and business came to a standstill as police lined up against protesters, but confrontation was avoided by police withdrawing to a distance.

● In Cape Town about 500 high school pupils, led by five principals, marched peacefully to the Department of Education and Culture's offices yesterday afternoon, calling for an immediate end to teacher retrenchments.

● The Paarl Teachers' Forum announced a five-day strike from Monday.

● The Soweto Education Co-ordinating Committee claimed yesterday that more than 75% of Soweto matriculation pupils had submitted their examination registra-

tion forms to the Department of Education and Training without paying fees.

● The Inkatha-aligned South African Democratic Students Movement said it opposed any bilateral meeting between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to end the crisis in black education.

It said in a statement that pupils of all races paid examination fees and there was "no free lunch in life".

● The Cape African Teachers Union (Catu) said yesterday it supported the proposed strike by teachers from Monday, but wanted teachers to continue giving classes. It believed picketing and cutting ties with the department would be action enough. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

No bitterness after stint in detention camp - Jordan

Star 20/5/93

By Mokone Molete

Despite being held for six weeks in solitary confinement — four weeks without a change of clothes — the ANC's information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said yesterday that he was not bitter about his arrest.

Testifying before the Motsuenyane Commission in Johannesburg about alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps, Jordan recalled his arrest in Angola in 1983. He said he was arrested for criticising the activities of the department of security and intelligence.

He was told he had been arrested for alleging that the department of security had acted "in a fascist manner".

Sketching the background to his arrest, Jordan said he was not bitter because at the time

the movement was under much pressure due to infiltration by South African agents.

It was during a time when an entire camp had been poisoned and another camp almost bombed apart by the South African Government.

A number of attacks had also been carried out against ANC members in exile.

He said he had been well treated in detention, given three meals a day and allowed walks.

Asked whether he was ever tortured, he replied: "No. There was not even a suggestion (of torture) physically or emotionally." In answer to another question, he said a lesson learnt from his detention was that human rights could not be taken for granted.

"Respect for human rights is not a luxury you

adopt when times are good and discard when times are bad," he said.

To redress the situation, the ANC later established an office of justice as well as a tribunal through which people could address their complaints.

Later, Ronnie Kasrils told the commission that he had informed the organisation that he was unhappy about conditions at Quatro camp in Angola.

Although the camp looked neat, ventilation in the cells was inadequate, he said. He was also unhappy about the relative youth of the commanders in charge of the camp, who did not have the "maturity" to handle the type of responsibility they were charged with.

His visits to the camp's inmates had elicited no reports of maltreatment.

Full democracy in new SA might be postponed, reports Garner Thomson

One form of oligarchy for another

Star 20/5/93

THE fact that the two main partners in South Africa's new deal would rule without Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi raises the possibility that the country's new government might have to resort to authoritarian measures to contain the resulting unrest.

This is the warning contained in the International Institute for Strategic Studies' latest Strategic Survey, for 1992-93.

Thus, a white oligarchy would transform itself, not into full-blown democracy, but into a multiracial oligarchy, it adds. "Once again, full democracy in South Africa might be postponed and civil liberties, just beginning to emerge after decades of repression, could once again disappear."

Whether or not that prophecy is fulfilled depends on whether the

Government and the ANC can strike a deal on real federalism, the IISS says. "There is every reason — save one — why federalism, with the maximum devolution of powers to regional and local authorities, should be accepted as the answer to South Africa's potent ethnic mix and its mutually suspicious and fearful minorities."

But the ANC, having striven to win the keys of Pretoria and all the patronage that entails, is "unwilling to deny itself the prize", especially as it sees in the Government's desire for federalism simply a device once more to divide and rule the black majority.

Neither is it likely that Chief Buthelezi will give up without a struggle his plans for a semi-autonomous Natal-KwaZulu, it believes, although the two-day con-

ference at the beginning of March to plan for a new multiparty convention in April saw Inkatha representatives "present and conciliatory".

However, despite the success of the March meeting, South Africa's non-racial government was still far from its destination.

"In the months that lie ahead, the ANC and the Government will certainly squabble over the appropriate division of the spoils, while attempting to cope with threats as diverse as an estranged Winnie Mandela and her army of youthful radicals, the Apla terrorists, the diehard racists of the Right, the former spies of the 'dirty tricks' brigade, the Zulu impis of Inkatha, and the murderers who gunned down six Inkatha schoolchildren on the eve of the March talks," the

IISS predicts.

But those threats were the reason why, between the Government and the ANC at least, a deal has been struck and will probably stick. "For they also represent the price of delay. After the 'nightmare year' of 1992, both the Government and the ANC appear to have decided that it is a price neither they nor South Africa can afford."

"As President de Klerk put it during his 1993 address to Parliament, every South African faced a choice 'either to support constitutional change and everything reasonably required for its success, or to retire into the laager and prepare for bloody struggle'."

"By April 1993, it appeared that, for the two main parties at least, the choice had been made." □

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CITY/NATIONAL

ANC's call to the world for 'Marshall Plan' for

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Tokyo Sexwale has called on the world to put together a Marshall Plan for South Africa to defuse what he called a "timebomb."

Mr Sexwale, leader of the African National Congress's Johannesburg region, said the ANC leadership had stepped in to control black outrage at the April 10 murder of his close friend Chris Hani.

"What we did was merely to delay what I consider to be a timebomb," he told the Foreign Correspondents Association. "We are in control, but there is

a potential for getting out of control."

He said international financial and logistical aid on a scale echoing the United States's Marshall Plan for war-devastated Europe after World War 2 was vital to help South Africa become a working democracy.

"The Marshall Plan is the critical element," he said, reminding the world of its moral responsibility to rehabilitate a country ruined by what had been condemned as a crime against humanity, apartheid.

Mr Sexwale, who is favourite for one of the ANC's top five

national posts when it reshuffles the leadership to replace its late national chairman Oliver Tambo, said popular unrest was breaking out so spontaneously that the ANC sometimes had to run to catch up.

"The students march and we have to put ourselves in front of them to give guidance," he said, referring to student protests which have seen the ANC repudiate student leaders for calling for the occupation of white schools.

He backed the ANC's historic call for black South Africans to make themselves ungovernable.

"We've called for ungovernability. Why should the government govern our people if we're in the struggle. We have the right to be ungovernable and to make apartheid unworkable."

But he said that he felt much as the French revolutionaries of 1789 must have felt when they toppled the Bastille — eager to see it go yet worried about what would happen when it did.

In the short-term he believed constitutional negotiators would succeed in putting together a democratic constitution, although it was wrong to

raise hopes by constant harping on dubious breakthroughs.

In the medium term political leaders would have to battle to inculcate a democratic culture and instil a sense of legitimacy in the new institutions.

The long term, delivering the hopes and expectations of a majority immured in poverty, was the real problem, he said. "Its the question of delivery that frightens me."

"We're not going to achieve that alone in South Africa without assistance from outside," he said.

He warned of attempts by some forces in the Group of

Seven countries to make sure South Africa did not develop beyond a mineral-based economy servicing the developed economies of the industrialised world.

"We refuse to be confined to an economy which must remain based on the supply of minerals," he said.

He denounced US moves to put the screws on South Africa's fledgling satellite delivery technology, and said South Africa wanted a strong armaments industry, the only industry so far capable of earning real foreign exchange. — Sapa-AFP.

S Africa

Jordan 'was held in camp'

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress executive member Mr Pallo Jordan told a commission of inquiry into human rights abuses in the organisation's foreign camps yesterday that he had been detained for six weeks in 1983 in Lusaka.

Mr Jordan, ANC publicity chief, told the commission he

(11A) 2/20/5/93
gathered that he had been detained because of remarks he made about the security department.

The remarks were to the effect that the department had been acting like a repressive police force and damaging the democratic and human rights tradition of the ANC.

The inquiry was ordered by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to investigate allegations of cruelty and human rights abuse against ANC detainees.

Mr Jordan said he had been fed regularly and had been held in a storeroom in a complex of houses and garages where the revolutionary council of the ANC usually met. — Sapa

Star 21/5/93

Attacks on home of Mufamadi condemned

By Kaizer Nyatumba and Cyril Madhala

The SA Communist Party has condemned the second arson attack on the house of ANC national working committee and SACP central committee member Sydney Mufamadi in Diepkloof, Soweto, late on Wednesday. The attack, the second in 48 hours caused damage estimated at R42 000 and destroyed a car.

Mufamadi was in Ethiopia on ANC business at the time of the attack, but his wife Nomsa, his younger brother Vhonani (24) and others were at home. No one was injured. Two weeks ago, someone sent a message to paging company Alpha Page, saying Mufamadi had been assassinated as he left for work in the morning.

Vhonani, who was staying overnight at the Diepkloof house on Wednesday after the first attack early on Tuesday, said he was watching television with relatives when they heard what sounded like a door slamming. "We saw a thick cloud of smoke coming from the garage. We had definitely locked the garage side door but we found it unlocked."



Anarchy

A Toyota belonging to Nomsa was gutted before the fire was extinguished. The SACP said yesterday it was outraged at the attacks, which had originated from those reactionary forces whose only hope is delaying democracy and fomenting anarchy and violence in our communities.

"The targeting of Mufamadi, so soon after the assassination of Chris Hani and the planned assassination of (SACP chairman) Joe Slovo, underlines that it is our commitment to a just peace and effective negotiations that above all frightens the reactionaries," said the SACP's Mufamadi heads the ANC's Peace Desk and is also a key figure in the National Peace Accord.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo warned that such attacks on leaders of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would destabilise the country unless a political solution were found soon.

Back to school call by Cosas

Savetem
21/5/93

■ Pupils will get regular briefings from Monday:

By Siphho Mthembu and Sapa

PUPILS will be ordered back to school if the meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — which was in progress until late yesterday — produces tangible results.

This assurance was given yesterday by Congress of South African Students president Mr Moses Maseko. (11A) (321) (315)

But the SA Democratic Teachers Union said it would not commit itself because the meeting between the two leaders would not reach finality. It would only lay the groundwork for a meeting between the union and the Department of National Education. (11A) (321) (315)

"They (the leaders) can agree on broad education issues such as the education and training forum but the salary issue is an employer-employee question," said Sadtu general-secretary Mr Thulas Nxesi. (321) (315)

Cosas has called on all pupils to report to school on Monday so that they could get their regular briefing from their leaders. (315)

The leader of the United Nations observer mission, Miss Angela King, had earlier called on pupils to use demonstrations sparingly and urged them to go back to school and register.

Responding to this, Maseko said they would call an urgent meeting with the observer mission to "clarify the issue". "I think they don't understand the underlying issues. Their call for pupils to register is cause for concern. It makes us question their neutrality," Maseko said.

**A welcome
into warm
bosom of
the ANC** (1A)

RAY HARTLEY

THE group of Afrikaans-speaking whites who joined the ANC last weekend wished to dissociate themselves from the reactionary image of Afrikanerdom which was being promoted by the right wing and the NP, said group spokesman Andries Nel.

The group supported the speedy conclusion of negotiations and the announcement of an election date as well as legislation outlawing racial hatred, he said.

Singer Anton Goosen and scientist Johan Prins were among those who pledged their commitment to ANC ideals at a media briefing in Johannesburg.

Goosen said that he was frustrated at the slow pace of change since President F W de Klerk's February 1990 speech announcing the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners.

"I am here because I love Afrikaans and I love SA. We feel we want to get on with things and heal the wounds of the land," he said.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said his organisation welcomed Afrikaners "into the warm bosom of the ANC".

"We join them in their call to hasten the process of negotiations in this country. We are truly grateful that Afrikaners, like all these compatriots, took this historic move," he said.

He said the ANC's vision of self-determination differed from the Afrikaner Volksunie's view that a section of the population could "hive itself off" and form a separate nation.

Prins, a Wits University lecturer, said it was ironic that government was closing schools in the midst of an education crisis.

He said he supported the ANC's endorsement of individual rights above group rights.

The group also included academics, a freelance film maker, an ecologist and an architect.

If you thought you would be seeing the last of President FW de Klerk after next year's election, think again — the National Party has devised a way of keeping him in the government of national unity without his being demoted to the status of a mere cabinet minister.

The plan to set up a council of state to "advise" the new president, the leader of the most popular party, who will probably be Nelson Mandela, was let out this week by Inkatha Freedom Party chief executive officer Joe Matthews, in a briefing to foreign correspondents.

As things stand, the National Party and the ANC have tentatively agreed that after the first election, every party that gets more than five percent of the vote will be assured a cabinet seat. Twenty percent assures four cabinet seats, and so on.

In addition, the government is demanding that every party with more than 10 percent will get a seat on the council of state, a modification of the NP's original constitutional proposal of a rotating presidency. If the IFP attains the 10 percent mark, De Klerk's original proposal of a trioka will be up and virtually running the country for the next five years.

It is thus appropriate that De Klerk and Mandela should be consummating their long awaited marriage at the symbolic city of Philadelphia, the site of the American constitutional conference, on July 4, with United States President Bill Clinton as the best man. They will be receiving a Liberty Prize, good practice for getting used to sharing things in public.

The timing of the award could not be better. De Klerk will not want talks to bog down or collapse in June, the crunch month.

The government of national unity for a limited period is the key to the whole process, the central compromise that opens the gateway to democracy. Yet power-sharing has not even been raised in any form at the negotiating council which ground on this week with its efforts at finding consensus on more basic questions.

The definition of "self-determination", drawn up by the eminent team of legal experts in the constitutional technical committee reads rather like a bland political science tutorial.

It was presented to the negotiating council on Tuesday by constitutional fundi Marinus Wiechers who had to explain carefully, like a physicist explaining nuclear fission to a convention of boilermakers.

Though the academics on the technical committee, wary of being accused of exceeding their mandate, have been careful not to take decisions that mean anything, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa declared that the report on self-deter-

Slowly negotiating a marriage of mixed minds

As Bill Clinton acts as FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela's best man in Philadelphia, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are haltingly moving towards democracy

By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NEKERK**



mination was a breakthrough.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager agreed with Ramaphosa, saying he was glad that self-determination had at last been recognised as a right and not a favour.

But the Conservative Party's Tom Langley, flashing a dirty look at his erstwhile colleagues in the Afrikaner Volksunie, said he did not share their euphoria. In fact, he said, what had been led to believe was a rather innocuous definition was really a "classical Soviet view of self-determination".

He cited Webster's third new international dictionary to prove that there was a definition of self-determination dearer to the heart of the CP — one that did not spring from the assumption that South Africa was a unitary state.

Solidarity between the white rightwingers had evaporated: De Jager was accepting self-determination, whatever that might mean, within a united South Africa. Langley wanted a Boer republic. One could only wonder how the Afrikaner Volksfront will be able to agree on whether to serve koeksusters or boerewors at their inaugural rally.

And what hope then for the Concerned South Africans Group cranking out a joint policy that goes beyond mutual fear and loathing of the ANC? Immediately after the debate,

Matthews made it clear that Inkatha would never support an Afrikaner state and said the demands of his Cosag allies could be met within a democratic federal state.

He dismissed out of hand suggestions that the IFP might itself secede and take kwaZulu/Natal out of the new South Africa. With the same ingenuousness that has allowed him to describe his party's route to democracy as the "bottoms up" approach, Matthews, himself a Tswana, said the Zulus were predominant in South Africa.

"We are the Serbs of South Africa", he bragged, without a hint of irony.

After the lunch break the topic of Yugoslavia arose again. South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo weighed in with warnings of what happened when self-determination was demanded in isolation from human rights as the CP was doing with its Afrikaner state. He raised the spectre of ethnic cleansing, of turning people into second-class citizens simply because of their ethnic identity.

Substantive discussions had begun. Yet there was still shadow boxing. Once again, real progress was in the margins.

For some time, the negotiators have been operating by keeping the hot

potato ahead of them. The really contentious issues have been sandwiched in a wodge of paper, pushed from negotiating forum to negotiating council to technical committee back to negotiating council back to technical committee.

The potentially divisive issue of federalism has been atomised so that the question of boundaries has been dispatched to an ideologically neutral commission whose terms are defined in such a way that the bantustans will surely disappear.

The debate on the powers and functions of regions will centre on questions such as whether it is better for the police, hospitals, roads, and so on, to be run by the central government or the regions.

On the surface, things are taking shape at an almost glacial pace. Yet it all adds up to a dramatic stride towards a settlement.

What can't be underestimated is the role of the negotiating council as a gigantic group therapy session. Here at the World Trade Centre Ramaphosa, whose sense of humour is regarded by the rightwing as the ANC's most dangerous weapon since sanctions and the armed struggle, chuckles and cracks jokes with the likes of Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the IFP's Frank Mdlatose. Perhaps if Buthelezi ever came to

the centre, he too might be seduced into conviviality.

The question then is: how can the rest of the country be made to share this gaiety?

The view from outside the World Trade Centre is of a place in quarantine, isolated from the rest of South Africa by a razor wire fence. Outside, a restless, fearful spirit pervades the land.

Yet, just as a battle is most intense before a truce is signed, nearly all of this — the mobilisation of the right, the assassination of Chris Hanu, the consumer boycotts, the rising tide of black resistance and white fear — is not a threat, but a reaction to events at the World Trade Centre.

South Africa is making halting strides towards democracy, not just in the narrow sense of an impending election, but in the gradual acceptance of principles such as transparency and accountability. In many ways, the SABC hearings have been the first official signs of the new South Africa.

What has been most surprising was not the Broederbond past, but Big Brother Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's intolerant attitude toward American soap operas, which he told the hearing he finds "extremely irritating".

It is instructive that the man tipped to chair the board — and one of the most brilliant political analysts in this country — has such a poor understanding of the medium in which he is both player and proposed governor.

To clamp down on soap operas would spark the middle-class equivalent of a bread riot. "Give me Alf (the furry little creature who travels through space) any day before Slabbert on Sunday," was a typical response from a local viewer.

Yet it is a measure of how far we have come that a black judge can grill the former governors of the SABC about their Broederbond past, that the ANC can have open hearings into the abuse of detainees in its camps, that a group of left-liberal lawyers can advance their own ideas through the Democratic Party's Bill of Rights as a form of opposition to the ANC's stifling omnibus of collective rights.

One day soon we will wake up to find there is an election date, a deal, a transitional executive council, an election campaign. How it came about only God and a handful of negotiators at the World Trade Centre will really know.

By all means, send De Klerk and Mandela to Philadelphia — if they can make a deal they will deserve it — but send Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer to Sarajevo.

I suggest, if South Africa does reach a settlement shortly, that Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance move aside for the real pros.

Star 21/5/93

Mandela to meet Buthelezi

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela has responded positively to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's appeal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet to discuss an end to violence. He has asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

In accepting yesterday, Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by Zwelithini for a speedy end to the bloodshed.

Buthelezi said last night he was pleased by Mandela's willingness to meet him and was waiting for the ANC leader to communicate directly with him.

He said he had not known about Zwelithini's approach.

Said Buthelezi: "This matter is of such importance that Dr Mandela should not have responded to whatever he had heard from his majesty through the media."

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, with which many thought

he had very close relations.

Mandela said he wanted to assure Zwelithini of his readiness to meet Buthelezi "with an aim to address all aspects contributing to the current violence."

"We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting solution to our country's problems," he said.

"Our people and country yearn for peace, which is the main condition for a speedy, democratic transformation of our society."

White tablecloths and dark pasts

interview 21/5 - 27/5/93

11A (11/5) (11/5)

There was gravity, dignity, confession and contradiction at the inquiry into ANC camps abuses this week.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER**
and **Weekly Mail Reporters**

THIS is to be the commission to end all commissions, the searching inquiry designed to lay ghosts to rest and to silence critics left and right: the Motsuenyane Commission into abuses at the African National Congress' detention camps in exile.

After two earlier probes and reports by Amnesty International and other groups, it is a commission chosen to restore confidence.

But behind valiant attempts at gravity and a serious search for the truth lurks the distinct possibility that the commission's proceedings will become a caricature, a comedy of manners, errors and omissions.

Presiding is Sam Motsuenyane, grey-haired doyen of black commerce in South Africa. A man of stature, buttoned into a dark suit and a navy blue cardigan. A man who undoubtedly knows commercial law backwards.

To his right, a balding barrister with a nice line in incisive questioning: David Zamchiya, of the Harare bar. And to his left, Margaret Burnham, a former Boston judge and anti-apartheid activist of long standing who now teaches constitutional law at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and argues civil rights cases in the courts.

The clerk of the commission calls on all present to rise. It's a nice touch, lending gravity to the proceedings. But why has he got an American accent? And why does his suit look as though it came from Barney's in New York, rather than



Tea break ... Pallo Jordan and Dullah Omar share a breather

Photo: LUANNE CADD

Deans in the Carlton Centre? And where did he get those Harvard law school spectacles?

Probably on Harvard Square. Because he's a young American lawyer along for the ride with Burnham. Just making himself useful.

The site of the commission's hearings brings a chill to those old enough to remember Salvador Allende's overthrow in Chile. Didn't Pinochet have his opponents detained and maimed in Santiago's soccer arena?

But the connotations of holding this inquiry in the FNB stadium seem to have passed everyone by. Besides, the ANC doesn't have access to oak-panelled courtrooms. Yet.

So white ruffled tablecloths will have to do, the kind you see at functions catered for at the

Transvaal Automobile Club. And a 30cm platform so that the commissioners are enthroned above the proceedings. Just a bit.

But sitting on the Barmitzvah chairs at the back of the room, those plush, steel-tube straight-backs, it's difficult for observers to conjure up the sense of awe normally associated with a judicial inquiry into allegations of so grave a nature.

Especially when Pallo Jordan, one-time ANC security detainee and of late "secretary of information", as he puts it, is called to give evidence. Jordan seems to have sensed that the situation calls for some acknowledgement of its dignity, because he is uncharacteristically not wearing jeans, but trousers with a crease.

Turn over

Buthelezi, Mandela to meet

Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has accepted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's proposal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should meet to discuss an end to violence. APR 21 5 1993

Mr Mandela asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

Responding to King Goodwill's call last week that the two leaders meet, Mr Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by the king for a speedy end to the violence which had claimed thousands of lives in the country.

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, an organisation with which many thought he had close links.

Chief Buthelezi has expressed his satisfaction with the positive reply by Mr Mandela to the proposed meeting between the two leaders, reports Sapa.

An IFP statement in Ulundi said yesterday the meeting was a necessary step towards reducing violence in South Africa.

Commission 'unprocedural'

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged human rights violations in ANC camps may have to call back people who have already given evidence, says International Society for Human Rights spokesman Marc Gordon.

The commission, called by ANC president Nelson Mandela, heard the evidence of ANC members accused of violations before that of victims scheduled to testify.

When ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma was questioned on Tuesday, lead counsel for the defence Dullah Omar objected, saying it was "unprocedural" for an accused to answer to allegations not yet heard by the commission. *B/DAM 21/5/93.*

Commission chairman Sam Motsuenyane could not be reached yesterday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC regarded the commission as independent and would not comment on the procedures.

The commission has collected 300 pages of affidavits from witnesses. However, these testimonies will not be heard or questioned until after the ANC leaders have been heard.

Gordon said all those who had already given evidence might have to be recalled to re-present evidence or to answer to allegations by former detainees who had not yet been heard.

"Given the situation in SA this may be difficult for the commission to achieve, despite being established on the personal authority of Mandela."

Jamile will not return to the government, says Buthelezi

B/DAM 21/5/93.
RELEASED murderer and former KwaZulu deputy interior minister Samuel Jamile would not return to the KwaZulu government, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said this week.

Jamile and five others were released from prison on Monday in terms of the Further Indemnity Act. He was sentenced to life imprisonment two years ago for murder and attempted murder.

Reacting to statements by the ANC on the release of Jamile, Buthelezi said Inkatha remained silent when convicted criminals who were ANC members were indemnified.

"The ANC's leadership has perfected the use of double standards into an art. ANC criminals are always canonised as heroes."

The ANC said Jamile's release was a "cynical political manoeuvre" by government, which was trying to placate its constituency.

"The government does not seem to care at all that it is undermining the whole judicial process, and sends a message to the right-wing and third-force elements that they can proceed with criminal actions without fearing

DIRK VAN EEDEN

serious retribution," the ANC said.

Buthelezi said no evidence was heard in court to indicate that Jamile acted under the instruction of the Inkatha.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Buthelezi this week rejected multiparty control of SA's security forces and warned that KwaZulu would resist the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the army or police.

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in his budget speech on Wednesday, he said the "initiatives being mounted by the ANC/SACP alliance aimed at bringing all the country's security forces under one central command structure must be rejected".

The KwaZulu government's demand for a federal SA included a regional security force.

Buthelezi said the ANC and its allies wanted centralised control over the security forces to "enable them to incorporate Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SA Police and armed forces and to gain political control".

Mayor in bid to avert Cape taxi war

B/DAM 21/5/93.
CAPE TOWN — Cape Town mayor Frank van der Velde said yesterday he was working with the local peace committee and the Goldstone committee to try to avert a full-scale outbreak of the township taxi war again.

"We are trying to organise a meeting between the two groups within the next few days," he said.

Van der Velde said he had held a

Own Correspondent

meeting recently with one of the warring groups, the supporters of the so-called "Big Eight".

Members of the other faction, supporters of the Codeta taxi association executive, said earlier this week that most executive members were no longer sleeping at their homes for fear of attacks.

Police claim breakthrough on Apla

CAPE TOWN — The police claimed on Wednesday to have made "a major breakthrough" against the PAC's armed wing Apla, following eight arrests in the northern Transvaal.

The eight were arrested in connection with the murder of a farmer's wife, Sandra Swanepoel, in Letsitele near Tzaneen on April 28. The men are to appear in court today.

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said the eight — and Fanuel Mbengeni Modau who was shot dead by police — were members of an Apla task force.

Kotze said Modau, and a 17-year-old youth, had been trained outside SA, while four others had been trained in the country. He said the others were members of the PAC. One of them, Jameson Baloyi, was branch chairman in Tzaneen.

"This is a breakthrough against

Political Staff

Apla since it resumed its armed struggle in earnest in December," he said. The possibility that the eight were connected to other attacks, including those in the eastern Cape and Border, was being investigated.

Kotze said government remained opposed to all forms of extremism and terrorism, and would continue fighting it "with all the resources at its disposal".

He said the PAC's claim that Modau had been killed in a "military-style skirmish" had to be dismissed as "ludicrous hypocrisy, and an attempt to glorify what can only be described as a cold-blooded murder of an innocent woman".

Earlier Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel told Parliament that the fact that Apla and MK had been

unbanned did not mean the police were turning a blind eye to any illegal actions by them.

Kriel dismissed suggestions that government had given an instruction that no action should be taken against Apla or MK when these organisations broke the law.

Banning such organisations, as the CP demanded, would simply drive them underground, he said.

Opening the debate, CP deputy leader Willie Snyman said a police spokesman had acknowledged that the security forces had been unable to act against Apla and MK since February 1990.

He asked how government could go on negotiating with "terrorists and murderers, while at the same time they go on murdering and mowing down our people".

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Afrikanerdom may never be the same

BIDM 21/5/93

RAY HARTLEY

AFRIKANERDOM may never be the same following a week in which the ANC launched a major drive to win the hearts and minds of the people who brought the NP and apartheid to power 45 years ago.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who is spearheading the ANC's initiative to win Afrikaner support for its policies, says the organisation is stepping up efforts to "get the message to every part of SA, every community".

Last week he addressed a mass meeting of Afrikaans supporters in Parow alongside Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of apartheid icon Hendrik Verwoerd. The Stellenbosch University choir sang an Afrikaans version of Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika at the meeting.

Afrikaner personalities, including folk singer Anton Goosen and diamond scientist Johan Prins, have publicly endorsed the ANC's call for the announcement of an election date.

In a letter published in Business Day this week, Madelein Malan, daughter of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, said she would prefer to be led by people like the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale and Cyril Ramaphosa than people proclaiming themselves to be fighting a cause for a specific nation.

Niehaus says the small group of Afrikaners who have openly associated themselves with the ANC represent the beginnings of greater support. "These are the initiators. There is a larger group that moves more slowly behind them," he says.

The ANC has not confined itself to publicly wooing Afrikaners. Niehaus has also addressed several closed meetings of the Rapportryers.

He says these meetings, some of which have gone on into the early hours of the morning, have been characterised by "a very genuine feeling of wanting to know about the ANC".

Recent moves to consolidate the right wing are generating a "counter response" from a larger group of moderate Afrikaners who have come to terms with democratisation and are upset by the caricature of Afrikaners as khaki-clad militaristic conservatives, he says.

Niehaus believes a major catalyst for the movement of Afrikaners in the direction of the ANC is the erosion of the NP's moral leadership in the white community.

"In the last few weeks, since the assassination of Chris Hani, the ANC has been acting as the *de facto* government. Mandela

has been playing the role of national leader while De Klerk has become only the *de jure* president. The ANC has become the organisation that is able to govern and control," he says.

The silent majority of Afrikaners are rooted in SA and driven by a desire to get on with their lives under a new government, he says.

Many of the Afrikaners who have associated themselves with the ANC have become disillusioned with the NP's apparent delaying of the transition process.

One such person is Wits scientist and former NP member Johan Prins. He says he would be proud to be associated with a democratic SA and wants to "grab the opportunity or be left behind".

Prins feels bitter about "being conned" into joining the NP when he was young, and is now considering joining the ANC. He says the NP is facing a "crisis of morality" and is showing a lack of leadership in its last days of power.

But Prins warns that the growth of the right wing is being helped by attacks on farmers and the elderly. He says there is a growing number of Afrikaners who know somebody who has been attacked on farms and smallholdings, and this is creating a

general climate of fear about change.

Prins says Afrikaans must sustain itself without artificial support from the state. If it is a language with a role in SA, it will survive without being made compulsory at white schools, he says. In a future SA, schools should teach English and one other language of the pupils' choice.

Prins is cynical about the public abandoning of the Broederbond by public figures. "All they are doing is going deeper underground," he says.

Folk singer Anton Goosen, who penned the cynical *Boy van die Suburbs*, which looks at the lifestyles of Afrikaner youth, recently changed tack and teamed up with SA reggae superstar Lucky Dube.

He says his announcement that he is an ANC member won't affect his musical career, as he plans to reach all South Africans with his new musical style.

While the ANC's recent overtures to Afrikanerdom are unlikely to win the majority of Afrikaans speakers to the organisation, they have made the point that the political categories of the old SA are rapidly falling apart.

Nothing symbolises this more than the shouts of "viva Verwoerd" from young Afrikaners at the Parow meeting.

Govt, ANC smooth over schools crisis

B/DAM 21/5/93

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~~321 325~~
TIM GOMEN

CAPE TOWN — Nearly 10 hours of talks between delegations led by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have laid the foundations for a resolution to the education crisis.

Government and ANC delegations emerged last night with a "potential breakthrough" after their scheduled two-hour meeting on Wednesday stretched over two days in two cities — Cape Town and Pretoria.

Among the most significant agreements reached was a government undertaking that education departments could suspend the R48 matric examination fee while efforts to resolve the crisis continued.

Sapa reports the Department of Education and Training immediately announced the suspension of fees for the November matric exams. Candidates who had paid would be reimbursed as soon as possible.

Government also, for the first time, set a target date for the establishment of the education forum and said the plight of the poorest paid teachers would be addressed during this financial year.

No joint statement was issued after the meeting, with the ANC delegation rushing to Johannesburg to brief the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu). But deputy government spokesman Richard Carter said: "The parties have drawn a lot closer on all three problem areas (the education forum, exam fees and teachers' salaries). They have agreed to work together."

A government statement after the meeting said: "The government is at present considering all the inputs of the role-players it has consulted during the past weeks. We welcome constructive proposals made

by the ANC in this regard."

It welcomed the ANC commitment to promote the establishment of the education forum as quickly as possible, and expressed the hope that the discussions would remove the perception that government was not seriously committed to this goal.

It said that with the necessary co-operation of all role-players, such a forum could be established before the end of June. "We believe that a properly constituted education forum would be the appropriate mechanism to address the many complicated issues."

Government also backed down on its insistence that examination fees be paid, saying ANC proposals provided a good basis to resolve the problem without compromising the user charge principle. "Against this background, government has decided that any education department can suspend the payment of exam fees for 1993 pending negotiations."

Government acknowledged that the proposed 5% salary increase was inadequate and that there were special categories in the teaching profession and in the public service that merited sympathetic attention. While government remained firm that it could not move materially beyond budgeted amounts, it was prepared to take a fresh look at the plight of "certain limited categories". This would include teachers at the bottom end of the salary scale.

Given the successful continuation of overall cost-cutting plans and an improvement in the economy, government expected it would be possible to make funds

□ To Page 2

Exam fees

available later in the financial year.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus described the meeting as "constructive", but added that it remained to be seen how far government was prepared to go in meeting the demands of pupils and teachers. The ANC and government had agreed that the forum should meet by the end of June and that further negotiations needed to be held to clear up remaining obstacles.

The final decision on the teachers' strike remained with Sadtu, he said. Sapa reports

that Sadtu welcomed government's decision "to open negotiations on the education crisis", saying the possibility existed that the strike could be called off. It would meet education authorities tomorrow.

Also at the two-day talks were Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer, Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais, Finance Minister Derek Keys, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC education head Cheryl Carolus.

B/DAM 21/5/93 From Page 1

ANC, IFP battle for Zulu campus

(11A) ~~W/M~~ w/m and
Weekly Mail Reporter 21/5-27/5/93.
THE struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress in Natal has moved on to the campus of Zululand University. Students and academic staff are boycotting classes in protest against the appointment of Professor Charles Dlamini as the new rector.

Dlamini (41) was appointed by the university council last week. Students and staff say the council did not follow the proper procedure, but the real issue seems to be fears that Dlamini has IFP links and this could precipitate a struggle between the IFP and ANC for control of the university. Dlamini this week denied having links with any political group.

Dlamini was the first black dean of the university's law faculty. He said he would serve the interests of the university and accommodate differing points of view.

An academic who did not want to be named said the staff was divided on the issue. "IFP staff members support Dlamini," he said. "Students are being influenced by lecturers who belong to the ANC." He said students were suspicious of Dlamini because he came from Buthelezi's clan.

However, Dr Aaron Ndlovu, an ANC regional chairman and chairman of the Academic Staff Association, denied lecturers were influencing students. He said academic staff were protesting because the council had not followed the proper procedures in selecting Dlamini.

None of the academic staff who were IFP members had come to a staff protest meeting, which showed they supported Dlamini. He added that he knew that there were outside forces involved in Dlamini's appointment.

SRC president Khulekani Mhlongo said the students' rejection of Dlamini's appointment had to do with procedures and "nothing to do with politics.

"If we allow the council to appoint Dlamini they might reappoint Chief Buthelezi chancellor. Students want a chancellor and rector who do not belong to a political party."

ANC hails Clinton's Star 21/5/93 recognition decision

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The ANC yesterday welcomed US President Bill Clinton's decision to recognise "the democratically elected government of Angola", and said the recognition was long overdue.

US recognition of the Angolan government, elected after President Jose Eduardo dos Santos beat Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in elections last year, comes after successive US administrations had refused to recognise the MPLA government.

Instead, the US and South Africa supported Savimbi's rebel Unita

movement financially and militarily until the signing of a tripartite agreement involving Angola, Cuba and South Africa a few years ago.

The ANC said the US recognition would help bring the civil war in Angola to an end. It hoped that the US would provide substantial aid to Angola.

"This decision reflects the high priority our administration places on democracy," Clinton said in Washington on Wednesday.

The Angolan government said yesterday that it hoped the US decision would encourage a peaceful settlement with Unita.

ANC 4 held over Eikenhof killings

Star 21/5/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Four ANC members, including the Vaal chairman of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), have been arrested in Sebokeng in connection with the murder of three people in Eikenhof in March.

SAP spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce said Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad detectives arrested one man in Sebokeng on Wednesday night who was in possession of an unlicensed 9 mm pistol.

The other three men were arrested in the township early yesterday.

A statement from the ANC's PWV region yesterday identi-

fied the four as Vaal Cosas chairman and Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) member Paul Malokoane, MK member Moses Ramifikeng, Ben Mvundlela and David Mohlahleng.

The ANC charged that Ramifikeng had been assaulted during his arrest.

Resisted
The men are being held in connection with the murder of Sandra Mitchley (35), her son Shaun Nell (14) and a friend, Clare Silberbauer (13).

The three were gunned down in an ambush on their car on the Vereeniging-Johannesburg road in Eikenhof.

Commenting on the allegations of assault, Bruce said the

man who was arrested on Wednesday night resisted arrest and was in possession of an unlicensed pistol.

"The man resisted arrest and force had to be used to effect the arrest. The suspect sustained minor injuries, as did a number of our policemen," Bruce said.

He added that the man was treated for his injuries, but stressed that police had not used "undue force".

ANC PWV officials and lawyers are to try to see the four today for consultation.

Three other suspects arrested last month are to be tried in Vereeniging in July in connection with the murders. The charges against a fourth suspect were withdrawn owing to lack of evidence.

ANC under fire for 'censorship'

JOHANNESBURG. — After decades of leading a struggle against repression, the ANC is under fire from artists who say it wants to dictate what South Africans read, hear, sing and watch.

At centre stage is the ANC's department of arts and culture. At a conference they sponsored this month, ANC speakers repeatedly urged delegates to "walk the last mile to the election booth with us".

Enter the National Arts Initiative, who say they, not politicians, should set cultural policy. Its secretary-general, Mr Mike van Graan, has accused the ANC of trying to "manipulate the arts in ways not too dissimilar to our past rulers".

The ANC denies Mr Van Graan's charges. — Sapa-AP

'Statements': No charges yet

CAISH
Staff Reporter

DOCKETS have not yet been completed on allegedly inflammatory statements made in public by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba, Mrs Winnie Mandela and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche. Attorney general Mr Frank Kahn said yesterday he could not take a decision until the dockets were complete.

It is understood police are having difficulty obtaining television footage of the incidents.

Mandela is prepared to meet Buthelezi

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would be happy to meet Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini arranged the meeting.

The king appealed to both leaders last week to meet and address violence.

Mandela said he was willing to meet Buthelezi to address all aspects contributing to the current violence. "We hope that His Majesty's good offices will facilitate the proposed meeting as soon as possible. We are convinced that through this initiative and the co-operation of all concerned we can move closer to finding a lasting

(11A) GAVIN DU VENAGE ~~(11A)~~
solution to our country's problems."

Mandela has repeatedly said such a meeting would serve no purpose and called rather for a meeting of peace accord signatories. Buthelezi has said the latter should be preceded by a meeting between the two.

Last night Buthelezi welcomed Mandela's statement, but said he did not know what call he was responding to. "I await a direct communication from Dr Mandela on this matter."

SI/DA/21/5793

Kill Boer (10A) cry raises more heat

1724 21/5/98

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress's western Transvaal branch has reaffirmed that it does not have a battle cry: "Kill the farmer, Kill the Boer".

The denial was in response to a statement by Orange Free State Agricultural Union president Dr Piet Gouws, who reportedly said he received calls daily from farmers suggesting their own battle cry should be: "One farmer, One Taxi".

The ANC said the slogan was coined long before the ANC was unbanned.

Reacting to Dr Gouw's statement, reported by the Citizen yesterday, which claimed ANC leaders "on several occasions called on their people to murder farmers", the ANC called on Dr Gouws to "substantiate this wild allegation".

It also deplored remarks by Transvaal Agricultural Union president Mr Dries Bruwer who said labour camps should be introduced to curb vagrancy. — Sapa.

Mandela to woo chiefs on Natal Midlands visit

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to visit the strife-torn northern areas of the Natal Midlands at the weekend in an attempt to woo traditional leaders and to carry the ANC's message to the rural residents of the region.

"The reasons for his visit are to focus specifically on the northern parts of the region, which have been targeted by the police, Defence Force and Inkatha for destabilisation."

APR 21/93 (11A)
said Midlands ANC secretary Sifiso Nkabinde.

Mr Mandela visited the Midlands two months ago and promised to return to the northern areas to meet rural communities there.

The ANC president's visit to the area comes amid positive signs that he will meet Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi soon to try to address violence between their supporters, particularly in Natal. — Sapa.

Van Eck describes ANC 'crisis'

By CHRIS LOUW

Wim Booys 21/5-27/5/93

11A

THE parliamentary face of the African National Congress this week openly showed the strains brought about by mass action, the teachers' crisis and the growing rebellion of black youths.

Speaking in the house of assembly on Monday, ANC member Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, referred to "a crisis" in the ANC, and warned that the "flame of hope among the majority of our people is dying".

Clearly frustrated by what he referred to as a lack of progress on the negotiations front, Van Eck admitted that the ANC leadership was confronted with "resistance from within".

Referring to the Congress of South African Students' (Cosas) slogan of "Operation Barcelona" for the current wave of protest against exami-

nation fees, Van Eck said: "I thought it was a reference to the Olympic Games. But in reality it is a torch that is being kept alive by burning motor-cars."

If the flame of hope died, Van Eck said, "then it does not matter what one does. It only leads to the torch of Barcelona".

Van Eck said negotiators were not necessarily popular among their supporters.

"Strong and uncompromising language is much more popular with the public, whether it comes from the minister of law and order (when he talks) on MK, or from Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela or Eugene Terre'Blanche."

Because negotiations were not showing results, they were being questioned, he said. This had led to the booing of ANC president Nelson

Mandela during the Chris Hani commemorations and, in the western Cape, to the rejection of the arguments of Allan Boesak and other ANC leaders by Cosas.

The crisis was the ANC's — but also one for the country as a whole. "In spite of the criticism from within its own ranks, the ANC's leaders are standing their ground. They will continue to talk for peace and against violence, no matter what the consequences."

The "lost generation", Van Eck said, was a creation of the National Party. "It is their baby that we are sitting with now. We will have to handle it together. We will carry out our responsibilities."

"We will try to discipline them and lead them in the right direction, but those honourable members (the NP) should not blame us."

Slovo, Jordan

legal for one

Star 22/5/93
more year

~~530~~ (11A) ~~230~~
NORMAN CHANDLER
Pretoria Bureau

TOP ANC official Dr Pailo Jordan and SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo can legally remain in South Africa for another year without fear of prosecution.

President F W de Klerk has signed an extension to the Notice of Temporary Immunity under the Indemnity Act of 1990, extending the indemnity of 76 people.

Among them, according to a notice in yesterday's Government Gazette, are Brian and Sonia Bunting, Jacob Zuma, Ronnie Kasrils, Gill Marcus, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Modise and Max Sisulu.

South Profile

Sam Louw *Southern 2215-2619*

Sam Louw could be one of the Members of Parliament with the largest parliamentary and extra-parliamentary following. And support for this quiet, self-effacing 40-year-old is still growing — almost a year after he walked over to the ANC.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE spoke to him:

YES, HE is very quiet, say Mr Sam Louw's colleagues in Parliament. He is a grassroots man. But give him a microphone and he has audiences on their feet.

Louw has represented his Western Transvaal constituency — Rustenburgh — in the House of Representatives (HoR) as a Labour Party (LP) MP since 1984, when he was elected with one of the largest voting percentages in the House.

Apart from his loyal constituency, he also built himself a niche among unions during his years as a member of the standing committee on labour issues, by consulting widely, especially with the National Union of Mineworkers.

"My point of departure has always been that the ANC should be unbanned, and that the LP should then either cease to exist or amalgamate with the organisation," Louw says.

When this didn't happen he agitated for months before joining the Potchefstroom ANC branch in July 1992.

He consulted his constituency and 90 percent joined the ANC with him, one of his independent

MP colleagues said.

Louw's background lies more with the liberation struggle than the establishment. His father was a prominent member of the Pan Africanist Congress and his brothers became United Democratic Front activists at the time Louw took the Parliamentary route.

"My family has always been very divided about my choice to fight the system from within," Louw says. "But since the Hani assassination, they are all behind me."

He says that since joining the ANC last year, hundreds of people in his constituency — which spans thousands of square kilometres in the western Transvaal — have become politically involved for the first time. The constituency has also grown to include Bophuthatswana.

His is no ordinary region, being a heartland of conservative whites or, as he calls it, "a rightwing nest". Oppression and discrimination have always been harsh in the region, and with growing unemployment due to the drought, the area is fast becoming even poorer than before.

In addition, the decentralisation incentives went to Bophuthatswana, where most of the industries and job opportunities are found. After severe doses of right wing and



Bophuthatswana-style oppression, the black and coloured population have become more politically active than their counterparts in other regions, he explains.

Louw has been appointed to regional ANC structures as a member of the Election Committee, and head of the ANC's research and intelligence division in the Western Transvaal.

He does not want to talk about his intelligence duties, but admits that most of his time is nowadays spent on voter education and branch formation, including Bophuthatswana, while his time in Parliament has become increasingly

frustrating.

At the same time the Western Cape ANC has been using him in its campaigns, launching branches and addressing meetings. He was on the podium with Allan Boesak, Wilhelm Verwoerd and Carl Niehaus in Parow last week when the ANC started its campaign to win more Afrikaner support.

But the issues of his constituency remain different from others in the HoR. Last week he asked president De Klerk during parliamentary question time whether the Stanzie Bobape inquest could be opened. The policeman who last year showed where Bobape was allegedly

'My family has always been very divided about my choice to fight the system from within. But, since the Hani assassination, they are all behind me'

buried by the police (his body could not be found), Mr John Mokheke, is now a member of Louw's ANC branch.

Louw was unhappy with De Klerk's ambiguous reply, and has vowed to fight for an independent commission to take up the matter of the civic leader who went missing in the eighties.

His constituency stretches over a wide area, including Lichtenburg, Klerksdorp, Bloemhof and Christiana. It is also an area where large-scale forced removals have taken place over the years, like the Rooigrond upheavals.

The area's main economic activities — mining and farming — are in decline and unemployment is rising sharply. He sees no future for the region in its present state.

"We will find it extremely difficult to make the Western Transvaal economically viable on its own. If Bophuthatswana does not re-integrate, and even if it does, we might have to amalgamate with the Northern Cape."

Born and bred in Potchefstroom, Louw worked as a journalist for the Potchefstroom Herald for 12 years until his election to office. He misses writing, he says, but nowadays he channels these talents into speech-writing — a task he has to fulfill several times a week while walking the tightrope between the grassroots and parliament.

MK chiefs insist on TEC control of all armed forces

SOUTH 2215 - 26 15192

DESPITE reports to the contrary, the ANC has not changed its stance on multi-party control of the security forces, senior Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) leaders insist.

Recently, senior ANC negotiator Mr Mac Maharaj was quoted as saying the ANC would not insist that the sub-councils on defence have executive powers in the lead-up to elections, nor that it should have direct control over the South African Defence Force. (SAP) (11A)

But Umkhonto weSizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and MK chief of staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda say the ANC's official policy has not changed since they reflected the organisation's viewpoint in Crosstalk on May 1.

The ANC's official policy remains that all armed formations should fall under the control of the sub-council on defence in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

"Of course you can't expect that all these forces will be controlled and we remain outside the process. We also have to subject ourselves to that control," Nyanda said.

"But this does not mean the dissolution of these forces. It means the sub-councils have authority over everything concerning these armed forces."

Modise said the ANC would not accept the government's position that the sub-council on defence act as an advisory body to the cabinet and defence ministries.

The ANC insists the TEC have the authority to implement decisions taken by the sub-council.

"The sub-council and the TEC have to have executive powers if they are to be effective. All the armed forces in the country must be accountable to the TEC," said Modise.

Nyanda said differences between the ANC and the government over this issue has resulted in this becoming one of the stickiest areas of the negotiation process. (SAP)

"We want effective control over the SADF and all the armed forces in the country. The National Party is not yet ready to accede to that. That is where negotiations are at," he said.

"I am optimistic that it will be resolved because it is in the interest of everybody that there should be speedy progress in negotiations."

"The security apparatus has been the pet child of the regime, the instrument which they so willfully used and manipulated against us, so it is very difficult for them to come to terms with the fact that they will have to shed exclusive control and ultimately lose control over the SADF and the security apparatus," Nyanda said.

"It is very difficult for the National Party regime to relinquish power and the SADF is one of their instruments of power."

"We appreciate that they are in difficulty. But there can't be progress without them resolving this question. They will have to come to terms with the fact that this will have to be done."



JOE MODISE

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55. SOUTH readers are welcome to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

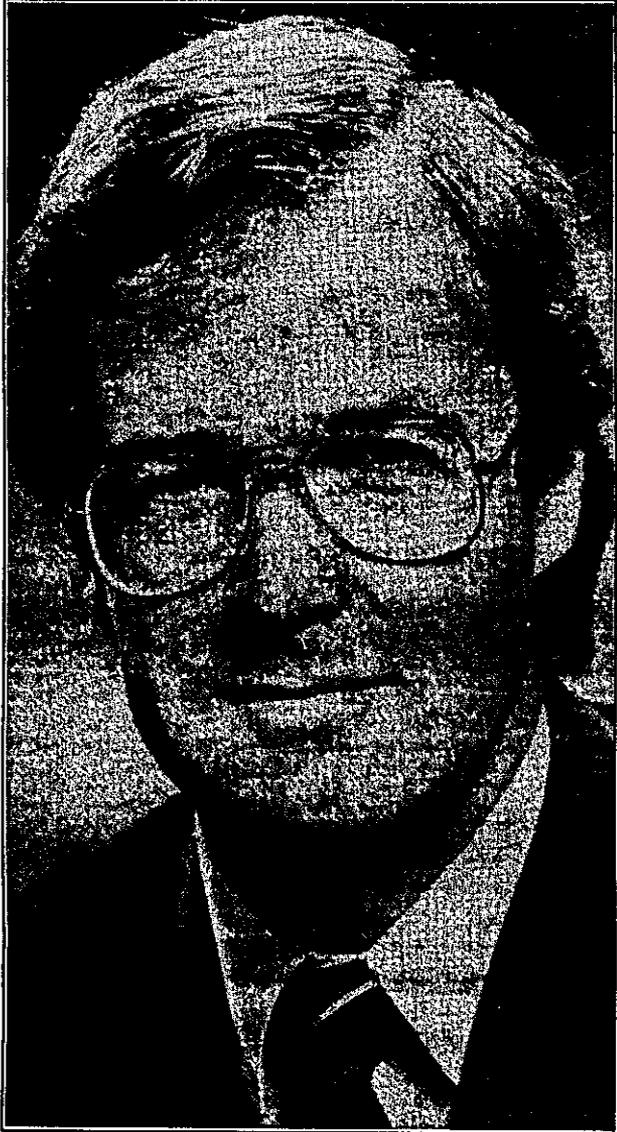
CROSSTALK

'Joint control of the SAP, not a watching brief'

South 2215 - 2615193

PETER GASTROW, Democratic Party spokesperson on Law and Order, explains why joint control of the police force is essential to ensure a free and fair election:

~~2550-304A~~



PETER GASTROW: 'Joint supervision amounts to no more than a watching brief'

THERE is agreement among negotiating parties that the playing field needs to be levelled if there is to be a free and fair election. There also seems to be agreement that, during the election campaign, the South African police should not conduct themselves in such a way that their actions favour any of the competing parties. How can this be achieved?

Minister Hermus Kriel's proposal is multi-party supervision (of the security forces), but sole control by the government.

The ANC's position until now has been for joint control. Joint supervision amounts to no more than a watching brief.

Different parties will be kept informed about what is happening within the police and they will be able to make an input into decisions about how they are to be deployed.

The final decision, however, remains with the government. So does final responsibility and accountability.

Joint control, on the other hand, suggests joint decision-making, joint responsibility and joint accountability.

Joint control is therefore a far more effective mechanism to ensure that the playing field is levelled and that the police force is not misused by the government.

It also makes the police's task easier, because

they will be operating with the mandate from those who exercise joint control.

Statements made by the ANC's Mac Maharaj suggest that the ANC is considering a shift in position from joint control to joint supervision. This would bring the ANC in line with the government's position.

The reason for the apparent shift by the ANC is presumably the fear that there could be a political backlash if it was to assume co-responsibility over the actions of the police force.

Short-term political considerations by the ANC are understandable, but to abrogate joint control would certainly not be in the national interest or in the longer term interests of the ANC.

It would leave the government in sole control of the police and would result in the police becoming highly politicised.

The police are also likely to be used as a political football by all opponents of the government. Every incident in which police are involved will be exploited.

When a new government is elected next year, it will rely on this very same police force to maintain stability. A battered police force which has had to bear the brunt of the election campaign will be demotivated and difficult to depend on.

Joint control is therefore absolutely essential for a fair and free election, and for the sake of stability after a new government has been elected.

(1A)



Foreign
cash if
ANC asks
Clinton
to return?

WHEN Nelson Mandela and State President De Klerk visit the US in July the question of US sanctions and future availability of foreign capital is bound to be high on their list of priorities.

They are to be presented with the prestigious Philadelphia Liberty Medal by US President Clinton on July 4.

One of the most important of the remaining sanctions is the Gramm Amendment which entitles the US to veto any International Monetary Fund loans to SA.

It is expected that the US legislators will revoke the Gramm Amendment as soon as the ANC formally makes such a request to the Clinton administration.

There is no doubt that full membership of the IMF and access to its loan facilities will be most useful to our country - but make no mistake - the IMF is not a fairy godmother that gives away wealth.

In fact, it is an organisation that is resented in many African countries.

Some African leaders even accuse it of weakening their national sovereignty because of all the strings attached to aid.

They nevertheless remain very dependent on the IMF and other affiliated bodies of the World Bank for financial aid.

Another very important point to bear in mind is that SA will not qualify automatically for IMF credits.

At the moment we are experiencing a surplus in our physical trade with the rest of the world which will certainly cause raised eyebrows in Washington should we apply for loans.

However, this surplus is really the result of sanctions and the need for SA to continually repay old foreign loans.

If we turn to the IMF for help to develop our economy there is little doubt that we will receive temporary assistance, although the very fact that we have access to the IMF will probably cause other lenders to be more amenable than at present.

The key will be the state of our economy and national political stability. Nobody wants to lend to a country which finds itself in a virtual state of civil war.

As the ANC's Trevor Manuel puts it: "What we need is not really IMF money, but IMF approval of SA economics."

Mandela escape plan revealed

By **DESMOND BLOW**

A BOLD plan whereby Nelson Mandela was to have escaped by helicopter in 1981 from his life imprisonment on Robben Island and seek asylum in the Cape Town embassy of a friendly Western country has just been revealed.

Documents detailing the plan will be exhibited at the Robben Island Exhibition that opens at the Mayibuye Centre in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Mandela apparently agreed to the escape, providing the ANC high command approved and documents detailing the plan were sent to Oliver Tambo in London.

The escape was planned for January 1 1981, but it was not put into operation, perhaps because it was suspected there might have been a leak.

This was a possibility, because the following year Mandela was moved from Robben Island to

Pollsmoor Prison on the mainland.

The originator of the plan was Eddie Daniels, who spent 15 years on Robben Island from November 1964 to December 1979 and knew Robben Island Prison "like the back of my hand".

Daniels was jailed for sabotage as a member of the African Resistance Movement (Arm), but since his release has become a member of the ANC.

He told City Press this week that he worked with Mandela on the escape plan for three years before his release.

Daniels said that more people than Mandela could have escaped, depending on the size of the helicopter, and named others in Mandela's section of the prison as including Walter Sisulu, Ahmed "Kathy" Kathrada and Govan Mbeki.

Daniels said he had kept details of the flight of helicopters over Robben Island for several years.

These helicopters supplied passing ships with mail, films and food and would often fly around the island as if making a sight-seeing tour. The helicopters often carried a basket or net slung below to deliver goods to ships.

Daniels said he believed that with so much helicopter activity the warders on duty at the radar post would react slowly in asking the helicopter to identify itself.

He said he had discussed the situation fully with M (Mandela) and felt the rescue could be made with the help of no more than two people, including the pilot.

He gave eight points of the planned escape:

- "The rescue to be staged at 9.15 am on New Year's Day, 1981.
- "The H (helicopter) would leave Cape Town at the appropriate time to reach Robben Island at 9.15 am.

■ "In the helicopter will be the

■ To Page 4

Azayo targets township crime

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE Azanian Youth Organisation is to launch a nationwide campaign under the theme, *Asispini elokishini - usikharathi uDankie*.

The campaign, which means "We do not hustle in the townships, we do not attack a black person", is to be formally launched on July 18.

Azayo president George Biya said the programme, adopted by Azayo's national congress last

year, was geared at eliminating crime, thuggery and violence in the black community.

"We want to uproot crime by speaking the township lingo in discouraging blacks to target other blacks. However, we are not saying black youths should rob and attack whites, neither are we saying they should not attack the white oppressors," Biya said.

Azayo did not wish to police the black community, but wanted to instil a sense of love and respect

that would make it impossible for black youths to harass and rob their fellow blacks.

The organisation hoped to achieve this through nationwide workshops, music festivals and a campaign showing youths that sports did not include the abuse of alcohol, drugs or sex.

The campaign would also address unemployment through career guidance and Biya called on all pupils to go back to school to arm themselves with better skills.

CIPRES 23/6/93

114

211

By THEMBA KHUMALO

ANC leader saves

CIPress 23/5/93

the day (11A)

ANC leader Nelson Mandela again came to the nation's rescue this week, helping avoid a collapse in black education.

Sadtu general secretary Randall van der Heever said his union was deeply indebted to Mandela's timely intervention to avert the strike.

"Mandela unlocked the deadlock between us and the authorities," Van der Heever said.

Mandela and State President FW de Klerk staved off a looming national crisis after a marathon two-day meeting in Cape Town on Wednesday and Thursday.

As a result, the DET has suspended the payment of the R48 exam fees, and pledged itself to the establishment of an Education Negotiating Forum and the re-opening of talks around the five

percent teacher salary increase.

Following these concessions Cosas and Sadtu have called off their planned national strike which was to start tomorrow.

A well-placed ANC source said the Mandela/De Klerk meeting was initiated by the ANC leader.

Although Mandela was sympathetic to the grievances of the students and their educators, he was equally worried that the impact of their strike might take SA back to the 1976 student revolt,

the source said.

He said Mandela had pointed out to De Klerk the importance of averting a crisis by reviewing the salary and the exam fees - issues which could be addressed thoroughly at a negotiating forum while effective learning took place.

While De Klerk did not have problems with the suggestion, he is believed to have been worried about elements on the left and right who would accuse him of "taking orders from the ANC".

Sadtu emphasised, however, that while the

planned national strike for a living wage had been suspended, this did not mean that locally based disputes in specific departments had been called off.

The strike would have affected 80 000 teachers and about 900 000 pupils.

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday criticised De Klerk for taking education decisions which impacted on his (Buthelezi's) education department - which he said was the biggest in the country.

Sadtu (western Cape) resolved at an emergency regional executive committee consultative meeting in Cape Town yesterday to take strike action tomorrow, reports Sapa.

Pickets would be held tomorrow and on Tuesday morning and exam papers would be withheld, a statement said.

Mandela escape plan revealed

Comrade Joe thrives in the lion's den

C/Press 22/5/92

(11A)

(11A)

By DESMOND BLOW

THE recent plot against the life of SACP chairman Joe Slovo by alleged rightwingers was no surprise to him.

Comrade Joe or JS as he is affectionately known in the Party and the ANC, has lived with death threats ever since he went into exile in 1963 to organise Umkhonto weSizwe for the ANC.

In fact when the SADF raided Mozambique in search of MK cadres in 1981, the government triumphantly announced that Slovo had been blown up in the truck he was driving.

"But as you see they didn't succeed. It was a case of mistaken identity, and some poor Portuguese guy was killed," he told

City Press this week.

For 27 years in exile Slovo was constantly on the alert for would-be assassins.

"Fortunately we had good intelligence information and I was often warned to change my address or to vary my routes when travelling."

However, the most traumatic experience JS had with death was when his wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a parcel bomb in 1982 at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo.

JS was loathe to discuss Ruth's death this week.

"It is difficult to talk about," he said, "but Ruth's murder was very wounding. My primary emotion was one of hurt and anger because she was not involved in any military activity but was a lecturer at the university."

"But you can't act politically with revenge or bitterness. We've got objectives and we've got to move ahead in an effective way. You can't move ahead if all that motivates you is emotion and feelings of revenge."

Although it was too painful for Slovo to recount Ruth's death, he did describe it in a foreword to the reissue of Ruth's book *117 Days*, her touching and dramatic account of her 117 days in solitary detention at the hands of the Security Police.

In the foreword Slovo wrote that when he arrived at the university where Ruth was killed "The overwhelming urge to remember her life paralysed me at the entrance to her devastated office. She lay hidden by the remnants of her desk, only her feet were visible, clad in one of her stylish beige-coloured pairs

of shoes."

Slovo says although he does not seek revenge he believes it is necessary to uncover the truth about all the tortures and murders committed by the security forces.

"I think it is most important that we have a truth commission because it is vital that if there is going to be forgiveness there must be full exposure and some kind of acknowledgement by those involved."

He is still adamant that the police did not warn him of the alleged plot to shoot him outside his home in Observatory, Johannesburg, from a tower about 500 metres away.

The alleged mastermind has since been arrested.

For decades the Security Branch alleged Slovo was a colonel in the KGB, the Russian

secret police, and he was portrayed to white South Africans as Public Enemy No. 1.

Because of his banning order no SA publication could publish any denial by Slovo, but he was able to deny these allegations this week.

"It was a lot of rubbish - a typical misinformation slander against the opposition to say they're members of Moscow security."

Slovo believes there is now a greater threat against him and other ANC and SACP leaders than when they were in exile "because we are now in the lion's den".

"When we were in exile the main plotters against us were the security forces, now there are all kinds of people engaged in third force activity who want the talks to fail and the best way they can

do this is to cause turmoil and violence."

It is not generally known that Joe Slovo had very little schooling. He immigrated to SA from Lithuania with his parents when he was eight, and was forced to leave school after Std 6 when he was 15 because he had to help support his poor family.

Despite the failure of communism in Eastern Europe Slovo remains convinced that genuine socialism - as long as it is multi-party - is the policy for the future and that poverty will be overcome and the gap between rich and poor will be narrowed.

Slovo said it was difficult to tell if he would have become a communist if he had lived in another country and not known the plight of blacks in SA.

"Every person moves towards a certain ideology through per-

sonal experience, and all personal experiences are not the same.

"My experiences were in South Africa. I was a clerk in a factory after I left school in 1941. I was a trade unionist and a shop steward and joined the Communist Party. I was personally involved in a number of strikes and we achieved enormous improvements as a result of collective action as white workers, and it struck me increasingly that it was unfair that the blacks who stood by us in our strike action were not allowed to be members of our union and could not benefit from the strikes."

Because of his union activities Slovo was fired from his job. When he was fired from his second job for the same reason he joined the SA army to fight fascism.

He saw action in Egypt and Italy and when he returned, he was given exemption from matric because he had served in the army and was allowed to go to university where he studied law and despite his lack of schooling he was awarded the prize as the best law student in his final year.

Had Slovo not fought for his ideals and been content to remain a lawyer in SA he would have been very wealthy today.

"I was in exile for 27 years and I earned no money. While I was in London for 10 years I was paid a monthly allowance but for the 17 years I was in Angola, Zambia and Mozambique I was not paid. None of us were paid. We were supplied with certain basic necessities like food, accommodation and cigarettes - that is all."

Viva, comrade

CP/Press 23/5/93

The term we are so familiar with has not always survived once a struggling people have won their freedom. Even in so-called "socialist" states such as Zimbabwe the term "comrade" is falling from grace. City Press features editor LEN KALANE and our correspondent in Harare trace the history of the term "comrade", and investigate its current standing in countries where it was once the sole means of address.

"VIVA, Comrade, Viva!" The roar of the chant is almost as old as the struggle itself.

In SA, it wasn't as common prior to 1976. It took root around the 1983/84 political turbulence. After that every activist began to be addressed as "comrade so-and-so".

It became part of the way of life during the mass democratic movement days of the UDF. It was the cry at "Black Power" meetings commemorating the June 16 upheavals, at political funerals, protest meetings and of late, at any given political rally.

Comrade!
It goes: Comrade Mandela, Comrade Makwetu, Comrade (late) Hani, Comrade (late) Tambo, Comrade Sisulu, Comrade Lekota, Comrade (late) Mthopeng, Comrade Moka, Comrade Pandelani and at some stage, even Comrade De Klerk!

Comrade Nisundeni Madzunya! He was almost caught off-guard when City Press approached him for comment. "It's a word used within our circles. We grew up that way," said the PAC's West Rand region chairman.

"I know it's history, that's all I can say to you, comrade. It was adopted from the eastern bloc in the '60s and '70s," added Madzunya, who conceded that during the early days of the struggle the word was almost non-existent.

"During my father's days (the fiery PAC's Josias "Mr Overcoat" Madzunya) for instance, people in the struggle just referred to each other simply as 'brother'."

Brother, Black, ...



Will it go out of fashion as it has in other countries?



end of the communist rule in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War, Zimbabwe was forced to re-examine its ideological direction.

Mugabe himself is said to be reluctant to publicly renounce Marxism-Leninism and may yet still embrace his dream of turning the country into a one-party State. However, most of the signs, even within his own party, indicate that the day of "Comrade-so-and-so" being more Zimbabwean than other citizens may be drawing to a close.

The ZBC directive on confining "comrade" to party and government officials is said to have come from Tommy Mandigora, who is the Head of News. Mandigora is an ex-combatant and although he may not have distinguished himself as a journalist or a television personality, it is his credentials as a freedom fighter which count at ZBC.

At Zimbabwe Newspapers - owners of *The Herald*, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Chronicle* among other large-selling newspapers - it is Tommy Sithole who is editor-in-chief. Sithole is a strong member of the ruling party and is close to many of its top leaders.

Only a direct order from the Minister of Information is likely to allow either media to finally stop calling anybody "comrade". At one time, ZBC sources disclosed they dropped "comrade", except for Mugabe and the two vice-presidents, Dr Joshua Nkomo and Simon Muzenda.

It is probable that such an order had been issued "from above", either by someone in the ministry or by the heads of the two media, acting in concert.

However, it soon became clear that the party was not yet ready to relinquish its socialist credentials, although in reality it has abandoned socialism.

Still, Mugabe is taking his time putting his final seal of approval on the ideological about-face. For instance, the Land Acquisition Act, which he personally promoted, is hardly designed to enhance Zanu (PF)'s image as a party of free enterprise.

This law, in essence, calls for the "designation" of any land, but mostly commercial farming land, for the resettlement of landless peasants. Hard-hit by the law are most of the 4 000-odd white commercial farmers in the country.

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"During my father's days (the fiery
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zunya) for instance, people in the
struggle just referred to each other
simply as 'brother'."

Brother! Black brother...oh yes,
says Azapo's deputy president Nefo-
lovhodwe Pandelani: "We dropped
the 'black brother' reference, which
would otherwise have a similar mean-
ing, because it had more to do with the
struggle inside church circles (from
America's baptist churches). Com-
rade is more suited to the political
context."

He added: "Comrade is the word
used by struggling people throughout
the world. It binds the oppressed and
exploited people (against the oppres-
sor) all over the world.

In Zimbabwe, immediately after
independence, people were being ad-
dressed as nothing else but "comrade-
so-and so". This is however being
steadily phased out.

The Russians have all but dropped
the formal address "tovarish" (com-
rade) for the formerly bourgeois "go-
spodin" (Mister). This, according to a
Moscow news agency, is being done to
purge the Russian language of re-
minders of the communist era.

It has also happened in Mozam-
bique, explains Umkhonto weSizwe
chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda: "In
any (liberation) war where people
share the same trenches, they call
each other 'comrade'. But of course,
when they revert to civilian life they
resume their normal way of communi-
cating with each other and call each
other 'Mister', 'Sir', 'Madam' and so
on."

He says before and shortly after
independence, people in Mozambique



SIPHIWE NYANDA ... "When people return to civilian life they resume the normal way of communicating".

used to call each other "Kamarada" (Comrade) but sometime after that, they discarded the usage of the word to go back to "Sinhora".
"In the Soviet Union", explains Nyanda, "they used 'tovarish' for a long time because their perception was that they were locked in a mortal, permanent struggle against hostile imperialists."

Nyanda said the word "comrade" was still relevant in SA "because we are still engaged in the struggle and still regard ourselves as comrades". He conceded this could fall off with

the passing of time, in the same vein as Zimbabwe is now struggling to shed usage of the word "comrade", long after it's independence in 1980. Only President Robert Mugabe and his MPs are still being addressed as "comrades".

It is said that the day Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation stops addressing Mugabe as "Comrade Mudzumba" is the day the socialist salute is finally laid to rest by "official" Zimbabwean society.

Although Mugabe recently visited the People's Republic of China and



ROBERT MUGABE ... One of the last in Zimbabwe who is still officially referred to as "comrade".

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea - two of the last bastions of Marxism-Leninism in the world - Zimbabwe no longer pretends that its political goals are linked to that ideology.

Its Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (Esap) was originally touted as "home-grown". It may have "indigenous" elements, but it was hatched by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and is as capitalist as anything advocated by Milton Friedman or Margaret Thatcher.

In the face of this transformation - from a country promoting socialism to one grudgingly embracing free enter-
prise - why do the State-owned broad-
casting stations and the State-owned
newspapers (including *The Herald*)
persist in addressing certain people as
"comrade"?

Officially, ZBC (which runs Radio One, Two, Three and the educational Radio Four), is now under instruction to address only government, party (Zanu PF) officials and MPs as "comrade". Until that directive was re-
ceived from the Head of News, all

black Zimbabweans - except judges, magistrates, priests and nuns - were routinely addressed as "comrade".

People of all other races (unless they specifically requested it) were addressed as Mr, Mrs, Miss or Ms. It was never explained satisfactorily why people of other races were not consid-
ered capable of embracing socialism -
the ideology the ruling party brought
with it from the war and insisted was
to be used to transform the country's
politics and economy.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the
disintegration of the Soviet Union, the

ter of Information is likely to allow
either media to finally stop calling
anybody "comrade". At one time,
ZBC sources disclosed they dropped
"comrade", except for Mugabe and
the two vice-presidents, Dr Joshua
Nkomo and Simon Muzenda.

It is probable that such an order
had been issued "from above", either
by someone in the ministry or by the
heads of the two media, acting in
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However, it soon became clear that
the party was not yet ready to rein-
guish its socialist credentials, al-
though in reality it has abandoned
socialism.

Still, Mugabe is taking his time
putting his final seal of approval on
the ideological about-face. For in-
stance, the Land Acquisition Act,
which he personally promoted, is
hardly designed to enhance Zanu
(PF)'s image as a party of free enter-
prise.

This law, in essence, calls for the
"designation" of any land, but mostly
commercial farming land, for the re-
settlement of landless peasants. Hard-
hit by the law are most of the 4 000-
odd white commercial farmers in the
country, although recent "designat-
ed" farms have included those owned
by blacks.

Further evidence that Mugabe is
far from abandoning his goal of turn-
ing the country into a one-party State
is another recent law - that which
calls on the government to fund politi-
cal parties which have 15 or more
Members of Parliament. At this mo-
ment, only the ruling party enjoys
such numbers.

For that, it is to be given Z\$20-
million of the taxpayers' money. De-
spite protests from opposition parties
(only two, the Zimbabwe Unity Move-
ment and Zanu (Ndonga), with two
and one MP respectively, are in Par-
liament) and letters to newspapers,
the money is going to be given to Zanu
(PF).

To both laws, critics have reacted
with the observation that the mea-
sures are ill-timed: the Land Act be-
cause the white commercial farmers
are the backbone of the country's
agricultural sector and the party
funds law because the economy is in
such deep trouble that it has to devote
all revenue to the productive sector,
rather than prop up a party whose
popularity is in decline and whose
management talents are dubious!

Yet, if Zimbabwe is to pull itself
out of its present economic quagmire,
it has to show more commitment to
the free enterprise doctrine on which
Esap is based. Whether or not Mu-
gabe continues to be addressed as
"Comrade" or just plain "Mister",
may not be crucial to the success of
Esap.

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE World Trade Centre is not an attractive building. It is too new, for one thing, and looks impermanent; a honeycomb of pressed-fibre walls and spun-fibre floor tiles.

It has displays of pine furniture kits behind glass cases where Parliament has Thomas Baines seascapes on teak wainscoting; petulance where Parliament still echoes to the ghosts of sharp debaters like HF Verwoerd or crusaders like Helen Suzman.

Well, the prefabricated World Trade Centre began gaining a patina of its own this week. Days after the best session of the Negotiating Council yet on Tuesday, the atmosphere was still lighter, the banter and smiles flowing in the new mood of optimism.

The session began with the Afrikaner Volksunie's Mrs J Gouws complaining that the council was "rushing through negotiations for a new South Africa with a speed that dwindles you into the air".

Eight hours later she declined to carry through her request to debate the speed issue because of the "amicable atmosphere" between chairman and IFP delegate Frank Mdlalose and Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC.

"Today we really did meet like responsible people negotiating the future of our country," she said.

The council had ratified an ANC suggestion which reached it via the technical committee on constitutional issues, to the effect that a commission be established to draw the boundaries of the country's new regions.

But along with this, it suggested that the powers and functions of the regions during the interim government period be debated by the council.

This went a long way towards allaying Inkatha fears about future autonomy.

With that, the atmosphere lightened, there was light-hearted joshing and the players settled into their roles.

Joe Slovo had a burst of eloquence (he does this once a week); Amichand Rajbansi spoke many, many times, usually to castigate the media for not reporting, by implication, his many, many contributions to the debate.

Frank Mdlalose was avuncular and charming, giving as good as he got from the floor; issues were debated and the pale blue chamber rang with laughter and applause.

Once again the lingering misgivings of the smaller parties were swept aside in the euphoria of having achieved another step forward (or sideways, as the people

would see it). The conspiracy theories of a secret deal between the government and the ANC the right-wing groups cling to, were hardly disproved by the nods, winks and note-passing between the two throughout the afternoon.

And one was left with a sense of poignancy that this Camelot-like atmosphere will probably be short-lived.

Even the scholarly, amicable atmosphere of the constitutional issues committee may not be able to continue much longer under the pressure it will face in the coming weeks.

Camelot-like ambience of fragile talks

Until now it has managed to identify and categorise issues to be decided by the council. It will be confronted in the next few weeks with reporting to the council on

such prickly matters as the CP's insistence on self-determination, homeland style.

Thus far the eight men joined this week by Advocate Michelle Olivier from the Department of Foreign Affairs — have worked well together, dividing the massive task before them along conceptual rather than political lines.

A political party's nominee to the committee may not even know the latest submissions from his party, let alone having to advocate them.

But, largely due to this committee, and the ANC's sudden attack of transience, the council this week shored up enough goodwill to see it through at least some of the rough times ahead.

The fact that these are being seen as real negotiations was demonstrated charmingly at the end of the week.

The public has stayed away from the World Trade Centre. If they notice it at all, it is just another converted warehouse along the highway near Jan Smuts — large black letters proclaiming Trade Mart (soon to be Trade-Off Mart ...) along its facade.

But on Friday afternoon 14 Ladysmith trainee teachers filed through its maze of corridors with a mixture of awe and delight.

Along with the Union Buildings and the planetarium, the World Trade Centre had been placed on their history tour itinerary — surely recognition of sorts.

And the first group of students to tour the building thought it was perfect.

Said Thulani Shabalala, 26: "The negotiations should be in a brand new building this is where new history will be made."

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON



ADDING THEIR VOICE . . . Muntu Zwane, Tsholo Monare, Kate Mthemu and Marjorie Hlatswayo at the award ceremony.

Mandela Cypress receives 2315193 honour

THE Carlton Centre was a busy place last week.

In one glittering ceremony ANC leader Nelson Mandela was honoured with the Gleitsman Activist Award worth R315 000 for his fight for peace and democracy.

Presenting him with the award at a ceremony at the Carlton Centre, Gleitsman Foundation chairman Alan Gleitsman said there were few people who symbolised the power of activism more fully than Mandela.

"It's appropriate to honour the man whose name has become synonymous with human rights," Gleitsman said.

In another Carlton Centre ceremony, Soweto businessman Alex Molokoane introduced the "Black and Lovely" hair product.

Sunday Times 23/5/93

Mandela calls for lower voting age

Sunday Times Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela told supporters at a rally in Dundee yesterday the organisation would demand that the legal voting age in South Africa be reduced to 14.

Mr Mandela said the ANC would "put tremendous pressure" on those wanting to retain the present voting age of 18, so that ANC youth could take part in elections.

"They say a person under 18 can't

think correctly and make a wise choice. We reject that, and demand the voting age should be 14.

"ANC youths left school from the age of 12 to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, and now that we have to vote, we are told those at the forefront of the battle must not vote. We reject that.

"Those who fought for freedom are the very people it is said should not vote," said Mr Mandela.

He said 14 was the legal voting age in at least seven countries, and "in our

country there should be no exception".

Mr Mandela made an impassioned plea to his supporters to seek peace with their Inkatha Freedom Party rivals, adding that several initiatives were under way for a summit between himself and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said despite reported denials by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini that he would facilitate an ANC/IFP presidential summit, plans were still under way for the meeting.

NEWS ROUND-UP

ANC camps probe goes to Tanzania

THE Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into torture in ANC camps outside SA travelled to Tanzania this weekend to investigate conditions in remaining camps.

A fortnight ago, the German-based International Society for Human Rights called on the commission to investigate existing ANC detention facilities in Tanzania and Uganda and to ensure the release of any prisoners still held. *SI Times 23/5/93*

The ANC says all prisoners have been freed. Testimony will be heard next week from victims of torture or the families of exiles who have "disappeared".

The ISHR also called on the commission to recommend that those who transgressed human rights should not be allowed to hold office in the ANC or a future government. *(117) (252) (317)*

Last week, senior ANC officials told the commission the movement — though a signatory to the Geneva Convention — became paranoid because of spies in its ranks responsible for killings and bombings.

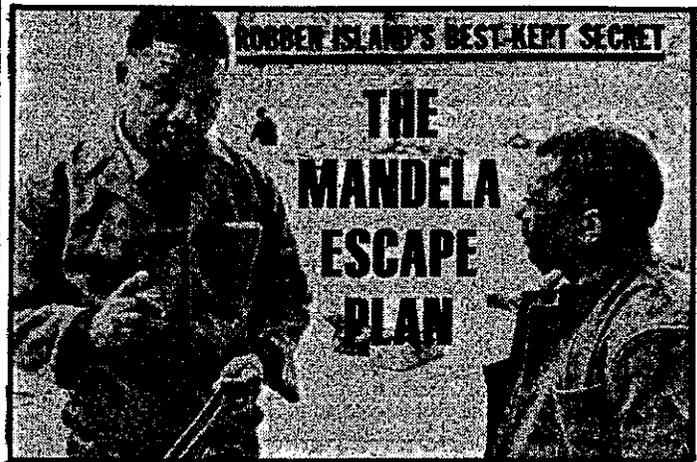
New blueprint spells out way to talks settlement

THIS IS BOTTOM LINE FOR PEACE

SI Times 23/5/93

ROBBER ISLAND'S BEST KEPT SECRET

THE MANDELA ESCAPE PLAN



A DARING plan to free ANC president Nelson Mandela from South Africa's "Alcatraz" — the maximum security prison on Robben Island — has been revealed for the first time. Hatched over a three-year period with military precision, the plan was to airlift Mr Mandela in a helicopter flying under the South African flag on New Year's Day 1981, and to take him to a foreign embassy in Cape Town where he would seek political asylum. Devised in the utmost secrecy,

the plan was committed to writing on sheets of fine tracing paper and smuggled out of South Africa between the cardboard layers of a colourful postcard of Cape Town. Documents outlining the plan will be seen by the public for the first time at an exhibition organised by the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape and the South African Museum, which opens in Cape Town on Wednesday. ● Full report on Page 7

By EDYTH BULBRING and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

LEADERS of negotiating teams at the World Trade Centre were yesterday handed a document which holds the key to a political settlement in South Africa.

The blueprint for a breakthrough is disclosed in a confidential document written by a technical committee consisting of eight legal and constitutional experts chosen by the various political parties to guide debate and help resolve differences.

With only 10 days to the deadline for setting a date for elections, the parties have been told they will have to make significant concessions:

- The ANC and its allies have been told the only way forward is for them to accept a plan protecting the interests of minorities and regions, and establishing clear constitutional principles before an election;
- Inkatha and its allies have been given notice that they will have to accept that an elected body will draft South Africa's final constitution; ~~South Africa's final constitution~~
- And the Conservative Party's hopes for a white homeland were dismissed as a non-starter.

The blueprint will be presented to the "group of 10" planning committee tomorrow and to the 26 parties participating in the World Trade Centre talks



Thokoza battle

SI Times 23/5/93

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...dismissed as a non-starter.

The blueprint will be
...presented to the "group of
...10" planning committee
...tomorrow and to the 26
...parties participating in the
...World Trade Centre talks
...on Tuesday.

The report concludes
...that "the key to unlocking
...the differences that exist
...and enabling the process to
...move forward is to develop
...a set of constitutional prin-
...ciples".

"These should be suf-
...ficient to offer assurance
...to those who are concerned
...that their interests will not
...be adequately protected if
...the constitution is drawn
...up by an elected constitu-
...tion-making body without
...being so detailed as to pre-
...empt the work of the elec-
...ted constitution-making
...body."

The technical commit-
...tee's report comes in the
...context of significant shifts
...by the ANC and the IFP
...this week.

Formula

Inkatha's central com-
...mittee last Sunday re-
...solved to explore ways of
...accommodating a suitable
...power-sharing formula —
...a concept it had been
...firmly opposed to.

The ANC in turn accep-
...ted that the boundaries of
...the regions for the pur-
...poses of elections would be
...decided at the multi-party
...talks forum and that the
...forum would decide the
...powers, functions and
...structures the regions will
...have after the first non-
...racial elections.

But their shifts, the tech-
...nical committee says, do
...not go far enough.

It suggests that detailed
...and stringent regional
...safeguards contained in a
...definitive principle binding
...the constitution-making
...body should include:

● That regions may take
...the central government to
...court if it punishes regional
...opponents or intervenes in
...local matters beyond the
...scope of a list of criteria
...setting out when and how it
...may do so;

Revealed: Darling's ANC plan to spring Mandela

SI Times 23/5/93

By NAZLEM HOWA

AT 9.15am on New Year's Day 1981, a helicopter would hover briefly over the courtyard of the maximum security prison on Robben Island.

Suspended from its fuselage, at the end of a 5m cable, would be a cargo net, draped with the South African flag.

To the casual eye — or even that of an unusually vigilant warder on this public holiday — it would appear to be an "official" flight.

But, when the helicopter lifted, banked and turned to fly back to the mainland, it would be ferrying the island fortress's most celebrated inmate to freedom.

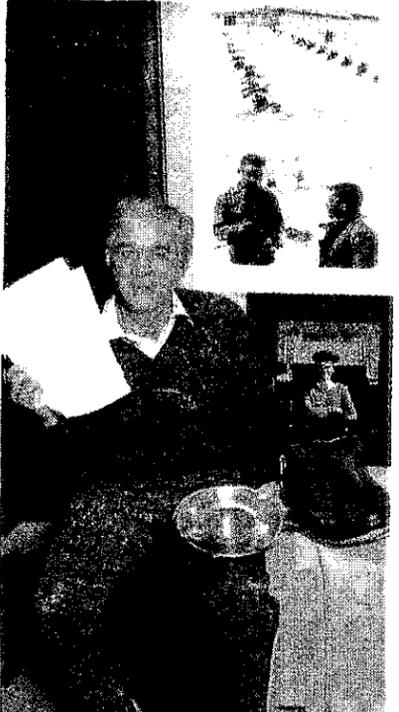
Secret

Hatched over a three-year period from 1976, the plot to get Nelson Mandela out of prison was one of the ANC's best-kept secrets for more than a decade — and it might just have worked, though Mr Mandela himself initially did not think so.

Devised with military precision by Western Cape ANC activist Eddie Daniels, it was discussed in detail — and utmost secrecy — with both Mr Mandela and his fellow prisoner, Walter Sisulu.

Mr Daniels wanted to include Mr Sisulu in the escape, but the ANC high command

THE MASTERMIND



PLOTTER... Eddie Daniels with a copy of his escape plan. The pictures in the background show the courtyard where Robben Island prisoners spent hours on end breaking rocks in the heat. The other, a picture taken secretly and smuggled off the island, shows Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu conversing in the visiting booth.

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

The final consideration was that the guard towers overlooking this section of the prison were unmanned between 6am and 4pm.

A helicopter was chosen because there was a large volume of helicopter traffic in the vicinity of the island at the time, and one more would not arouse undue suspicion.

Serious

The regular flights were made by helicopters supplying passing supertankers with mail, films and food.

Mr Daniels had observed that there was "usually one large helicopter, but occasionally a smaller one also makes an appearance".

He noticed that the helicopters "at times fly around, across, return or even cruise haphazardly over the island as if on a sightseeing tour" — and often carried a basket or net slung below the body.

"I feel that, with all this flight activity over the island, the warders on duty at the radar post will react slowly when a flight appears over or in the vicinity of the island, and will only take serious action after a lapse of minutes if the helicopter does not, or is unable to, identify itself," he observed.

In the helicopter would be the pilot — unidentified in the plan — and Mr Daniels, to act both as an additional pair of eyes in the sky and as a guide.

The Liberal Party member knew the

prison intimately, having been detained there himself for 15 years.

Timing was crucial to success. The helicopter would "hover just above the walls so that as soon as the net is entered, it will take off, either drawing the net up in transit or leaving with the net dangling from its body. The nearer it can be drawn up to the body of the helicopter, the less wind resistance it will experience."

The helicopter would then traverse the 6km of Atlantic Ocean that separates Robben Island from the mainland, and fly to a pre-selected foreign embassy, where the occupants — including the escapee — would seek political asylum.

Mr Daniels estimated that the entire operation should take "about 50 minutes".

"Because of the high walls which separate the sections, the warders may not know what is happening. If the alarm is raised, then the head of the prison will have to radio back to find out what had actually taken place.

"If satisfied, he will then have to inform all land forces, who in turn will inform aerodromes. If police vans should monitor our flight, hoping to arrest us when we land, they'll find that we've landed beyond their handcuffs," wrote Mr Daniels. "As I view it, the chances of succeeding

are high. Surprise and speed are on our side. Once safely in the grounds of a friendly foreign ambassador, we can plan to leave the RSA." The plan was finalised shortly before his release at the end of 1979, and Mr Daniels was charged with ensuring that it reached the ANC's leaders exiled in Zambia.

When he left the island, all the details were locked in his memory, and it was his task to put it all down in writing and get it to ANC president Oliver Tambo.

A precondition for the implementation of the plan was that the leaders in exile agreed — and Mr Daniels hit a major snag in getting the details to them.

"The one thing no one had expected was that I'd be placed under house arrest after being released. I started almost immediately to put the plan down on thin tracing

paper, and sketched a map of the prison as additional information.

"My major task then was to find a way of getting the information out of the country." His solution was ingenious.

"I rolled the tracing paper thinly and hid it between layers of a picture postcard of Cape Town. Then I sent the postcard to Jill Vigne, wife of Namibian activist Randolph Vigne."

Mr Vigne, in turn, ensured that the plan eventually reached Mr Tambo in Lusaka — but there is no record of his reaction.

Some months later, rumours of a pre-emptive strike on the ANC base in Lusaka prompted the destruction of several sensitive documents, but the escape plan was taken to the Netherlands. And there it remained, locked in a safe, until the beginning of this month.

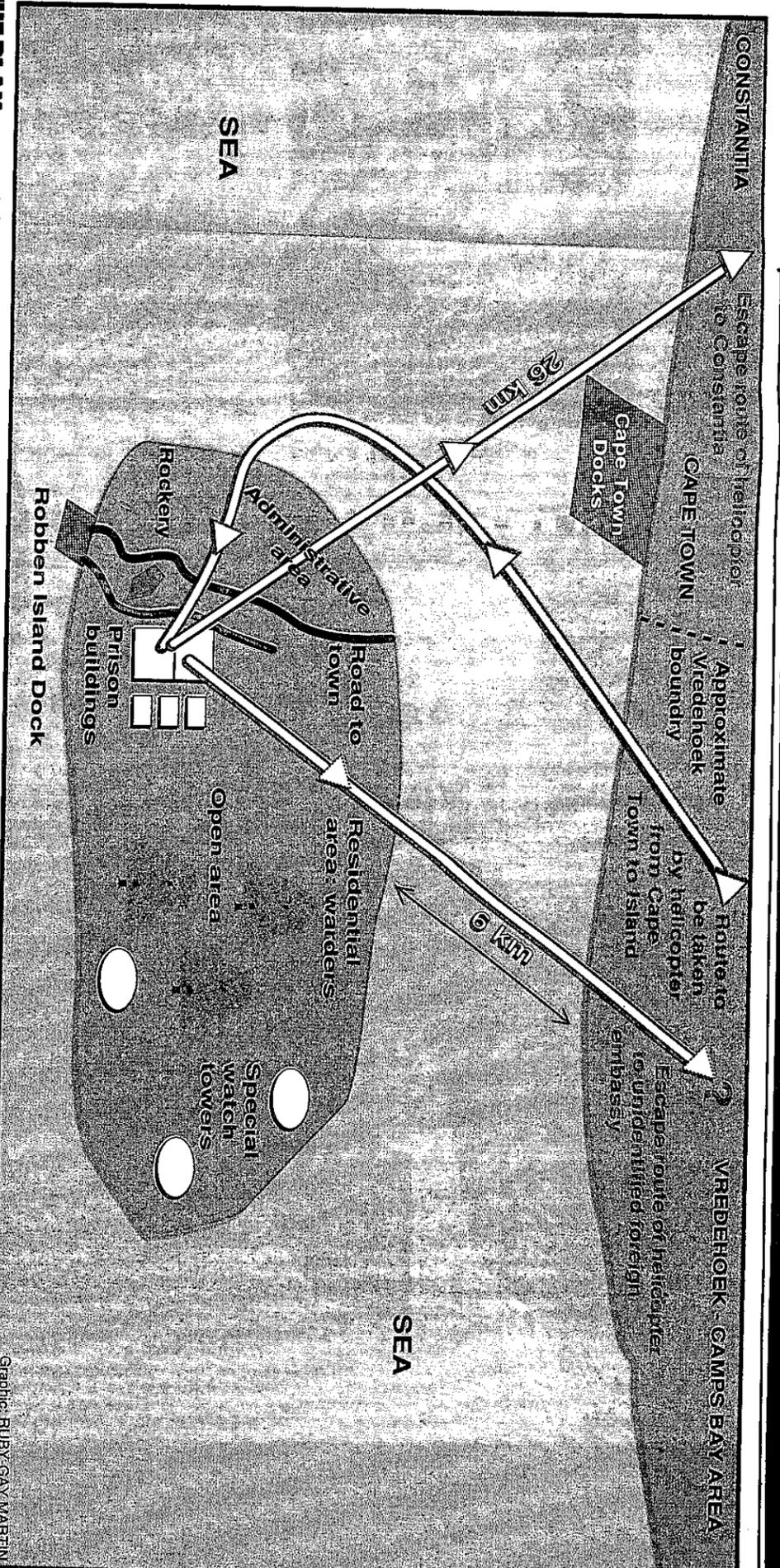
Strong

Mr Daniels said the escape would have had to have taken place in 1981, because there were "strong rumours" that the prisoners were to be moved off Robben Island later that year.

The use of the South Africa flag was carefully thought out.

"Even if the alarm is raised, people seeing the flag wrapped around something will hesitate to do something, thinking it some police lark," Mr Daniels said.

THE PLAN... an artist's impression of the ANC plan to airlift Nelson Mandela off Robben Island. Anti-apartheid campaigners took the original to the Netherlands after a strike on an ANC base



Graphic: RUBY GAY MARTIN

PAC want unitary state

MULTIPARTY negotiations and "intense struggles on every front" had to go hand in hand, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

He was speaking at Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle at a rally to mark the OAU's "Africa Liberation Day".

"The only purpose of the current talks at Kempton Park must be to prepare the way for elections for a Constituent Assembly," Makwetu said.

"Participants must therefore be very careful not to entangle themselves in matters pertaining to the details of the future constitution as they have no mandate from the masses to do so.

"The current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front."

CITRESS 23/5/93
Makwetu said only through elections based on a common voters roll would the masses be able to express themselves on the country's constitutional future.

On the issue of a future form of state and self-determination, he said the PAC remained committed to a unitary state in which everyone enjoyed equal status before the law with individual human rights firmly entrenched.

"We will not succumb to pressures and threats by former generals of the SADF," Makwetu said in an apparent reference to the newly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront.

Elections for a constituent assembly would afford everyone an opportunity to express their views, he added. - Sapa

Viva, Comrade

(11A) C/Press 23/5/93

The term we are so familiar with has not always survived once a struggling people have won their freedom. Even in so-called "socialist" states such as Zimbabwe the term "comrade" is falling from grace. City Press features editor LEN KALANE and our correspondent in Harare trace the history of the term "comrade", and investigate its current standing in countries where it was once the sole means of address.

"VIVA, Comrade, Viva!" The roar of the chant is almost as old as the struggle itself.

In SA, it wasn't as common prior to 1976. It took root around the 1983/84 political turbulence. After that every activist began to be addressed as "comrade so-and-so".

It became part of the way of life during the mass democratic movement days of the UDF. It was the cry at "Black Power" meetings commemorating the June 16 upheavals, at political funerals, protest meetings and of late, at any given political rally. Comrade!

It goes: Comrade Mandela, Comrade Makwetu, Comrade (late) Hani, Comrade (late) Tambo, Comrade Sisulu, Comrade Lekota, Comrade (late) Mthopeng, Comrade Mokae, Comrade Pandelani and at some stage, even Comrade De Klerk!

Comrade Ntsundeni Madzunya! He was almost caught off-guard when City Press approached him for comment. "It's a word used within our circles. We grew up that way," said the PAC's West Rand region chairman.

"I know it's history, that's all I can say to you, comrade. It was adopted from the eastern bloc in the '60s and '70s," added Madzunya, who conceded that during the early days of the struggle the word was almost non-existent.

"During my father's days (the fiery PAC's Josias "Mr Overcoat" Madzunya) for instance, people in the struggle just referred to each other simply as 'brother'."

Brother! Black brother of us



Will it go out of fashion as it has in other countries?



end of the communist rule in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War, Zimbabwe was forced to re-examine its ideological direction.

Mugabe himself is said to be reluctant to publicly renounce Marxism-Leninism and may yet still embrace his dream of turning the country into a one-party State. However, most of the signs, even within his own party, indicate that the day of "Comrade-so-and-so" being more Zimbabwean than other citizens may be drawing to a close.

The ZBC directive on confining "comrade" to party and government officials is said to have come from Tommy Mandigora, who is the Head of News. Mandigora is an ex-combatant and although he may not have distinguished himself as a journalist or a television personality, it is his credentials as a freedom fighter which count at ZBC.

At Zimbabwe Newspapers - owners of *The Herald*, *The Sunday Mail* and *The Chronicle* among other large-selling newspapers - it is Tommy Sithole who is editor-in-chief. Sithole is a strong member of the ruling party and is close to many of its top leaders.

Only a direct order from the Minister of Information is likely to allow either media to finally stop calling anybody "comrade". At one time, ZBC sources disclosed they dropped "comrade", except for Mugabe and the two vice-presidents, Dr Joshua Nkomo and Simon Muzenda.

It is probable that such an order had been issued "from above", either by someone in the ministry or by the heads of the two media, acting in concert.

However, it soon became clear that the party was not yet ready to relinquish its socialist credentials, although in reality it has abandoned socialism.

Still, Mugabe is taking his time putting his final seal of approval on the ideological about-face. For instance, the Land Acquisition Act, which he personally promoted, is hardly designed to enhance Zanu (PF)'s image as a party of free enterprise.

This law, in essence, calls for the "designation" of any land, but mostly commercial farming land, for the resettlement of landless peasants. Hard-hit by the law are most of the 4 000-odd white commercial farmers in the country, although

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Brother! Black brother...oh yes, says Azapo's deputy president Nefolohodwe Pandelani: "We dropped the 'black brother' reference, which would otherwise have a similar meaning, because it had more to do with the struggle inside church circles (from America's baptist churches). Comrade is more suited to the political context."

He added: "Comrade is the word used by struggling people throughout the world. It binds the oppressed and exploited people (against the oppressor) all over the world."

In Zimbabwe, immediately after independence, people were being addressed as nothing else but "comrade-so-and so". This is however being steadily phased out.

The Russians have all but dropped the formal address "tovarish" (comrade) for the formerly bourgeois "gospodin" (Mister). This, according to a Moscow news agency, is being done to purge the Russian language of reminders of the communist era.

It has also happened in Mozambique, explains Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda: "In any (liberation) war where people share the same trenches, they call each other 'comrade'. But of course, when they revert to civilian life they resume their normal way of communicating with each other and call each other 'Mister', 'Sir', 'Madam' and so on."

He says before and shortly after independence, people in Mozambique



SIPHIWE NYANDA . . . "When people return to civilian life they resume the normal way of communicating".

used to call each other "Kamarada" (Comrade) but sometime after that, they discarded the usage of the word to go back to "Sinhora".

"In the Soviet Union", explains Nyanda, "they used 'tovarish' for a long time because their perception was that they were locked in a mortal, permanent struggle against hostile imperialists."

Nyanda said the word "comrade" was still relevant in SA "because we are still engaged in the struggle and still regard ourselves as comrades". He conceded this could fall off with

the passing of time, in the same vein as Zimbabwe is now struggling to shed usage of the word "comrade", long after it's independence in 1980. Only President Robert Mugabe and his MPs are still being addressed as "comrades".

It is said that the day Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation stops addressing Mugabe as "Comrade Mugabe" is the day the socialist salute is finally laid to rest by "official" Zimbabwean society.

Although Mugabe recently visited the People's Republic of China and

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea - two of the last bastions of Marxism-Leninism in the world - Zimbabwe no longer pretends that its political goals are linked to that ideology.

Its Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (Esap) was originally touted as "home-grown". It may have "indigenous" elements, but it was hatched by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and is as capitalist as anything advocated by Milton Friedman or Margaret Thatcher.



ROBERT MUGABE . . . One of the last in Zimbabwe who is still officially referred to as "comrade".

In the face of this transformation - from a country promoting socialism to one grudgingly embracing free enterprise - why do the State-owned broadcasting stations and the State-owned newspapers (including *The Herald*) persist in addressing certain people as "comrade"?

Officially, ZBC (which runs Radio One, Two, Three and the educational Radio Four), is now under instruction to address only government, party (Zanu PF) officials and MPs as "comrade". Until that directive was received from the Head of News, all

black Zimbabweans - except judges, magistrates, priests and nuns - were routinely addressed as "comrade".

People of all other races (unless they specifically requested it) were addressed as Mr, Mrs, Miss or Ms. It was never explained satisfactorily why people of other races were not considered capable of embracing socialism - the ideology the ruling party brought with it from the war and insisted was to be used to transform the country's politics and economy.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the

ter of Information is likely to allow either media to finally stop calling anybody "comrade". At one time, ZBC sources disclosed they dropped "comrade", except for Mugabe and the two vice-presidents, Dr Joshua Nkomo and Simon Muzenda.

It is probable that such an order had been issued "from above", either by someone in the ministry or by the heads of the two media, acting in concert.

However, it soon became clear that the party was not yet ready to relinquish its socialist credentials, although in reality it has abandoned socialism.

Still, Mugabe is taking his time putting his final seal of approval on the ideological about-face. For instance, the Land Acquisition Act, which he personally promoted, is hardly designed to enhance Zanu (PF)'s image as a party of free enterprise.

This law, in essence, calls for the "designation" of any land, but mostly commercial farming land, for the resettlement of landless peasants. Hard-hit by the law are most of the 4 000-odd white commercial farmers in the country, although recent "designated" farms have included those owned by blacks.

Further evidence that Mugabe is far from abandoning his goal of turning the country into a one-party State is another recent law - that which calls on the government to fund political parties which have 15 or more Members of Parliament. At this moment, only the ruling party enjoys such numbers.

For that, it is to be given Z\$20-million of the taxpayers' money. Despite protests from opposition parties (only two, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement and Zanu (Ndonga), with two and one MP respectively, are in Parliament) and letters to newspapers, the money is going to be given to Zanu (PF).

To both laws, critics have reacted with the observation that the measures are ill-timed: the Land Act because the white commercial farmers are the backbone of the country's agricultural sector and the party funds law because the economy is in such deep trouble that it has to devote all revenue to the productive sector, rather than prop up a party whose popularity is in decline and whose management talents are dubious!

Yet, if Zimbabwe is to pull itself out of its present economic quagmire, it has to show more commitment to the free enterprise doctrine on which Esap is based. Whether or not Mugabe continues to be addressed as "Comrade" or just plain "Mister", may not be crucial to the success of Esap.



Reading Press

Women in uniform

Suppl to C/Press 23/5/93

THE military frontline is usually reserved for men, but women too have served the ANC's army well. City Press spoke to a number of these brave women.

Jackie Molefe left the country in 1974 when she was 17. She was recruited for military training just after Nelson Mandela had been sentenced.

"I was very young," she said, "but I knew exactly what I was doing, although I did not know that I would be gone for such a long time."

Jackie's parents had been involved in the ANC since she was a child. She says: "I was always tormented by seeing my father insulted and searched by young white cops."

She left with a group of 10 men. When they reached Dar es Salaam in Tanzania she found that she was one of three women among 1 000 men. Later the number of women rose to 11.

She said: "Because of the ratio of men to women, bad feelings ran high and sometimes the men would insult us and call us names."

The leadership feared that women would cause confusion in the camps.

The women worked out a plan to make sure they could stay inside the movement.

"We had to work together to make sure that our presence in the army was not disruptive. With time attitudes changed and we began to gain the respect of our male comrades."

Jackie did extra training in communication. The women were fit and strong and they expected to be sent to SA for combat.

"Unfortunately women were mostly used in clerical jobs," she said.

However, in 1977 Jackie was approached by the late Moses Mabhidha. He asked her to join the Revolutionary Council and head MK's communications department. She joined as the only woman.

"I am not ashamed to say that I used my department to uplift women. I helped establish the Ruth First Training Centre in one



A female platoon commander leads her men at a recent funeral of the camps in Angola.

In 1987 she became a member of the ANC NEC. She is still head of communications. "I think a future army needs a code of conduct in which sexism will be punishable," she said.

Ayanda Baku left SA in 1976. She was 19. She left the country to join MK because she saw no point in facing the boers with stones when they were shooting with guns.

When she got to the camp the men were helpful. Men were pleased to have the women around because it meant that the burden of the struggle was being shared.

What Ayanda found difficult about being a woman soldier was to postpone having children. In fact, even getting married was difficult because couples were bound by camp rules. They had to behave like everyone else. Sometimes marriages broke up because couples were often sent to different countries.

However, she found that there were good chances to develop. Even the illiterate were given a

chance to improve. Literacy classes were made compulsory.

Women began to take on jobs which used to be only for men. Women could be instructors or become part of combat missions.

Ayanda began putting together and reading the news in the camp and found herself working for Radio Freedom.

She is grateful for this experience which taught her how good she could be. She worked for Angola's Radio Nasionale for five years. Now back in SA, she is looking for an opportunity in broadcasting.

Dipuo Mvelase left home in 1983 at the age of 17. The hanging of ANC guerrillas was what eventually made her leave the country.

"I was shocked. I never really believed they would do it." Soon afterwards she, her boyfriend Vincent and another friend left the country for military training.

She later became a platoon commissar, an instructor in artillery and a political instructor.

She left Angola in 1986 and worked underground in Botswana for a while. She then entered SA at the beginning of 1989 to work with Operation Vula. She was arrested with others in 1990. They eventually received indemnity in 1991. Dipuo now works for the ANC's department for political education.

Daisy Fortune Chiloane was also 17 when she left home in 1978. She had been a pupil activist at Tlakula High School in KwaThema when she was arrested.

After a week in police cells where, she said "they beat us like hell," she was asked to turn state witness by the cops. She agreed even though she did not know who she was to give evidence against! She was released. She then left to join the ANC in exile.

Deep down inside she was furious and chose to train immediately.

In Angola, during cultural activities, it was discovered that she could sing. She was then chosen to join Amandla, the ANC's cultural troupe.

That was in 1980 and she stayed with the touring group for many years.

Daisy fell pregnant and had to leave the war zone in Angola to start a new life in Tanzania where comrades were able to raise children.

She is back with Amandla which intends touring the mines - for like the struggle, the show must go on.

DICTIONARY

- Recruited: joined the army.
- Tormented: suffered badly.
- Disruptive: interrupt normal activity.
- Combat: battle.
- Code of conduct: rules for behaviour.
- Postpone: cause to take place at a later time.
- Compulsory: force to do something.
- Guerrillas: people taking part in fighting.
- Indemnity: legally freed.

Mugabe may meet Buthelezi

WPA OCT 24/83
HARARE. — Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe was considering a request from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for talks on ways to end political violence in South Africa, Zimbabwe's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Nathan Shamuyarira said. Such a meeting would be a first between the two as Mr Mugabe has shunned the IFP leader and has described him as a puppet of the white-minority government in Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

Star 24/5/93

Gandhi anniversary march

More than 200 people took part in a symbolic march from Durban's Victoria Embankment to Currie's Fountain yesterday, as part of the province's celebrations to mark the 100th anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. It was organised by the Gandhi 100 Working Group. Gandhi arrived in Durban from Bombay on May 23 1893 and spent 21 years in the country. — Own Correspondent. (M)

AG says bail could affect public safety

News in brief

Sawetani 24/5/93 Azapo meets in QFS

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to hold its Free State provincial congress in Welkom on Saturday.

Announcing this, national organiser Mr Fundile Mafongosi said the agenda would include "the growth of the movement" in the province, elections of the provincial leadership and Azapo's plans for ending the violence.

Meanwhile, Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Mr Nkosi Molala, is to leave for France next week to attend an international conference of socialist organisations focusing on the impact of the IMF and World Bank on struggles of oppressed people throughout the world. (11A)

Sawetani 24/5/93 Nelson on SACP ties

NELSON Mandela set the electioneering trail yesterday by telling an Indian and white entrepreneurial audience the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party was valid only up to the overthrow of white minority rule at the ballot box. (11A)

He portrayed the symbiotic relationship between the two parties, who share several top leaders, as a pragmatic alliance of potential antagonists,

comparing it to the pact between the West and the Soviet Union in World War 2. *Sawetani 24/5/93*

"The basis of our alliance is a hatred of and determination to overthrow racial oppression," he told a fundraising breakfast in Natal. (11A)

Sawetani 24/5/93 Fired teachers rehired

THE rehiring this year of 1 014 of the approximately 5 000 teachers retrenched from the "white" Department of Education and Culture last year, would not cost the taxpayer more money, says superintendent-general Dr Henry Stone.

Stone was defending his department's decision to rehire about 20 of the teachers it fired last year, after disclosures to this effect were made in Parliament last week as a result of a question by Democratic Party education spokesman Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown. (11A)

"No extra money is being provided by the department, and we are doing it only to prevent pupils from suffering," said Stone. — *Own Correspondent — Sava-AP*

Star 24 15193

ANC plea on capital flight

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has challenged the rich and powerful in South Africa to show confidence in the future and invest on a large scale.

This is contained in a statement of concern at the multibillion-rand capital outflow between January and April.

The ANC said: "Powerful individuals in our country who control massive amounts of capital also have a responsibility to ensure that their actions contribute towards the generation of a climate conducive to investment."

Economists estimate the outflow on

OWN CORRESPONDENT

the capital account of the balance of payments to have been between R2,5 billion and R5 billion from January to April.

(1A)
The organisation warned that capital would continue to leave the country until a political settlement was reached. A settlement would supplement the country's domestic savings with foreign savings and help generate urgently needed investment.

By Paul Bell

ANC, IFP in row over Tokoza massacre

Star 24/5/93

The ANC and IFP yesterday offered sharply different versions of the events that led to Saturday's clash between their supporters in Tokoza, which claimed 13 lives.

It emerged that the ANC had been warned that hostel residents were massing outside the hostel, and asked by both a peace monitor and police to take another route.

And amid a growing row over which side was responsible, the ANC has repeated its call for a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses in the "racist" Alberton community from today. The march had been called to announce the boycott.

ANC PWV chairman Tok-

yo Sexwale denied yesterday that the marchers had been seeking confrontation, saying that up to a week's warning had been given of the ANC's intentions. His opposite number in the IFP, Themba Khoza, said the march had been provocative and that "the intention of certain elements was not peaceful".

By last night, a series of important questions remained unanswered:

● Why the march leaders insisted on taking a route they knew to be a flashpoint in this East Rand township, when they had been warned of a massing of hostel residents, and despite being urged by both peace monitor

Piroshaw Camay and the police at the scene to go by another route. Sexwale responded yesterday by saying the ANC would not accept no-go areas.

The ANC claims it proceeded with its march down Khumalo Street because it had been given the assurance that police would move

hostel residents back inside the hostel. The marchers would then march by as quickly as possible.

But, the ANC claims, the police failed to make good this undertaking. "Having been informed about plans for the march, police should have taken every possible measure to prevent a possi-

ble confrontation. We therefore hold the police responsible for the massacre."

● Why ANC marshals permitted marchers to carry cultural weapons. Sexwale said that, while the ANC disapproved, its supporters had insisted on carrying weapons — a situation made more difficult by the IFP's refusal to accede on this issue.

● When the IFP had been warned of the ANC's planned march. The ANC claims the

● To Page 3

Row over Tokoza massacre

Star 24/5/93

● From Page 1 of Alberton to protect white property.

Alberton and Tokoza town clerks and the Alberton police and chief magistrate had been warned up to a week before.

The IFP says that while it knew of the rally at the stadium, it heard of the march plans no more than a matter of hours before it took place. Inkatha MP Henrie Bekker said if the matter had been handled through the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat, they might have lodged objections and had time to avert the confrontation.

● The IFP was unable to offer a coherent explanation as to why its supporters allegedly fired on the ANC marchers.

The ANC has also charged the police with massing troops, not in Tokoza, where they were needed, but in the centre

of Alberton to protect white property.

The National Peace Secretariat, deluged by claims and counter-claims, said the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat would convene tomorrow to begin an investigation. Both the ANC and IFP — at separate press conferences in Johannesburg yesterday — called for an independent inquiry into the incident.

Both parties appeared to distance themselves from the desirability of a Goldstone inquiry. The ANC said this was an occasion on which it was necessary to "move beyond Goldstone". The IFP confined itself to endorsing Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a moratorium on marches.

SAP Witwatersrand liaison officer Captain Wikus Weber claimed the police had attempted

to communicate with both factions, trying to get the IFP supporters back into the hostel, and trying to persuade the ANC to take another route. "We saw possible danger and tried to avert it."

He said it was difficult to say who had opened fire first, and dismissed as "ridiculous" suggestions that the SAP had been responsible for deaths among the marchers.

Police had used tear-smoke, birdshot and rubber bullets, he said. Those who died had been killed by gunshot, stab and hack wounds. Sixty-one people were injured.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he believed the killings were part of ongoing attempts by "political elements in Government" to torpedo negotiations.

SACP workshop on election role

Political Staff

11/7

~~20/7/78~~

THE SA Communist Party is to convene a workshop to discuss the implications of contesting elections under an ANC banner.

A three-day SACP conference was held in Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss the party's role during the transition.

Other topics discussed were the dangers of destabilisation and counter-revolution, its role internationally and strategies during the transition.

An emphasis of the conference was that the SACP wanted an independent role during the transition but simultaneously wanted to strengthen the tripartite alliance and the broad democratic movement.

ARC 24/5/78

did not believe any prospect of the matter went

tie me up for another six months to a year in litigation — it's pure vindictiveness?"

Lost City at Sun City. Congratulations.

Association of SA, the competition is aimed at children from Grade 1 to Std 5.

by David Waisglass Gordon Coultart



... once you cut it, I have to coming back.'

Commission will probe Lenasia corruption claims

Star 24/5/93

By Cyril Madlala

The Transvaal Administrator has appointed a commission of inquiry into alleged corruption, irregularities and maladministration in the Lenasia South East Management Committee.

Complaints to be investigated by the commission include allegations of mismanagement, theft, fraud, kidnapping, assault and grievous bodily harm.

A spokesman for a group of residents who have taken the matter up with various authorities said the alleged incompetence of the management committee was cause for "grave concern". This had reinforced the community's desire for amalgamation with the Johannesburg City Council.

He alleged that violations of regulations, unethical conduct and adoption of resolutions beyond the management committee's powers were being swept under the carpet "in order not to rock the boat" for fear of the management com-

mittee members losing their pensions and payout packages.

It is understood that complaints, supported by sworn affidavits, have been lodged with the chief auditor of the Local Government Affairs Council in Pretoria, alleging:

- Misuse of management committee vehicles.
- Theft of its property, such as bricks and steel railway sleepers.
- Fraudulent entries in motor vehicle log-sheets by staff.
- Staff being used during office hours to do private work at committee members' homes.

Bogus

- Non-compliance with industrial council requirements in respect of appointment and promotion of staff.
- Condoning falsified applications for employment.
- Appointment and promotion of family members.
- Allocation of properties to members of the management committee using fictitious and bogus

names and companies.

Residents who have taken up the matter with the authorities have demanded immediate suspension of the entire management committee and senior officials, and the installation of a caretaker body or officials.

While calling for the appointment of a commission of inquiry, they want a moratorium on all town-planning matters and on the signing of all agreements, contracts and tender documents.

A notice in the official gazette named the commission members as J M Griffiths and P J Geers.

A spokesman for the Transvaal Provincial Administration said the commission would start its investigations as soon as certain technical problems regarding its appointment had been resolved.

People wishing to submit evidence can write to: The Secretary, The Commission of Inquiry into the Lenasia South East Management Committee, Box 1341, Pretoria 0001.

Girls missing

Police are still hunting for two Transvaal teenagers — one of them a CCV television presenter — who went missing from Margate on Friday.

Lorna Karon and Cian Gray, both 17, left a note in the flat where they were on holiday with Lorna's family. Lorna presented CCV's *Maths No Problem*.

Both are about 1,6 cm tall and brown-haired. — Crime Reporter.

FOR THE RECORD

A report from our Durban correspondent on May 19 said a visitor to the United States would have to pay R102 to be inoculated against yellow fever and cholera. A spokesman for Turbo Travel in Johannesburg says neither inoculation is needed for a visit to the US: they are required for travel only to certain countries in South America. However, people travelling to the US via any of these countries would need the inoculations.

Mandela comforts bombing victim

Star 24/5/93

By Happy Nkhoma

The wife of an African National Congress official has described to Nelson Mandela the terror she experienced during two petrol-bomb attacks on her Soweto home.

On Friday Nomsa Mufamadi — wife of Peace Desk chief Sydney Mufamadi — was telling The

Star about the attacks last week, which had left her numb with fear, when Mandela arrived unexpectedly.

She told the ANC leader how, on the night of the first attack, she had run blindly to the burning lounge and been pulled to safety by her daughter, Lindiwe (12).

Lindiwe had then telephoned neighbours and

the police.

Mufamadi told Mandela she had been uneasy ever since an unknown person phoned the Alpha Page paging company about two weeks ago, saying her husband had been assassinated.

Mandela told her the attacks were the acts of people who were against peace and progress in South Africa.

By Paul Bell

The ANC and IFP yesterday offered sharply different

ANC,



Kroonstad boycott called off

Star 24/5/93
The ANC in Kroonstad has called off a consumer boycott aimed at forcing the release of about eight men jailed in connection with attacks on members of a vigilante group, the Three Million Gang. — Staff Reporter

SB

11A

Talks 'must go on' -- PAC

Sowetan 24/5/93

MULTIPARTY negotiations and intense struggles on every front had to go hand in hand, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Saturday.

He was speaking at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle, at a rally to mark the Organisation of African Unity's "Africa Liberation Day".

"The only purpose of the current multiparty talks at Kempton Park must be to prepare the way for elections for a constituent assembly," Makwetu said.

"Participants must therefore be very careful not to entangle themselves in matters pertaining to the details of the future constitution as they have no mandate from the masses to do so. (IA) (344)

"The current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front."

Makwetu said only through elections based on a common voters roll would the masses be able to express

■ Participants must not confuse issues:

themselves on the country's constitutional future.

On the issue of a future form of state and self-determination, he said the PAC remained committed to a unitary state in which everyone enjoyed equal status before the law with individual human rights firmly entrenched.

"We will not succumb to pressures and threats by former generals of the South African Defence Force," Makwetu said in an apparent reference to the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront.

Constituent assembly

"We do not agree on their request to postpone talks until they have consulted their racist following."

Elections for a constituent assembly would afford everyone an opportunity to express their views, he added.

"We are engaged in a de-colonisation process and not a spoils-sharing exercise.

"Africa belongs to the African people and all those who pay their loyalty to Africa are welcome to help build our nation."

He denounced the proposed transitional executive council as "nothing but a classical colonial native advisory board clothed in fancy terminology". — Sapa

PAC warns of more attacks on farmers

Sowetan 24/5/93

■ 'We will always be after the farmers' – Nemadzivhanani:

FARMERS were a legitimate target for Apla forces, the national organiser of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said at a funeral for a slain Apla member in Venda on Saturday. (S)

"We will always be after the farmers who have so illegally occupied our land and it will serve them right until they pressurise (State President FW) de Klerk for the total liberation of Azania," Nemadzivhanani said. (11A)

He was speaking at the funeral of former Apla member Mr Mbengeni Fanual Mudau at Masakona village in the Venda district of Vuwani, 65km east of Louis Trichardt.

Mudau was shot dead by security forces on April 28 near Tzaneen, following allegations that an Apla unit was linked to the recent death of a farmer's wife at Litsite. (S)

PAC first deputy-president Mr Johnson Mlambo said the role of the armed struggle was to fight for the land and for the liberty of the African people. — Sapa.

Election date to be set within a week

BIDAY 24/5/93

11A
~~SECRET~~

NEWCASTLE — ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday a date for SA's first democratic elections would be announced by the multiparty forum, and not by his organisation.

Reuter earlier reported Mandela at a rally in northern Natal announcing that the ANC would unilaterally announce the election date.

Clarifying the issue at a news conference afterwards, Mandela said a decision on the date of elections was being discussed at multiparty negotiations and that the date would be announced at that forum.

He also repeated the ANC's call that the legal voting age be reduced from 18 years to 14 years and said he was "not pessimistic" that this demand would be achieved in negotiations.

Commenting on the NP's rejection of the 14 year voting age, Mandela said: "The NP and the ANC have on countless occasions taken different positions on a variety of issues — I'm not pessimistic."

Earlier in the day, Mandela told a 3 000-strong crowd of mainly Indian businessmen: "We have decided to announce before the end of May an exact day for elections before April next year."

Multiparty negotiators were reported to have privately decided on an election date and had been expected to announce it jointly at a meeting of their leaders on June 2.

The planned June 2 announcement was considered a compromise to meet the demands of ANC supporters and government's desire not to appear to be forced into making an early announcement.

This and Mandela's call to lower the voting age appeared to be aimed at appeal-

ing to militant black youths angered at the slow pace of democracy talks.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the deadline for setting an election date in 10 days time has forced negotiators to set aside an extra day to work through a volume of material from seven technical committees. The negotiating council will now meet tomorrow, Friday and next Tuesday in the hope of achieving agreement to recommend to the negotiating forum that an election date be announced on June 3.

Consensus reached two weeks ago in the council was that the 26 parties would discuss setting an election date once they had completed talks on constitutional principles. But negotiators are concerned that they have not yet made sufficient headway in making compromises that will allow discussions on these principles to be satisfactorily dealt with before June 3.

One source said the second report of the technical committee looking at constitutional principles had left "too much to the negotiating council to deal with and has merely sketched out the two scenarios the council will have to decide on".

One alternative is that propagated by the ANC and government — that a transitional executive council be established in the run-up to elections for an interim government that will also act as a constitution-making body. The second, favoured by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group, is that the final constitutional principles be decided on by the negotiating forum with a group of experts drafting the constitution prior to elections.

Concessions granted by the ANC on re-

Elections

BIDAY 24/5/93

11A
~~SECRET~~

From Page 1

gionalism, to accommodate Inkatha and in exchange for agreement on going the transitional route, are labelled by the technical committee as not going far enough.

The technical committee argues that the ANC should concede that regions be allowed to take central government to court if it interferes in regional issues beyond what is agreed upon in talks.

It also warns that Inkatha will have to accept that an elected constitution-making body will draft the final constitution.

Yesterday negotiators said tomorrow's meeting of the council would have to get down to some "real negotiating over regional matters". Until this issue was resolved to the satisfaction of all parties

they would not be able to move ahead.

One government negotiator said the committee looking into setting up a transitional executive council had finalised its report, but could not move forward until the negotiating council reached agreement on how the process would work.

He said the key was to get agreement on the powers and functions of regions and a commitment from the ANC that it would regard this agreement as binding in talks during the period when an interim government was finalising the constitution.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the ANC would consider any agreements reached in bilateral talks or in the forum as binding.



NEWS FEATURE *Tshepo Khumbane urges mothers to rely on themselves rather than men*

■ **HOLLOW TALKS:** *Multiparty indaba may not improve things:*

THE talk about a new democratic order in South Africa means very little to women. The point is that even the multiparty talks,

presently thrashing out a new dispensation for the country, may not have the will and the capacity to improve the fortunes of the country's women.

It is women themselves who must take up the cudgels and relentlessly fight on to better their lot.

One such woman who has found a meaning in the credo of self-sufficiency is Ms Tshepo Khumbane.

Khumbane's life centres around teaching rural women to fend for themselves, thereby removing the dependency syndrome that usually makes them "bask in the sun and look far afield to their men to bring food parcels and money from the cities".

Often those food parcels and money are not forthcoming, what with the husbands having "settled" with their more sophisticated concubines in the big cities of gold and misery.

Instead of the rural women weeping and complaining that "ubaha ka Siphoh" has not been home for years, Khumbane helps them realise that they can do something for themselves.

How does she do that?

Grow vegetables

She teaches women in rural areas to grow vegetables and raise chickens. What they do not consume they may sell in order to swell their coffers.

Employed by the Environmental and Development Agency, Khumbane also strives to uplift people's lives in the rural areas by making them realise they are people with dignity, deserving of respect. She retrains them in old community methods, dismantled by the Government through its resettlement policies which decimated African existence in the rural areas.

Just as it is important to educate the rural folk about self-sufficiency, women must be sensitised about their independence, that they are simply not

By Joe Mdhlela

Women must take up cudgels for their rights

Sowetan 24/5/93

11A



COUNTRY WOMEN ... Will the talks improve their lot?

appendages of men. They have equally an important role to play in a society. The challenge facing women today is: should they accept that they are living in a society that is man-made, or should they say men are just as dependent on them as women are to them? As an attempt to address these issues, the women want to establish if the current negotiations will pass laws that will give them equal status to men.

Faced with the knowledge that they account for 53 percent of the total

population, women refuse to accept that they are entitled to less in education and training. In the workplace women still occupy 17 percent of the positions available in the middle management.

They are also paid less than men in most sectors. For every rand earned by a man, a woman doing a job of equal value only earns 60 cents.

These, and other contentious topics about women's fight to correct the injustices may be viewed on TSS at 9pm tonight.

IFP, ANC told: rein in your members

Sawetun 24/5/93

LAW and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has deplored the violence in Tokoza on the East Rand, and said it was essential the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party redoubled their efforts to control their supporters.

(HB) (IA) (208)

But ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela blamed the violence, which claimed at least 13 lives, on the Government's refusal to secure "problem" hostels.

■ Hernus Kriel blames mass action for Tokoza bloodshed:

Speaking after a rally in Dundee, the ANC leader said his organisation had long called for problem hostels to be fenced, guarded and for inmates searched.

"Police know hostels are barracks for hit squads, but are not prepared to seal hostels and make them safe."

In a statement from Cape Town, Kriel said the

tragic incidents were an indication of how mass action could either spark violence or result in violence.

He reiterated his previous call for a moratorium on all mass action, adding that if this was not done, more lives would be lost.

He said the ANC and IFP should regain control over their members. — *Sapa*.



NEWS FEATURE *Tshepo Khumbane urges mothers to rely on themselves rather than men*

■ **HOLLOW TALKS:** *Multiparty indaba may not improve things:*

Women must take up cudgels for their rights

Sowetan 24/5/93

By Joe Mdhlela

THE talk about a new democratic order in South Africa means very little to women. The point is that even the multiparty talks, presently thrashing out a new dispensation for the country, may not have the will and the capacity to improve the fortunes of the country's women.

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Khumbane's life centres around teaching rural women to fend for themselves, thereby removing the dependency syndrome that usually makes them "bask in the sun and look far afield to their men to bring food parcels and money from the cities".

Often those food parcels and money are not forthcoming, what with the husbands having "settled" with their more sophisticated concubines in the big cities of gold and misery.

Instead of the rural women weeping and complaining that "ubaba ka Siphon" has not been home for years, Khumbane helps them realise that they can do something for themselves.

How does she do that?

Grow vegetables

She teaches women in rural areas to grow vegetables and raise chickens. What they do not consume they may sell in order to swell their coffers.

Employed by the Environmental and Development Agency, Khumbane also strives to uplift people's lives in the rural areas by making them realise they are people with dignity, deserving of respect. She retrains them in old community methods, dismantled by the Government through its resettlement policies which decimated African existence in the rural areas.

Just as it is important to educate the rural folk about self-sufficiency, women must be sensitised about their independence, that they are simply not



COUNTRY WOMEN ... Will the talks improve their lot?

appendages of men. They have equally an important role to play in a society. The challenge facing women today is: should they accept that they are living in a society that is man-made, or should they say men are just as dependent on them as women are to them? As an attempt to address these issues, the women want to establish if the current negotiations will pass laws that will give them equal status to men.

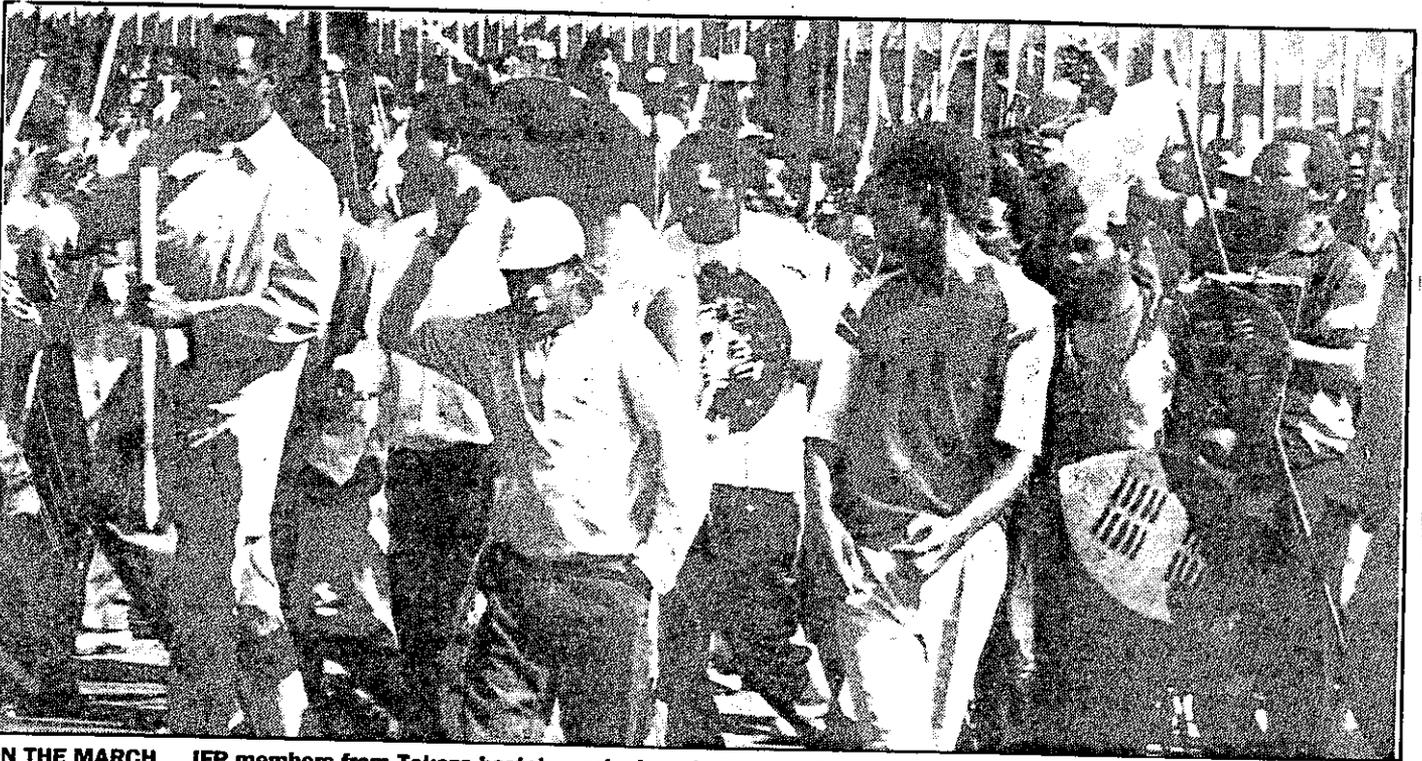
Faced with the knowledge that they account for 53 percent of the total

population, women refuse to accept that they are entitled to less in education and training. In the workplace women still occupy 17 percent of the positions available in the middle management.

They are also paid less than men in most sectors. For every rand earned by a man, a woman doing a job of equal value only earns 60 cents.

These, and other contentious topics about women's fight to correct the injustices may be viewed on TSS at 9pm tonight.

NEWS Cops stand accused of shooting indiscriminately



ON THE MARCH ... IFP members from Tokoza hostel marched on the local police station yesterday, protesting against police misconduct during an ANC march in the area in which 13 people were killed on Saturday.

ANC, IFP air their views

By Lulama Luti

■ **TOKOZA MASSACRE:** Organisations blame police for provoking the incidents which led to

13 deaths:

Sowetan 24/5/93

THE ANC march in Tokoza on Saturday where 13 people were killed and 61 injured was organised to protest, among other things, against the continued detention of more than 30 ANC members from Phola Park.

WHAT THE IFP SAYS:

Chairman of the East Rand Hostels Association, Mr Zakhele Mlambo:

"We did not know anything about the march. The police were approached to ask the marchers to take an alternative route and not to proceed past the hostel along Khumalo Street.

"The police did not allow the march to take an alternate route. They let the march proceed.

"When the marchers were about 100 metres from the hostel gate, stones were thrown into the hostel and police opened fire (into the hostel) killing Mr Ndilinga Mazibuko who was standing

near the gate. All this time the gate was locked.

"The police are the ones who shot at and threw teargas at our people. The registration number of the (hippo) that shot at the people inside the hostel is BFD 489 B."

WHAT THE ANC SAYS:

Members of the ANC Youth League in Phola Park — Turnier Nceba, Hardat Nontume and local Peace Committee member Vincent Mtusi:

"Permission for the march was granted. It proceeded from the Tokoza stadium at around 11am. We were about 100m from the hostel when we stopped after police said we should take

an alternative route.

"We could not take an alternative route. We were at a section of the street where there are only circles. While our leadership stood discussing this, a shot rang out from the rooftop of the hostel. Police opened fire at us. Two of our members were killed instantly.

"The police continued firing at us and people started running in all directions. The police are responsible for most of the casualties. Many of those killed were shot at by the police.

"We don't have a problem with the IFP, we are not fighting them, it was the police who shot at us."

Star 24/5/93

ANC seen smoothing path to vital IMF aid

By Sven Lünsche

ANC assistance is crucial if the Reserve Bank is to avoid higher interest rates or a rand devaluation, says Davis Borkum Hare economist Jos Gerson.

Writing in the broker's Quarterly Strategy Review, Gerson says the authorities will have to take action in response to recent capital outflows, which accounted for R4 billion of the R7 billion lost in gold and forex reserves in the first quarter.

He says the temporary weakening of the dollar had recently improved the "leads and lags" situation so that the Reserve Bank was able to replenish the reserves in April.

But he warns that this respite may be transitory, particularly if the dollar recovers some of its momentum against the European currencies.

"Ultimately, the Reserve Bank faces the stark choice of having either to put up interest rates or permit depreciation of the real exchange rate or both.

"The former option would directly delay the recovery. The latter option would re-ignite inflationary pressures and, like an interest rate hike, would also suppress domestic demand, although it would have the advantage of promoting exports."

He says, however, that this stark choice could be avoided if the Reserve Bank had access to International Monetary Fund (IMF) facilities.

With the help of the ANC, Gerson expects the Bank could raise

as much as R2 billion this year from the IMF.

"However, we have heard that the IMF disapproves of the high real exchange rate that is being maintained and may thus be expected to press for a more rapid depreciation of the rand."

Gerson forecasts, therefore, that the rand could depreciate further this year.

For the economy as a whole, he predicts marginal growth of 0,3 percent in gross domestic product this year and 2,2 percent growth in 1994.

By Brendan Templeton

ANC president Nelson Mandela's call for the voting age to be dropped to 14 was rejected outright by other political parties yesterday.

Mandela made the call yesterday and on Saturday while speaking at rallies in northern Natal.

The ANC was perfectly correct in calling for a lower legal voting age, particularly because previous white elections had led to tragic mistakes, he said.

Mandela said the ANC would exert "tremendous pressure" to support its proposal.

"They say a person under 18 can't think correctly and make

ANC's 'Vote at 14' call wins no support

Star 24/5/93

a wise choice.

"We reject that and demand the voting age should be from 14," he said.

But political spokesmen from other parties pointed out that the voting age was set at 18 in all democratic countries.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: "I take note of Mr Mandela's argument that some of these youngsters have fought for freedom.

"This argument was used years ago and was always met with the statement that all sorts of juniors and even animals have taken part in wars, but this did not entitle them to the franchise."

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg accused the ANC of trying to ensure it could intimidate children into voting for it.

"It's absolute rubbish ... if

you take a 14-year-old and give him the vote, you might as well give it to a 10-year-old.

"Schoolchildren are easily intimidated as they are not responsible voters. If this was the case, then it would have been started in democratic countries many years ago," he said.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said on Saturday that Mandela's suggestion would not receive serious consideration in a civilised country.

"Internationally, 18 years is regarded and used as the most acceptable voting age and there is no reason why the reduction of this age should even be considered in South Africa," Schutte said.

Star 24/5/93
**Mandela defends
child vote plea**

MARITZBURG — The president of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela yesterday defended his statement that children of 14 should be given the vote. (1A)

He said at a rally in Newcastle that his plea had provoked unfavourable press comment. And it had been claimed that nowhere in the world had such a thing been done. But Mandela said he knew of seven countries where the age is less than 18 and in some as low as 14.

● Call wins no support -
Page 3

A fresh view of Chris Hani

Sowetan 24/5/93

11 ~~12~~ ~~13~~
Militant also championed feminist movement.

By Sizakele Kooma

WE have heard of Chris Hani the MK commander, the Latin master and peace-maker.

The latest issue of *Speak* magazine tells us about Chris Hani the feminist.

The heart-warming story, as told by colleague and friend Thenjiwe Mthintso of the SACP, again opens our eyes to the nature and character of the man who was branded a militant.

Among the things Mthintso says in the article is that Hani was one of the very few leaders in the ANC, SACP and MK who actively fought against women's oppression; he was a member of the SACP's gender committee, which he insisted should not consist of women only, and he also shared chores with his wife and children at home.

Other informative stories in the issue include the contributions of the women of Eritrea, East Africa, in a war that defeated the Mengistu Haile Mariam regime of Ethiopia and the plight of women and children caught in the cross-fire in a brutal war in the Natal Midlands.

Are stokvels meant to bring together women for gossip and fun? No, say members of these groups in another story. They have managed to pay off their hire purchase debts and bury their dead through the financial assistance of others in the group.

Planning on leaving that oppressive,



Chris Hani

3520
**Hani was one of
the few leaders in
the ANC who
actively fought
against women's
oppression**

lying, cheating man you married?
Helpful information on how you
should go about it is also part of the
June package of *Speak* magazine.

A fresh view of Chris Hani

Sowetan 24/5/93

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'Don't pre-empt constitution'

11A CT24/8/93

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu has warned that the country's new constitution has to be prepared after elections and that negotiators should not try to pre-empt this process.

"The only purpose of the current talks . . . must be to prepare the way for elections for a Constituent Assembly," he said at a Boipatong rally marking the Organisation of African Unity's

Africa Liberation Day.

"Participants must therefore be very careful not to entangle themselves in matters pertaining to the details of the future constitution as they have no mandate from the masses to do so."

Following reports last week, it appears that negotiators have agreed to set the parameters of the constitution prior to elections.

Mr Makwetu said: "We are en-

gaged in a de-colonisation process and not a spoils-sharing exercise."

He denounced the proposed Transitional Executive Council as "a classical colonial Native Advisory board clothed in fancy terminology".

He proposed a "transitional authority with full executive and legislative powers for the supervision of elections, the electronic media, security forces and budgetary matters". — Sapa

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Star 24/5/93

FW, Mandela to meet Clinton

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will meet US President Bill Clinton in July. De Klerk and Mandela are travelling to the US to receive the Liberty Award on July 4. Mandela is expected to attend an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Egypt at the end of June before travelling to the US. The two leaders will meet Clinton separately. — Staff Reporter.

~~Star~~ (IA) ~~Star~~

IFP, ANC told: rein in your members

LAW and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel has deplored the violence in Tokoza on the East Rand, and said it was essential the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party redoubled their efforts to control their supporters.

But ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela deplored the violence, which claimed at least 13 lives, and criticised the Government's refusal to secure hostels.

■ Hernus Kriel blames mass action for Tokoza bloodshed:

Speaking after a rally in Dundee, the ANC leader said his organisation had long called for problem hostels to be fenced, guarded and for inmates searched.

"Police know hostels are barracks for hit squads, but are not prepared to seal hostels and make them safe."

In a statement from Cape Town, Kriel said the

tragic incidents were an indication of how mass action could either spark violence or result in violence.

He reiterated his previous call for a moratorium on all mass action, adding that if this was not done, more lives would be lost.

He said the ANC and IFP should regain control over their members. — Sapa.

Sawetun 24/5/93

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Mandela to speak at Gandhi service

Star 25/5/93

Staff Report

ANC president Nelson Mandela heads a short but distinguished list of speakers at a Johannesburg public meeting to mark the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in South Africa.

India's Dr Karan Singh — author, academic and former Cabinet Minister and ambassador to the UN —

and Bishop Peter Storey will join Mandela on the stage of the Johannesburg City Hall on Friday evening.

Gandhi spent 21 years in South Africa, arriving in Durban in the closing days of May 1893. During the critical period when Indians in South Africa waged their campaign of non-violent resistance against discriminatory laws, he lived at Tolstoy

Farm, just south of Johannesburg.

The centenary meeting, which begins at 8 pm, has been organised by the Transvaal Gandhi Centenary Council, which restored Tolstoy Farm in the early '80s and plans to convert the old homestead into a conference centre-cum-museum.

● Great Soul and mass action — Page 15

PAC support for Apla's farm murders

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE killing of white farmers by Apla members was a "legitimate" political campaign and the PAC had no reason to distance itself from it, said PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani yesterday.

"Apla is a disciplined organ of the PAC. All Apla members are also members of the PAC. We have no reason to distance ourselves from their actions."

Nemadzivhanani emphasised that this was the official PAC policy. *B10A*

He said farmers were committing political crimes against black people with the collaboration of the security forces.

"Millions of people were forced off their land. Farmers maltreat their labourers and deny them the right to affiliate to political organisations. Some cases are known of white farmers impounding black farmers' cattle. Therefore, Apla's struggle is a just struggle."

Meanwhile, tension in right-wing circles rose yesterday. Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer said government had to realise the country was on the brink of civil war as Apla had declared war on farmers. *25/5/73*

He said farmers felt their safety was thrown overboard in a bid to secure the success of negotiations.

"If government does not act now, we may be forced to take action ourselves and wipe out Apla bases. If necessary we must hunt one another."

Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gouws said attacks led to farmers becoming "bitter and unreasonable".

Nemadzivhanani said farmers were not killed on a random basis, but "only after investigation of the political crimes they committed". *B10A 25/5/73*

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday: "Because of the tense political climate and because inflammatory statements can be so dangerous we will have to establish whether a case can be made of Nemadzivhanani's statements."

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'Political independence is crucial for police board'

BIDAM 25/5/93

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Police Board had to be independent of the police, the Law and Order Minister and any political party, the board said yesterday.

"If the board is perceived as part of the police hierarchy or as an instrument of the Minister, it would not gain the confidence of all sections of the community," it said in its annual report, tabled in Parliament.

"The board needs to position itself between the public and the police in such a way that it retains the confidence of, and links with, the community as well as the police."

However, complete independence from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was not possible at this stage as the board was funded from his department's budget.

"What is crucial, however, is that the decision-making process of the board should be autonomous."

It also said that although the board was not required to report to the national peace committee, such a step could only benefit the board.

It had taken some time for the board to define its own role and operate as a cohesive group. "Suspensions and different backgrounds of individuals on the board" were

factors which caused the board to have a cautious and hesitant start, it said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports Kriel told Parliament yesterday government was giving attention to offering financial aid to policemen whose homes were burned in arson attacks. It was not a question of whether government would give aid, but how.

If necessary, further steps would be taken to improve the personal safety of police officers. More than 60 members of the force had been killed already this year.

Bob Rogers (Walmer, DP) said unless all South Africans worked together to reduce the level of violence, free and fair elections next year would be impossible. It was time all political parties stopped playing political games by "continually accusing others of participation in violence while ignoring their own involvement". Specifically, there was the "generally accepted reaction" of blaming the security forces.

Police fired 2 466 members of the force last year as a result of criminal and fraudulent activities, Kriel said. A further 3 369 members resigned and 1 098 were retired because they were medically unfit.

ANC launches branch at Tuks campus

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE first ANC branch on a traditionally white Afrikaans campus will be launched in the boardroom of Pretoria University's student council today.

At the same time, but in a different room, Afrikaner Volksfront executive Gen Constand Viljoen, invited by the student council, will speak on the role of students in politics.

Graham Maitland, chairman of the interim committee that organised the launch of the ANC branch, said it was part of the ANC's national policy to involve Afrikaners in the organisation, specifically in

the light of the coming elections.

"Pretoria University is of strategic importance because most of the students are white and Afrikaans-speaking," he said.

Student council spokesman Blaar Coetzee said the ANC would be subject to the same regulations as any other student organisation.

He also said that he did not expect the Viljoen meeting to be disrupted.

"Leftist students have never before disrupted meetings on campus."

PAC support

Spiritual mass action and the

Great Soul

MAHATMA Gandhi first set foot on South African soil 100 years ago this week. When he departed for India, two decades later, the future prime minister, Jan Smuts, heaved a sigh of relief: "The saint has left our shores," he wrote. "I sincerely hope for ever."

There was a one-word explanation for Smuts's aversion to the man whose deep-seated goodness he grudgingly acknowledged. *Satyagraha*: Gandhi's intensely spiritual version of mass action which, despite its stress on non-violence and love of the oppressor, pitted subjects relentlessly and very visibly against their rulers.

Satyagraha — which means literally "truth force" — became a major weapon in the Indian struggle for self-rule. But it was called into being and shaped by Gandhi in South Africa.

"*Satyagraha* differs from passive resistance as the North Pole from the South," Gandhi never ceased explaining.

"The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining one's end, whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form."

Gandhi has been seen as a prime inspiration for decades of peaceful mass struggle against minority rule in South Africa: of the resistance to racial land laws; the Congress Alliance's Defiance Campaign in the 1950s; numerous hunger strikes by political prisoners; mass marches aimed at claiming freedom of assembly; and the second Defiance Campaign, for the unbaning of political organisations, at the close of the P W Botha era. In South Africa, Gandhi's

On the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in South Africa, JO-ANNE COLLINGE reflects on the richness and power of his philosophy of non-violence.

thousands purposely transgressed the law, were prosecuted and jailed.

The campaign culminated in 1913 in the march of 2 000 men, women and children from Natal across the Transvaal border, where they were deported, tried and jailed.

Campaign headquarters were south of Johannesburg at Tolstoy Farm, which was run as a self-sufficient commune for resisters and their families. There Gandhi put into effect the many social practices which he believed were intrinsic to a life of non-violence.

There was deep religious tolerance, carried to the point of joining in each other's prayers and festivals; utter material simplicity and virtual self-sufficiency in food production; performance of manual labour normally left to the untouch-

able class.

In 1914, when Mohandas Gandhi left South Africa for ever, his "experiments with truth" had transformed him from a faltering young lawyer into a public figure, already known in some quarters as the Mahatma, or Great Soul.

Looking at Gandhi's beliefs and activism through the filter of today's political bloodshed, it is particularly striking how *dharma* or non-violence commanded and connected all he did or said.

It was the pole star by which government, economic relations, political programmes, social and family interactions, class and gender relations were to be guided.

Gandhi's view of democracy

was "that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest". He pointed out this could never happen except through non-violence.

On another occasion he elaborated: "Democracy and violence can ill go together. The states that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

Laws made with the consent of the people were a form of non-violence, he reasoned. Inasmuch as democratic government had to act on behalf of the people as a whole — and groups within the nation were at odds — government could not be perfectly non-violent, he reasoned.

"I do not conceive of such a golden age. But I do believe in

the possibility of a predominantly non-violent society. And I am working for it."

Gandhi claimed at various times affinity with anarchism, socialism and forms of communism, relating to each in terms of its power to reinforce non-violence.

He was repelled by the Soviet form of communism which he quite plainly regarded as an imposition by a minority. For the Mahatma, means and ends had to be morally congruent.

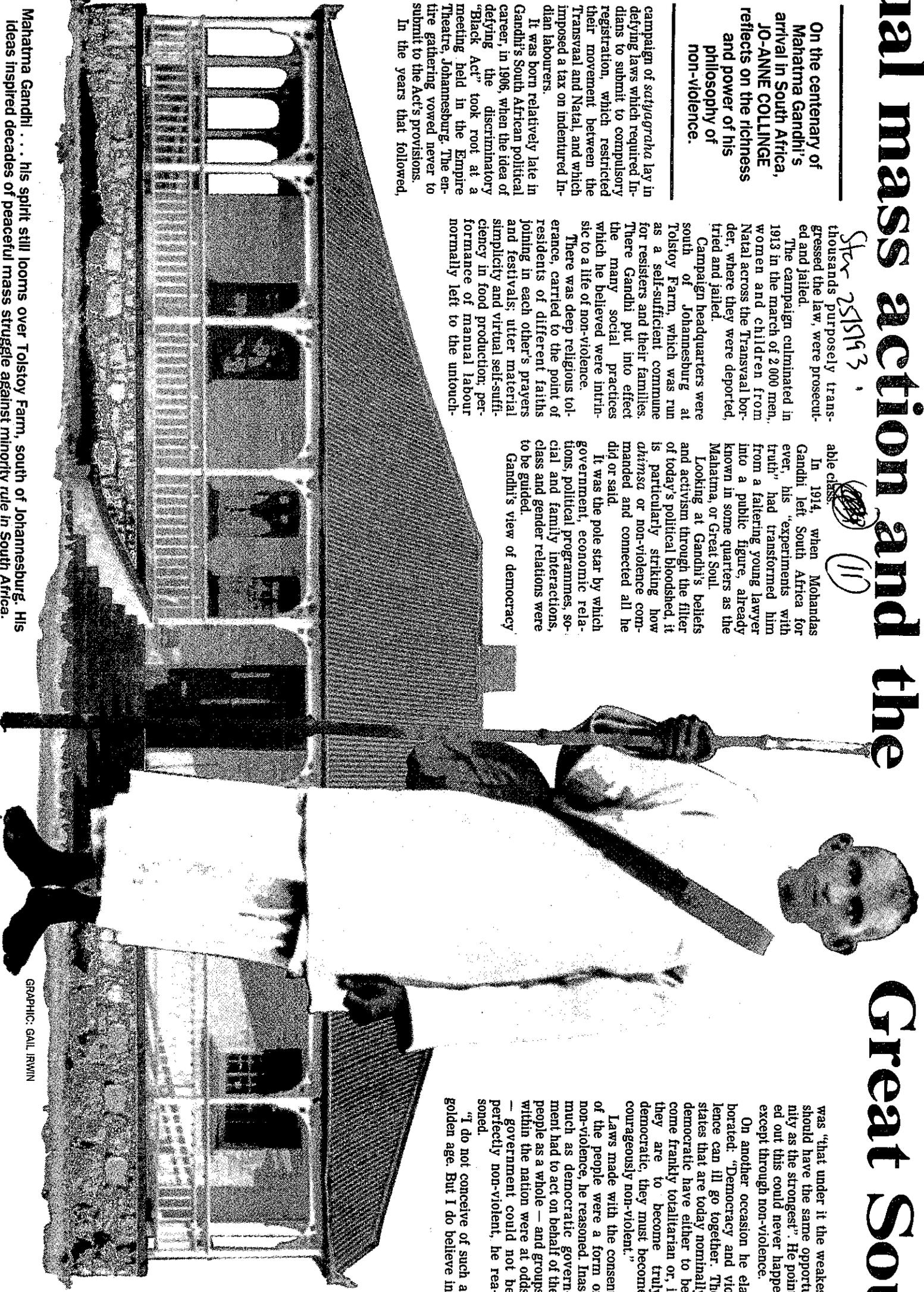
A shrewd, worldly politician in many ways, Gandhi's peasant dress and his unflinching daily toil at the spinning wheel were not mere theatricals. They spoke of his radical ascetic convictions. Economic exploitation was to Gandhi a form of violence. But he did not stop at hating capitalism; he was deeply anti-materialist and pro-labour in an almost spiritual manner.

"If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population . . . and no such misery as we see around. Such labour will be the highest form of sacrifice," he wrote.

In contrast to the present emphasis on a human rights culture, Gandhi argued for duty.

"If we all perform our duties, rights will not be far to seek. If leaving duties unperformed, we run after rights, they will escape us as a will-o'-the-wisp."

Gandhi stands out among modern activist-philosophers in his insistence on the primacy of morality over efficacy in political action — a challenge to political movements to pursue abiding values rather than expedient programmes, and to use power as an instrument, rather than an end. □



Mahatma Gandhi . . . his spirit still looms over Tolstoy Farm, south of Johannesburg. His ideas inspired decades of peaceful mass struggle against minority rule in South Africa.

GRAPHIC: GAIL IRWIN

Executive members among those held

Countrywide Star 25/5/92 Swoop on PAC

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

At least 19 Pan Africanist Congress members were detained at their homes in an early-morning countrywide swoop today.

NEC members Mike Matsobane, Jaki Seroke, Dr Solly Skosana and Maxwell Nemasdzhivanani and Nactu secretary-general Cunningham Ngcukana are among those arrested.

Secretary-general Benny Alexander was also detained, but told The Star he had escaped from police custody.

Two security guards at PAC president Clarence Makwetu's Daveyton home were taken in as well as Skobie Dube, who is responsible for PAC VIP security.

Alexander said police arrived at his Enterdale home in a car and a Casspir. He was put into the car with the "baby locks" on but someone opened the door from the outside and he ran away.

Alexander said he was not in hiding. He was not yet sure whether he would be attending today's meeting of the negotiating council.

He said police arrived at the PAC head office with Jaki Seroke. They left with Seroke and several administrative clerks.

All the regional leaders had been arrested in a swoop on more than 200 homes. He said "more than 200" people had been arrested.

PAC negotiator and NEC member Gora Ebrahim said police came to the Johannesburg hotel where he and Johnson Mlambo are staying but Mlambo was out of town.

Speaking from the PAC head office, Ebrahim said his office was a "mess" and police had broken into his briefcase.

PAC sources said others arrested were the organisation's northern Transvaal organiser, Phillip Mudau, three members in Soshanguve, four in Pieterburg and three in the far northern Transvaal.

Confirming the swoop on PAC leaders and senior officials of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said more arrests were expected.

Parliament

He said the arrests took place after the completion of extensive investigations by the South African Police.

Details would be given in Parliament this afternoon.

National executive committee (NEC) member Patricia de Lille termed the swoop "intimidation".

She accused the Government of "wanting to show their own constituency that they are still in power".

She said it was possible that an emergency NEC meeting would be convened in the wake of the arrests.

On the organisation's continued participation in negotiations, Ebrahim said: "We'll have to talk about it."

However, it was his view that the PAC should not pull out of negotiations.

"We will not pull out because that will give them more leverage, but we will raise the matter very strongly," Ebrahim said.

ERIE GLEN
DATE
RPARK



Official ANC policy: vote from age 18

Star 25/5/93

By Patrick Laurence

Official ANC policy was that the vote should be extended to all South Africans from the age of 18, Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's department of constitutional affairs, said yesterday.

He responded to an inquiry about ANC voting policy in the wake of Nelson Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 by reading from the ANC's submission to the present multiparty talks.

"Persons entitled to vote: all South African citizens who have attained the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote for the electoral process."

On Mandela's call, Skweyiya referred to a recent seminar organised by church leaders: "In that seminar I think they came out with a statement that the youth have contributed to changes in South Africa and that they should be given a say in the changes taking place."

The call stunned the political establishment and even shocked senior ANC members. An ANC official, who declined to be identified, told Reuters yesterday: "It's an unlikely scenario."

But he conceded that "what Madiba (Mandela) says today

is often 'law' tomorrow".

Adeah Bacquie, international press officer of the SA Council of Churches, confirmed that lowering the voting age had been discussed by religious leaders on May 10-12. But the qualifying age mooted was 16, not 14, he said.

● Allowing 14-year-olds to vote would introduce a new logistical complication to the pending election as they would not have identity documents, DP spokesman on Home Affairs Dene Smuts said in Cape Town yesterday, reports The Star's Political Staff.

She said the 14 to 18 age bracket included between one and two million people, and it was politically significant. These people would electorally come into play at a second election.

● Giving the vote to 14-year-olds would simply be to constitutionalise Cambodia's killing fields here, Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said in Parliament yesterday. He said he and his colleague Roger Burrows had been unable to trace a single country that allowed 14-year-olds to vote.

● The ANC Youth League expressed support for the call, reports Sapa. It said: "The reality of the South African situation is that we have youth from the age of 10 who are already politically conscious and mobilised."

Optimism, doubts on

Sexwale has pivotal role to play in SA

(11A)

CTLS/5/93

By ALEC RUSSELL

JOHANNESBURG — In 13 years as a political prisoner Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC's up-and-coming leader, indulged a range of fantasies about the future to while away the long hours behind bars.

But not in his most fevered dreams could he have imagined that he would become a sex-symbol for white housewives in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

The ANC's regional chairman for Pretoria and Johannesburg, Mr Sexwale (40) has been an important figure in the organisation's hierarchy since his release from Robben Island in May 1990.

In the eyes of the black youth he has impeccable political credentials. After military and political training in Moscow, in the 1970s he participated in the ANC's campaign to destabilise the white government.

Women callers

However, in the aftermath of last month's assassination of his friend and colleague Chris Hani, the ANC deputy chairman and leader of the South African Communist Party, he has converted his cult status in the townships into national prominence.

In a radio phone-in survey on the popular independent station, Radio 702, Mr Sexwale was dubbed the most charismatic politician in South Africa with many of the white women callers mentioning his sex appeal.

The catalytic moment in this dramatic change of attitude came when Mr Sexwale was seen on TV weeping openly over Mr Hani's body in the town of Boksburg, where the two ANC politicians lived. Like Hani, Tokyo Sexwale has won over many of his



TOKYO SEXWALE after Chris Hani was shot. Black youth regard his political credentials as impeccable.

neighbours in Boksburg, until recently the most reactionary of white mining towns.

In the week of rioting that followed the murder, Mr Sexwale, who is married to an Afrikaner, firmly allied himself to the moderate wing of the ANC and pleaded with the townships for calm.

At the Hani funeral he cut an impressive, authoritative figure in smart combat fatigues. Watched on TV by tens of thousands of anxious whites, he swiftly defused several potential flashpoints, including a moment when hotheads tried to translate a 21-gun graveside salute into an attack on neighbouring white suburbs.

Hardline

This show of responsibility has earned him the respect and support of many whites, who are alarmed at the anti-white statements uttered by a more radical wing of the ANC.

In the radio phone-in, Mr Sexwale earned his accolade ahead of the hardline white leaders Ferdi Hartzenberg, the new head of the Conservative Party and Eugene Terre'Blanche head of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

'Tsotsi'

For a man who started life as a township 'tsotsi', or tearaway, his sudden

elevation to political popularity with whites is even more remarkable. He earned the name 'Tokyo' with his early mastery of Oriental martial arts.

Under the firm hand of his father, Frank, who had served with the Allied forces in the Western Desert, he managed to divert his energy to schooling, finally winning a place at the University of Swaziland. His degree course in business studies was cut short when the authorities discovered his political involvement and he was obliged to flee.

Asked to comment on his new status, Mr Sexwale said that it was a sign of the changes in South Africa, signalling the end of the white stereotype of the ANC leaders as "terrorists with horns and tails".

Mr Sexwale is very much in the Chris Hani mould, an articulate speaker with sound revolutionary background, who can appeal to the radicalised youth but has renounced his original Marxist ideology.

Extremists

South African political analysts suggest he may soon assume Mr Hani's position in the ANC — a prediction which he does nothing to deny. "Watch this space," he said, in response to the speculation about the direction of his career.

However, he warns that the real test for South Africa will come after the first multi-racial elections when ANC moderates will be at risk from the extremists exploiting continuing social unrest and the inevitably slow rate of change.

"We're in control but there is huge potential for slipping out of control.

As we move forward I hear the sound of horses hooves behind us ... the same people who voted for Robespierre cut him down. The same people who vote for Mandela could vote him down tomorrow." — © The Telegraph plc, London.

Optimism, doubts on setting of poll date

Star 25/5/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Decisions on several fundamental constitutional issues will have to be taken within the next seven days if an election date is to be set by next Tuesday.

Negotiators at yesterday's planning committee said decisions had to be taken on the constitutional principles which would shape a new constitution, the constitutional process and regionalism.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were confident last night that an election date could be set at next week's first meeting of the negotiating forum.

Meyer said the Government would be "going full out (to set the date) without putting other parties under undue pressure".

But he said there was no chance of progress unless clarity was achieved about the constitutional principles and process. No more than a week was needed for this.

It was now necessary to see



Ramaphosa . . . confident about election date.

whether difference could be bridged, he said.

But Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje and IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose expressed doubts that enough progress could be made this week for the election date to be set on Tuesday.

Cronje said the negotiators had not yet "faced up" to who would draft the constitution and whether regions would be determined before or after elections.

(2011) (11A)

Torture 'at ANC camps'

Sawetani 25/5/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ Ex-MK man locked in dark cell for eight days - claim:

A SENIOR member of Umkhonto we Sizwe told the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry in Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC had punished its members for refusing to fight against Unita in Angola.

Mr Martin Phiri, a former MK commander and political commissar, was testifying before the first public hearing into violations of human rights allegedly committed by ANC members against the prisoners in exile.

Phiri was cross-examined by defence counsel Mr Seraj Desai. (11A)

He told the commission he was held at Quatro camp between 1984 and 1988 and released after the late Mr Oliver Tambo had visited the detention camp.

He said members of the ANC's security forces, including Lawrence (ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's body-guard), acted as prison warders and locked them in dark cells without blankets. Phiri said they were not allowed to

leave the cells for eight days.

He said they were forced to lie on their stomachs while the warders whipped them with electric cords.

"People who had been arrested for smuggling diamonds and such things were treated better than us," Phiri said.

The organisation's leadership, including army commander Mr Andrew Masondo, Mr Joe Modise and the late Mr Chris Hani, knew about their detention but did nothing about it, he said.

Youths must be authors of their destiny

Sowetan 25/5/13

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela's call for the voting age to be brought down to 14 came under the spotlight during *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show's* open line last night.

Mandela had said at a Press conference in Newcastle at the weekend that the ANC's proposal would be taken to a multiparty forum where a final decision would have to be endorsed.

He said there was no reason for anyone to insist that the voting age remain at 18 while voters over the age of 18 had voted for a Government which had been a disaster.

Host Tim Modise asked a caller whether a 14-year-old youth should

stand for office and be elected president.

The caller responded: "A 14-year-old cannot lead but he can vote for a president."

"I agree with what Mandela said. We, the youth, are the leaders of tomorrow."

Sibongile of Johannesburg endorsed the call that 14-year-old youths should be eligible to vote, saying:

"We are going to be the leaders of tomorrow. We must be the authors of our own destiny. We must make sure we have the right people at the top."

"A 14-year-old knows everything these

days," she said.

Some of the topics covered last night included lobola, the position of whites within Inkatha Freedom Party ranks and the insensitivity of white policemen to black demonstrators.

"An exorbitant lobola impacts on the relationship between a man and a woman. It turns the woman into a chattel," said a caller.

Solly of Meadowlands said whites who occupied senior positions within the IFP were racists.

"These people are fighting against

the liberation of the people. You can see they have a racist attitude towards blacks."

A black policeman, Jimmy of Tembisa, said white policemen did not handle "our people as dictated in the book of law".

He said he would not obey unlawful commands as happened in Tokoza on Saturday.

"I am angry about what happened in Tokoza. That was a wrong command which the courts would clearly not uphold," he said.

Few black consumers seen as boycott hits Alberton

Star 25/5/93

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau



The ANC-orchestrated consumer boycott to protest against Alberton Town Council's failure to amalgamate with Tokoza got under way yesterday.

Alberton Sakekamer chairman Marius van der Merwe said he could not comprehend the motive behind the boycott as a committee representing the ANC, PAC, IFP, the town council and local businessmen was established in August to implement joint administration of Tokoza.

Van der Merwe said the forum had been created for negotiation, and a reportback meeting had been scheduled for yesterday but the ANC and PAC had failed to attend.

"We are disappointed with

the ANC's decision to hold a boycott." He said channels of communication with the ANC had always been open and "everyone was willing to help".

Van der Merwe said very few black consumers were seen in the town yesterday.

Alberton Town Council management committee chairman Johann van der Merwe confirmed that the assistant town treasurer had already been appointed to act as Tokoza's chief executive officer and that the upgrading of services had already begun.

Van der Merwe said it was a consumer's "right to take part in a boycott, but this boycott is not justified". He said the boycott would temporarily hurt local business but he did not believe it could go on indefinitely.

18 is ANC policy on right to vote

Sowetan 25/5/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ 14 YEARS Official comments on

Mandela's call to lower the voting age:

THE OFFICIAL ANC policy was that the vote should be extended to all South Africans from the age of 18, Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the organisation's department of constitutional affairs, said yesterday. (11A) (SASA)

Skweyiya responded to an inquiry about ANC voting policy in the wake of Mr Nelson Mandela's controversial call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 by reading from the ANC's submission to the present multiparty talks.

"Persons Entitled to Vote: All South African citizens who have attained the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote for the electoral process."

Elaborating, Skweyiya said: "We maintain (the qualifying age for the vote)

should be 18 and that all citizens of South Africa within the borders of 1910, including Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, should be entitled to vote."

On Mandela's call for the franchise to be extended to 14-year-olds, Skweyiya referred to a recent seminar organised by church leaders: "In that seminar I think they came out with a statement that the youth have contributed to changes in South African and that they should be given a say in the changes that are taking place."

Aleah Bacquie, international Press officer of the South African Council of

Churches, confirmed that the lowering of the voting age had been discussed at a seminar of religious leaders — rather than merely Christian leaders — on May 10-12.

But the qualifying age that had been mooted was 16, not 14, the age at which people were issued with identity documents and at which blacks had been required to carry "passes" until the pass system was abolished, Bacquie said.

The reason for the proposal was that the youth had contributed to the "liberation struggle" and that they had been "targeted for arrest, torture and detention".

**New SACP
Star 26/6/93
leader to** 
tour Natal

DURBAN — The SA Communist Party's new general secretary, Charles Nqakula, arrives in Durban today for a week-long tour of Natal. Nqakula, who succeeded slain SACP leader Chris Hani, will speak at various meetings.

His programme includes a public meeting at the University of Natal and a mass meeting at the Glebelands hostel in Umlazi today a rally in Isithebe and a public meeting at Ongoye on Sunday, a rally at Ohlange Sports Centre and a fundraising dinner in Durban on Monday.
— Own Correspondent.

Fire Kriel, says Ramaphosa

PAC arrests place talks in jeopardy

BIDAY 26/5/93
THE negotiations process was rocked yesterday by the announcement that 49 PAC members had been arrested in countrywide raids.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said negotiations were hanging by a thread.

The PAC walked out of talks at the World Trade Centre in protest, and president Clarence Makwetu said last night the PAC would not take part in negotiations while its members remained in jail, Reuter reports.

Ramaphosa called for Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to be sacked, saying he had "wrecked the process".

But Kriel defended his department's actions, saying the negotiations process gave no one the right to commit a crime.

The SAP had been investigating crimes to which PAC and Apla members were allegedly linked and believed there was sufficient prima facie evidence to arrest suspects. The arrests were made in connection with murder, attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the SAP, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and hand grenades and planning of further attacks on SAP members and civilians.

"Every suspect is being questioned in connection with a specific crime, or complicity with regard to such crimes or because he may be in possession of information on criminal acts," Kriel said.

The PAC and Apla members were arrested in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act and the Internal Security Act. Kriel

(11A)
Business Day Reporters

said he had asked the SAP to bring the suspects before court or to release them as soon as possible.

The 26-party negotiations council — which postponed its business yesterday to Friday — passed a resolution condemning the "insensitive manner in which the recent actions and arrests against the leadership of the PAC were undertaken".

The resolution, which was not endorsed by government, the NP, Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksunie, said the council was "appalled" by the effect of police actions on the peace process and by the unnecessary delays caused.

A special council session tomorrow night will debate the implications of the action against the PAC.

Among those detained are top PAC officials Enoch Zulu, Jackie Seroke, Thomas Likotsi, Walter Toboti, Maxwell Nema-zhivanani, Abel Dube and Raymond Fihla.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the clampdown amounted to banning: "The PAC has effectively been rendered unworkable."

He claimed he had escaped from police custody when a neighbour let him out of a police vehicle outside his Ennerdale home yesterday morning. However, police claimed he had been released after questioning about a firearm in his possession.

Alexander said the arrests were calculated to remove the PAC from talks during the week in which dates for elections and

To Page 2

PAC arrests

BIDAY 26/5/93
the implementation of transitional executive councils would be decided.

Ramaphosa, referring to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said: "The Minister here says they (government's negotiations team) did not know of the action until after it had happened. I am also told that President F W de Klerk did not know. Who is running the country? Here they sit unashamedly and say they are negotiating in good faith."

Meyer said government would wait until tomorrow's debate, where the full facts would be presented, before reacting. However, he noted that Nema-zhivanani had said all farmers were legitimate targets for Apla attacks.

In reaction to the Ramaphosa's comments that the President had not known about the arrests, a government spokes-

(11A)
man said the President did not comment on communications between himself and Ministers. It has emerged, however, that Meyer, government's chief negotiator, did not know the arrests were imminent and was seriously embarrassed by the incident. Police sources said there was no obligation on the part of the police to inform all Ministers of impending actions.

The CP welcomed the police action, and DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow said while police had a duty to act on good information linking individuals to a crime, the timing of the arrests seemed "expedient" and the onus was on police to bring charges as a matter of urgency.

From Page 1
Report by: Tim Cohen, Billy Paddock, Ray Hartley and Wilson Zwane.

● **Comment: Page 10**

Govt told: Explain PAC crackdown

Star 26/5/93



Roelf Meyer ... apparently heard about the swoop as he arrived for talks.

By Esther Waugh, Paul Bell and Phillip Zolo

South Africa's delicately poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre may have survived yesterday's furor over the nationwide police crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress, but the Government is under pressure to explain why the action was taken at this critical time and who knew about it beforehand.

The crackdown on the PAC is expected to lead to a heated debate in the weekly Cabinet meeting today.

PAC gears up for D-Day - Page 19

The Government came under pressure yesterday in the negotiating council for swooping on one of the negotiating partners.

But Cabinet Ministers at the negotiating table — Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels, Tertius Delpont and Dawie de Villiers — apparently did not know of the PAC raid. They only heard about it when they arrived yesterday morning at the World Trade Centre.

Law and Order Minister Herens Wier, and he was briefed by two generals of the impending raid on Monday afternoon.

This development placed the Government and National Party negotiators in an awkward situation and led several negotiators to question whether President de Klerk or the securocrats were running the country.

Kriel is expected to face a special session of the negotiating council tomorrow evening to explain the tim-

ing of the raid. Kriel would not say last night whether he would attend the session.

Negotiators said elements in Government were "wreckers" who deliberately wanted to derail the process.

The damage to the negotiations process was temporarily limited by the commitment of all the groups to negotiations.

Although the PAC suspended its participation in yesterday's meeting, it has not pulled out of talks.

PAC sources said today the organisation's president Clarence Makwetu would call a meeting of national executive members in Johannesburg to set a date for a full NEC meeting within the next few days. The PAC will then decide on its participation in negotiations.

The organisation has, however, clearly stated that its presence at tomorrow's meeting will depend on the Government's action within the next 48 hours.

The basic demands — supported by the Patriotic Front members at the negotiating table — are for arrested PAC members to be immediately charged or released and for confiscated documents to be returned.

Earlier Kriel told Parliament that 73 PAC and Apla cadres, including seven "top structure" members, had been held, and unlicensed automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition seized.

The arrests had been linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol-bomb and other attacks on the police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and hand grenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians.

Questions are now being asked about how the decision to act was taken, and which Cabinet Ministers knew of the raid beforehand.



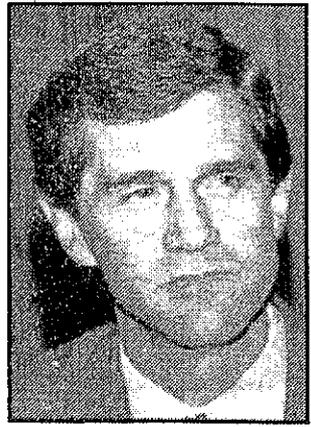
Displeased . . . PAC president Clarence Makwetu, who flew from Transkei to Johannesburg yesterday after receiving news of the arrest of senior colleagues, arrives at Jan Smuts Airport. Picture: Jacob Rykliff

In a statement last night, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said that contrary to media reports, key Cabinet Ministers did not attend a meeting on Sunday where police reportedly briefed them on the raids. "This is simply not true,"

Kotze said. "These arrests were not a Government decision. They were made by the South African Police in the normal course of their duties." Kotze told Sapa today 11 of the 73 people held on Tuesday had been released after questioning.

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Patrick Laurence examines Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered

Star 26/5/93

Playing to rebellious gallery

NELSON MANDELA'S call for the qualifying age for the vote to be lowered to 14 has taken South Africa by surprise, astounding his political opponents and perhaps even catching some officials in the African National Congress off guard.

His call, made during a tour of Natal, comes in the wake of, and in contradiction to, an ANC submission to the multiparty negotiation forum that the qualifying age for the vote should be 18.

The timing of Mandela's call and his apparent willingness to contest the official ANC view, as defined in the submission to the multiparty talks, suggests that his stand was prompted by political considerations in the past few days.

One view, expressed by Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party and Piet Coetzer of the National Party, is that Mandela is attempting to gratify the restless youth in the black community.

"It has more to do with placating a rebellious youth constituency than influencing the constitutional negotiations," Andrew declares. Coetzer argues: "It is clear

to all of us that the ANC has lost control and influence over large sections of its youth."

There is some evidence to support these contentions: during the student boycott in protest against examination fees, ANC calls for them to return to class were largely ignored.

The celebrated case involving Allan Boesak, ANC chairman in the Western Cape, is pertinent: when he urged protesting students in the Western Cape to desist from actions which could jeopardise their lives, Vuyiso Tyhahlisu, a student leader declared in full view of television cameras: "Comrade Boesak is ill-informed. We are in charge, not Comrade Boesak."

Mandela's reaction to calls by young blacks for guns is also relevant. Instead of rebuffing them and urging them to concentrate on their studies, he has advised them to join the ANC's guerilla army, Umhonto we Sizwe, so that they could have guns as members of a disciplined force rather than as individuals.

These episodes support the inference that Mandela's call for the

vote to be extended to 14-year-olds is a bid to get on-sides with them, to placate them in order to retain their allegiance.

There is, however, an alternative, more cynical explanation doing the rounds among journalists. The supposition is that the ANC is in the process of making major concessions at the multiparty negotiations and that the call to enfranchise 14-year-olds is a diversion, an attempt to camouflage its reported conciliatory stance at the talks.

Mandela's rationale for extending the vote — that children from the age of 12 have contributed to the "liberation struggle" and are therefore entitled to the vote — is interpreted as an obfuscatory dance of dust and flies.

But, against these interpretations, ANC officials and/or ANC sympathisers argue that the pressure to lower the voting age has not built up suddenly but, on the contrary, has been maturing steadily over the last few months.

Ronnie Mamoepa, a spokesman for the ANC's department of information and publicity, recalls that Mandela first raised the ques-

tion of lowering the voting age at an election workshop at the beginning of the year.

Mandela challenged the orthodox view that 18 was an appropriate age to receive the vote during a discussion at the workshop, Mamoepa says, quoting his leader as countering objections with the argument that 14-year-olds who are old enough to fight for freedom are old enough to vote when it is won.

At that conference, Mamoepa adds, Mandela listed seven countries where people younger than 18 can vote: Afghanistan, Brazil, Cuba, Iran, Indonesia, North Korea and Nicaragua.

Mandela, according to statements attributed to him during his Natal visit, now believes that these countries have established an international norm to which South Africa should conform. "Our country should be no exception," he is reported to have said.

Zola Skweyiya, the ANC's constitutional expert, points to another link in the chronological chain leading to Mandela's advocacy of giving the vote to 14-year-olds: a conference of religious leaders where the idea of lower-

ing the qualifying age to 16 was mooted.

But to show that Mandela's stance is the product of a process, and not a sudden whim, does not explain why he chose to go public on what had been an in-house debate and still less why he decided to contradict the official ANC position in the midst of delicate negotiations.

The ANC Youth League backs his call and rejects "with contempt" those who interpret Mandela's plea as political opportunism. The Youth League labels them "apologists of the National Party".

But there is no doubt that the ANC would be the immediate and main beneficiary of a decision to enfranchise South Africans from the age of 14. ANC support is concentrated overwhelmingly in the majority black community and it is primarily black voters whose numbers will be augmented if teenagers between 14 and 17 are added to the estimated 22 million eligible voters.

J M Calitz, a demographer with the Development Bank of Southern Africa, notes that the median

age of the black population is 17.1, meaning that half the black community is 17 years old or younger.

Enfranchisement of the 14-17 age cohort will add 4.7 million black voters to the electorate, against, in round figures, 320 000 whites, 202 000 coloureds and 80 000 Indians.

But any gains Mandela may make for the ANC, by pacifying the restless teenagers in his constituency with sympathetic rhetoric, are likely to be lost in the long run.

Mandela has implicitly put himself and the ANC in the same camp as regimes which, with one or two exceptions, are seen as tyrannical by the established multiparty democracies. He has reinforced anxieties first raised by his proclamations of fraternity with, and admiration for, Yasser Arafat, Fidel Castro and Muammar Gaddafi.

A future ANC government may thus find its task of attracting foreign investment to the "new South Africa" complicated, a development which may make it vulnerable to the same angry and disaffected youth. □

South Profile

Sam Louw *South 2215-266198*

Sam Louw could be one of the Members of Parliament with the largest parliamentary and extra-parliamentary following. And support for this quiet, self-effacing 40-year-old is still growing — almost a year after he walked over to the ANC.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE spoke to him:

YES, HE is very quiet, say Mr Sam Louw's colleagues in Parliament. He is a grassroots man. But give him a microphone and he has audiences on their feet.

Louw has represented his Western Transvaal constituency — Rust Ter Vaal — in the House of Representatives (HoR) as a Labour Party (LP) MP since 1984, when he was elected with one of the largest voting percentages in the House.

Apart from his loyal constituency, he also built himself a niche among unions during his years as a member of the standing committee on labour issues, by consulting widely, especially with the National Union of Mineworkers.

"My point of departure has always been that the ANC should be unbanned, and that the LP should then either cease to exist or amalgamate with the organisation," Louw says.

When this didn't happen he agonised for months before joining the Potchefstroom ANC branch in July 1992.

He consulted his constituency and 90 percent joined the ANC with him, one of his independent

MP colleagues said. Louw's background lies more with the liberation struggle than the establishment. His father was a prominent member of the Pan Africanist Congress and his brothers became United Democratic Front activists at the time Louw took the Parliamentary route.

"My family has always been very divided about my choice to fight the system from within," Louw says. "But since the Hani assassination, they are all behind me."

He says that since joining the ANC last year, hundreds of people in his constituency — which spans thousands of square kilometres in the western Transvaal — have become politically involved for the first time. The constituency has also grown to include Bophuthatswana.

His is no ordinary region, being a heartland of conservative whites or, as he calls it, "a rightwing nest". Oppression and discrimination have always been harsh in the region, and with growing unemployment due to the drought, the area is fast becoming even poorer than before.

In addition, the decentralisation incentives went to Bophuthatswana, where most of the industries and job opportunities are found. After severe doses of right wing and



Bophuthatswana-style oppression, the black and coloured population have become more politically active than their counterparts in other regions, he explains.

Louw has been appointed to regional ANC structures as a member of the Election Committee, and head of the ANC's research and intelligence division in the Western Transvaal.

He does not want to talk about his intelligence duties, but admits that most of his time is nowadays spent on voter education and branch formation, including Bophuthatswana, while his time in Parliament has become increasingly

frustrating.

At the same time the Western Cape ANC has been using him in its campaigns, launching branches and addressing meetings. He was on the podium with Allan Boesak, Wilhelm Verwoerd and Carl Niehaus in Parow last week when the ANC started its campaign to win more Afrikaner support.

But the issues of his constituency remain different from others in the HoR. Last week he asked president De Klerk during parliamentary question time whether the Stanze Bobape inquest could be opened. The policeman who last year showed where Bobape was allegedly

'My family has always been very divided about my choice to fight the system from within. But, since the Hani assassination, they are all behind me'

buried by the police (his body could not be found), Mr John Mokhele, is now a member of Louw's ANC branch.

Louw was unhappy with De Klerk's ambiguous reply, and has vowed to fight for an independent commission to take up the matter of the civic leader who went missing in the eighties.

His constituency stretches over a wide area, including Lichtenburg, Klerksdorp, Bloemhof and Christiana. It is also an area where large-scale removals have taken place over the years, like the Rooigrond upheavals.

The area's main economic activities — mining and farming — are in decline and unemployment is rising sharply. He sees no future for the region in its present state.

"We will find it extremely difficult to make the Western Transvaal economically viable on its own. If Bophuthatswana does not re-integrate, and even if it does, we might have to amalgamate with the Northern Cape."

Born and bred in Potchefstroom, Louw worked as a journalist for the Potchefstroom Herald for 12 years until his election to office. He misses writing, he says, but nowadays he channels these talents into speech-writing — a task he has to fulfill several times a week while walking the tightrope between the grassroots and parliament.

Hani was CP leader, say some school pupils

Staff Reporter

SOME Cape school pupils who will be voting for the first time next year don't know the name of the leader of the National Party — and others believe that Mr Chris Hani was leading the Conservative Party when he was murdered.

But Mr Nelson Mandela was named as the leader of the ANC by

most of the pupils interviewed in a snap survey on political awareness conducted by the Cape Times yesterday.

A group of five Guguletu pupils, all 18, said they believed the leader of the National Party was "a white guy". All agreed that Mr Cyril Ramophosa or Mr Mandela would be the next State President

and the ANC would get their vote.

None of the group had ever heard of the Democratic Party or knew who the leader of the IFP was. Mr Hani was the leader of the Conservative Party who had died recently, one pupil volunteered.

"No ways should 14-year-olds be allowed to vote — they are just children," said 18-year-old Phum-

zile Sigaga of Guguletu.

Langa matric pupil Phumla TsheTsha, 18, knew the names of all of the leaders of the political parties — and agreed that 14-year-olds should not vote.

A Mitchells Plain pupil believed that elections were taking place this month. She also thought Mr Hani had been leading the Conser-

vative Party.

Bo-Kaap school pupils Gamza Maker, 17, and his brother Riedewaan, 16, reeled off the names of the leaders of South Africa's political parties with ease.

Both agreed that 14-year-olds should not be allowed to vote. "Mandela will say anything to get the vote," said Riedewaan.

~~CP~~ 11A
26/5/93

ELECTION COUNTDOWN

The PAC is busy with low-key preparations for the coming election, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

PAC

Gearing up for D-Day

Star 26/15/93

blacks was because "only four whites" had been killed.

It was a statement which earned the amiable Alexander the attention of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche, who threatened publicly that the AWB would annihilate the PAC leader and his followers if he declared war on whites.

But there is another side to Alexander, not known to many. As they are discovering at the World Trade Centre since the PAC entered negotiations, he is also a thoughtful and shrewd negotiator who will seek compromise as much as possible and studiously avoid ruffling feathers unnecessarily.

He is, at 38, the youngest member of the 10-person negotiations planning committee. He believes that the PAC will, like a dark horse, bolt to the finishing line ahead of all its competitors, including the

high-profile ANC.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC has not yet embarked on "a hard campaign", but has so far been engaged in a "soft sell" election campaign, which will gradually peak as the day of reckoning approaches, Alexander says.

"We are still working on a campaign slogan, but it will have to take into consideration the fact that the PAC will give the oppressed the best deal they can ever have, and that the PAC will not compromise them. We believe that the field is wide open, and there is no need for us to go on a hard campaign now."

But Alexander will have you know the PAC began preparing long ago for the election.

The PAC, he says, has engaged a black agency to handle research. White agencies, he says, are not as knowledgeable as they might appear about the way blacks will vote, and some-

times even subcontract the black agencies to help with certain aspects of their research.

The PAC wants "a factual picture" of the electorate and of who it should target in its election campaign.

Other questions are what message the PAC will need "to secure the vote", how that message will be communicated to the electorate, what resources will be needed for the organisation to attain its "desired performance", and how the plan to "turn the strategy into reality" will be implemented.

He says the organisation will have more than 900 "precinct commanders" working in each township, and that an estimated 190 000 volunteers will be needed for door-to-door canvassing.

To do all this, of course, will cost lots and lots of money, and Alexander is confident the PAC will tackle the enormous financial challenges head-on.

He believes that to accomplish its goals in the election, the PAC will need R190 million — similar to the ANC's election budget of between R168 million and R200 million — 60 percent of which will be used on election day itself.

The PAC, he says, prefers a two-day election, during which the organisation's election budget will be used to pay lawyers who will be on standby throughout the country "so that we can challenge any irregularities immediately", to transport voters to the polling stations and to feed the army.

Alexander says the PAC has already started raising funds, and that trips to Africa and overseas have been lined up for PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

According to Alexander, the PAC is happy to leave voter education to "the independent" Matla Trust, which provides

non-partisan education about voting.

The PAC secretary-general will not say how much the Afrikanist organisation has raised so far, but reveals only that the road ahead is still long and arduous. However, he is confident that by election day the PAC will be quite close to its financial target.

He says that although the PAC, which expects the election to be held towards the end of March next year, plans to fight the election alone, it will nevertheless consult with the National Council of Trade Unions and traditional leaders.

"Ironically," says Alexander, "the first election will have nothing to do with the purpose of the election, which is writing the new constitution. It will have to do with party positions on various issues and people's perceptions as to who can deliver the goods." □

THE mention of Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander's name in sections of the white community evokes anger and hatred, but among his people in the PAC the outspoken Alexander is something of a hero.

He it was who appeared on television last December to comment on attacks on whites in the eastern Cape by alleged operatives of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The sentence which stuck in the public mind long after that interview was that "the hulla-baloo" which greeted the at-

NEWS Government 'hawks' are accused of deliberate attempt to sabotage negotiations

SOUTH AFRICA'S DELICATELY poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre appear to have survived yesterday's furore over a nationwide police crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress.

The Government, however, is under severe pressure to account quickly for why the action - whose timing has been widely criticised - was taken at this critical time.

After several sharp attacks on the Government by its key negotiating partners, a special session of the negotiating council was called for tomorrow to discuss the implications of the crackdown.

Pressure is being brought to bear on

Talks appear to be on track

Sowetan 26/5/93

■ Kempton Park negotiations hang 'on thin thread' after raid on PAC members:

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who was briefed by his two top officers in the hours before the swoop, to explain to the session why the police felt they could wait no longer before acting against the PAC.

Kriel would not say last night whether he would go or not.

Earlier in the day he told Parliament that 73 PAC and Apla cadres, including seven "top structure" members, had

been held, and unlicensed automatic rifles, pistols and ammunition seized.

The arrests had been linked to crimes of murder and attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on the police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and handgrenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians.

The PAC, which immediately suspended its participation in yesterday's

session at the negotiating council, accused the Government of trying to put it out of action at a moment when critical decisions were to be taken regarding the future of the constitution and the setting of an election date.

At the negotiating council before it was adjourned, the debate was marked by indignation and outrage, with several parties calling for Kriel's immediate dismissal.

But it was also characterised by calls for measures to protect negotiations. PAC negotiator Mr Gora Ebrahim said his movement's presence would depend on the Government's reaction within the next 48 hours. The PAC has demanded the immediate release of those arrested, the return of confiscated documents, compensation for damage to properties and a firm undertaking that police would not repeat such an action.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa said elements within the Government were "wreckers" who deliberately wanted to derail the negotiations process.

The Government had endangered the negotiations process by launching this "unwarranted attack". He said negotiations were hanging by a very thin thread.

Referring to Cabinet Ministers who said they had no prior knowledge of the raid, Ramaphosa asked: "Is FW running the country, or the securocrats?"

judgment error

Democratic Party chairman Mr Colin Eglin said if Meyer and Kriel did not know about the raid, then "who was governing the country? If they have known about the swoop, then it was a serious judgment error."

The majority of negotiators accepted a resolution calling on the Government to charge or release those held, immediately, to return confiscated material, and to take steps to undo the damage done to the negotiations process.

The Government, National Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana Government reserved their positions on the resolution.

Nongwe 'happy' about meeting

Political Staff

ARG 26/5/93

CONTROVERSIAL Crossroads squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe says he is "happy" about a meeting with ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak.

Mr Nongwe said he and his committee of 12 met Dr Boesak — who was accompanied by his deputy Mr Lerumo Kalako — in the squatter settlement yesterday.

"Dr Boesak took our complaints seriously. He said he would arrange a meeting between us, his executive committee and other ANC groupings in Crossroads."

Mr Nongwe said he had sensed that Dr Boesak was worried about the situation in Crossroads, where ANC groups have fought running battles with each other.

"I'm happy that we met," said Mr Nongwe.

'No political aim behind arrests'

Sawetain 26/5/93
■ Members held for criminal acts:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THERE were no political motives behind the arrest of at least 50 PAC members early yesterday, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said. (S) (IA)

Confirming the dragnet, Kriel said it was conducted by the South African Police because "sufficient *prima facie* evidence existed to arrest" the PAC and Apla members for criminal activities. Unfortunately, it now seems that there are highly placed PAC and Apla members who are allegedly involved in crime," Kriel said.

He said the arrests were for alleged involvement in murder, attempted murder, petrol bomb and other attacks on civilians as well as illegal possession of firearms and handgrenades and "the planning of further attacks on SAP members and civilians".

While the Conservative Party lauded the arrests and called for the arrest of ANC leaders now as a logical consequence to those yesterday, the Democratic Party was sceptical about the timing of the arrests.

The DP's Mr Peter Gastrow said it was interesting to note that the arrests were made on the day Kriel was defending his Budget Debate in Parliament, which suggested a power struggle for the Cape leadership of the National Party between Kriel and Mr Dawie de Villiers.

'Business can help with privatisation'

B/DAM 26/5/93



ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The private sector should get involved in identifying state-owned enterprises and services suitable for privatisation, newly appointed Office for Public Enterprises and Privatisation CE Evert van Eeden said this week.

Limited government resources together with a lack of interest in the private sector had made more difficult the task of identifying unproductive elements of the economy still under government control, Van Eeden said.

He urged business chambers and individual companies to point out areas of mismanagement and waste and to make recommendations regarding the privatisation of these sectors.

These could include aspects of health, defence and education as well as the provision of services and the manufacture of goods, he said.

More efficiency could be obtained if tasks that were not necessarily a political responsibility could be parcelled out to the private sector.

The move to privatisation would aid economic growth, create jobs and contribute to the restructuring of a competitive economy, he said.

Van Eeden, who took over from Jasper Nieuwoudt on April 1, said privatisation had become popular during the Thatcher era.

It had subsequently become mired in controversy, rooted in a narrow ideological framework, and was seen for a time as the "fanciful idea of free market fanatics".

The changes in eastern Europe had given the need for privatisation new impetus and legitimacy.

The bottom line was to bring transparency and accountability to the management of public assets and thereby stimulate efficiency and economic growth, Van Eeden said.

He appealed to the private sector to generate public support for privatisation and to involve itself directly in the consolidation of the commercial process.

"We must overhaul the economic machine before it breaks down," he said.

ANC officials return from four-nation visit

TWO senior ANC officials returned to SA yesterday after a fortnight away visiting Russia, China, Singapore and Switzerland. B/DAM 26/5/93

ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise had been invited by heads of government to brief them on the situation in SA.

Among matters discussed with the foreign leaders were measures to be taken to turn SA's economy around after sanctions were lifted. This would happen after an election date was announced and a transitional executive council had been established.

"These talks were particularly important in Switzerland where, among others, we met banking chiefs to discuss the rescheduling of SA's debt after a new government is elected," Mbeki said.

The message the two ANC leaders received from the leaders they visited was that all were "keen there should be a speedy transformation (in SA) and would assist in any way they could in this transformation".

In Switzerland, the ANC leaders also discussed the controversial sale of the Pilatus PC-7 trainer aircraft to the SAAF.

Mbeki said he had pointed out that the deal violated a UN arms embargo.

Concerning the monitoring of a general election, Mbeki said the ANC was adamant there should be no recurrence of the UN elections monitoring debacle in Angola in September last year, when there were not enough observers at the polls to observe just and fair election processes. — Sapa.

30 years old, but OAU

Input needed from business in

ANC branch on Pretoria campus

Bl Dm 26/5/93

DIRK VAN EEDEN

ABOUT 100 people attended the launch of an ANC student branch at Pretoria University yesterday. And in the building next door, Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen addressed about 300 students.

Tukkies ANC chairman Graham Maitland said afterwards he was glad the branch, the organisation's first on a traditionally Afrikaans campus, had started with "such a powerful force".

"This is one of the most repressive campuses in SA. However, we have come to realise that where there is repression, there is usually strong opposition to that repression," he said.

Events since early 1990 had made the country swing between moments of high expectations and despair.

Viljoen, too, referred to swings in the

nation's mood. He called for time to allow emotions to cool.

The political playing field was not level, Viljoen said.

The ANC and SACP were abusing black nationalism and emotions for political gain. Black people were intimidated and, therefore, could not make a truly democratic choice in an election.

"The biggest mistake at this stage would be a unitary state," he said.

Students cheered as Viljoen told them the Volksfront was not looking for war.

But the Afrikaner should not be underestimated, he said.

"If we are threatened, we will protect ourselves with everything in our power. We are ready."

PAC exile (75) hopes to return

Star 20/5/83
11A

By Joe Khamise
Star Africa Service

NAIROBI — One of the founder members of the Pan Africanist Congress, Peter Nkutsoeu Raboroko, who has been living in a remote village in Western Kenya, is still dreaming of returning home to the country he fled 33 years ago.

The 75-year-old teacher and journalist has spent the last few months writing the manuscript of a book he hopes to publish. "Many people probably thought I was dead," he said. "But more than anything, I want to return to my motherland."

Raboroko was born in the Free State where his father was a farm labourer. He was at the centre of South African politics from the mid-

1930s, and was in the group of young lions who revitalised the ANC through the Youth League-initiated programme of action.

He left South Africa soon after the Sharpeville massacre, and took refuge in Ghana where he was the PAC's representative. He later travelled to Tanzania where he taught at the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union High School, and was in the PAC's first delegation to visit China.

His son, Pedro Nehru, is branch chairman of the PAC in Mamelodi. "I want to leave soon and return home with my family to continue the struggle back home," he says. But for the moment, his focus is his manuscript with a working title of "The South Africa We Need".

R33-m fine for lies over emissions

WASHINGTON — A wood products company has been fined \$11.1 million (R33 million) for lying about its environmental practices, authorities said yesterday.

Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, based in Oregon, was fined for excessive emissions and giving false information to federal officials, the Environmental Protection Agency said.

Louisiana-Pacific's violations occurred at 14 facilities in 11 states. The company has agreed to the court's order that it instal \$70 million (R210 million) worth of anti-pollution devices over the next two years.

In 1987, Texas Eastern Natural Gas Pipeline paid a \$15 million (about R45 million) fine for violation of pollution laws.
— Sapa-AFP.

Writer longs for home

■ PAC member fled
33 years ago:

By Joe Khamise
Argus Africa News
Service

NAIROBI — One of the founder members of the Pan Africanist Congress, Peter Nkutsocé Raboroko, is still dreaming of returning home to the country he fled 33 years ago.

The 75-year-old teacher and journalist, who has been living quietly in a remote village in Western Kenya, has spent the last few months writing a book he hopes to publish.

"Many people probably thought I am no longer alive," he said. "But more than anything, I want to return home to my motherland." (11A) (B30)

Raboroko was born in the Free State where his father was a farm labourer. He was at the centre of South African politics from the mid-1930s and was part of the group of young lions who revitalised the ANC through the Youth League-initiated Programme of Action. *Sowetan*

He left South Africa soon after the Sharpeville massacre and took refuge in Ghana, where he was the PAC's representative.

He later travelled to Tanzania, where he taught at the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union High School, and was in the PAC's first delegation to visit China. 27/5/93

His son Pedro Nehru is branch chairman of the PAC in Mamelodi.

"I want to leave soon and return with my family to continue the struggle back home," he says.

But for the moment, his focus is his book, with the working title *The South Africa We Need*.

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Police action normal, says FW

Kriel to be grilled on PAC arrests

CAPE TOWN — Ministers emerged from a reportedly tense Cabinet meeting yesterday staunchly defending the police decision to arrest members of the PAC and Apla.

And negotiating parties readied themselves to take Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to task tonight when he explains to a special session of the negotiating council why he ordered the arrest of PAC members, putting talks at risk.

Despite the tensions caused by "the insensitive actions of the SAP", negotiators were optimistic that the June 3 deadline to set an election date could still be met.

Government's decision to send Kriel to the World Trade Centre followed a Cabinet session dealing exclusively with the issue. Afterwards, President FW de Klerk said the arrest had been "normal police action".

During the President's question time, De Klerk said he had been informed that the raid would take place late on Monday evening, but that his approval had not been sought, nor was it required.

He did not answer a question from DP MP Peter Soal about why chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer had not been informed of the imminent raid.

De Klerk said it was as important for negotiations to continue as for criminals to be apprehended.

It is understood that government will not simply take all the criticism at tonight's meeting. A senior government source said government planned to try to force the PAC either to suspend the armed struggle and negotiate peacefully, or to expect "no more gentle treatment".

The PAC's leadership, depleted by the arrest of national executive committee

TIM COHEN and BILLY PADDOCK

members, met yesterday and vowed to take a tough line with Kriel tonight. The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance also met to discuss strategy, setting up a peace corps and "the situation at the World Trade Centre talks".

A government source said that regardless of whether police action was justified or the motive correct, it had laid the PAC's dualism on the table.

He said government had been "gentle" with the PAC to ensure its participation, "but you cannot keep throwing your old empty tin cans into your neighbour's garden without expecting him to retaliate".

He said he was confident the June 3 deadline would be met, and added that the talks would have to continue even if the PAC did not attend tomorrow's council meeting.

At a media conference yesterday, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said while the PAC would take part in tonight's debate, the ball was in government's court as far as PAC participation tomorrow went.

Unless government met PAC demands within the next 48 hours, his organisation would not continue constitutional talks. He said the armed struggle would be suspended when the PAC's demands were met "and we start discussing the future of the country".

Makwetu said the PAC demands included the immediate and unconditional release of all its members and the return of all confiscated computers, documents and other equipment.

It also demanded that government re-

To Page 2

PAC arrests

pair damage to property caused during the raids, that it indicate which PAC documents had been photocopied and that it apologise publicly for its actions.

He said the PAC national executive committee would meet soon, possibly at the weekend, to decide on its future in negotiations. Should the demands be met in the interim, the organisation would return to the negotiating table.

At a photo call yesterday ANC president Nelson Mandela injected a note of optimism on the prospects for talks, saying the arrests were a hiccup and would not derail the peace process.

However, DP negotiator Ken Andrew said there was little, if any, hope of meeting the deadline.

Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der

Merwe said on SABC's Agenda programme last night that four of the 73 arrested had been charged with the illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. He said 19 people had been released. Of those in custody, 29 (including the remaining five national executive committee members) were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and the rest in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Police spokesman Capt Wikus Weber said 45 PAC members were arrested after demonstrating outside the organisation's headquarters yesterday. He said they had violated a municipal by-law and had ignored warnings to disperse. They appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court last night and the case was remanded.

Comment: Page 6

New Delhi air link 'soon'

MARIANNE MERTEN

AIR India was expected to establish air links with SA before the year-end, former Indian cabinet minister Karan Singh said yesterday on his arrival in SA.

Singh is to attend celebrations marking the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi's arrival in SA. He will also meet Indian leaders throughout the country.

He said SA tourists had been denied the pleasure of travelling to India for too long. SA had had a "very negative image" in India, but since ANC president Nelson Mandela's release from prison and changes started by President F W de Klerk there had been an upsurge of interest.

Singh will visit Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town "to meet leaders of the African people, leaders of all races and denominations and friends in the Indian community".

Upon his return, Singh said he would write and lecture on his visit. "I'm not going to pass up the opportunity of talking about SA which hardly anybody else (from India) has visited."



Former Indian cabinet member Karan Singh arrived in SA yesterday for a week-long visit. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Entrenched power-sharing out of the question (IA) ANC

THE ANC rejected out of hand President F W de Klerk's insistence on entrenching multiparty power sharing in the final constitution, ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

He was responding to an interview with De Klerk published in yesterday's edition of the London Financial Times.

In the interview De Klerk was reported as demanding indefinite coalition government and a minority veto for whites in any future government.

De Klerk was quoted as saying power sharing among the country's main political parties should be entrenched as a permanent principle in any constitution after next year's elections.

The country would then have "to be governed on the basis of consensus on fundamental issues between the main players", he said, adding that it might involve the

creation of an executive committee of party leaders with the chairmanship rotating between them to deal with fundamental principles.

Jordan said government and De Klerk would always hold out for minority veto powers and would try to construe any agreement in that way. "But for us it is out of the question."

"Our adoption of the principle of a national unity government for a limited five-year period is to do with reconciliation and reconstruction and to reduce the polarisation in the country."

To entrench minority powers and a minority veto in a constitution would serve to undermine the very task of forging reconciliation "and undo everything we are trying to do in building a new nation", he said.

BILLY PADDOCK

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Gluckman dies after surgery

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CONTROVERSIAL Johannesburg pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman, 79, died in a Johannesburg hospital yesterday after a back operation. (11)

Gluckman leaves his wife Lois, two sons, one daughter and a number of grandchildren.

He caused a stir last year when he said he believed that the majority of the 200 detainees on whom he had performed post mortems "had been violently done to death by lower-level policemen".

His claims were later challenged by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and the police.

The ANC expressed shock at Gluckman's death and commended him for his "readiness to assist so many who were imprisoned, tortured and beaten to death".

"Dr Gluckman stood firm against tyranny and abuse of human rights, becoming world famous for the damning evidence he presented in cases such as the death of Steve Biko."

Lawyers for Human Rights saluted Gluckman as "a doctor for human rights".

"Dr Gluckman took up the cause of the most vulnerable and marginalised members of our society — prisoners — and fought ... against their abuse and torture.

"... As a doctor for human rights we ... pay tribute to his contribution towards highlighting deaths in police custody and promoting a human rights culture in SA," the LHR said. — Sapa.

Negotiators to hear Kriel explain police swoop on PAC

Crucial day for talks

By Paul Bell
and Esther Waugh

Prospects of an early breakthrough in the resumed negotiations hinge on a special session of the Negotiation Council tonight when Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel is called to account for the crackdown on the Pan Africanist Congress.

It is the first time a Cabinet Minister has been called to account for his actions by the forum.

Government negotiators are expected to take a back seat and let Kriel do all the explaining.

Although the future of negotiations does not appear to be in jeopardy at this stage, they have been put under severe pressure by Tuesday's police swoop.

The Government has come under fire over its handling of the crackdown, but the PAC itself is under growing pressure not to abandon the negotiations.

Demands that those arrested be charged or released became pivotal to the speedy or delayed resumption of negotiations. Police have released 19 of their 73 suspects, including two national executive members of the PAC, Mike Matsobane and Raymond Fihla.

Yesterday's weekly Cabinet meeting went on into the night as implications of the crackdown, and the Government's response, were discussed with a view to tonight's session where some forum members can be expected to be highly critical.

And, against the backdrop of the Government's acute sensitivity to the need to explain itself rapidly, military intelligence sources leaked news of the infiltration of an Apla unit into Natal, allegedly tasked to "kill whites".

Timing

President de Klerk, responding in Parliament yesterday to criticism of the Government's timing, said he had been told the operation had been planned for last weekend, until police discovered that many of their targets would be away.

He had been informed of the intended action late on Monday, after he had returned from a public engagement, shortly before the swoop began. His approval had not been sought because the raids had been handled as a police, rather than a political, matter.

Speaking in Johannesburg yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said the arrests should not be allowed to create panic.

"We have been negotiating since 1986 and we have had countless problems since then. This is one of those problems. I'm sure the democratic process will be strong enough to overcome this problem," he said.

● To Page 3

Crucial day for talks

● From Page 1

As pressure to preserve the talks intensified, the PAC sent a clear message that it remained committed to negotiations.

PAC secretary for legal and constitutional affairs Willie Seriti confirmed his organisation's position had not changed since it walked out of talks on Tuesday — it had not withdrawn from negotiations and would return to the table only when the Government met three key demands.

At a press conference yesterday PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the movement would not — and could not — go back to substantive negotiations until the Government had responded to the movement's demands for redress. The PAC would, however, attend to night's special session.

The PAC will attempt to press the council to offer the Government an ultimatum on the continuation of the talks. On Saturday its national executive council will meet to review participation.

Asked whether he rejected any possibility that there might be substance to the SAP's allegations of criminal action on the part of those held, Makwetu said: "Of course I do. They searched my house and came out with a few papers. They have still not come to charge me with anything."

Makwetu enunciated five demands to the Government:

- Charge or release those arrested in Tuesday's swoop.
- Return all property seized by the police.
- Tell the movement which documents police have copied.
- Offer a public apology to the PAC and pay for the damage to its various offices.
- Compensate those who were "wrongfully arrested".

Makwetu added that despite conflicting statements from "the regime" on who took the decision, the PAC held "the regime" as a whole responsible.

● Sapa reports that 45 PAC members were arrested after demonstrating and ignoring warnings to disperse outside the organisation's headquarters yesterday.

The demonstrators were planning to "hand themselves over to police".

King's peace role in doubt

ARG 27/5/93 (11A) *
JOHANNESBURG. — Zulu King
Goodwill Zwelithini has allegedly
withdrawn as a facilitator of talks
between African National Congress
president Mr Nelson Mandela and
Inkatha Freedom Party leader
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

So said Mr Mandela at Morris
Isaacson School in White City,
Soweto, today.

Mr Mandela said the king's posi-
tion was now apparently that "TV
got it wrong" about the planned
talks and the king's role.

Morris Isaacson School, where
the 1976 school protests and riots
began, is today crumbling and empty
and strewn with rubbish. Win-

dows are broken and the walls are
daubed with liberation slogans.

Mr Mandela said his visit there
was part of a tour to see for him-
self the state of black schools.

He said he wanted to be fully
briefed when he continued his dis-
cussions with President De Klerk.

Mr Mandela told pupils there to
greet him they should go back to
school to qualify themselves to
compete in a tough world.

The pupils, all of them in matric,
said they studied every night at the
school in one of the empty class-
rooms, but they took part in pro-
tests.

"We take action by day and we
study by night," they said. — Sapa.



Gluckman . . . Investigated deaths in police custody.

Pathologist Gluckman dies

Star 27/5/93

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Top independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman (78) has died in Johannesburg.

Gluckman's son Michael said his father had a spinal operation in Milpark Hospital at noon on Tuesday and seemed fine until 11 pm, when he had a cardiac complication and could not be resuscitated.

Gluckman had been ill for

several years. His son said the spinal problem had bothered him for a long time, but he had only recently decided to do something about it.

Gluckman first hit the headlines when he performed the post-mortem on Steve Biko in 1977, and again in July last year when he went public with allegations that police were killing people in their custody.

In the first test of one of

Gluckman's reports, an inquest in February found a Soweto Murder and Robbery Unit lieutenant responsible for the death of Bethuel Maphumulo, who drowned in the swimming pool at Protea police station.

Gluckman is survived by his wife Lois, sons Michael and Paul and a daughter, Mary.

● Sense of justice led to clashes — Page 19

ANC rejects voters of 14

Political Staff

(117) (2277)
THE ANC's national working committee (NWC) has rejected Mr Nelson Mandela's "demand" that the voting age for South Africa's first non-racial election be slashed to 14 years.

In a clear bid to finally bury Mr Mandela's controversial call in Natal last weekend the NWC or ANC "cabinet" said that 18 was a reasonable voting age.

In a statement yesterday, the NWC said it had discussed Mr Mandela's "contribution" regarding the reduc-

tion of the voting age but that the consensus had been that all South African citizens of 18 and over should be enfranchised. The NWC's view on this remained unchanged.

The NWC said the "exact shape and character of a future electoral system" had become a matter of national discussion. A growing consensus that a system of proportional representation would be best suited for the country had emerged.

Mr Mandela's comments should be "contextualised" within this national debate.

CT 27/5/93

ANC sets police on new neighbours

DIRK VAN EEDEN

MOST people would find a group of uniformed AWB Wenkommando and Ystergarde members on their doorstep a trifle unnerving. More so if they happened to be in an ANC office in Pretoria.

Police said they had been alerted to a possible confrontation by ANC peace officer Joe Sithole, who had in turn been called by the ANC. Sithole said yesterday the ANC officials in Pretoria had been unaware that the newly formed Volksfront had set up offices in the area.

So when ANC officials in the organisation's Central Street office this week spotted a group of "strange figures with guns — staring", they got on the line to head office in Johannesburg sharpish.

"With rumours of hit-lists going round, the ANC officials must have thought the people on their doorstep were ready to hit out," said Sithole.

Minutes later a crack squad of policemen descended on the five AWB members who, it turned out, were quietly minding their leader's car while he went about business in the capital.

Later, after police were assured nothing untoward was about to happen, the ANC members decided to close their office for the rest of the day.

No, they had no plans to occupy the ANC offices, they explained. AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche was attending an Afrikaner Volksfront meeting in the building directly opposite of the ANC offices, and his bodyguards were cooling

Police spokesman Lt Evan Johnson said yesterday no arrests were made and no charges had been laid.

India 'likely to lift sanctions soon'

PETER DELMAR

TRADE and Industry director-general Stef Naude yesterday predicted a quick lifting of Indian sanctions, following a high-level government visit to the country.

the lifting of sanctions and the establishment of formal diplomatic relations.

Naude said he and other senior government members spent five days in New Delhi at the invitation of the Indian federation of trade and industry. The invitation had been extended after Naude's visit to India last year.

Naude added new IMF calculations had raised India's GDP tenfold. "India's economy is currently the sixth largest in the world following those of the US, Japan, China, Germany and France. According to the latest calculations, its GDP amounts to \$3-trillion, compared with the previous figure of \$290bn. The per capita income in India has thus increased from \$330 to \$1 150."

A Trade and Industry statement said Naude had held several meetings with Indian politicians, government officials, organised trade and industry as well as private businessmen. He met the Indian foreign minister as well as the secretaries of trade and foreign affairs.

Reuter reports that Trade and Industry also announced yesterday that SA would participate in India's international trade show in November. The department said a delegation of prominent industrialists would visit India at the same time.

"Although India still imposes comprehensive sanctions against SA it became evident during the visit that Indian policymakers are eager to normalise relations with SA," Naude said.

It said the Indian market offered opportunities for products such as iron and steel, pulp and paper, phosphoric acid, chemical fertiliser, rock phosphate and ferro-alloys.

"Developments in SA are followed with keen interest and the impression is being created that a political settlement will result in the speedy lifting of sanctions."

Sapa reports that India's cultural centre director Harsh Bhasin said a full range of consular services to assist travellers to India should be operating by mid-June. Bhasin arrived in SA last week and said the rest of the Indian cultural team would be in Johannesburg within a week.

India recently announced its intention to establish a cultural office in Johannesburg in a move interpreted as a forerunner to

Mandela orders investigation after educational publishing sector

ANC president Nelson Mandela has intervened in a row which has blown up within the publishing industry, and between the ANC and an ANC-linked investment company, over the future of the lucrative educational publishing sector.

The row was sparked by a proposed joint venture between Macmillan Boleswa — the Manzini-based subsidiary of multinational Macmillan Publishers — and Thebe Investment Corporation, a company initiated by the ANC as part of a black economic empowerment strategy.

ANC education department deputy head

Lindelwe Mabandla said the issue had stirred a "hornet's nest" and confirmed that Mandela had initiated a full inquiry into the matter.

Other publishers and the ANC education department view the proposed deal as a "repugnant", secretive attempt by Macmillan to corner the educational publishing market by establishing a special relationship — through Thebe — with the ANC.

Thebe has established travel, trading, marketing, catering, property development and car-hire arms. And, according to MD Vusi Khanyile, the proposed deal with

400M 27/5/93

ALAN FINE

Macmillan is part of a possible move into publishing. Khanyile is former ANC finance department head.

The Thebe board includes others with ANC links, such as PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale and Enos Mabuza.

In terms of a formal written proposal, Thebe would have an initial 26% stake in the joint venture, to be named Newco. Macmillan would give Thebe 20% of that stake at no cost. In return Thebe would, among other things, "provide a regular

line of communication with the relevant government structures in the new SA" and "facilitate close working relations with the ANC's mass media trust". The written proposal suggests that Newco, to be staffed by black South Africans, should be formed by July 1 and be fully operational by January.

Mabandla said similar deals between Macmillan and authorities in Swaziland and Botswana had given the company a monopoly in the educational publishing sector. The ANC believed this was undesirable and could undermine a future government's options. It would also eliminate

ROW

local publishers from the market.

The ANC education department was concerned that the corruption which had become commonplace within the Department of Education and Training could be extended into a future SA if particular companies received special treatment through their political connections.

Educational publishing in SA until now had been dominated by Afrikaans establishment companies such as Nasionale Pers, Perskor and Juta, he said. The ANC did not want such arrangements to con-

□ To Page 2

Publishing row

tinue, with the only difference being that other companies would occupy that privileged position.

Mabandla said the ANC education department's view was that future commercial contracts between government and private sector companies should be concluded through "a tendering process without underhand interference".

Khanyile and Macmillan Boleswa MD Luchi Balarin yesterday described reports of the proposed deal as "premature". Both said they were discussing educational publishing with other parties. Neither believed the project was unethical.

Balarin said he did not see the Thebe link as a political one. Khanyile said Thebe was

an independent company, seeking to give blacks economic muscle.

Publishers' Association of SA (Pasa) education committee chairman Robin Gillfillan said Pasa had been "shocked" to hear of the proposed arrangement, as it could have a drastic effect on the local publishing industry and on the quality of educational material. This would occur through a reduction in the choice of books available to teachers; the absence of competition to ensure the best possible quality and pricing of books; and the reduction of the amount of educational research in general.

He estimated the supply of prescribed school textbooks alone to be worth more than R500m a year.

□ From Page 1

ANC says no thanks to voters at 14

THE ANC's national working committee said "thanks, but no thanks" yesterday to a suggestion by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the minimum voting age be reduced to 14.

The committee said in a statement it had discussed Mandela's suggestion and concluded that "the generally accepted position that all SA citizens who have attained the age of 18 and above should be entitled to the franchise was reasonable".

It said Mandela's remarks had made a contribution to the debate on the voting age, adding that "continuing debate around this issue can only enrich our political

~~21/11~~ RAY HARTLEY (11A)

culture and is to be welcomed. The national working committee wishes to underscore that the ANC recognises the immeasurable contribution and sacrifice made by SA youth to the liberation struggle and shall always value it."

ANC Youth League spokesman Parks Mankahlana said his organisation accepted the working committee decision, but he continued to believe that the minimum age should be reduced to 16. He noted that two league officials were represented on the ANC's national working committee.

81/001 27/10/93



Death of Dr Gluckman (11)

■ He compiled an independent pathology report on Biko:

INDEPENDENT pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman (75) died in Johannesburg on Tuesday night.

His investigations into questionable deaths in detention raised the ire of many a politician. He died after a back operation. *Sowetan 27/5/77*

"Dr Gluckman was a very straight-

forward, honest man. His pathology work in controversial cases was always done with care and concern," said Dawson. Gluckman compiled an independent pathology report on Steve Biko after his death in questionable circumstances in September 1977. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Mandela and ANC 'agree *Star 2/15/80* on voting age'

Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela abides by the organisation's national working committee's (NWC) view that the voting age should be 18 years, according to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Although the NWC said yesterday that 18 was a "reasonable" voting age, the debate was open for further discussion.

Mandela said in Maritzburg at the weekend that 14 should be the voting age for the first democratic elections.

The NWC decision followed a discussion yesterday of Mandela's statement.

In terms of a draft Independent Electoral Commission Act to be presented to the Negotiating Council tomorrow, 18 years is proposed as the voting age.

Gluckman's sense of justice led to clashes with authority

Star 27/5/93

(2) (11)

Dr Jonathan Gluckman's unflinching integrity forced him into politics, reports BRONWYN WILKINSON.

JONATHAN Gluckman caused the Government considerable discomfort with his disclosures last year that police were killing people in their custody, but he refused to be bullied into making political statements.

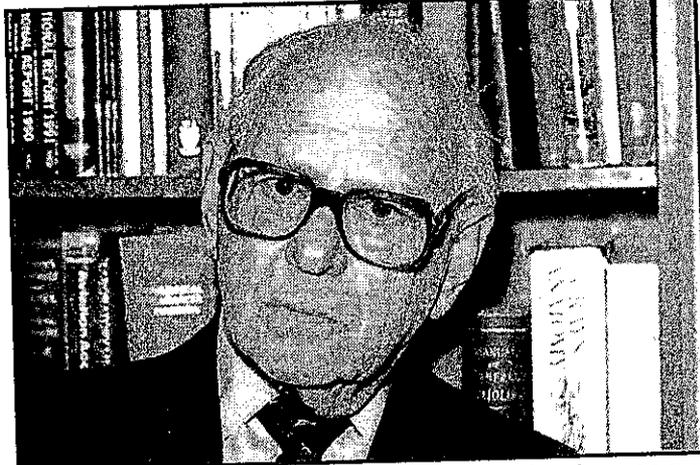
Last year, Gluckman told *The Star* it was the "incremental horror" of the damage inflicted on the bodies he had examined that prompted him to reveal the contents of his files.

The custody-deaths row was not the first time Gluckman was catapulted into the headlines — he performed the post-mortem on Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1977.

When he died, aged 78, on Tuesday, Gluckman was still consulting in forensic pathology and was on the board of Medical Rescue International — an emergency medical service for sub-Saharan Africa — which he helped to found.

Lawyers for Human Rights described him as a "Doctor for Human Rights" and the Azanian People's Organisation said his death was a loss for the entire nation.

Gluckman's closest colleagues — those at Medical



Dr Jonathan Gluckman . . . a man of integrity who was prepared to risk his reputation for justice.

Rescue International — said in a statement: "His energy was boundless, even taking on the full might of the Government in his middle seventies, when most people are contentedly retired."

"He was prepared to be pilloried by Cabinet Ministers and risked his credibility and reputation by standing by the truth as he knew it."

"Not a moment of Jonathan Gluckman's life was wasted. He was a living example of how much one man can achieve for the betterment of humanity. There will not be another like him."

Gluckman was born in Johannesburg in 1914, was

schooled at Parktown Preparatory School and Houghton College, and studied medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand and St Bartholomew's Hospital in London.

During World War 2 he served as a major in the South African Medical Corps in South Africa, the Middle East and Italy.

It was during the war that he took up pathology, specialising later at the British Postgraduate Medical School.

The awards he received during his career take up four pages of a packed curriculum vitae.

He founded the Transvaal Society of Pathology, was a past

president of the Medical Association of South Africa and a long-standing member of the South African Medical and Dental Council, the Royal Society of Medicine and several other medical societies.

He was a founder and senior partner in the largest general pathology laboratory in South Africa, but resigned in 1967 to confine himself to histopathology (tissue pathology), anatomical pathology and forensic pathology.

In 1985 Gluckman resigned from practice to consult on his three specialities.

He accepted forensic work from lawyers acting on behalf of relatives and ended up in the witness box at inquests on countless occasions.

Abrupt in manner and speech, Gluckman still radiated modesty, kindness and compassion.

He confessed to a passion for opera, and the walls of his Braamfontein office were decorated with his own oil paintings.

Gluckman married Lois Stowe McLean in 1941. They had two sons, Michael and Paul, and a daughter, Mary.

One of the saddest facts of Jonathan Gluckman's death is that his memoirs — which he promised to write after his retirement — will never be written. □

Sowetan 27/5/93
'Voting age stays 18'

THE ANC's national working committee has maintained its policy of keeping the voting age at 18 and older, despite ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's call at the weekend for the voting age to be lowered to 14. (IA) (3-77)

The ANC said yesterday: "Debate on the voting age is neither conclusive nor closed and Mr Nelson Mandela's remarks, made in Pietermaritzburg over the weekend, should be contextualised within that national debate." A voting age of 18 years and older was "reasonable".

Kriel in the dock

Sowetan 28/5/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS was early this morning saved from the brink of collapse when the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government agreed to meet urgently to resolve their differences.

At the end of a special session of negotiators at the World Trade Centre, the 26 parties agreed that the Government was not justified to detain the national leadership of the PAC and 75 of its members. (SACP) (IIA)

In a resolution adopted the council reaffirmed its commitment to the negotiation process and that the PAC should remain in the talks.

Most of the negotiators called for Kriel to resign after ordering the arrest of 75 PAC members, including members of its national executive council, in pre-dawn raids on Tuesday.

But a defiant Kriel told the 104 negotiators that even the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and other top leaders could be further implicated and detained. (SACP) (IIA)

He tried to substantiate reasons for the massive crackdown by saying there was prima facie evidence which preceded the action.

Referring to the timing of the arrests, Kriel denied they were aimed at derailing negotiations but at preventing the suspects from going away as there was going to be a long weekend.

In his address to the negotiating council, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander had earlier turned down a request by the Government for an urgent bilateral meeting.

Other leading participants at the negotiating council meeting called for Kriel's head because

of the swoop on the PAC.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa demanded Kriel either resign or be dismissed immediately.

"He (Mr Kriel) is the one single Government minister who does not want the PAC at the negotiating table," claimed Ramaphosa.

"You (Mr Kriel) are becoming a danger to this negotiating process. Therefore, you must resign or be dismissed immediately."

Pravin Gordhan, of the Natal Indian Congress, also said Kriel must be relieved of his duties, and the South African Communist Party, the Intando YeSizwe Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party also criticised the police action against the PAC.

Leon Wessels, of the National Party, strongly defended the police swoop.

"The National Party is engaged in bringing about a just and fair dispensation for all South Africans. We are unequivocally committed to this process. But no one should be above the law, both now and in the future.

"The National Party firmly believes the SAP acted against the PAC in pursuance of its mission. The law must now take its course," he said.

●Meanwhile, the police yesterday released 43 of the 75 PAC members who were detained in the swoop. Four members of the PAC appeared in the Soweto Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of illegal possession of ammunition.

Police yesterday said 28 "suspects" were remaining in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for 10 days' detention without trial.

●Meanwhile, 38 PAC supporters, chanting "every policeman, every farmer deserves a bullet" and "one grenade, 10 settlers", were arrested during a demonstration Pretoria yesterday. They were later released and warned to appear in court.

PAC arrests weaken govt negotiators' hand

BIDM 28/5/93.

(11A) (S)

GOVERNMENT's daring brinkmanship and public closing of ranks after the clampdown on the PAC might have won it short-term gains, but in the longer term it has weakened its negotiators' hand and virtually ensured the come-uppance of Law and Order Minister HERNUS KRIEL and his security establishment.

President F W de Klerk's poor and uncharacteristically flustered performance in Parliament on Wednesday indicated all is not well in Cabinet and that he does not have a firm hand on the tiller.

Hardliner Kriel scored a limited victory for himself and government in the eyes of NP supporters and especially those who were accusing it of going soft on violence. But government negotiators were extremely angry at Kriel's action which left them defenceless on the negotiating floor. They knew nothing of the PAC arrests and appeared sheepish in the face of blistering and humiliating attacks from negotiating partners.

A senior government source said this week there was "absolutely no doubt that Kriel knew the implica-

tions of the action", and that moving on PAC president Clarence Makwetu and secretary-general Benny Alexander in the middle of the night would have serious repercussions for negotiations.

One negotiating Minister said privately that even if the action was justified and had to happen on Tuesday, there was no need to carry it out in "the bad old days way" by breaking down doors and removing innocuous items such as T-shirts.

It can only be assumed that Kriel did not fully apprise De Klerk of the extent of the operation, otherwise Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would surely have been notified.

De Klerk's bluster, under intense questioning, that there was no political motivation for the raids indicated he had lost touch with the vital stage of the negotiating process. He has done himself no credit in the eyes of the international community by supporting Kriel's action, and his failure to instruct Kriel to charge or release immediately those arrested did further damage.

BILLY PADDOCK

Kriel might have shored up the steady trickle of NP members defecting to the right wing, and undermined to a limited extent the risk of a white revolt.

The talks were not derailed. An election date and draft legislation for a transitional executive council and its subcouncils are still attainable goals within weeks, if not days.

The ANC is not prepared to cling to the PAC and follow its threat to pull out of talks, even though this might result in a further loss of supporters to the more radical PAC. It is staying in the negotiating process despite its severe criticism of government. Taken with its position over the Chris Hani assassination, the ANC is locked in and will not withdraw while there is the potential to achieve its goal.

The week's events showed that negotiations have reached what appears to be an irreversible stage, and

there is now little chance that they can be wrecked.

The PAC is in a difficult position, but it has handled its crisis constructively so far, and not painted itself into a corner.

On Tuesday its foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim expressed the organisation's outrage in cool terms, and set its demands in a way calculated to put pressure on government and gain the negotiating council's support. Makwetu has also given government space to charge or release its members and meet the negotiating council's demands.

Should government play tough, the PAC still has the option of taking a final decision at the national executive meeting this weekend.

It is known that the PAC is committed to staying in the negotiations process, and many negotiators, including government, have been pleasantly surprised by the "very constructive role Benny Alexander has played" in the planning committee. The PAC needs a face-saving way of staying in, and has left this ball in government's court.

But it appears government wants to capitalise on its gains, having seen that the process has not been derailed. It is forcing the PAC's ambivalence onto the negotiating table, and hoping the council will serve as a forum to move the PAC to suspend its war on whites and the security forces. The PAC seems ready to do this, and compromise is in the air.

But while government has achieved all these short-term gains, it has played into the hands of the ANC and PAC. Kriel's action has strengthened the hand of the ANC in its demands for joint control of the security forces, which Kriel has adamantly rejected.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday made it clear the ANC would push even harder for multiparty control over the security forces, "so that this kind of thing can never happen again". His position will be strongly supported by the majority of the parties on the negotiating council, and government will have a tough job trying to avert the move.

LETTERS

Agenda could present a problem

PAC-Govt bid to bridge gap

Star 28/5/93

(11A)

~~(11A)~~

PAC, Govt in crisis talks

Star 28/5/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

As the Government and PAC went into their crisis talks this morning, indications were that a wide gap still existed between the two organisations.

But there were clear signs that both were determined to find solutions and to keep negotiations on track.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the first item on the Government's proposed agenda would be the PAC's "continued commitment to violence. We will set the meeting agenda and attend to some urgent matters."

However, PAC negotiator Gora Ebrahim was adamant that his organisation would only discuss its demands relating to Tuesday's pre-dawn swoop by police on its members. "There is no time for anything else at the meeting," he said.

Ebrahim indicated that further talks would have to be convened to discuss other matters.

The PAC's "bottom line" demands are that its detained members be released or charged and its seized documents be returned.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who had faced an unprecedented roasting from Government critics, said "the principle that nobody is above the law still stands".

Only "side issues" were discussed last night, he said.

Meyer, on the other hand, declared the meeting had been successful.

The breakthrough last night came after the Government came under withering fire from most of its negotiating partners over the swoop on the PAC, with the ANC and SACP demanding Kriel's resignation.

A clear majority of the parties at last night's special meeting of the Negotiating Council was opposed to the swoop on Tuesday morning when 73 PAC members were arrested.

Necessary

But, as negotiators wrapped up their work at 12.30 am, it appeared that the talks process would continue with the PAC on board.

At the beginning of the meeting Kriel defended the raids, saying information gathered in police investigations made them necessary.

He said documentation seized in the raids was being processed and "should further arrests be made it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated".

He named the leaders whom police were investigating serious charges against as national executive council member Enoch Zulu, national organiser and negotiator Maxwell Nemaqzivhanani, intelligence chief Abel Dube, political affairs head Jackie Seroke, publicity head Waters Toboti and economic affairs head Dr Solly Skosana.

Kriel said police also found evidence that Apla

From Page 1

members had been instructed to commit robberies and steal vehicles for resale to finance their campaign of "crime and violence".

Forty-three PAC members were released at 9 am yesterday. Another 28 are still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. (11A) (11A)

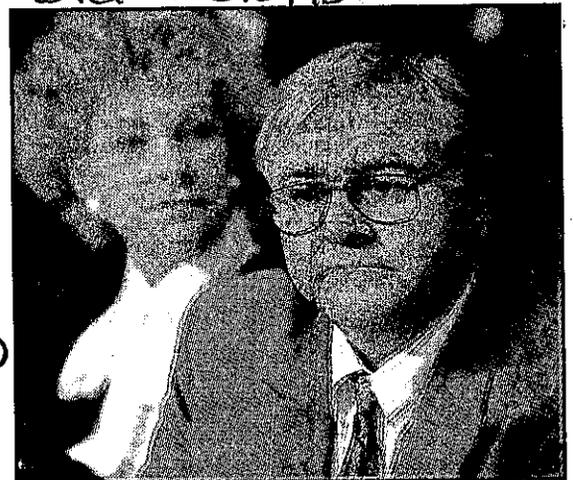
ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said Kriel should resign.

Kriel had listed 49 violent incidents which the SAP attributed to Apla and said the PAC policy of talking peace while "unashamedly propagating and waging a racist terrorist campaign" was morally indefensible.

He said police were in possession of documents containing "sketched plans of various police stations and names and addresses of SAP and SADF members to be killed" by Apla.

He added that a detained Apla member had "admitted that he was instructed by a senior Apla commander, now in Transkei, to observe pubs where whites gather" to murder whites.

Late last night resolution was reached after



Under attack . . . Hernus Kriel and President's Councillor M Oickers listen to criticism of the Minister's actions.

a closed session of the 10-man planning committee pointed to the need for negotiations to continue uninterrupted.

It urged the PAC to remain part of the process and for the Government, political organisations and security forces "to do everything possible to create harmony, peace and a conciliatory climate for negotiations".

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander revealed that the raid had scuppered a planned round of talks with the Government.

Kriel took a bashing from almost all negotiat-

ing parties, who slated his failure to provide substantial evidence of the need for the swoop.

Ramaphosa noted that "for the first time a Government Minister has been summoned to give an account of his and his department's actions".

He warned that it could happen again.

In another development, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall has sent a strong message to a negotiating planning committee demanding a meeting of the Peace Accord signatories to recommit themselves to the accord.

Tug-of-war for the king

W/maul 28/5 - 3/6/93

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

APPARENTLY fearing African National Congress inroads in his own back yard, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week torpedoed a planned meeting between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and 20 Natal Midlands chiefs.

The meeting had been scheduled as the climax of Mandela's tour of the Midlands last week. But it was called off when the chiefs were called to Ulundi for a "conference" organised by Buthelezi on the same day. Sources indicate that Buthelezi told the chiefs he expected them to ensure their subjects voted for Inkatha in an election.

The development took place against continued political jockeying around the figure of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, whom Mandela is wooing as the possible key to peace in Natal.

In speeches in Estcourt, Ladysmith, Dundee, Newcastle and Madadeni, Mandela attacked Buthelezi in scathing terms, but offered Zwelithini an olive branch, describing him as "the king of all South Africans, both black and white".

While Mandela did not name Buthelezi, he was clearly referring to the Inkatha Freedom Party president when he charged: "We are not like some black leaders who became great because they worked in some government institution."

Mandela said his two previous summits with Buthelezi had failed to yield results, and that he would not take part in a "publicity show" with the Inkatha leader. But he added that if Zwelithini convened a summit, he would attend it.

Mandela's key problem is that ANC militants in the province, notably Midlands leader Harry Gwala, oppose a summit initiative brokered by Zwelithini. The king could not be a neutral figure "as long as Buthelezi has a hold over the chiefs in this province or over the royal House".

WHEN African National Congress president Nelson Mandela declared last weekend that the voting age should be lowered to 14, every other political organisation, from the Pan Africanist Congress on the left to the Conservative Party on the right, reacted with amazement that so impetuous an idea should emanate from so measured a man.

But nowhere was the surprise greater than in the ANC itself. Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's department of constitutional affairs, reiterated that official ANC policy put the voting age at 18. An ANC negotiator was more blunt: "One of the very few things we have managed to agree with the government on was that the voting age would remain at 18. Now we read in the papers that Mandela will table his request at the negotiating forum."

Mandela has even out-radicalised the radical youth of his own organisation: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) had previously called for the voting age to be lowered to a more reasonable 16. Now the league has come out in support of the 14-year-old proposal, but the truth is that even it is astonished at Mandela's stand. The ANC's national executive committee recently rejected ANCYL's proposal for a lower voting age and, at a conference on election monitoring held in Durban only two weeks ago, ANCYL deputy president Lulu Johnson told delegates the league had conceded to the ANC's wishes.

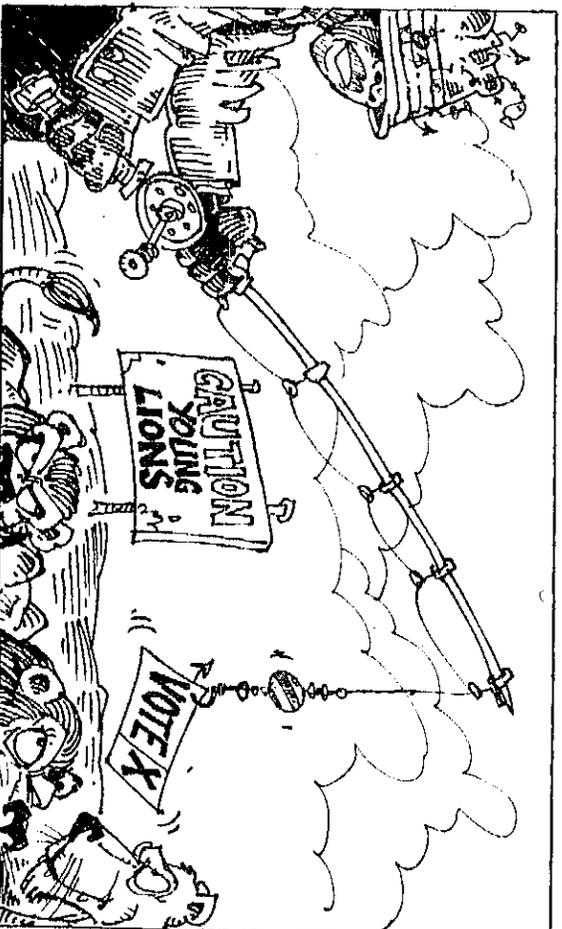
So what is going on? Senior ANC sources feel that Mandela's demand can only be a negotiating ploy, and that he would be willing to settle at the more acceptable 16. But this strategy could backfire terribly: an alienated youth constituency might become even more disenfranchised with its leadership once the 14-year-old sticking-point is compromised upon.

As well as being politically risky, Mandela's remarks were clearly without adequate homework. He stated that he knew of at least seven countries where the voting age was lower than 18, including Brazil, Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan and North Korea. Of these, only Brazil has an entrenched and successful democracy, and even there the voting age is 16, and not 14. The North Korean example is as laughable as the Cambodian one is ominous: the reason for the low voting age in the latter country is an attempt to bring the young murderers of the Khmer Rouge into the system. They have rejected the palliative, however, and threaten to plunge the country back into civil war after last week's elections.

Commentators have seen Mandela's stand as naked electioneering: political analyst Professor Sample Terblanche said earlier this week that the ANC had a vested interest in lowering the voting age, as the percentage of blacks younger than 18 was approaching 80 percent. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said he was "deeply disturbed" at what "seems to be a victory for political

Will the vote win back the youth?

Nelson Mandela's suggestion that the voting age be lowered to 14 has caught even the ANC by surprise—and raised serious questions about how the marginalised youth can become integrated into society. By **MARK GEVISSER**



opportunism over good sense and judgment". Inkatha spokesman Ed Trillet said: "This is a politically expedient ploy resulting from the fact that the ANC's national leadership has come under increased pressure from militant youth who are impatient with the process of change and who see the leadership as being too conciliatory."

This problem has been particularly acute in Natal, where Mandela made the statements. The ANCYL has responded that criticism of Mandela's statement "has so far come from those who stand to lose something from the advent of democracy and the granting of political rights to blacks". But this is not true: even the ANC's main competitors for the constituency of radical black youth have slammed the suggestion. The PAC youth wing said 14-year-olds were simply too young to shoulder the responsibility of voting.

And Azanian People's Organisation spokesman Gomolomo Moke said: "While we recognise that, due to apartheid, young children have been forced to take mature decisions, we feel that there is danger in defying the youth. Some have taken the 'young lions' name too literally, and we have seen demonstrations of the worst animalistic instincts. We must find a way of accom-

modating the youth while not ending up with a monster that could swallow us all."

While no-one except Mandela and the ANCYL has gone as low as 14, the arguments for a younger voting age are precisely to prevent a restive youth from "swallowing us all". And these arguments have come from some very respectable quarters.

At a recent seminar, religious leaders from the South African Council of Churches, the South African Bishops Conference and the World Conference on Religion and Peace reached consensus on a 16-year-old voting age. Behind the rhetoric, their reasoning was as follows: the greatest threat to democracy in this country is the possibility that the process — and thus the electoral results — will be rejected, as happened in Angola.

Barry Gilder, spokesman for the Malia Trust, which is spearheading voter education put it this way: "It is critical to persuade the militant youth that this process is a good thing. They are more likely to accept this if they feel they are able to have their say and be part of the process."

In a well-motivated discussion paper on the issue, the ANCYL notes that "youth from an early age have played a key role in the struggle

against apartheid ... To deny a section of the youth the right to participate in [the] election to usher in the end of apartheid, is denying their contribution in making such an election possible in the first place."

Clearly, the pressure for lowering the voting age comes from the fact that there is already a highly politicised youth in South Africa. But senior social work policy-maker Dr Leila Patel argues: "It does not necessarily follow that because children have had to behave like adults under apartheid, they have the emotional and intellectual maturity of adults. In fact, it could be argued that they are more vulnerable and therefore entitled to stronger protection precisely because they have grown up in a conflict-ridden and authoritarian society."

The issue boils down to a very difficult constitutional question: do children have the right to be part of their country's electoral process, or does becoming voters abrogate their rights by giving them the premature status of adults and thus depriving them of their legal privilege as minors? National Children's Rights Committee director Shirley Mabusela has noted that "we need to recognise the abnormality of the South African situation and be open to all suggestions". Nevertheless, she felt the implications of 14-year-old voters are "far-reaching", as "a lot of other legal provisions would have to be reviewed".

The ANCYL counters that the age for rights and protection are already differentiated in South Africa, where a 14-year-old can obtain a firearm licence, where 16-year-olds can get married without special consent and be criminally liable, where 17-year-olds can be conscripted, take out life insurance and consent to medical surgery, and where children as young as six have been detained, without trial under a state of emergency.

Certainly, Mandela's remarks have raised critical issues: if the "marginalised youth" are indeed South Africa's greatest problem, creative ways will have to be found to include them in the democratic process.

In Uganda, for example, an elaborate system of youth councils has been set up to elect special youth MPs; even there, however, only 18-year-olds can vote for these members, and the system has been criticised within Uganda as tokenism. A similar comment could be made about Mandela's proposal: will a lower voting age really guarantee young people a voice in the system, or will it merely be used as a political ploy while more difficult issues like education and employment are ignored?

And because the abnormality of this country has put boys (and the occasional girl) on the receiving end of gunfire, does that mean they have the right to vote? "Our children," said Mabusela, "have a right to enjoy childhood without being burdened with the responsibility of deciding what direction the country should take."

DISCLOSURES that Thebe Investment Corporation and Macmillan Boleswa are planning to form a partnership for the supply of education textbooks to the South African market has focused attention on the African National Congress' shadowy investment company which promises privileged access to a future government.

In terms of the deal between Thebe and Macmillan, Thebe promises to provide "a regular line of communication with the relevant government structures in the new South Africa" in return for a gift of 20 percent of the shareholding in the new joint publishing venture.

Established last year and claiming to be "a catalyst to correct the economic imbalances that exist in South African society through its function as a sound business entity", Thebe boasts a broad portfolio of interests. Its tourism subsidiary, Oriole Travel, lists trade delegations, diplomatic missions and the corporate sector among its clients.

Thebe's marketing division, Movement Marketing Enterprises (MME) which markets memorabilia, literature and music and runs a national hawk scheme, acting as wholesaler, and a craft centre has recently seen a management shakeout with Thebe taking over day-to-day control. Nearly 80 percent of previous staff are believed to have been removed, although a controversial consultant remains with the company.

Thebe also owns a trading division, and has recently acquired a controlling interest in a catering venture, a car hire business and a property company. Thebe's other interests include telecommunications, manufacturing, computer marketing, financial services, mining and fishing.

False Bay fishing communities in the Cape were recently up in arms when a new company, believed to be Thebe, attempted to muscle in on the award of fishing contracts.

"Thebe is investigating takeovers, mergers, equity in existing companies and creating new companies," according to the publicity release. "The African dream of economic empowerment is today becoming a reality and the newly-formed Thebe Investment Corporation (Pty) Ltd will help drive this process."

Exactly who will be empowered is not yet clear. The executive includes former kaNgwane chief minister Enos Mabuza as chairman, former ANC treasury officer Vusi Khanyile as MD, and a catholic mix of directors from retired corporate boss Stanley Goldstein to ANC Johannesburg

~~regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale~~
Thebe claims to have its roots in the community-based Batho Batho Trust which includes Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu among its trustees. But a trace at the Registrar of Companies reveals that Thebe was registered in the name of a single shareholder, Maureen Steele, an employee of auditors

The ANC's backing the book business

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A publishing deal with Macmillan has turned the spotlight on the African National Congress' investment company, Thebe. **IDEN WETHERELL** reports

Coopers Theron Du Toit Inc who manage the company's books. Steele said Thebe was an ANC company. She said she had only been a nominee when the company was formed and the shareholding had in October last year transferred to Vusi Kanyile.

Kanyile confirmed that he was now the nominee shareholder but said that the substantive shareholding was vested in the Batho Batho board of trustees. He declined to provide further details.

Local publishers have expressed alarm about the Macmillan-Thebe deal because it could prejudice their prospects by giving Macmillan a dominant share of the lucrative textbooks market.

Macmillan is a powerful multinational publishing empire with wide experience of marketing and distribution in anglophone Africa, concluding

bilateral agreements with newly independent states to supply their textbook requirements.

Macmillan's regional arm, Macmillan Boleswa, has its headquarters in Swaziland and claims to have disinvested from South Africa in the late 1970s although it maintained an office in Braamfontein. The deal with Thebe would enable Macmillan to re-establish itself in Johannesburg at the centre of the South African publishing industry.

The very detailed and sophisticated proposal, in the possession of *The Weekly Mail*, includes business plans, a publishing programme for 1994-6, staff complement levels, the allocation of vehicles and cash flow projections.

Thebe's offer to "provide a regular line of communication with the relevant government struc-

tures in the new South Africa" and "facilitate close working relations with the ANC's mass media trust" is thought to characterise its approach to eager corporate investors.

"Any attempt to constitute a privileged relationship between any publishing house and the state or future state would be exceptionally prejudicial, if not fatal to the interests of vibrant, independent and indigenous publishing in South Africa, both in the educational and general fields," said Glenn Moss, MD of Ravan Press.

ANC health and education director Cheryl Carolus said that although she had received a copy of the proposal from Moletsu Mbeki, Thebe was "an independent organisation". However, she said, as a matter of general principle the ANC was opposed to the way in which the National Party had tied up educational publishing deals.

Macmillan regional MD Luchi Balarin said Macmillan Boleswa was keen to return to South Africa and was looking at publishing investment options. However, *The Weekly Mail* understands that headhunters hired by Macmillan are recruiting senior-level staff for the new company.

A motion at the current Sached/NECC conference on "Publishing for Democratic Education" in the new South Africa requires that "relationships, structures and procedures between the education ministry and education publishers should be guided by the principles of transparency and fairness".

ANC inquiry into death of self-confessed spy

By PAUL STOBER

THE African National Congress' intelligence department has launched an investigation into the death last month of senior official Solly Smith.

Smith, a former chairman of the ANC's northern Free State region, had confessed in 1991 to spying for the South African security services. His confession also linked the late Francis Melli, a former executive committee member of the ANC and South African Communist Party, to the security forces.

Smith, whose real name was Samuel Khunyeli, was chairman of the ANC's northern Free State region from 1991 to 1992, before which he was the organisation's chief representative in London.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed that Smith had confessed to having been "compromised and coerced" into spying on the organisation soon after his return to South Africa from London in 1991.

But questions about Smith's loyalties go back to 1988, when a London newspaper, *The Independent*, revealed that South African funds had been used to establish a media services company, Newscope Limited, which published the now defunct magazine, *African Preview*.

The company was run by a Ghanaian exile, Major Kojo

Boakye-Djan, who had close links with both Smith and Melli.

A leftwing German magazine, *Top Secret*, has published a facsimile from the Companies Registration Office in London which shows Smith owned shares in Newscope.

The *Independent* investigation also revealed that Boakye-Djan had received ANC documents from Melli, who, besides being on the executive committees of the ANC and SACP, edited *Sechaba*, the ANC's official journal while it was in exile. When the *Independent* revelations broke, the ANC placed Melli under scrutiny.

Melli died in a hotel room in Johannesburg, apparently of a heart attack after a drinking binge, in October 1990, shortly after his return to South Africa.

Mamoepa refused to give any details about the kind of activities Smith had confessed to or how he had been coerced into spying as an investigation was still under way.

With reference to Smith's subsequent election as chairman of the ANC's northern Free State region, Mamoepa said: "When a man comes and says he confesses, what do you do? We forgave him."

Mamoepa insisted the circumstances of Smith's death, in early April, warranted investigation: "When a healthy man suddenly dies, especially after he expresses fear for his life, it's suspicious."

The police and the white farmers he was a cowardly terrorist who murdered an innocent woman. To the high command of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) he was a liberator, a commander who once climbed Mount Kilimanjaro, the highest peak in Africa, in two and a half days to prove his endurance and determination.

The schizophrenic view of Phanel Mbengeni Mudau is replicated in the landscape of the country. He was buried on Saturday in Masakona, a mudhut village in Venda, where the main economic activity is buying bananas and fruit from the white farmers and selling them at the roadside.

A few valleys away, there is a large tea estate. And beyond it is white farming land, the rich soil of Levubu where, according to Mudau's neighbour and friend, Thomas Munyai, they grow the "best bananas in the world".

Mudau's people were expelled from Levubu in 1938. The chief of the village, Masokhono Kanukanu, returns every year to clean the graves of his ancestors, now on the farm of a Mr Botha.

Munyai, who is chairman of the local civic organisation, says the removal of his people long before he was born drove Mudau to a passionate allegiance to the policies of the Pan Africanist Congress, particularly their demand that the land be returned to the Africans.

They were moved again in 1959, this time as victims of the National Party's policy of ethnic cleansing, to separate the Vendas from the North Sothos and both of them from the Shangaans. The view from Masakona in Venda best exemplifies the mish-mash of apartheid: over the rise is Gazankulu, the next village is in Lebowa, and all three are little islands in the sea of the white northern Transvaal.

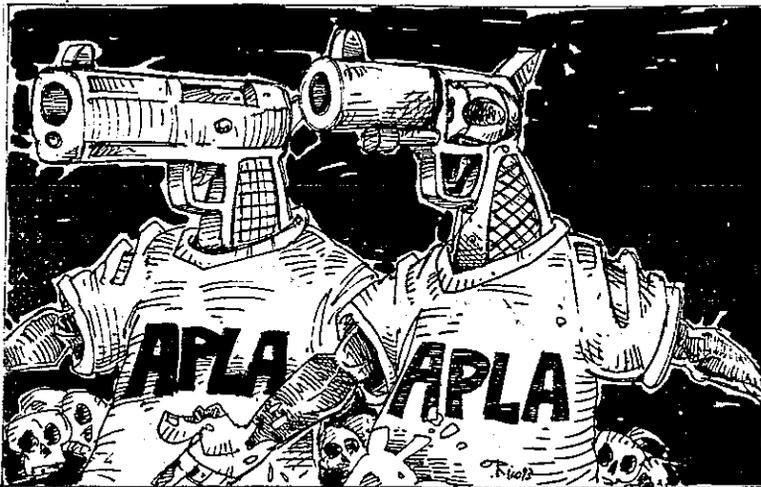
Phanel Mudau died in a shootout last week when police came to arrest him and other members of what police claimed was an Apla task force for the murder of 37-year-old Sandra Swanepoel, who died on her farm, near Tzaneen in the eastern Transvaal on April 28.

His funeral, it turned out, was something of a coming out for the PAC. For the first time, the top leadership announced unequivocally that white farmers were viewed by the movement as legitimate targets.

PAC leaders inside the country have always distanced themselves from the activities of Apla, but now, with a settlement in sight, they appear determined to identify with the fearsome reputation of their armed wing.

The funeral began with an all-night vigil in the open air. One in a long line of speakers, a man with a skull cap, preached about the perfidies of colonialism. "Then we have this company,

Listen to the children chant: 'Boo-er, Boo-er'



At an Apla funeral in Venda, the mood is full of anger and hatred. Why does the Pan Africanist Congress not have more support?

W/M/205-3/16/93



By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**

Anglo American," he declaimed. "Why Anglo American? Why not African?" A kerosene lamp burnt on the table in front of him.

Behind the speaker was a roofless hut with a gigantic PAC banner unfurled around it. On the other side rose over the pocked mud walls, creating the impression of a gigantic kiln bubbling forth a potent brew. It was a clear night and there were thousands of stars in the Bushveld sky.

Under a military band marquee tent, scores of people in PAC T-shirts listened patiently, their faces serious. At intervals they rose and sang songs: "Lend me a Scorpion pistol. I want to cross the borders." They chanted "PAC by day, Apla by night", "War against the enemy, peace among Africans", and the hardy old favourite "One settler, one bullet".

The speaker with the skull cap interrupted his lecture to welcome us, two white journalists. Though I was a set-

ter in the lion's den, and most people remained stony-faced, I was treated with respect, even being offered a basin of warm water to wash my face in the morning. It was a lot more comfortable being white at an Apla funeral than being black at an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rally.

Despite the glorification of armed struggle in the slogans, the songs, the speeches and on T-shirts, such as "Sticks to Guns", there were no weapons on display.

Interviewed at the funeral the following day, deputy president Johnson Mlambo explained that farmers were legitimate targets because they were in "the defence structures of the regime, and they are also occupying the land from which our people were robbed."

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nevadzhiyanani, resplendent in camouflage fatigues, added that farmers had committed atrocities, and were "collectively demonstrating against the African people whom they seek to

perpetually dominate.

"Millions of our people were pushed off the land. It is hypocritical that the masses should feel sympathy for a handful of white farmers."

Mlambo denied they were killing farmers at random: "Our cadres on the ground are guided by the local communities as to who is the most brutal in the area."

Mlambo explained that the armed struggle would be "sustained until the point of irreversibility" had been reached in the negotiations. "We believe that those pressures that Apla is putting up has an element of urgency to them."

He said the naming of an election date would not constitute irreversibility. "We're pushing for a transitional authority which should be not just an advisory body. It should be sovereign and independent, to control the security forces, the budget, the state media, the electoral process—and to level the playing field."

"The question of Apla will still have to be resolved." He said the government had made the mistake of withdrawing from the bilaterals where the PAC was willing to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities.

"Had the regime followed up on the bilateral discussions, the farmers would not be in the predicament they're now in," said Mlambo.

Enoch Zulu, former Apla chief of operations and a member of the PAC national executive, told the funeral gathering that Apla fell squarely under the discipline of the PAC: "We will continue fighting as long as the PAC says 'continue fighting'."

He called on the youth of the area to join the armed struggle of Apla and go for training: "Come join Apla and come fight for your country."

Speaker after speaker hammered on the question of land, raising the most puzzling contradiction of the PAC. Few are the blacks in the northern Transvaal who have not had direct experience of forced removals.

It is surprising, then, that the PAC has such a small core of support. The people of Masakona village didn't know the words of the songs. They were interested onlookers, but it was as if they were peering in on a gathering of initiates of a strange cult.

It is not hard to find fault with the PAC's positions, particularly the glorification of killing civilians.

Apla's campaign has resulted in an upsurge of anger among the farmers, the remobilisation of the right, and threatened the constitutional negotiations which the PAC itself is a party to. They have come in for a blast of criticism for their cavalier approach to the killings.

At the same time, some of what we are seeing is part of a violent struggle for the land that long predates Apla's attacks. Mlambo himself was not sure what percentage of attacks on farmers are Apla hits and which are simply motivated by vengeance or robbery.

At a farmers' rally in Potchefstroom three weeks ago, all the old wounds were opened again—from the betrayal of Voortrekker leader Piet Retief by the Zulu king Dingane, to the British concentration camps during the Boer war.

History is as strong a motivating factor for the PAC as it is for the rightwing Afrikaners. It was Mudau's favourite subject. According to Munyai, when he wasn't coaching the local soccer team, he lectured students on "how we blacks had been suffering for such a long time".

One senses that it is a conflict that will long outlast Apla. Exiting the little village of Masakona, a group of small children gather. Gone are the days when they would stand at the roadside, smile cherubically and wave at motorists. Now they chant densely: "Boo-er, Boo-er, Boo-er."

38 protesters arrested in Pretoria

PRETORIA. — Thirty-eight Pan-Africanist Congress supporters, chanting "every policeman, every farmer deserves a bullet" and "one grenade, 10 settlers", were arrested yesterday after staging an illegal demonstration in downtown Pretoria, police said.

They were later released and warned to appear in court next Thursday.

CF 28/5/72
And in Durban a protest by PAC members at CR Swart police headquarters turned ugly when police and students from the University of Durban/Westville clashed.

Three policemen and five students were injured.

The incidents followed the countrywide police crackdown on PAC/Azania People's Liber-

ation Army members this week.

Pickers in front of the old police museum in Pretoria called on all PAC branches to embark immediately on nationwide picketing of foreign legations and police stations.

They also demanded the immediate release of all PAC members still in detention and the return of all documents and office equipment impounded. — Sapa

Paso in protest: 23 held

By IVOR CREWS

TWENTY-THREE demonstrators were arrested for taking part in an illegal march yesterday after Pan-African Students' Organisation (Paso) members chanted "Kill a cop a day" outside Rondebosch police station.

Paso members at UCT marched from the university in pouring rain to hand a list of demands from Paso general-secretary Mr Don Quelane to the station commander, Captain Martin Swanepoel.

Capt Swanepoel accepted the list on behalf of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

Explosive situation

The marchers were asked to disperse, but they refused to do so and demanded that they be detained until arrested PAC leaders are released.

In a tense 90-minute standoff the students chanted "Every cop deserves a bullet" and "One settler, one bullet".

The potentially explosive situation was defused by Mr Hannes Siebert of the Regional Peace Committee, who called for calm and negotiated with the Paso members and the police.

The marchers surrendered to Capt Swanepoel, who said: "We can't arrest them because their leaders have been detained, but they are being arrested because they took part in an illegal march."

Their demands included the immediate release of PAC leaders and members and an end to the detention and harassment of PAC leaders and members.

A question of judgment

Perhaps nothing should surprise us any more, dulled as we are by routine massacres, an endemic education crisis and the general cycle of hope and despair. Even so, ANC president Nelson Mandela's remarks about giving 14-year-olds the vote are astonishing. As Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire has pointed out, Mandela will come to regret having made them.

What can Mandela have been thinking of? Surely he cannot in his patrician heart believe that children should vote. The more obvious and cynical explanations have already been put forward by puzzled and anxious observers: that Mandela is trying to court and placate teenagers who would otherwise ignore his appeals to reason; and that the ANC is desperate to build electoral support.

If the first, Mandela is being naive indeed if he thinks that the feral children who roam the townships will give permanent allegiance to anyone but their own savage codes. If the second, he is doubly naive, because there is no guarantee that enfranchised teenagers would support the ANC; they would be more likely to vote for the PAC, or even more radical

adolescent groupings that would inevitably spring up to take advantage of the new constituency.

Even the Azanian People's Organisation, known for its quixotic policies and dangerous rhetoric, has made a more moderate call. Spokesman Gomolemo Mokae has argued that the voting age should be lowered to 16 — but also warns that "lionisation" of the youth often went to their heads.

"Even up to this day," says Mokae, "we are still reaping the whirlwind of such deification of the youth. Some of them still exhibit the rabid intolerance and animalism of the mid-Eighties."

Other ANC leaders were clearly taken aback by Mandela's call; official ANC policy is that the vote should be extended to all South Africans aged 18 and over. Now they will have to try somehow to undo the damage — and already the wild children are savouring the prospect of more time off school to campaign. We have enough problems without this.

So much for the immediately dangerous aspects of Mandela's absurd call. The sad and more profound part is that we must begin seriously to question his political judgment. ■

PAC DETENTIONS FM 28/5/93.

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The limits of tolerance

The arrest of several senior PAC officials and members of its armed wing, Apla, threatened to delay if not derail a critical session of the negotiations council this week. For its part, the PAC pulled out of Tuesday's talks and said it would review its stance. As the FM went to press, it looked as though the meeting would adjourn early as a mark of protest (insisted upon by the PAC and ANC), with the time scheduled to be made up on Friday (see Negotiations).

The arrests, which appear also to include senior members of the Africanist trade union federation, Nactu, came a day after PAC national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivhanani had reportedly said that the killing of white farmers by Apla men was a legitimate political campaign from which the PAC had no reason to distance itself.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo is reported as having rhetorically said at the funeral of an Apla member last weekend: "Should we talk to the regime when it's dragging its feet? Shall we abandon the bullets before the ballot is secured? We shall never do that, as that will be suicide."

These statements are seen not only by the white Right as confirmation that the PAC, Apla and others have declared war on farmers. Even though the PAC is not a signatory to the National Peace Accord, Nmadzivhanani's and Mlambo's utterances were contemptible, given that their organisation is a participant in the negotiations.

So far this year 35 white farmers have been killed in attacks that police blame largely on Apla — which early this month claimed responsibility for the murder of five whites in an attack on an East London hotel, as well as the ambush in Soweto in which four black policemen were killed.

Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in a short statement that "investigative teams of the SA Police, in completion of extensive investigations, have since early (Tuesday) morning arrested several people countrywide connected to the PAC's management as well as members of Apla. The investigations are continuing and further arrests are possible."

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander — who heads the PAC negotiating team at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park —

claimed the arrests were aimed at driving the organisation out of constitutional negotiations at a crucial time. It appears that Alexander escaped from a police vehicle after being detained in a dawn raid on his Ennerdale home.

"The regime has decided to arrest all PAC negotiators and leaders in order to force the PAC to withdraw from negotiations during the crucial coming week when the most important decisions on the future of our country are about to be taken," Alexander charged. "They further want to push through a decision on the Transitional Executive Council which will legitimate the current regime and reduce the African majority to advisers of (President) De Klerk."

The PAC southern Free State region condemned the "harassment" of its members by the security forces, warning government that no pressure would make them surrender their demand for the return of "stolen land" and majority rule.

PAC foreign relations chief and a delegate at the negotiations, Gora Ebrahim, who called for the talks to be suspended,

described the arrests as "Gestapo-like action" which proved that apartheid was still alive. According to Ebrahim, six executive members of the PAC and at least three of their bodyguards had been arrested. Computer discs and documents at the PAC's Johannesburg headquarters had also been taken when security force members "smashed the front door." He said the police action was unjustified as the doors of the PAC were open to government to discuss any issue. PAC regional and branch offices had also been raided. The PAC is demanding the immediate and unconditional release of those detained and a firm undertaking that such police action would not occur again.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was blistering in his attack on government in the wake of the PAC arrests. Speaking at the negotiating venue he demanded Kriel's dismissal. "We say Kriel is not fit to be a Minister and must be fired," said Ramaphosa, describing the arrests as a travesty of justice, which "reminds one of the old apartheid days of Gestapo tactics, jackboot activity and wholesale detentions."

Ramaphosa said the ANC was "outraged

that the leaders of a national liberation movement and a negotiating partner at this council are detained and harassed, their offices are smashed into, their property stolen and the home of the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu is raided." Government had seriously jeopardised the negotiations process, he went on, saying that it was unacceptable that the government should be sitting at the negotiating table, acting as a negotiator, but also as "our jailers." He wondered whether the ANC and ANC president Nelson Mandela were next in line.

According to Ramaphosa there appeared to be deep divisions in the government. "We have been told that the Ministers here did not know about the decision. We were even told that the State President did not know about the impending action. Who is in control?"

He claimed that no security force action had been taken against white rightwing groups which flouted the law by publicly carrying weapons and pledging treason. "The secretary-general of the PAC, Benny Alexander, a negotiator here, had to escape from a police vehicle. In the light of these developments, we demand that all the stolen property be returned immediately, the immediate and unconditional release of the PAC leadership and we demand that Kriel appears here and gives an explanation."

SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo — who had earlier this month, in *Vrye Weekblad*, likened the East London murders to those committed by rightwinger Barend Strydom — and Ramaphosa supported an adjournment of Tuesday's proceedings so that the issue could be dealt with at a special meeting of the negotiating council.

The Afrikaner Volksunie said police had no option but to act against members of the PAC and Apla as their irresponsible statements and actions were "probably the greatest single threat to law and order in SA."

The CP welcomed the arrests, which it saw as being a result of CP pressure on government to act against "terrorist organisations." It was concerned, however, that action had not been taken against ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe members as well. ■



Benny Alexander

NEGOTIATIONS FM 28/5/93.

Hard labour

Given the will and the recent rate of progress (and other things being equal), multiparty negotiators may just complete their agenda by Tuesday — in time for the Negotiating Forum on June 3 to announce a date for the first nonracial election.

NEGOTIATIONS ^{FM} 28/5/93.

Hard labour (SRA) (11A)

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Given the will and the recent rate of progress (and other things being equal), multiparty negotiators may just complete their agenda by Tuesday — in time for the Negotiating Forum on June 3 to announce a date for the first nonracial election.



Benny Alexander

The all-party negotiating council had three sessions set down before then in which to complete its work. Government and the ANC, confident that agreement would be in the bag by this Friday — on issues which have after all been knocked about for a long time now — were pushing hard. Inkatha and its Cosag allies were less upbeat about meeting the deadline, which was laid down in the declaration of intent adopted by the council on May 7.

Talks in the council were set to reach a turning point at the World Trade Centre this week as parties got to grips with substantive issues. Top of the agenda were: constitutional principles; the structures, powers and functions of regions/states/provinces; and the constitution-making process. Agreement on these key, complex and inter-related issues would undoubtedly take the process forward.

At Monday's meeting of the council's 10-man planning committee, it was decided to ask for more refinement to the proposals for debate, which had been outlined in the second report of the technical committee on constitutional matters.

The constitutional committee includes Prof Marinus Wiechers (chairman); advocates Arthur Chaskalson, Dikgang Moseneke, B Ngoepe and M Olivier; Firoz Cachalia of the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies; and professors G E Devenish, W Olivier and F Venter.

These technical committees are not forums for negotiating substantive issues, but are instruments of the council for producing systematic reports to facilitate negotiation. Their reports are reworked, based on council discussions, until agreement is reached. In a sense these committees (there are seven, ranging from one on violence to fundamental rights in the transition) happen to go some way to meeting Inkatha's call for the final constitution to be written by a committee of wise men.

The constitutional committee's second report notes "broad agreement that the most suitable form of government for the future will involve the allocation of powers to central and regional governments." As requested by the council, they examine on a "holistic basis" the interrelated issues of constitutional principles, regional powers and functions, the constitution-making process and how council discussions of these issues can best be structured.

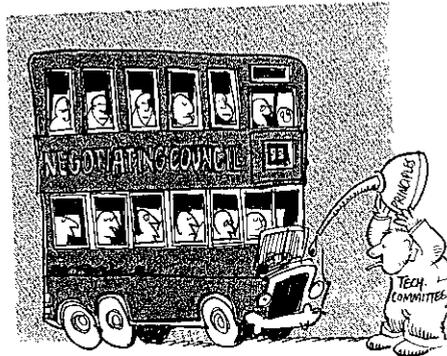
Drawing on party submissions and the work done at Codesa, suggestions are made in a broader context which takes in the issues of self-determination, the form of state and the constitution-making process.

The report notes that debate on the constitution-making process and regional powers and functions, based on written submissions from participants, could be tense. On the one hand, there's concern as to the legitimacy of the constitution-making process by those who say the constitution should be written by a democratically elected body. On the other, there are those concerned that their interests

will not adequately be protected if decisions are taken by a majority in such a body.

Could the two be reconciled through a set of constitutional principles, to be binding on the subsequently elected body and to provide sufficient assurances to those (minority) parties with fears?

Yes, says the committee: "The key to unlocking these differences and moving the process forward is to develop a set of constitutional principles." These, it adds, should be sufficient to offer assurances "without being so detailed as to pre-empt the work of an elected constitution-making body. They should guarantee that the constitution will be democratic in substance as well as in



form, that basic rights will be respected and upheld, and that mechanisms will exist to prevent the abuse of power by the government of the day."

The principles should incorporate basic rights of political participation, multiparty democracy, checks and balances, separation of powers and secure state/provincial/regional representation in order to ensure the protection of minority and regional interests. They should provide a clear framework for the drafting and adoption of a future constitution.

However, it is suggested that the principles should not have the character of constitutional provisions as such, but should establish clear parameters within which the constitution must be drafted.

They must also be formulated in clear language, capable of effective judicial interpretation and adjudication.

The committee says that with a few exceptions consensus has so far emerged on:

- Democracy in the form of universal adult suffrage at all levels of government (the report was written before ANC president Nelson Mandela threw votes for 14-year-olds into the pot);
- Supremacy of a rigid constitution, whereby the validity of all laws and acts of government is made subject to consistency with the constitution, and such consistency being justiciable by an independent judiciary;
- The inclusion in the constitution of a set of fundamental rights, authoritatively protecting the individual in a non-discriminatory manner against the State and all its organs;
- Separation of executive, legislative and

judicial powers;

- Constitutional distribution of powers of government among democratically elected national, regional and local institutions; and
- Constitutional recognition and accommodation of the variety of cultures, religions and languages.

On regionalism, the committee says it is evident that most parties consider the form of state as a matter directly linked to the way in which powers and functions of the State are distributed on central, regional and local level, and the way in which these powers and functions are exercised.

A primary observation is that all states in the world, unitary or federal, must and do decentralise some powers and functions in order to govern effectively. The major difference between unitary and federal states is that in the former the central government retains the ultimate say (even if it cannot act at will).

The committee concludes that there is no universally accepted definition of federalism. It is not convinced that, in a discussion of the form of state, it would be useful or possible to use preconceived concepts such as unitary or federal states. "A more expeditious way of dealing with the matter of the form of state would be to consider all those separate issues which have a bearing on the form of state."

There is not much comfort in the report for the Conservative Party's confederal demands. A confederation is not a form of state, it says, since a confederation by definition is a combination of separate, independent states which in effect co-operate according to the rules of international law. Those who favour confederation are asked for more clarity on their proposals, in particular the territory and population of the envisaged separate state, and how they will meet international law requirements of secession and self-determination.

Regarding the integrity and viability of regions, the committee believes consideration should be given to the need for special procedures for amending the boundaries, powers and functions of regions. This could include a special role for regions when changes are made affecting their sphere.

It stands to reason that regions will have divergent financial and developmental capabilities, says the report. Provision could be made for a fiscal commission to be involved in the allocation process, and for an objective standard to be followed, which would be justiciable and guard against power abuse.

The committee asked for greater debate by the negotiators on the question of exclusive, concurrent and residual powers; and more explanation from particular participants of what they have in mind on "asymmetry" of powers.

There appear to be mutually exclusive approaches to the constitution-making process, which in turn affects the process of transition. Allowing for differences in emphasis and detail, there are two broad camps.

On constitution-making — those (the ANC camp) who want an elected assembly

FM 28/5/93

CURRENT AFFAIRS

(11A)

to act as a constitution-making body, as opposed to those (Inkatha/Cosag) who want the present negotiating forum to have that task.

On the transition — those who want it done in one phase (Inkatha), as opposed to those who want two or more phases (ANC and government).

The committee called for "significant resolution" on this matter if progress is to be made.

Historically, says the committee, the two predictable modes of constitution-making have come to be: *pouvoir constituant*, where a new constitution comes into being after a revolution or collapse of the old regime, and *pouvoir constitué*, where the existing order is amended and thus the new order derives its legitimacy and continuity from the old. The present impasse exhibits features of both.

Suggested ideas for reconciling disputes: a special role for regions in the formal amendment procedure of the constitution, especially on matters affecting regions; the concept of regional representation in the central legislature; a list of justiciable criteria limiting the party at the centre from penalising regional opponents; and agreed criteria for the determination of regional boundaries and powers.

In addition, justiciable and binding constitutional principles, special majorities and entrenched and justiciable rights are suggested as a means of reaching consensus. ■

Leaders 'won't get together' *11A*

Own Correspondent *28/9/93*

JOHANNESBURG. — Hopes dimmed yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon. *11A*

Mr Mandela, who has said he was happy to meet Chief Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the king had withdrawn as a facilitator of the meeting. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean that a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was off. *28/9/93*

"It does, however, complicate matters," Mr Niehaus said without elaborating. The king apparently called on the two leaders in recent weeks to meet and address violence.

PAC protests: Members held at police stations

28/5/93
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□ Charge offices blocked at Rondebosch, Bellville

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 50 Pan Africanist Congress members who went to Bellville and Rondebosch police stations and demanded to be arrested in solidarity with detained colleagues were taken into custody when they refused to leave.

Groups of between 20 and 30 men arrived at Rondebosch and Bellville police stations and about 75 at Ndulu police station at Ceres in pouring rain yesterday.

They blocked the entrances of the charge offices, toyi-toying and chanting slogans.

At Rondebosch a member of the Peace Committee acted as mediator between a vocal group of about 25 and a police representative who accepted a memorandum of grievances and demands.

The police spokesman said police could not "arrest on demand" while a spokesman for the group said they were PAC members like the others and also "deserved" to be arrested.

The marchers chanted "One bullet, one settler", "Kill a cop a day" and "Skiet dood die boere met 'n AK".

A large contingent of police with rifles and teargas monitored the gathering on the steps of the charge office.

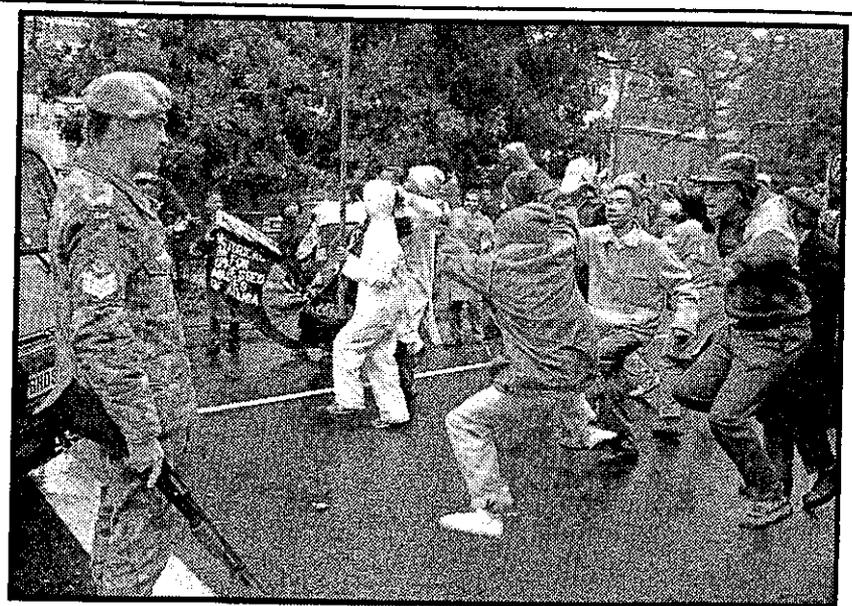
After about two hours they were given five minutes to disperse or be arrested.

When the time was up, they handed themselves over peacefully and walked into the charge office.

The protesters at Bellville were also given five minutes to disperse, then handed themselves over for arrest.

At Ndulu charge office the protesters left peacefully after talks with senior policemen.

The arrested men were released later yesterday.



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

ROWDY MARCHERS: Members of the Convention of a Democratic Taxi Association, (Codeta), shout slogans and toyi-toyi on their way to Caledon Square, closely watched by a member of the Internal Stability unit.

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@RGF
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Hopes fade for leaders' meeting

Blom 28/5/93

WILSON ZWANE

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon to address political rivalry between their organisations dimmed yesterday.

Mandela, who had said he was happy to meet Buthelezi if King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the Zulu monarch had withdrawn as a facilitator.

Mandela said the king's position was that "TV got it all wrong", Sapa reports.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean a meeting between Buthelezi and Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," he said.

The king apparently called on Buthelezi and Mandela in recent weeks to meet to address violence.

TIM COHEN reports that Buthelezi said Inkatha had proposed that the issue of violence should top the agenda of multiparty talks, with particular attention on the disbanding of private armies.

He told a news conference in Cape Town that whenever Inkatha raised the matter, the ANC and government were "virtually apoplectic", accusing Inkatha of trying to delay negotiations and of raising the matter prematurely.

Buthelezi said he found the "hype" about the need for an election date astonishing.

It amounted to "putting the constitutional cart before the constitutional horse".

Inkatha CE and head of the party's general election campaign Joe Mathews refused to announce the party's support targets in an election, but said the party was "playing the game to win".

If this did not occur, Inkatha hoped

to be the strongest opposition party, holding the balance of power.

Mathews said Inkatha had set itself three major objectives in the first nonracial election:

- To win a sufficient percentage of the overall vote to be an essential factor in any coalition government;
- To do well in several regions so that Inkatha would form an essential part of any coalition at the regional level; and
- To perform well in the KwaZulu/Natal region where Inkatha expected to win, either in its own right or in coalition with another party.

Meanwhile, Mandela told school children yesterday that pupil mass action was not incompatible with a call to pupils to return to class.

Addressing pupils during a tour of Witwatersrand township schools, Mandela emphasised the importance of education.

"Education is the only weapon if you want to be a leader of your people," he told them.

However, the ANC president also endorsed his organisation's support for striking teachers and urged pupils to join the "fight" for equal education.

Mandela held a news briefing at King Edward VII High School in Houghton.

GERALD REILLY reports council chairman Allan Powell said yesterday that the Teachers' Federal Council had requested an urgent interview with National Education Minister Piet Marais over the education crisis.

After an extraordinary meeting of the TFC's executive committee, he said the present situation was cause for grave concern.

Certain facets called for most urgent attention.

Gosatu push for child care

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU has called on its affiliates to celebrate international children's day on Tuesday by persuading members to take their children to their work places.

Cosatu gender co-ordinator Dorothy Mokgalo said yesterday different regions were planning events as well as a two-phase strategy intended to promote Cosatu's parental campaign.

The two campaign demands were for 20 days' paid child care leave a year and subsidised child care facilities for workers.

She said both parents should be entitled to child care leave to handle school problems and look after sick children.

She said employers should take some responsibility for the provision of child care facilities.

She said affiliates were taking up the issue at individual company and industry level and would present management with demands on Tuesday.

A snap Business Day survey showed most companies were unaware of Cosatu's plans.

SA Breweries said no one under the age of 18 was allowed on its factory premises. It felt the union would not try this tactic.

AECI said chemical factories were hazardous and children would not be allowed into factory areas "for their own safety".

Pick 'n Pay said when Cosatu a few years ago had first suggested bringing children to workplaces, very few employees had complied. However, the group would accommodate children as far as possible.

An East Rand metal factory said Numsa had approached management about bringing children to work. Children would not be allowed on to the premises, and the union had agreed with the decision. A spokesman said the issues raised would be discussed.

Goldstone panel advisers named

PRETORIA — A former Watergate prosecutor and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman are among the members of a panel appointed to advise the Goldstone commission on election violence.

Sapa reports that Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday a public inquiry into "ways and means" of curbing violence and intimidation in the forthcoming election would be held in Cape Town in August.

On the panel are acting US attorney-general and former Watergate prosecutor Charles Ruff and Zimbabwe's electoral commission chairman Prof Walter Kamba. Other members are John Olivier (HSRC), Prof C Shearing, (University of Western Cape), Prof T Geldenhuys (Unisa), Prof Otty Nxumalo (Zululand University), Canadian deputy chief electoral officer Prof Ron Gould, Prof J Elklit of Denmark and Ghanaian ambassador Theresa Stiggner-Scott.

WILSON ZWANE reports that an HSRC report has found that an effective system of rumour control will help curb violence between township and hostel residents.

In the report handed to Goldstone yesterday, the organisation said a lack of communication between hostels and surrounding communities was at the bottom of the conflict.

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AN ACQUAINTANCE whose anti-apartheid credentials go back to the '60s, and who today runs a smallish business, tells of an encounter with a relative — a brash, young up-and-coming mainstream businessman. "You spent all those years demonstrating, and that period in detention," the young man sneers. "I was at Thabo Mbeki's 50th birthday party. Where were you?"

That, perhaps, illustrates the coming of the new SA. A new class of politicians — the revolutionaries who are to become the rulers — become the ones to whom the businessmen must turn if they traditionally operate on the basis of personal favour of the bureaucracy. And that process could mean renewed disappointment and frustration for those who have been fighting — or at least waiting — for justice. It is a pattern that was followed throughout the decolonisation of Africa, and it threatens SA now too.

This is the context of the proposed deal between Macmillan Boleswa and the ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation, in which Thebe would receive a generous cut of profits on the sale of school textbooks in return for acting as a link to the presumed new ANC government.

There is, of course, nothing illegal in such an arrangement — indeed, some would present it as an example of inspired entrepreneurship. There is also not yet any deal in existence, as Macmillan and Thebe hasten to point out in arguing that any publicity is premature. There is also nothing in the proposed contract to suggest that it would entitle Macmillan to a monopoly in the sector. But, in reality, this is how it has worked out for Macmillan in Swaziland, Botswana and elsewhere to the detriment of the education systems. (The Swapo government in Namibia apparently blocked a similar proposal.)

Thebe argues it is an independent company. But the ANC's role in the company's formation, and the presence on the board of ANC official Tokyo Sexwale, means that, even if one were to accept that argument,

It's not too early to try corrupting the govt-in-waiting

BLOOM 28/9/93.

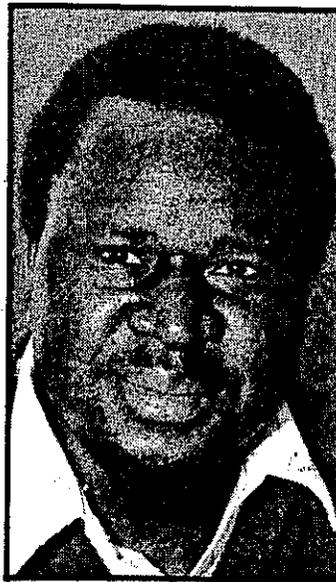
ALAN FINE

the requirement that justice be seen to be done would be absent. (Enos Mabuza, described in yesterday's story as ANC-linked, insists he resigned all political posts and memberships and is simply an independent businessman.)

Senior ANC officials, including education department head Cheryl Carolus and her deputy Lindelwe Mabandla, were sufficiently outraged by the proposal to raise the alarm, and it is unlikely to see the light of day. This, however, is just one example of a far-sighted operator attempting to pave the way to a lucrative future, and there will be others.

Tiny Rowland's Lonrho, like Macmillan, has made a killing in post-colonial Africa by timeously building relationships with the new rulers. And his proposed pro-ANC newspaper is the basis for his SA initiative.

There are other, less clear-cut, examples. There is the well-known hotelier who is developing an extremely cosy relationship with at least one highly placed ANC leader. That this hotelier once admitted paying a R2m bribe to a homeland leader for sole gambling rights "because that is how things work around here" does not mean he has a similar plan in mind right now. And the two may have developed a genuine friendship. But the relationship, alone, is sufficient



Tito Mboweni has called for an ANC code of conduct.

to worry concerned ANC insiders.

Similar thoughts have been expressed about the businessmen's club initiated by broker Sydney Frankel. In return for generous contributions to ANC coffers, members receive private political briefings from

secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Once again, there is nothing inherently untoward in this arrangement. But in the absence of total transparency about donations to political parties (and corporate "gifts" to party office bearers) the potential for suspicions of favour purchasing will come to the fore if and when donors' businesses earn state contracts in the future.

A further potential snakepit occupying certain ANC minds is the possibility of corporate directorships. With the shortage of black company directors and an imperative to increase their numbers, certain talented ANC personalities can expect to be sought after. Among the potential candidates most often mentioned are Tito Mboweni and Steve Tshwete.

Well and good, but the possibilities for conflicts of interest, even in the period before an election, are endless. There has been talk for some time within the ANC of a code of conduct for senior officials which would, among other things, forbid party officials to hold directorships — but nothing has been finalised.

Mboweni confirms that he has received "four or five" offers of directorships. He has rejected the offers on the basis of possible conflicts of interest — he will serve only on boards of non-profitmaking bodies. But he believes there is a strong case for a code of conduct, including the

requirement that party officials declare all their private financial interests and supply statements of assets and liabilities.

There is also potential for less than open dealings in the numerous national, regional and local negotiating forums which have been established around the country in the fields of development, local government, housing and the like — nearly 100 in the Transvaal alone, according to one estimate.

Already, these bodies have been allocated tens of millions of rands in taxpayers' money. And when foreign aid starts to roll in the amounts will increase to hundreds of millions or more. Even at this early stage, though, when these forums have conducted little more than feasibility studies and pilot projects, there are complaints about contracts being concluded on unfair bases. For example, it is alleged that a "politically correct" Wits academic has received major research commissions. Independent researchers believe such commissions should be put out to tender.

Ken Owen argued last month in his Sunday Times column that SA's present interregnum is a brief period between NP rule and ANC rule when the "trough" has run dry — when there are no prospects for corruption because there is no one really in power to corrupt.

He is wrong on two counts. First, it is not too early to begin attempts to corrupt the new government even before it is in power.

Second, however, Owen's apocalyptic vision of rampant corruption and underhand influence peddling in the future as in the past need not materialise. For example, the vigilance of Carolus and Mabandla will, it seems, prevent the Macmillan deal from being concluded. And there are those like Mboweni and others painfully conscious of the potential for corruption and pressing for rules of conduct to eliminate, as far as possible, the potential for that corruption and influence peddling.

Ultimately, the degree of openness in public life, and especially where finance is concerned, will determine whether the future SA becomes another Italy or Nigeria.

Kriel: more PAC arrests could follow

BIDM 28/5/93 (11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT last night took an uncompromising stand on the clamp-down on the PAC, with Law and Order Minister Hertzog warning that more arrests could follow.

Kriel, explaining the actions of the SA Police to a special session of the negotiating council, said police were still sifting through masses of documents seized and "it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated".

He said: "I wish to say that a seat around the negotiating table does not give any person or political party/organisation the right to commit murder and other crimes."

Kriel said that at the heart of the issue was the fact that no one could be allowed to continue with a policy of violence while negotiating for a peaceful solution.

To show the arrests were justified, Kriel submitted extensive documentation compiled by the SAP.

Saying the PAC's armed struggle was "nothing but a glorification of murder and crime in support of political objectives", he said the police had direct evidence of Apla involvement in a wide range of crimes. "It was therefore unavoidable and inevitable that the SAP would at some stage be forced to take action."

The police had had no choice but to act as they had this week. They would have failed in their duty had they not.

"The action was taken after extensive and exhaustive investigation which reached the stage last week where arrests were necessary," Kriel said.

He said valuable information obtained during the raids would assist police to protect the public against a wide range of crimes. He said a detained Apla member

had admitted he was instructed to observe bars where whites gathered, with the purpose of attacking and murdering them. The member had admitted to killing a man to obtain his vehicle for Apla's use. The member had also kept a police station under observation, with the objective of attacking it and officers on duty.

Kriel said five top PAC officials were in detention because of their possible involvement in several of the crimes or possession of information regarding crimes.

He said national executive committee member Enoch Zulu was being held in connection with an alleged 1977 murder, as well as on charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition. National organiser Maxwell Nema-zivhanani was being held on charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition, and was being investigated for possible links to the murder of Sandra Swanepoel in Letsitele on April 28.

He said economic affairs head Solly Skosana was allegedly involved in co-ordinating Apla task forces on the East Rand. Documentation had been found detailing activities of these forces, including the planned murder of seven SAP members and six SADF members.

With regard to the manner and timing of police actions, Kriel said it had been unavoidable that they act in the early hours of the morning. "This is the only time that persons are normally at home; it prevents persons from being arrested at work and then being transported to their homes; it prevents such actions from taking place in

To Page 2

Kriel

BIDM 28/5/93

(11A) From Page 1

public and it prevents suspects from fleeing or destroying evidence."

He said all allegations that police had acted in an uncontrolled fashion would be fully investigated; if proved, action would be taken.

Kriel said that to date, 42 of those arrested in Tuesday's raids had been released and four had appeared in court. The remaining 28 were being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows for their detention for up to 14 days before appearing in court.

PAC delegate to the talks Gora Ebrahim challenged Kriel to explain why, if extensive and exhaustive investigations had been conducted for months, only four people had been charged on minor counts of illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. Why, he asked, were the others being detained "under a tool used for govern-

ment's political opponents".

Ebrahim said: "Minister Kriel has not produced a single bit of criminal evidence against anyone."

He raised the case of PAC official Louis Moloi, seriously injured in a car accident last year. "He was only released (from hospital) after more than a year on Friday. He was released in a wheelchair, yet he was detained," said Ebrahim.

In response, Kriel said Moloi had been released from custody on Wednesday morning "after he (Moloi) had a problem".

Laughter greeted his explanation. President FW de Klerk told a news conference in Cape Town yesterday he was informed that dozens of PAC members would be arrested only after the operation was under way. He denied that the number of arrests and subsequent releases implied the SAP had gone on a "fishing expedition".



the nation in brief

Zulu king changes mind

ZULU King Goodwill Zwelithini has allegedly withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. *Sowetan 28/5/93*

This was said by Mandela, who was speaking at the Morris Isaacson High School in Soweto yesterday. He said Zwelithini's position was now apparently that "TV got it wrong" about the planned talks and the king's facilitating role. (11A)

NEWS Azapo lauds dead pathologist ● Weeding out the nation's smokers

Tributes pour in for Jonathan Gluckman

Sowetan 28/5/93

■ Fearless doctor revealed details of police brutality to a shocked SA:

By Ruth Bhengu

THE death of pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman on Tuesday night in Johannesburg should have a different effect on different people.

Those in the police force must be sighing with relief, while the dispossessed, whose hopes were pinned on Gluckman and courageous medical professionals like him, are distressed, to say the least.

The 75-year-old Gluckman, who died after a back operation, commanded great respect in the black community.

Tributes from political and professional organisations have been pouring in for the pathologist who earned himself the label "controversial".

A fellow doctor and admirer, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, who is also publicity secretary for the Azanian People's Organisation, referred to Gluckman as "a man of very high principles".

"He was a credit not only to the medical profession but to the South African nation in general. Just recently he gave the world an insight into the torture going on in South African prisons.

"It is ironic that up to his death the SAP had not as yet provided satisfactory answers to questions he raised," Mokae said.

Gluckman caused a furore last July when he revealed that police had murdered about 90 percent of the 200 people whose bodies he had examined after their deaths in custody.

He said: "The police are out of control and are murdering prisoners in custody."

He also claimed to have evidence of "police handling people in a vicious manner". But the police denied it.

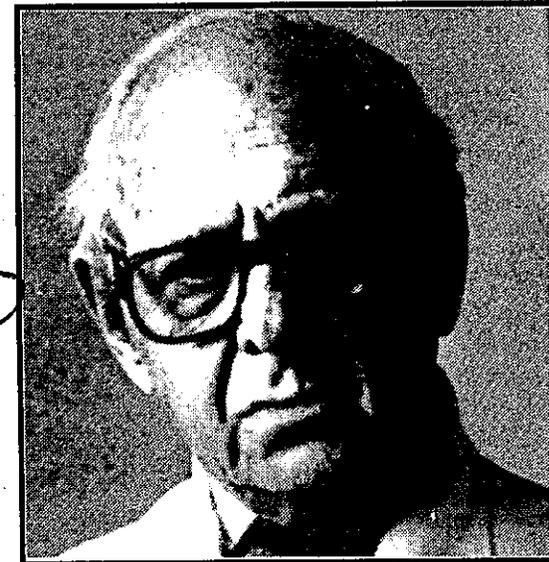
Minister of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel, after investigating the police, said only 29 percent of 200 deaths had occurred while the prisoners were in custody.

The SAP report on the investigations on its own people said of 118 people on its list 14, were still alive, seven killed in the TBVC states and Lesotho, 29 died "not in police detention or due to police action", 26 died "during police action" and in eight the SAP "could not legally be accountable".

The police report showed that 34 people had died while in detention, six were suicides, while in 14 cases police were not accountable. Eight were under investigation and in six police were prosecuted for murder, six died while in the care of the Department of Correctional Services and two died "as a result of SADF action".

In three cases, the SAP were prosecuted for murder and culpable homicide.

Gluckman's response to the police claim that some of the people were still alive was that he was "stupefied". But



Jonathan Gluckman ... died after a back operation.

so was the entire country, which had expected the Government to set up an independent commission of inquiry.

Instead, police treated Gluckman as a thorn in the flesh and called him a liar.

Spokesman for the Law and Order Ministry Captain Craig Kotze said: "Based on the information at our disposal, including information given to us by Dr Gluckman, the original allegations that police were out of control and were murdering prisoners in custody, left right and centre, cannot be substantiated."

Whether the police have managed to convince themselves that they are innocent, the reality of the situation is that people are still dying in police custody.

Reports show that up to 119 people have died this year only. Is there anyone out there willing to fill Jonathan Gluckman's shoes?

Star 28/5/93
Mokaba offends DP Youth

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party Youth lodged an official complaint yesterday with the National Peace Secretariat against ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba after statements made by him at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress on the University of the Witwatersrand campus on Wednesday.

At this meeting, DP Youth national chairman Fred Nel said in a statement, Mokaba had repeated his chant of "kill the farmer, kill the Boer" as well as remarks like "shoot to kill: shoot the Boer".

Mokaba had also called on students to launch a retaliatory attack on Wits University, Nel said. — Sapa.

~~SECRET~~ (11A)

THERE are times in life where one has to make decisions, but the one Umkhonto weSizwe member Diliza Mthembu had to make was the most difficult in his life.

He allegedly had to decide whether he was going to accept *umchina* (a gambling game), as re-entering South Africa to carry out a mission was known in African National Congress circles.

His mission? To kill his father. Why? Because his father was suspected of being an agent of the South African government.

Mthembu told his extraordinary story to the commission of inquiry investigating abuses in the ANC's detention camps in exile. In a subsequent interview with *The Weekly Mail*, he provided further background.

His father, Patrick Mthembu, had been an active member of the ANC in the late 1950s and early 1960s and had gone to China for military training. But on his return, with the Rivonia trial in progress and the government clamping down on the liberation movements, he appeared to drift from politics into a "normal" life.

During the 1976 student uprisings, while internal leaders of the ANC were being rounded up and arrested, Mthembu senior was left alone. But his son took up the cause and left the country to join the ANC in exile, where he began training as an MK soldier.

Mthembu senior remained in political oblivion until he emerged as a state witness in the case

'Kill your father,' MK man was told

Witness 28/5-3/6/93 -
A strange and horrifying tale of torture and an MK man's instructions to kill his father unfolds at the African National Congress' inquiry into the organisation's detention camps. By MDUDUZI HARVEY

of the "Pretoria 12" in the late 1970s, where members of the external wing of the MK were tried and sentenced for acts of sabotage. Later his name was mentioned on Radio Freedom as a suspected enemy agent who had infiltrated the ANC. Such people should pay for their activities, the broadcast said.

Mthembu began to hear rumours in the camps that his father was a spy. He says that while training in Katanga, Angola, in 1977, Mzwandile Piliso, head of ANC intelligence, told people at the camp that his father and others had sold out and such people were jeopardising the ANC.

Mthembu alleges that while he was in Kibashi in 1978, he was approached by Piliso, who asked him to enter the country on a mission to kill his father. He refused. Two weeks later he heard that his father had been killed.

Diliza's evidence to the commission went on

to reveal some of his experiences at the hands of the ANC security forces at Vienna and Quatro camps and the Luanda Central Prison.

He claims that, at Vienna in 1984, he was locked up for about a month in a metal freight container which had no ventilation or windows. His "cell" was always dark and he could not tell whether it was night or day. No provision for blankets was made and on some occasions he was deprived of food.

He developed an asthmatic condition because of the extremes of temperature he experienced in the cell.

He was again imprisoned in 1984 in connection with a mutiny at Vienna and sent to Luanda Central Prison. Thirty-two members of the ANC were arrested by the Angolan armed forces in the company of MK commander Joe Modise and camp commissar Andrew Masondo.

He said the Angolans had been told they were counter-revolutionaries who wanted to overthrow the Angolan government and ANC leadership. During their incarceration he claims to have been interrogated by ANC security who made the prisoners squat on their toes for hours and beat them with electric wires. At no point was he told why he had been arrested, nor was he given an opportunity to present his case, he said.

In 1985, he was transferred to Quatro where, on arrival, he was given a "lice-infested uniform" and put into a communal cell with 14 other prisoners. During his first year at the camp he said he had only been allowed out of his cell once a week for 30 minutes. Asked why he did not complain, he said: "From experience I knew this was hell."

His health had deteriorated but, because he feared being beaten by the medical staff, he had kept quiet.

"They would force us to lie on the floor, kick us with their boots, beat us with coffee sticks and tell us to do the 'pompa' ... where you have to blow air into your cheeks and hold it there until the warders slap you to release it."

Other forms of punishment included dragging a 1 000-litre tank of water while being beaten. "It was a normal thing, beating people at Quatro," he said.

On one occasion, a warder had forced him to propose love to and have sex with a tree in front of other inmates. He did not complain because the warders had told him: "Don't use your mind, just do as you are told."

Questioned by defence advocate Siraj Desai on whether he was bitter about what the ANC had done to him, he said: "I am not bitter ... Those who interrogated me are my brothers and sisters."

However, he said he had problems with people in the leadership. "I am still a member of the ANC, and I will fight anything wrong in the movement from within."

MIKE VAN GRAAN'S allegations that, because of its intolerance of "independence", the African National Congress and its Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) have vilified the National Arts Initiative (NAI) fall flat against the evidence of the official letter of support sent to the NAI by the ANC prior to the National Arts Policy Plenary (Napp) which took place at Wits University in December 1992.

In that letter the ANC, though expressing reservations about the exclusion of "cultural wings of political organisations/parties", hailed the NAI as a step in the right direction towards establishing a non-sectarian cultural dispensation for a democratic South Africa.

This ANC policy towards democratic initiatives did not change with convening of the Culture and Development Conference (CDC) at the end of April 1993 — as Van Graan, the general secretary of the NAI, implied in his open letter addressed to Wally Serote and Mewa Ramgobin (WM May 7-13 1993).

While the NAI purports to represent the interests of "arts and cultural practitioners", the DAC's main objective is the cultural liberation of the disenfranchised people of South Africa. The DAC perceives cultural liberation not as an end in itself, but as an aspect of national liberation.

Furthermore, whereas the NAI placed the cart before the horse by convening an Napp for "cultural practitioners" before consulting with culturally disadvantaged communities, the DAC instead chose to establish a consultative infrastructure and then present its policy recommendations for scrutiny by its constituency.

ANC policy formulation is guided by grassroots participation through its national, regional and local structures as well as international consultation. The CDC can be described as having been an exercise to consolidate as many grassroots cultural liberation proposals as possible into a single democratic vision.

For this reason, the NAI was offered full participatory status which it, unfortunately, declined — thereby effectively excluding itself from the deliberations where its gripes about the DAC could have been raised.

By excluding "cultural wings of political organisations/parties" from full participation in its Napp, the NAI was promoting a culture of exclusivism within the cultural community, if not the South African society.

The ANC prefers to facilitate a consensus-seeking atmosphere by emphasising commonalities, rather than differences, between diverse socio-cultural groups, formations and individuals. That is why the ANC offered the NAI and parastatals like the performing arts councils, as well as custodians of Afrikaner culture like the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, full participatory status at the CDC.

There are two major schools of thought related to democratisation of arts and culture in South Africa. One faction believes that after

Artistic liberation, not control, is the ANC objective

*W/Mant 28/5 - 3/6/93.
Two weeks ago, Mike van Graan of the National Arts Initiative wrote an open letter in The Weekly Mail accusing the African National Congress of trying to control artists.*

MTUTZELI MATSHOBA

replies

four decades, if not more, of cultural manipulation by a regime serving the interests of a minority, it is high time that the arts and culture community took its fate into its own hands, excluding the cultural desks of liberation organisations and/or political parties. The other faction believes that, with apartheid still firmly in place, it is still too premature to dissociate the arts and culture from the liberation struggle.

The DAC subscribes to the latter thinking on the basis that, in order to complete the task of dislodging apartheid from our lives in all its forms, including cultural apartheid, the democratic campaign needs all hands on deck, working in unison rather than in discord.

At the same time, the DAC acknowledges the principle of non-sectarianism in the arts and culture. One of the features, however, should be the broadest representation, if not the inclusion of, all cultural stakeholders in South Africa.

Moreover, recent experience at the Codesa negotiations to which Van Graan referred has shown that the exclusion of certain stakeholders from any negotiations to determine the future of the country, no matter how insignificant they may at first seem, is an error that may deadlock, if not completely derail, progress.

Some cultural fundamentalists may still disagree with this argument on the basis that any political interest group or, to be specific, "government in waiting", as the ANC is often perceived to be, that meddles in cultural matters

does so for its own interests, rather than those of the cultural stakeholders themselves.

But this contention is only valid if the interests of the said group are sectarian, as has always been the case in South Africa. It does not hold water when the interests of the said potential government are founded on popular aspirations, as the policies of the ANC are, and shall always be.

By propagating such ideas, the DAC is not necessarily calling for the acceptance of the ANC's DAC as the main or only protagonist of a democratic cultural dispensation, but is promoting an all-inclusive process of cultural democratisation so that at the end of it we may emerge with the most comprehensive national cultural policy.

For such a policy to be fully appreciated by whatever party will eventually wield the political power to make the people's cultural aspirations possible, all "potential governments", which are in actual fact all the political parties in a multi-party state as envisaged by the ANC, should be involved at the policy formulation stages and not wait for the role of fund allocation masters when they achieve power.

It is no mistake that Clause 7 of the Freedom Charter presumes the involvement of government in the discovery, development and encouragement of national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life. It is also no mistake that it promotes the opening of the cultural treasures of mankind to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands.

And, since everywhere in the world education is an obligation of governments, it is no illusion that the aim of education under a democratic government shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.

Since all these virtues can, to a great extent, be realised through cross-cultural pollination and interaction on the same platform as that of formal education, the integration of cultural and formal education is essential to the formulation of a productive education system. And because education is a government responsibility, governments will always be directly or indirectly involved in the provision of cultural training and development of facilities and resources.

As it was the apartheid regime that stifled South Africa's cultural development, it will take a democratic government guided by the vision of the people to create circumstances conducive to fruitful cultural development, not only the cultural community.

The emergence of the NAI surely did not mean the automatic demise of the DAC and other initiatives. After 10 years (since its formulation) of laying the ground for transformative negotiations, it would be irresponsible for the DAC to abdicate its responsibility towards the constituency it has so painstakingly built and represented locally and internationally.

●Mtutzele Matshoba is media spokesman for the DAC

Four arrested PAC members in court

(11A) CT 28/5/92
JOHANNESBURG. — Four members of the PAC, arrested during a police swoop on Tuesday in which 73 PAC members were detained, appeared briefly in the Protea Magistrate's Court in Soweto yesterday morning.

They are Mr Ruben Mesani, Mr Tebogo Mashani, Mr Belelani Bongani and Mr Daniel Tshalala. Charges of illegal possession of ammunition are being investigated against them. The case was postponed to June 10 and the men have been remanded.

● Only 32 of those arrested in the swoop are still being detained, police said yesterday.

This follows the release of 43 suspects during the course of Wednesday night and yesterday morning, a police spokesman said. — Sapa

Kriel is after our blood, says PAC man

11A

~~201~~

Sowetan 28/5/93.

Sowetan & Radio Metro *Talkback*

By Mzimasi Ngudle



with Tim Modise

THE swoop on 75 members of the Pan Africanist Congress had something to do with Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel's opposition to its participation in the multi-party talks.

This was said by Mr Lesaoana Makhanda, a member of the organisation's national executive committee, during last night's *Sowetan*/Radio Metro *Talkback* Show.

Many of the callers said the PAC was one of the items in the Government's grand scheme of co-option.

The callers were, without exception, outraged at Tuesday's arrest of PAC members. They called on the PAC to pull out of the multiparty talks.

Defending the PAC's involvement

in the talks, Makhanda said the organisation's participation was a "point in the process of struggle for liberation".

Makhanda said the Gestapo-like arrests did not come as a surprise.

"Our demands for the return of the land is not going to make the Government very happy. The arrests were preplanned and well-timed to force the PAC out of negotiations.

"Kriel has consistently demanded the exclusion of the PAC in the negotiations. You could see at the multiparty talks that he was not happy that we were there," he said.

A member of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, Lekau of Pietersburg, said the Government could not be trusted.

"Azapo has been and is still consistently warning people not to trust the regime and the likes of the Democratic Party.

"No forum will do anything for us while the regime is still in power. So what is the PAC doing at World Trade Centre?"

Makhanda said "no normal person can negotiate himself out of power".

Some of the callers said the PAC's participation in the multi-party talks showed that the organisation had abandoned its previous demand for majority rule.

"Why does the PAC, given its radical stance, participate in multiparty talks?"

Bongani, Cape Town

"The PAC should withdraw from negotiations until their legitimate demands have been addressed."

Makopo, Daveyton

"Why did they urinate in our offices instead of arresting their suspects and charging them?"

PAC worker Pinkie, Johannesburg

Will PAC clamp-down wreck negotiations?

South 2915 - 216193

By Christelle Terreblanche

WHILE state president FW de Klerk said the raid on PAC and Apla members this week had no political motive, the political consequences could be critical for the peace process.

Some observers do not believe him and suggest the raid could be a calculated effort to destabilise both the National Party and the liberation movements.

They point to an ongoing power struggle between so-called hawks and doves in the NP in which Minister of Law order Hennis Kriel is said to play a leading role.

But during his question time in parliament on Wednesday, De Klerk said he was informed about the raid on Monday night when it was already in progress.

"It was not necessary for Kriel to seek my approval, since the police had prima facie evidence that the people apprehended were involved in serious crimes," he said.

But MP's close to the negotiation process still want to know why the government's and NP negotiators, Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Dawie de Villiers, were not informed, bearing in mind the political ramifications of the action.

Some even say it was tantamount to banning the PAC.

"There is no need for this to

derail negotiations, once the law takes its normal-course", De Klerk countered.

But opposition MPs are concerned that the government is not in a position to invoke the full force of the law.

"If in the next few days the people apprehended, especially the leaders, are not formally charged in court, the government would have serious problems on its hands", says Mr Peter Gastrow, DP spokesperson for Law and Order.

"If they are brought to court on serious charges, then the process need not derail. If they don't and even if the process stays on track, the police will have even less credibility during the transition than before."

"If PAC leaders are jailed for less than very serious offences and withdraw from negotiations, the ANC will most likely also withdraw in solidarity," says Jan van Eck, Independent MP for Clarendon and ANC member.

The action has brought to the fore severe differences in emphasis inside the government.

While De Klerk has said the negotiation process and the maintenance of law and order are of equal importance, Kriel has said several times in parliament that there can be no election as long as violence continues.

No split in LP, says Hendrickse

South 2915 - 216193

(11A)

By Christelle Terreblanche

LABOUR Party (LP) leader Rev Allan Hendrickse, has denied that differences of opinion exist within his party about its proposed election alliance with the ANC.

This follows the resignation of LP Western Cape chairperson Mr Aubrey Baartman who cited tensions within the party over the alliance with the ANC as his reason for standing down.

However, Hendrickse is convinced that the alliance will go ahead despite Western Cape ANC opposition to it.

Baartman said some members of the LP believed the Western Cape ANC had "rejected" and "humiliated" them.

He claimed he was spearheading efforts to make contact with ANC leaders but was unable to meet them. He nevertheless

believes strongly that the LP cannot survive on its own any longer and members should set aside differences or disband the party.

"I am seriously considering resigning as an LP member and joining the ANC as an individual," Baartman said.

"I would suggest this would be the best thing to do for other Western Cape LP members."

Sources within the LP said Baartman resigned because Ms Peta Lategan was appointed to the party's negotiating team and not him.

Asked for comment, Baartman said he was unhappy but thought the LP's deputy leader, Ms Yvonne Bashier would have been a better choice.

Ms Lategan's husband, Ken, MP for Hanover Park, has replaced Baartman as Western Cape chairperson of the party.

By Quentin Wilson

Apla promises to strike back after arrests

South 2915 - 216193

IF LAW and order minister Mr Hernus Kriel thought Tuesday's sloop on 73 PAC and Apla members would end the violence, he is in for an unpleasant surprise, warns Mr Willie Seriti, PAC national executive committee member.

"It will have totally the opposite effect," predicts Seriti, "Even people who are not PAC members will question the point of continuing negotiations and rely on more militant forms of struggle."

After two and a half years of wavering, the PAC committed itself last month to joining the multi-party negotiating forum, while Apla, the PAC's military wing, continued its armed struggle.

The multi-party talks were days away from announcing a date for democratic elections: a decision which could have pressurised the PAC into suspending armed action.

"Now that has all changed," says Seriti.

"The regime is forcing the PAC out of negotiations and they are now left with a negotiating forum that lacks any legitimacy in the eyes of the African people."

Seriti added the PAC would have to consult all its members before taking a decision on its role in the future.

Apla promised on Wednesday to act "brutally and ruthlessly" against white South Africans unless detained PAC members were released immediately.

Warning that the safety of "so-called soft targets" could no longer be guaranteed, Apla claimed to be "poised to create a situation of complete insecurity in every section of the oppressor community".

The wholesale arrests were interpreted "as the declaration of war between white oppressors and the African oppressed people."

Since Tuesday's sloop, 11 people have been released, leaving 20 people detained in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act and 42 people held in terms of Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act.

In the Western Cape, those arrested include PAC regional organiser Mr Michael Siyolo, regional leader Mr Zizakele Mahluthana, and members Mr Nkosempu Naki and Mr Siphiwe Mkweso.



CLARENCE MAKWETU

PAC DEMANDS

Soweto 29/5 - 2/6/93

ACCORDING TO PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, the following demands will have to be met by the government before the PAC returns to the negotiating table:

- the government must immediately and unconditionally release all PAC members;
- all confiscated computers, documents and other equipment must be returned to the PAC; (11A)
- damage to property caused by the raids must be repaired by the government;
- the government must indicate which PAC documents were photocopied; and
- the government must publicly apologise for Tuesday's swoop.

Makwetu said the arrest of the organisation's national and regional leadership had made it "almost impossible" to continue effectively and meaningfully with negotiations.

ARG 29/5/93

UN anti-apartheid pioneer has hope

Weekend Argus Correspondent

(11A)

DURBAN. — The man who took the first shot at apartheid South Africa at the United Nations, Dr Cassim Jadwat, 74, has returned home for a visit for the first time in 48 years, confident about this country's future.

Dr Jadwat, who lives in New York and worked with the late Mr Oliver Tambo, was already an activist when he went to the United Kingdom to complete his medical studies.

He was asked to attend the United Nations sitting in Paris in 1948 to lobby against South Africa on behalf of the liberation movements.

Dr Jadwat said: "It was the first time there was a lobby against South Africa at the United Nations. It was extremely interesting because with us were people from other African countries who were also using the lobby to fight colonialism."

A leaflet, entitled *South Africa On The Road To Facism*, was distributed and, according to Dr Jadwat, it proved extremely effective.

The United Nations moved to New York and, by the time Mr Jadwat got there, most of the people from African countries who had lobbied alongside him in Paris were now members of governments.

Now back in Durban, Dr Jadwat said the changes were unbelievable and he had never dreamed that he would be able to return.

"It was a dream. The violence is depressing, but I believe people will work out a solution," he said.

He has not met African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela, but Dr Jadwat said that he was regarded as the only true leader.

"He has very close links with United States President Bill Clinton. The stature and respect he commands is exceptionally high."

Freedom — but from what?

Souku 29/5 - 216/93

Much publicity has been given to the Free Cape Movement since its inception last year. Yet, with national negotiations at a fairly advanced stage, little is known about what this movement will do if its leaders do not like the outcome.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE looks at the available evidence:

THE FREE Cape Movement's militaristic language has toned down slightly, but there has been no commitment from them on the process of negotiations.

Instead they are quick to say they are not politicians. This is confusing.

The Movement's mission statement, drafted by prominent politicians, including Mr Roger Hulley, DP MP for Constantia and Mr Willem Steenkamp, NP member of the President's Council, reads like this:

"To obtain for the unique Western Cape Region the greatest degree of freedom and self-government in a future South Africa, so that all Cape people, regardless of race, colour, creed or gender can control their own political and economic destiny."

To prove this uniqueness, they claim the region is "a mature and war-free society, unlike the rest of the country". They also claim: "We are the people of the Western Cape."

The question remains: What does the Movement intend to do to achieve this goal?

The Movement claims to have nearly 10 000 members, of which

almost 20 percent are not white.

It has held several public meetings, including one in Stellenbosch where Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) was the guest speaker.

A "pact" between the Western Cape and Kwazulu/Natal was announced at the conclusion. IFP spokespersons emphasise, however, that this is not an election alliance.

The Movement is also running two campaigns. In the media they have been asking people to respond to their Members of Parliament. "Is your MP loyal to you?", "Does Roelf Meyer take instructions from Joe Slovo?" and "Are the police and defence force betrayed by the politicians?" are the questions asked.

The demand is: "We want to be masters in our own home" and the campaign intended to put pressure on politicians.

Mr Hennie Bester, DP MP for Green Point, in Parliament recently described this advertisement as "sinister", "cynical" and "total onslaught propaganda like that of the PW Botha era".

At the same time a "Western Cape referendum" is being run by the Movement, asking people whether they want a centralised system or federalism. They claim to have 98 percent support for federalism.



CAPE CRUSADER: Christopher Hill, chairperson of the Free Cape Movement, makes his feelings clear

So what are they going to do with this support, the alliance and the "referendum"?

"There are no talks," says current chairperson Mr Christopher Hill, an ex-Zimbabwean born in Scotland, when asked whether he thinks elections should take place next year.

"The whole thing has been decided between the government and the ANC and they are just going through the motions."

Hill believes the Movement can have little impact on negotiations. Yet, it styles itself as a pressure group and claims to have had bilateral talks with a wide range of politicians, including administrator of the Cape Mr Kobus Meiring and Cape NP leader Mr Dawie de Villiers.

"These people admit that there is little or no difference between us, but they won't come out openly to support us," Hill laments.

Asked about where the movement stands in the political spectrum, Hill

ducks the issue. He eventually says he regards everything left of the NP akin to "Joe Stalin himself".

"We are very definitely anti-socialist," he later states.

Throwing out lines like: "we are sick and tired of being told what to do" and "all dictators are equally bad, whether they are white or black", Hill comes over more like Jimmy Swaggart than a politician.

Among the prominent members of the Movement are Mr Robert Hall, a controversial American businessman who settled on a Western Cape farm and Mr Nic Myburgh, Western Cape IFP leader, previously associated with government intelligence.

Hill claims well-known figures from both the ANC and NP will soon join openly, among them an unidentified deputy minister.

According to him the Movement's powerbase includes people from all walks of life, but few young people. At its meetings a significant

'We will destroy the squatters with prosperity'

amount of German speakers ex-Rhodesians have been spotted.

Hill claims coloured membership is growing, because of the "feared violence" and "the squatter problem".

So what does the movement intend to do about these problems?

Once autonomous, the Western Cape will be able to limit the extent of the violence, they claim. Regarding the squatters, Hill says: "We destroy the squatters with prosperity, because they are consumers."

This is an interesting statement. The language is militant capitalism: presupposes growth and wealth. It states that squatters are useless. The movement's leaders.

Reading between the lines becomes clear the movement's objective is to keep Western Cape resources put. Hill believes the region could become a kind of California, with even its own foreign representation.

And this is where the movement's ambiguous part of the Movement comes in. Although claiming to be federalists, their language clearly suggests they are secessionists. A number of politicians have described this as disturbing, because following this line could lead to violence and economic decline.

Hill denies secessionist tendencies, saying the movement's definition of federalism is more accurate than that of other parties organisations.

His only explanation is a question: "Why is the ANC/SA alliance so afraid of federalism?"

NEGOTIATIONS are poised to move into their most critical phase yet as participants gear themselves for a week in which the country could know when it will go to the polls in its first ever democratic elections.

Yesterday exhausted negotiating council members had to cut short their work.

But both ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were optimistic that an election date could be set at a negotiating forum meeting on Thursday.

However, both cautioned that a lot of work lay ahead and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Frank Mdlalose expressed concern at the "galloping" pace and a failure to get to grips with the issue of violence.

emergency session to discuss the arrests of PAC members.

The fragility of the process had been thrown into sharp relief by the raids. The spotlight has now moved to the PAC national executive committee meeting today in Johannesburg. In terms of a joint statement by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander and Meyer, the PAC undertook to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence".

The organisation further undertook to give "a clear unambiguous report" on these positions at a meeting with the Government on Tuesday. The Government agreed to release certain key PAC members and return those documents police had seized and which were not required for investigations.

PAC sources said the organisation was unlikely to suspend its armed struggle or to sign the National Peace Accord after the NEC meeting. However, it may commit itself to peace.

Government sources have indicated that it would press for compliance to earlier resolutions taken by the negotiating council. These resolutions committed parties to peace and barred them from further participation if they did not do so.

lay ahead and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Frank Mdlalose expressed concern at the "galloping" pace and a failure to get to grips with the issue of violence.

The seeds of a far-reaching compromise between those parties concerned at the process to be followed towards a new dispensation and those apparently reluctant to embrace regionalism have also been sown.

Ramaphosa indicated Tuesday's negotiating council meeting would be critical. It will deal with the constitution-making process, and a clear linkage between ANC compromises on regionalism and an IFP shift on how the process should run has begun to emerge.

Ramaphosa said agreement could be reached if there was "linkage between constitutional principles and the constitution-making process. Therein lies an area for settlement. If we can reach progress on Tuesday, I think we can arrive at an election date on Thursday."

Truncated

Meyer said that from the Government's perspective, "we can still say it (an announcement on Thursday) is still attainable." He cautioned "extensive debate" lay ahead and also expressed concern "that we have not made significant progress on the violence issue".

Yesterday's debate on the technical committee's report on violence was truncated after several negotiators raised concerns about its contents. A proposal by Meyer that the technical committee expand its report to indicate what conditions were necessary to eliminate violence was adopted. It will report back on Tuesday. Meyer was supported by Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Walter

• TO PAGE 2.

Crucial week for election date

Tuesday will be make-or-break day

Star 29/5/93

Star 29/5/93 The talks

• FROM PAGE 1.

Felgate. The 15-member commission on regions was also appointed during the day.

It will make recommendations within six weeks on the delimitation of regions for elections as well as their implications for the "structures of the constitution".

There was considerable relief among negotiators that a potential crisis had been defused yesterday when the Government and PAC emerged from an early-morning meeting with a compromise agreement.

It allowed the PAC to stay in the process and was hailed by key negotiators as an indication of the resilience now inherent in negotiations.

"It was an indication that the negotiating council's roots are firmly anchored," Meyer said. "It was the first time the resumed process had been subjected to these types of demands.

"The fact that all parties are at the end of the week still at the table is in itself significant," he said.

Ramaphosa said that although Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel had tried to "sabotage" negotiations, they had been salvaged by Thursday's

Apla blamed for city attack

CT 29/5/93 (11A) ~~11A~~

Staff Reporter

THE Boxing Day terror attack on a Claremont restaurant last year was the work of Apla, the government has claimed.

A document distributed to the negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel to justify the detentions of PAC members, including National Executive Committee (NEC) officers, lists 49 incidents of terror.

In support of his belief that the attack formed part of Apla's adoption of Mao Tse-tung's theory of protracted people's war, Mr Kriel quoted 1967 minutes from the PAC's NEC meeting in Tanzania.

Mr Kriel said the strategy would first be waged "against the unprotected, isolated settler farmers" and then escalate into large-scale military operations before the conventional war showdown.

The government backs its claim of an Apla assault on Stakes Restaurant by citing a telephone call to the Daily Dispatch newspaper by the Peninsula's alleged Apla commander Mr Bam Bata, who claimed responsibility.

Govt cites call to newspaper

If the government's claim is correct, this would be the first confirmed Apla attack in the Peninsula.

Stakes Restaurant owner Mr Malcolm Visser suffered a gunshot wound in his left leg which opened a hole the size of a fist when the gunman raked his restaurant with automatic gunfire.

He was convinced the attack was the work of Apla: "It takes a special breed of people to kneel four metres away and start shooting," he said last night.

He will send a claim to the State President's Fund to help cover medical and other costs of about R56 000 incurred after the attack, which he thought lasted about "six seconds".

Mr Kriel's document attributes to Apla a string of attacks includ-

ing this year's April 28 slaying of a Tzaneen farmer's wife Mrs Sandra Swanepoel, which led to the arrest of self-confessed Apla member Mr Clifford Thobegane.

Other attacks include last year's November 28 King William's Town shooting which claimed four lives and the Queenstown Spur Restaurant limpet mine blast which killed one person and injured 19 others a week later.

The minister claims the PAC was responsible for channeling funds to Apla and cites a May 13, 1991 minute from Apla chief-of-staff Mr Barney Hlatswayo to PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu where he was addressed as commander-in-chief of Apla.

Mr Kriel quotes a Citizen newspaper interview in which an Apla military deputy commander Mr Congo Jibril said: "All whites have been taught a culture of spying and hostile attitudes towards the liberation movement, therefore they qualify as our targets."

Mr Jibril excluded creches and primary schools as targets.

In the document Mr Kriel claimed that Apla cadres received military training in Tanzania, Guinea, "instant training" in Zimbabwe and "crash courses" in Transkei.

March a mistake -

Star 29/5/93

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter



THE ANC has conceded it was "an error of judgment" to lead its supporters on a march past the hostel in Tokoza last Saturday, but says it does not thereby accept the blame for the violence that this incident has sparked across the East Rand.

Addressing a preliminary hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday, counsel for the ANC-SACP-COSATU alliance Azhar Cachalia said there had been no "sinister motive" for going past the hostel. The police warning that this might cause trouble, however, had not been treated "with the seriousness it deserved".

Paul Mashatile, secretary of the ANC's PWV region, said an error of judgment had been made. "But we are not saying that all the chaos that has since broken out in that area is our responsibility," he said.

The commission heard that the leader of the ANC's Tokoza branch, Mondli Gungubela, had been warned of potential problems at the hostel by the police.

"A prudent course of action would have been to proceed with the march if possible along another route," Cachalia said. The ANC accepted it was "understandable for the hostel dwellers to perceive themselves as under attack".

Poorly organised

Mashatile said the ANC's submission to the hearing, which retracted earlier criticisms of police conduct, referred "specifically to what happened on Saturday. But we are not saying that there are no problems with the police in regard to what has been happening since then. We believe there is a lot of misconduct going on."

Cachalia said the ANC's PWV region had met with Nelson Mandela, who had advised them to make "full open and honest" submissions to the commission.

The ANC withdrew earlier allegations that policing of Tokoza was inadequate — saying these were based on "inaccurate information" — and conceded that the march was "poorly organised".

Cachalia said the ANC should have ensured that marchers were disarmed before leaving the stadium where they had assembled, and had failed to supply "anywhere near" the 1 000 marshals they had undertaken to provide. The ANC was now seriously assessing "the extent to which we give sub-regions the autonomy to run marches without the guidance" of the national leadership.

While the ANC would "vigorously assert the right to gather and demonstrate", it accepted that there were "duties and responsibilities that go with that", in particular ensuring that marchers were not armed with dangerous weapons.

Following the hearing, the Tokoza Hostel Dwellers Association and the Inkatha Freedom Party undertook to "take appropriate steps to ensure that hostel dwellers are not in possession of illegal firearms".

The Commission commended the police for their "responsible and sensible" action on the day of the march and praised the parties for their "candour and objectivity". The Commission statement said mass demonstration was a fundamental right but it had to be "exercised in such a way as to avoid conflict".

ANC

Exclude masses at your peril

CIPress 30/5/93

AS SA continues to grapple with its constitutional future in the midst of deepening upheaval, it is important that some perspective is brought into the political debate.

The absence of a strong and independent media in the country has only exacerbated the lack of clarity and objective analysis at a crucial time in the country's history. South Africans do not have much information upon which to make informed opinions and choices on issues that acutely affect their lives and future.

Patriotism

SA does not have a culture of democracy or political accountability. To its white citizens, patriotism meant giving unquestioning loyalty to successive white minority governments.

Among blacks, often the imperatives of keeping banned organisations alive meant sacrificing accountability and democracy.

Policy debate remains shallow and inordinately contaminated by outright bias and dishonesty. The constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park are largely negotiations between the elites of the various participating parties, most of whom have no demonstrable support whatsoever. The public remains cut off.

The cause of democracy in SA is undermined. The inherent dictatorial character of most politicians is only matched by the complacency and naivety of the public.

Contrary to the assumptions of Pretoria's apologists, the principal motivation of the February 1990 liberalisation announcements was less a desire to embrace democracy than a survival instinct in the face of overwhelming domestic and international pressure on the apartheid state.

The economy could no longer support the political status quo and President De Klerk and his government acceded to changes more out of need than desire.

SA will be faced with the problems of expectations. The black majority expect improved circumstances in the often-talked about "new SA".

The problem is that the most probable political settlement is unlikely to deliver on such expectations. Apart from the in-

What are the prospects for stability in South Africa by the year 2000? This is the question EUGENE NYATHI, director of the Centre for African Studies and an acknowledged professional speaker on politics and economics, asked at a South African-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry lunchtime meeting in Johannesburg this week. Nyathi sets out possible scenarios facing the country once a constitution-making body is in place.



ability of the economy to underpin the settlement reached, a future government may not wield the power necessary to affect the needed structural transformation.

SA's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continues to lag far behind the population growth rate of 2,5 percent a year.

Another problem is that the talks are structurally flawed. Most participating parties do not have any support, which robs the process of the very legitimacy it is supposed to deliver.

Effective leverage

In essence the constitution-making body will be a public relations exercise to rubberstamp a constitution whose essentials shall have been determined in advance at the Kempton Park talks.

The emerging compromise between the parties amounts to an agreement to pre-empt democratic constitution-making.

The SA government appears to have succeeded in locking the ANC into a relation on terms favourable to the former and its constituency. Despite the ANC's stronger numerical following, its leadership has failed to translate it into sustained effective leverage at the negotiation table.

Ultimately, negotiations are about leverage. Other than the potential to use mass action, the ANC has no leverage on government.

When ANC leaders returned from exile, they were so intoxicated with the

illusion of a quick settlement they ignored their real strength, the masses.

Structures put together by the surrogate United Democratic Front (UDF) have been neglected.

Simultaneously, security agencies of the state accelerated the process of decay by unleashing a ruthless campaign of selective assassination of scores of civic, community and other leaders.

Barring some unforeseen crisis, and despite likely hiccups on the way, SA seems headed for a settlement in 1994. The government is keen to conclude a settlement during the current parliamentary term, while the ANC leadership is in such haste to reach agreement that they are prepared to accept almost any settlement.

The 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change. The emphasis of the settlement will be a strategic co-option of the black elite, both political and professional.

For the majority, conditions will remain as they are or quite possibly get worse.

The Joe Slovo-authored "Sunset Clause" has since been adopted as an official ANC document. In the name of reconciliation, the document effectively guarantees civil service jobs for at least 10 years after a political settlement.

A future ANC government can expect to come under pressure from its constituency to employ more blacks in

the civil service, a move that will further bloat its ranks. The net effect of such levels of government spending will keep taxes high and continue to divert precious resources from the more productive private sector.

Clearly the author of the Sunset Clause knows many things - but economics is not one of them! The waste and tax implications of the Clause will condemn this country economically.

Politically, the policy will undermine an ANC government's ability to embark on desperately-needed qualitative "affirmative action" programmes in the civil service, a potentially explosive issue to its constituency.

The question of whether or not the settlement will stick is pertinent.

The principal beneficiaries of the 1994 settlement will be whites and a small black elite.

If this combined elite act consciously to extend the benefits of the settlement to more and more South Africans, it is possible that over the medium- to long-term, the majority of people will identify with the settlement and act in ways that will stabilise the country and register steady progress.

Selfishly

Another scenario is possible. If the new combined black and white elites act selfishly and secure only their narrow interests, they could very quickly alienate the majority who would respond negatively.

Public disillusion and the lack of improvement in quality of life will galvanise public resistance against the settlement.

At that point, the moral authority of leaders like Mandela and others associated with the 1994 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge.

Ultimately, it is important to realise that democracy is more than one person, one vote. It includes a multiplicity of committed centres of power in a configuration that ensures stability and continuity. Therein lies our greatest challenge ever.



POP IT IN HERE BUB ... An organiser assists a voter to cast a mock vote. Political parties and organisations were out on the streets this week testing voter awareness.

WALDMAN ■ Pic: AMY

AB

of

DEMOCR

Express 30/5/93

SA's first authentic general election seems inevitable and some parties and groups have ventured out on the streets to test the electorate. Some of their findings were technical - is an "X" with its classroom association of "incorrect" too confusing? However, the general public response was ambiguous: The idea of really having a say seemed too good to be true. Yet underlying this deep cynicism lurked an equally fierce determination to taste the prohibited power of a vote.

By AMY WALDMAN

AT Kempton Park, the scent of an election date is in the air. In anticipation, voter education efforts by independent organisations and political parties are moving forward. Those efforts reflect the excitement generated by the prospect of elections, but also the concern, cynicism and confusion.

At the Randburg CBD taxi rank, the ANC sets up a cardboard polling booth and ballot box every Saturday, and passersby stop to learn how to vote. An ANC organiser explains, "An X is not bad, like in school. It doesn't mean you don't like the party." He holds up a sample ballot. "Don't make your X too small or too big."

They step up to take their turn, at first shyly, then confidently. After they vote, ballots are removed from the box, checked to make sure they are correctly marked and counted up. The ANC usually wins.

The ANC ballot lists party names and symbols. The fake ballot which the DP uses has no symbols. Until an Electoral Act is passed no one knows whether the ballots will be with or without symbols, in colour or black and white, with or without photos of party leaders.

And while the ANC thinks that only an "X" will do, others say almost any mark will be acceptable. Mipho Keagile of the Matla Trust says: "Parties with literate voters will push for having an X be the only mark. Parties with illiterate voters - who have learned that an X means 'wrong', or is for a signature - will push for any mark to be acceptable."

Electoral Act

Keagile says people in workshops often become despondent when they find out that no rules are final - including the necessary form of ID - until an Electoral Act is passed.

Some concerns are even more basic. The Black Sash provides a sheet which allows people who have never held a pen before to practise making Xs. To reach diverse and semi-literate audiences, the Sash also uses a play of two women discussing the vote.

Both Matla Trust and the Sash are making special efforts to reach rural women who cannot easily leave their home and work to learn how to vote.

"Too many voter education programmes are holding conferences and talking about what needs to be done," says the Sash's Gill De Vlieg. "Maybe they'll have it all figured out by the election, but then it won't do much good."

Start doing, she says and you'll learn what needs to be done. De Vlieg says she has been asked, "Why should we vote?" and "Do we have to vote?" There is no law, she says, but it is important for democracy.



LONG WAIT ... The black majority have waited all their lives for a real vote. Few were prepared to

Keagile says the "voter motivation" section of the Matla Trust workshops try to convince people that their votes are history-making.

That people need motivation may depress those who have fought so hard for the vote. But for many, the prospect of voting means as much fear as liberation.

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC in Natal are so high that voter education workshops no longer announce sample results, for fear of provoking retribution against those in the minority.

De Vlieg says the question of violence arises frequently in workshops: "How will a new government end the violence?" For some, elections seem the only hope; for others, the workshop is a place to talk about a hopeless situation.

"No one can see who you are voting for. It's totally secret. If your employer says you must vote NP, you can vote ANC, then say you voted NP," the ANC organiser tells the Randburg crowd.

Keagile says the fear comes not just from the

BC

of

OCRACY

SAME BOAT ...
Everybody wants something different out of the election, but for domestic workers, such as this woman attending a meeting in Sandton, the issue was how hard they worked for so little.



Politicians find deep suspicion and desire on streets

understand the difference between a Transitional Executive Council, Constituent Assembly, Interim Government and Government of National Unity, but things aren't so clear for the man and woman on the street.

"If there's an interim government, there is no State President, so why are we having non racial elections?" Goodman Lekwakwa demands of an ANC official in Randburg. He adds: "Do we vote for a State President once, and then is he president permanently?"

Lekwakwa gets sorted out, sort of. But there are limits to how much of the twists and turns of the negotiation process anyone can absorb. "Especially with real rural people, if you take them and bombard them with a lot of knowledge, you actually leave them with nothing," Keagile says.

Taste

Interpreting the policies of different parties can also be mind-boggling. The ANC both gains and loses followers for its supposedly communist beliefs. "I don't care if the ANC is communist, I don't give a damn. I don't know what communism is, but I want to taste it just like I tasted apartheid capitalism," says Mphalla Motlakeng, of Juikse Park.

A DP explanation of the importance of regionalism elicits an indifferent response from most of the domestic workers at a meeting in Sandton. Local control, national control: what the workers really want to talk about is how hard they work for so little pay, with so few breaks.

Voter education cannot teach people how to tell the difference between an empty promise and a realistic one, or between a slogan and a policy. De Vlieg says: "We can only encourage people to be cautious of promises - the economy cannot produce instant housing and water."

Keagile believes, however, that most people will not vote on issues in the first election. "Right now they are just looking for a new government - to vote is to change."

This time around, despite the delays, concerns and confusion, the act itself will be most important. He describes a workshop where during the mock voting, the power generator failed. "We bought candles and kept going in the dark, because people wouldn't move from the queue until they voted."



or a real vote. Few were prepared to vote for the "black local authorities".

says the question of violence arises from workshops: "How will a new government be?" For some, elections seem the only way, the workshop is a place to talk about situation.

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ys the fear comes not just from the

prospect of intolerance among parties, but also from the potential presence of Home Affairs officials or the police and army at the polls.

"We have to convince them that there will be international observers and representatives of all parties," he says. "Intimidation shouldn't stop an election. There has been fighting in Northern Ireland almost since they started having elections, and still people go to vote."

The technical committees at Kempton Park may

Judge hits at

ANC alliance organisers had given little consideration to the desirability of marching past the Thokoza hostel on the East Rand, according to a preliminary inquiry by the Goldstone Commission.

In a report on the violence which erupted at Thokoza last Saturday, costing 14 lives, Judge Richard Goldstone said marshals should have known hostel inmates would be averse to an ANC march nearby.

The march had also failed to comply with an undertaking given to the local authority and chief magistrate that there would be 1 000 marshals. There were substantially fewer present.

Goldstone said a "fracas" had broken out between a small group of marchers and hostel dwellers at the same time as a 10-member group fired at the hostel. Firearms were used in cross-fire which then ensued from within the hostel and from the group of marchers, he added.

At least five people began firing at police with AK47s and the police returned fire with live ammunition. There were no reports of deaths or injuries from this incident, he said.

The ANC conceded the attacks made by some of their spokesmen on police conduct that day "was based on incorrect information", the report said.

The report said the Thokoza Hostel Dwellers Association regretted firearms had been used by residents against the marchers and undertook to take appropriate steps to ensure that hostel dwellers were not in possession of illegal firearms. Inkatha fully supported that undertaking, Goldstone said.

The Commission expressed appreciation of the responsible and sensitive manner in which the SAP's officers and members, particularly a Capt Pieterse of the Internal Stability Unit, behaved on the day of the march.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was also commended for playing a personal role in evaluating the events.



THOKOZA ... Death and mayhem struck the war-ridden East Rand township this week.

By Photos: THULANI SITHOLE and ANDRIES MCINEKA

Police Counsel at the Commission, Luther Wepener, said the first shots during the confrontation had been fired by a group of about 10 people who had taken position behind the hostel before opening fire on hostel dwellers.

The ANC Youth League organisers of the march should be held accountable for the massacre, he said.

Goldstone said earlier that the Commission would determine what further inquiries, if any, were required to enable it to make recommendations on steps which

should be taken to avoid further such occurrences.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hail said on Friday that the ANC's Thabo Mbeki had admitted to him that the organisation was to blame for allowing thugs to take over the march and to redirect it through a potentially dangerous area.

Four troubled East Rand townships were declared unrest areas on Friday by Law and Order Minister Hennie Kriel.

They are Thokoza, Katlehong, Vosloorus and Thembisa.

A 9 pm to 4 am curfew has been put into force, forbidding anyone from being beyond the limits of residential sites.

People with employer's letters showing proof of their identity, their full personal and business details and the nature of their work, "together with an exposition of the working and travel times" may be exempt from the curfew.

Police liaison officer Capt Ida van Zweel has confirmed shots were fired at passenger aircraft passing over Thembisa on Thursday.



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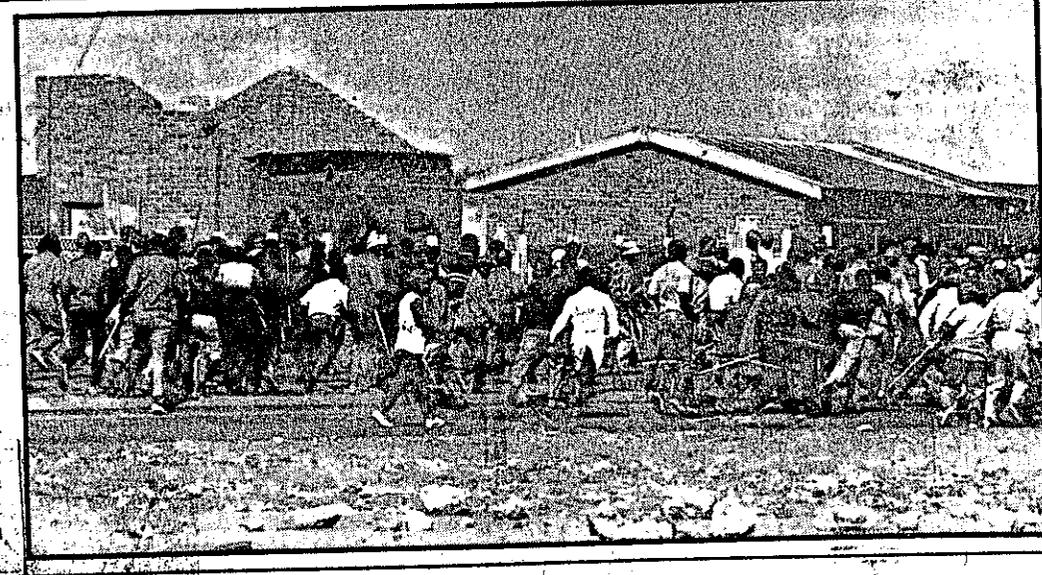
hits at ANC



hem struck the war-ridden East Rand
Pic: THULANI SITHOLE and ANDRIES MCINEKA

be taken to avoid such occurrences. National Peace Committee chairman John Mpanza said on Friday that ANC's Thabo Mbeki committed to him that the organisation was to be responsible for allowing thugs to take over the march and to redirect it through potentially dangerous areas in the troubled East Rand townships were de-unionised areas on Friday. Law and Order Minister Herhus Kriel said the townships are Thokoza, Vosloorus and Tembisa.

A 9 pm to 4 am curfew has been put into force, forbidding anyone from being beyond the limits of residential sites. People with employer's letters showing proof of their identity, their full personal and business details and the nature of their work, "together with an exposition of the working and travel times" may be exempt from the curfew. Police liaison officer Capt. Ida van Zeeol has confirmed shots were fired at passenger aircraft passing over Tembisa on Thursday.



By **DESMOND BLOW**

PAC national executive committee members were yesterday locked in a secret meeting to decide whether to stay in the multiparty talks.

High on the agenda will be whether to suspend the armed struggle.

This follows a week of raids and detentions of PAC leaders which were seen as a return to the worst of the Vorster and Botha "police state" era.

The old "Charge or Release" slogan was echoed by most of the delegates at the negotiating committee meeting at Kempton Park on Thursday night.

As a result of a meeting between the PAC and government on Friday, three of the detained PAC leaders were released - Dr Solly Skosana, Waters Toboti and Thomas Likotsi.

Toboti told City Press yesterday that the arrests of the PAC leaders was "an eye-opener that the regime was not ready to accept majority rule".

"Although the NEC has not passed its resolution yet, it would not be amazing if we come out with a resolution calling for the talks to be held outside the country under a neutral chairman," he said.

The government will report on the position of other PAC detainees - including NEC members Enoch Zulu, Maxwell Nemasivhanani and Abel

PAC decision may make or break negotiations

(Handwritten initials: IIA, Solly, Solly, Solly)

Dube - at a bilateral meeting on Tuesday.

The PAC's Jaki Seroke was also released after being charged with illegal possession of firearms.

In terms of a joint statement issued following the PAC-government meeting, the PAC has undertaken to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence" and to give a "clear, unambiguous" report at Tuesday's meeting.

Negotiators are questioning whether De Klerk or the securocrats are running the country.

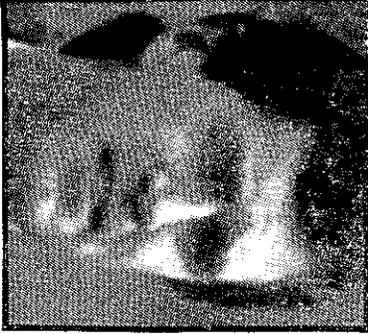
Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said he was briefed by two generals on Monday afternoon that the raids would take place that night, and De Klerk has said he did not interfere as it was a police and not a political matter.

The government's delegates to the negotiating commission, ministers Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers, were apparently not briefed.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and South African Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, both called for Kriel's resignation.

DETENTION TALKS SOON

ROELF MEYER



City Press 30/5/93

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



Withdrawal of king 'not end of peace initiative'

City Press 30/5/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO

11A

THE battle for peace has not been lost despite reports that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has withdrawn as a facilitator of talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

This is according to Rodgers Sishi, co-convenor of the King's Committee for Peace which has asked King Zwelithini to use his influence to negotiate peace between Inkatha and the ANC.

Mandela said in Soweto this week that the king had withdrawn as facilitator between himself and Buthelezi.

He said the king's position was now apparently that "TV got it wrong" with regard to the king's facilitating role.

The Zulu monarch said in a radio announcement that contrary to initial reports that he wanted to bring the two leaders together, he only pointed out the significance of such a meeting between the two men.

However, Sishi told City Press that the king was still involved in the peace initiative.

Sishi said his committee was slowly but surely forging ahead with preparing ground for the King to intervene as a peacemaker in the violence.

This will involve *izimbizo* (rallies) to be jointly attended by the ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Those close to the King's Committee for Peace told City Press that it was still their hope that the "ultimate culmination of their initiative" would be a summit meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi.

The sources said they were still hopeful that the summit was "a possibility".

Meanwhile, the ANC's Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has lambasted the initiative as having the potential to drive people back into tribalism.

Gwala said: "It is not only the Zulus who are attacked. What is worse about this initiative is that it drives us back to tribalism. This is not the approach we have used hitherto."

Gwala told City Press he was disturbed that the initiative was not canvassed with the three regions of the ANC.

Gwala said: "We must not fool ourselves that the king will help as long as (Dr Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has chiefs and the royal family in his grip.

"We think that if people could organise at Ulundi without being threatened with civil war, we would have gone a long way."

Sishi said Gwala was properly briefed about this initiative. "The ANC was also briefed at the national level. Our committee includes Jacob Zuma of the National Executive Committee. We think Gwala is being destructive."

EX-PAC fighter takes Nat post

SITimes 30/5/93

By BRIAN SOKUTU

WHEN former PAC fighter David Chuenyane, 50, took up arms against the ruling National Party in the 60s, he never thought he would one day trade his PAC membership card for the NP's.

He was a member of the then Pogo (meaning standing alone in Xhosa), which is remembered for unleashing a wave of attacks on white civilians in South Africa after the banning of the PAC, ANC, SACP and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

The organisation was later replaced by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

In 1964, Mr. Chuenyane left South Africa to undergo military training in Tanzania in an attempt 'to over-

throw the racist white government'.

Today, almost 29 years later, he has changed tactics. He occupies a modest but immaculate office in Eloff Street, Johannesburg, where he heads a six-member team as the NP's election co-ordinator in the Greater Johannesburg and Soweto areas.

Mr Chuenyane is the NP's most senior black official and a member of the party's national information and management committee. His task is to woo black township support for the formerly whites-only political party.

Surrounded by NP literature and bright posters in his office, Mr

Chuenyane — a tall, neatly dressed and articulate man — has no regrets about his decision, despite being branded a "sellout" and "traitor" by his former comrades-in-arms.

What makes a former Pogo fighter join the party which most blacks hold responsible for apartheid?

"I was impressed by State President FW de Klerk's February 1990 speech," says Mr Chuenyane.

"The following year, I flew from the United States to spend six weeks in South Africa, where I assessed the situation before returning to the US. "I regarded Mr de Klerk's February speech as giving exiles like myself an opportunity to come back home."

"Three months later, I returned to South Africa to stay in Mapeta, Soweto. I joined the National Party last October after making a study of all political organisations and parties.

"I realised that all parties were striving for the same thing — an end to apartheid. And the NP had just opened its doors to all races."

Vision

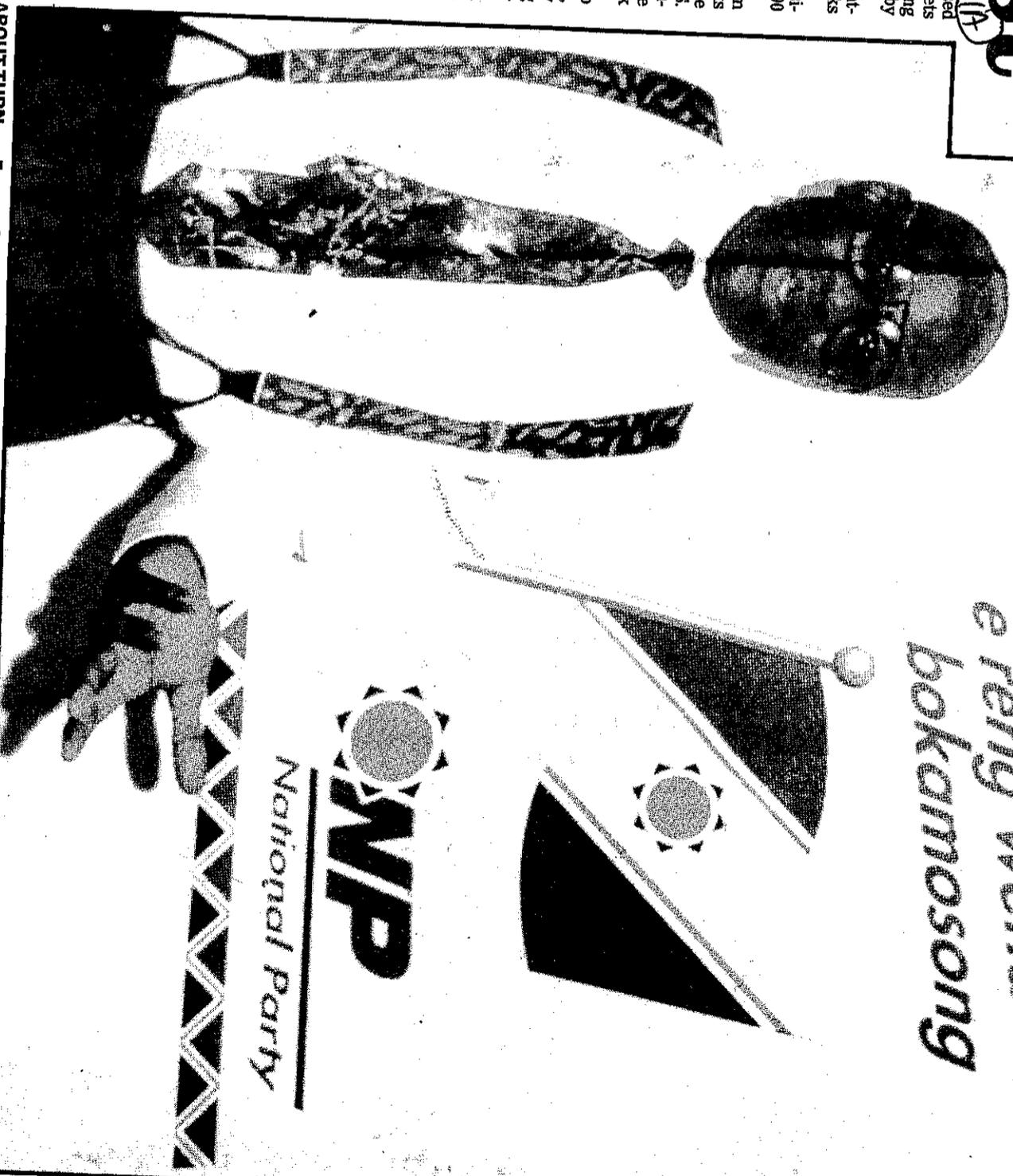
Mr Chuenyane, who describes himself as "an NP adviser", believes the NP's recruiting of blacks is "genuine".

"The NP has a vision — to build a new South Africa where everyone will enjoy equal rights, good education, housing, health and a joint government.

"I thought it best to try changing people from inside rather than outside. Instead of polarising blacks and whites, let us work together and be part of the decision-making."

He feels there is a lack of political tolerance in the townships.

"If the ANC has Verwoerds as members, why should I be stopped from joining the National Party? How many whites have



Here o be le tulo
e reng wena
bokamosong

ABOUT TURN...

Former Pogo fighter and exile David Chuenyane displays his new party political colours

joined the ANC and the IFP?

"I should have the freedom to pursue the struggle I began in the 60s. We're now dealing with a new NP, and it has the power to

change the situation in the country."

Mr Chuenyane could not say how much black support the National Party had attracted since it opened membership to all

races. "In Soweto alone, we have several thousand supporters, some of whom are afraid to come out openly," he said.

Mr Chuenyane, a father

of two, has a master's degree in theology from the Mennonite Biblical Seminary in California and a string of other degrees, including a BSc in electronics from Fresno Univer-

Picture: CECIL SOIS

ity, also in California.

His family live in the United States, where he went to further his studies after becoming disillusioned with Pogo in exile.

SI Times 30/5/93

—OFFICIAL EXPLANATION OF SAP SWOOP ON PAC IS RIDDLED WITH HOLES—

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

MINISTER of Law and Order Hennis Kriel this week assured political leaders at the multi-party talks that the police swoop on senior PAC members was only undertaken after "extensive and exhaustive" investigations.

The multi-party peace talks were badly shaken this week when 73 PAC members were hauled into custody.

But by week's end, only five of

the men had been charged in court — all with offences like illegal possession of weapons or ammunition.

A serious gap began to emerge between the police and minister's public claims and the reality.

Among the discrepancies:

- Mr Kriel suggested to political leaders at the multi-party talks that the raids were carried out after considerable evidence had been gathered.
- But Major Craig Kotze con-

firmed this week that part of the purpose of the raids was, in fact, to gather information with a view to prosecution.

- General Johan van der Merwe, Commissioner of Police, claimed in an SABC interview this week that the "attorneys-general" had been consulted before the nationwide swoops.
- In fact, it subsequently emerged, only the Transvaal attorney-general had been consulted.

The others had been summoned for a meeting last Wednesday to discuss the raids, but this had been cancelled because it did not suit their schedules.

Only hours before the raid were they informed to stand by to prepare charges against those arrested.

- Two separate reasons for the timing of the raids were given. General van der Merwe said they had been delayed to allow

Parliament to discuss the raids during the Minister's vote on Tuesday.

But Mr Kriel told the political leaders at the multi-party talks on Thursday the swoop had been delayed because a long weekend had intervened.

- The minister listed 47 crimes attributed by the SA Police to Apla, the armed wing of the PAC.
- But of the alleged crimes, 12 are attributed to Apla on the basis of

Apla's own claims.

Another 16 crimes — ranging from murder and arson to theft and illegal possession of firearms and ammunition — were attributed to Apla because of the way in which they were carried out.

In other cases, Apla responsibility is ascribed on the basis of "unconfirmed reports".

Only in five cases does the SAP have confessions from Apla members in custody regarding specific

crimes. In his address to political leaders at the multi-party talks on Thursday night, Mr Kriel listed a series of specific crimes being investigated against six top PAC members.

This was the most serious evidence introduced to link the PAC leadership with acts of violence.

Yet after negotiations with the PAC the following day, three of the six — Dr Solly Skosana, Mr Waters

Toboti and Mr Thomas Likotsi — were released from custody without charges being pressed.

A fourth, Mr Jaki Seroke, was released after being charged with the illegal possession of a firearm.

According to PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, he obtained and licensed the weapon in the Transkei, "like most members of our national executive council".

Sisulu moots plan against homelands

Sunday Times Reporter

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu yesterday called for a two-pronged attack against repression in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Kwazulu.

Speaking at the ANC's anti-Bop conference at Wits University, Mr Sisulu said democratic forces were being subjected to a "savage onslaught".

"We have experienced a phenomenal increase in organised violence against the people and repression has reached unprecedented heights," he said.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC would continue to "engage these tinpot dictatorships" in negotiations within the context of the multi-party talks, but at the same time would wage a "relentless" campaign for political space.

A composite plan of sustainable action against repression in Bophuthatswana was needed, and a cardinal component of the plan should be the demand for reincorporation of all independent homelands into South Africa.

10/7/93

10/7/93

Poison probe into ANC men's deaths

5 Times 30/5/93

By CHARIS PERKINS
and PETER MALHERBE

THE ANC is investigating a possible link between the deaths of confessed government agent Solly Smith and Dr Francois Meli, an ANC national executive member who died in a Johannesburg hotel in October 1990.

According to a German magazine, Top Secret, both men were involved in a disinformation campaign in London headed by a Ghanaian exile and funded by South African military intelligence.

Sick

The ANC believes Mr Smith and Dr Meli may have been poisoned to keep them from revealing their alleged involvement in military intelligence operations.

However, Mr Smith's family said this week that the chairman of the Northern Free State ANC branch had died of natural causes. "He was a very sick man," said his son-in-law, Marcellus Nkuebe.

"He was admitted to hospital in Johannesburg and Bloemfontein several times this year and, as far as we are concerned, he died of natural causes."

Mr Smith's body was found in

the bedroom of his home in Oden-
daalsrus in early April. There was
no sign of a break-in.

A Bloemfontein state pathologist, Dr Jan Olivier, found that Mr Smith's death was caused by "cardio-respiratory failure". He said he had checked for traces of poison but had found "nothing suspicious".

A Bloemfontein doctor who treated Mr Smith earlier this year said he was not surprised to hear that his former patient had died of heart failure.

"He had an enlarged heart, high blood-pressure, poor kidneys, degenerative arthritis, diabetes and Parkinson's disease," he said.

The ANC, however, remains suspicious.

"We are not convinced he died naturally," said Northern Free State regional secretary Pat Matosa. He refused to explain, saying the ANC head office was handling the investigation.

He said the ANC had tried to get independent pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman — who died this week — to attend the post mor-

tem, but he had been overseas.

A source in the ANC's intelligence department said it was "80 percent convinced Dr Meli was poisoned by a drink at the Carlton Hotel, even though he ostensibly died of heart failure".

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa recently said Mr Smith had approached the ANC voluntarily and "admitted he had been compromised and coerced into working for the regime".

The ANC believes he may have been killed by government agents because of what he had discovered about covert operations.

Worried

The ANC intelligence source said Mr Smith had been warned not to tell the ANC about his activities as an agent, and had feared for his life.

"He had reached a point where he did not know whether they or his health were going to get him first."

The source said Mr Smith had approached the ANC after valuable documents were stolen from his home in June or July last year.

Mr Nkuebe said his father-in-law had been "extremely worried" about the missing documents

because only he and the ANC headquarters knew about them. But Mr Nkuebe said he knew nothing about the ANC's claim that his father-in-law had confessed to being a spy.

Reports that Mr Smith worked for South Africa's military intelligence services were first published in Top Secret. According to the magazine, Mr Smith held 10 percent of the shares in Newscope, a media services organisation headed by Ghanaian exile Major Kojo Boakye-Djan and funded by SA military intelligence.

Major Boakye-Djan allegedly gave Mr Smith the shares in 1988 as a reward for his "valuable work and good contacts".

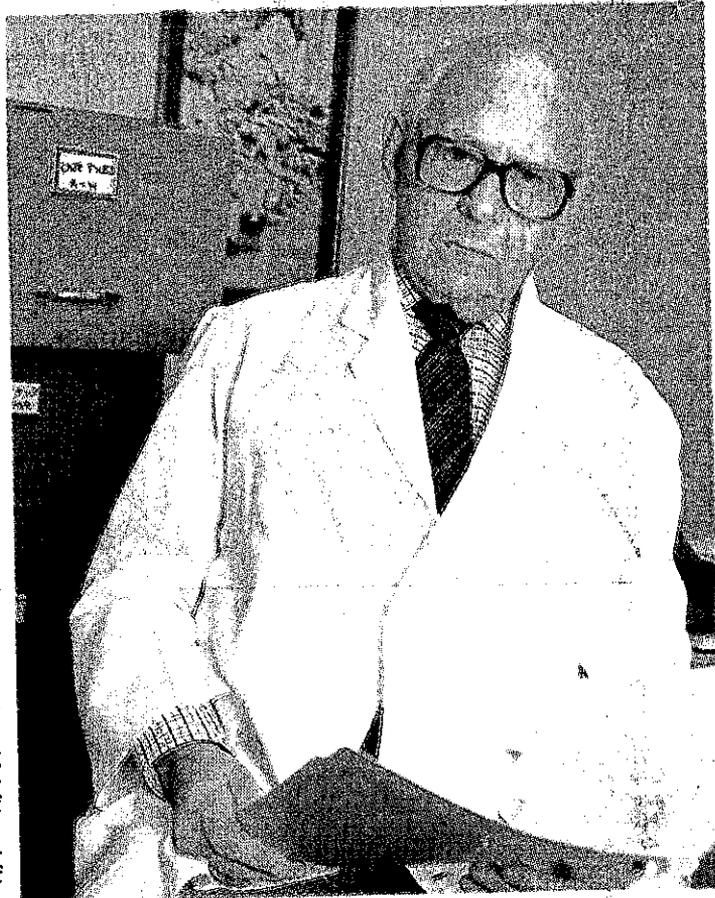
According to a report in the Independent in London, Mr Boakye-Djan also received ANC documents from Dr Meli, who edited Sechaba in London.

Mr Smith went into exile in 1964. He was appointed the ANC's chief representative in London. At the end of 1988 he moved to Paris, where he remained until 1991, when he returned to South Africa.

Reports claiming that Mr Smith had confessed to being a spy had not reached the ANC's London office by Wednesday.

DOCTOR COURAGE

5 Times 30/5/93
 'The challenge of just one more case was one Dr Gluckman seemed unable to resist'



DEDICATED ... Dr Jonathan Gluckman 'lived for his work'

ALONE in the silence of a detention cell or torture chamber, few detainees in South Africa's dark past had many sources of hope — but Dr Jonathan Gluckman cared and never hesitated to expose barbarism.

Dr Gluckman, 78, who died in Johannesburg this week after cardiac complications following a spinal operation, never supported any of the liberation movements.

He was part of a near-extinct order, a doctor absolutely dedicated to the principles of the Hippocratic Oath.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1975, he expressed the view that medical aid schemes had helped to create doctors more interested in their balance sheets than their patients' diagnostic charts. "We have lost our collective soul," he said.

But he never did.

Threats

In a rare tribute, Azapo's Dr Gomolemo Mokoena said Dr Gluckman had "won martyrdom in the hearts of the oppressed with his commitment to human dignity and justice".

He said that in 1977, Dr Gluckman "virtually cocked a snook at the white minority regime and its police when he exposed the brutality to which the police must have subjected Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko before his death".

His testimony at the Biko inquest made international headlines and raised questions about medical ethics in South Africa.

By CHARLENE SMITH

Last year — after failing to get a response from President de Klerk — he made public allegations that police had killed about 90 percent of the 200 people whose bodies he examined after they had died in police custody.

He received a string of death threats after this, but his testimony focused attention once again on deaths in police custody.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel issued a report that said only 29 percent of those examined by Dr Gluckman had died as a result of police maltreatment. But criticism followed that the police spent more time trying to disprove Dr Gluckman's findings than seeking ways to redress the problem.

It was revealed that the police had bugged Dr Gluckman's telephones and his office. He remained unperturbed.

He was fascinated by pathology. He talked of re-

tiring to Provence in France, where he owned a villa, to write his memoirs but the challenge of just one more case was one Dr Gluckman seemed unable to resist.

Johannesburg advocate Denis Kuy, SC, said: "He lived for his work."

He became so engrossed in cases that he charged very little — or nothing.

Dr Paul Davis, of Medical Rescue International, of which Dr Gluckman was executive director, said: "He believed he could make a difference. He was an example of how much one man can achieve for the betterment of humanity."

Born in Johannesburg, he was educated at the University of the Witwatersrand and St Bartholomew's hospital, London. He served as a pathologist during World War Two before doing post-graduate work in the United States.

Dr Gluckman leaves his wife, Lois, and children Michael, Paul and Mary.

Parties under pressure to fix election date

By MIKE ROBERTSON, EDYTH BULBRING and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

SOUTH Africa's political leaders are racing against time to meet Thursday's deadline for announcing a date for the country's first non-racial elections.

Top businessmen led by Consultative Business Movement chairman Murray Hofmeyr arranged special meetings with the government, the ANC and the Cosag grouping this week to warn that the country could not afford another Codesa 2-style breakdown of talks.

For President de Klerk a special warning signal flashed in the form of a poll that showed that only one in four whites now supports his National Party.

The ANC, too, is under mounting pressure.

Not only are radicals in the organisation threatening to create mayhem unless quick results are achieved in talks but the organisation is becoming increasingly concerned about its ability to govern in future.

Arrests

Shocked by figures which show capital flight amounted to as much as R5-billion in the first four months of this year, ANC leaders appealed to the rich not to desert South Africa now.

Negotiators this week succeeded in riding out the crisis brought on by the mass arrests of PAC members. But the underlying reason for the raid — white anger at the National Party's inability to govern remains.

This was brought home by the new poll that shows that white support for the NP has dropped to its lowest level ever.

A Research Surveys poll of 1300 white men and women in metropolitan areas showed that only one in four whites now backs the NP. Among white men the CP (29 percent) now has more support than the NP (26 percent).

The degree of confusion among whites was evi-

APLA: PAC LEADER STICKS TO HIS GUNS

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE PAC would not disown its military wing, Apla, just to appease the government, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

Speaking at a special PAC national executive meeting called to respond to the government's crack-down on congress members, Mr Desai also warned that the organisation intended taking a tough line when it met the government on Tuesday.

"Let them charge those against

whom they claim they have evidence of criminal acts," he said. "But we will not strike any deals on Tuesday."

The organisation has so far refused to suspend the "armed struggle" waged by its military wing.

Mr Desai said only after the government had given an undertaking to "cease its Gestapo tactics and agree to a date for democratic elections to put in place an elected constituent assembly, will the PAC be prepared to discuss a cessation of hostilities."

THE WEEK KRIEL PLAYED SUPERMAN Page 19

denced by 27 percent of men and 48 percent of women saying they either didn't know which party they would vote for or would not vote at all.

This news will strengthen the hand of Cabinet hardliners like Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel who believe cracking down on lawlessness should now take precedence over achieving a negotiated settlement.

Securing the early announcement of an election date is critical for ANC President Nelson Mandela and his chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ungovernable

They held this out to ANC radicals when arguing, in the wake of the killing of Chris Hani, that the organisation should not quit negotiations. They now have just four days to deliver on that promise.

An indication of the kind of pressure they are now under was provided by radical ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba.

"The youth will be uncontrollable and will make the country ungov-

□ To Page 2

Election deadline

□ From Page 1

ernable if the date for the country's first democratic elections has not been determined by June 3," he told students at Medunsa this week.

The ANC's national executive committee will meet to reassess its continued involvement in negotiations in the week following the June 3 deadline.

Both Mr Ramaphosa and his government counterpart Roelf Meyer were cautious about whether the Negotiating Forum (the body appointed to ratify negotiators' decisions) would be able to meet on Thursday to approve an election date.

The main obstacle is the opposition of the third major player in negotiations, Inkatha, to announcing an election date before World Trade Centre negotiators have decided the future of regions and a detailed framework for a national constitution.



Exclude masses at your peril

CIPress 2015/93

AS SA continues to grapple with its constitutional future in the midst of deepening upheaval, it is important that some perspective is brought into the political debate.

The absence of a strong and independent media in the country has only exacerbated the lack of clarity and objective analysis at a crucial time in the country's history. South Africans do not have much information upon which to make informed opinions and choices on issues that acutely affect their lives and future.

Patriotism

SA does not have a culture of democracy or political accountability. To its white citizens, patriotism meant giving unquestioning loyalty to successive white minority governments.

Among blacks, often the imperatives of keeping banned organisations alive meant sacrificing accountability and democracy.

Policy debate remains shallow and inordinately contaminated by outright bias and dishonesty. The constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park are largely negotiations between the elites of the various participating parties, most of whom have no demonstrable support whatsoever. The public remains cut off.

The cause of democracy in SA is undermined. The inherent dictatorial character of most politicians is only matched by the complacency and naivety of the public.

Contrary to the assumptions of Pretoria's apologists, the principal motivation of the February 1990 liberalisation announcements was less a desire to embrace democracy than a survival instinct in the face of overwhelming domestic and international pressure on the apartheid state.

The economy could no longer support the political status quo and President De Klerk and his government acceded to changes more out of need than desire.

SA will be faced with the problems of expectations. The black majority expect improved circumstances in the oft-talked about "new SA".

The problem is that the most probable political settlement is unlikely to deliver on such expectations. Apart from the in-

What are the prospects for stability in South Africa by the year 2000? This is the question EUGENE NYATHI, director of the Centre for African Studies and an acknowledged professional speaker on politics and economics, asked at a South African-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry lunchtime meeting in Johannesburg this week. Nyathi sets out possible scenarios facing the country once a constitution-making body is in place.



ability of the economy to underpin the settlement reached, a future government may not wield the power necessary to affect the needed structural transformation.

SA's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) continues to lag far behind the population growth rate of 2,5 percent a year.

Another problem is that the talks are structurally flawed. Most participating parties do not have any support, which robs the process of the very legitimacy it is supposed to deliver.

Effective leverage

In essence the constitution-making body will be a public relations exercise to rubberstamp a constitution whose essentials shall have been determined in advance at the Kempton Park talks.

The emerging compromise between the parties amounts to an agreement to pre-empt democratic constitution-making.

The SA government appears to have succeeded in locking the ANC into a relation on terms favourable to the former and its constituency. Despite the ANC's stronger numerical following, its leadership has failed to translate it into sustained effective leverage at the negotiation table.

Ultimately, negotiations are about leverage. Other than the potential to use mass action, the ANC has no leverage on government.

When ANC leaders returned from exile, they were so intoxicated with the

illusion of a quick settlement they ignored their real strength, the masses.

Structures put together by the surrogate United Democratic Front (UDF) have been neglected.

Simultaneously, security agencies of the state accelerated the process of decay by unleashing a ruthless campaign of selective assassination of scores of civic, community and other leaders.

Barring some unforeseen crisis, and despite likely hiccups on the way, SA seems headed for a settlement in 1994. The government is keen to conclude a settlement during the current parliamentary term, while the ANC leadership is in such haste to reach agreement that they are prepared to accept almost any settlement.

The 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change. The emphasis of the settlement will be a strategic co-option of the black elite, both political and professional.

For the majority, conditions will remain as they are or quite possibly get worse.

The Joe Slovo-authored "Sunset Clause" has since been adopted as an official ANC document. In the name of reconciliation, the document effectively guarantees civil service jobs for at least 10 years after a political settlement.

A future ANC government can expect to come under pressure from its constituency to employ more blacks in

the civil service, a move that will further bloat its ranks. The net effect of such levels of government spending will keep taxes high and continue to divert precious resources from the more productive private sector.

Clearly the author of the Sunset Clause knows many things – but economics is not one of them! The waste and tax implications of the Clause will condemn this country economically.

Politically, the policy will undermine an ANC government's ability to embark on desperately-needed qualitative "affirmative action" programmes in the civil service, a potentially explosive issue to its constituency.

The question of whether or not the settlement will stick is pertinent.

The principal beneficiaries of the 1994 settlement will be whites and a small black elite.

If this combined elite act consciously to extend the benefits of the settlement to more and more South Africans, it is possible that over the medium- to long-term, the majority of people will identify with the settlement and act in ways that will stabilise the country and register steady progress.

Selfishly

Another scenario is possible. If the new combined black and white elites act selfishly and secure only their narrow interests, they could very quickly alienate the majority who would respond negatively.

Public disillusion and the lack of improvement in quality of life will galvanise public resistance against the settlement.

At that point, the moral authority of leaders like Mandela and others associated with the 1994 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge.

Ultimately, it is important to realise that democracy is more than one person, one vote. It includes a multiplicity of committed centres of power in a configuration that ensures stability and continuity. Therein lies our greatest challenge ever.

'A doctor who took on the state's might ... for truth'

Cypress 30/5/93

By OBED MUSI

THE doyen of South African pathologists, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, 78, this week died after a back operation.

He attracted international attention recently when he alleged that in many cases of death in detention he strongly believed the SAP to have been involved.

This opened a can of worms culminating in widespread rumours that a "hit squad" would remove him because he would reveal that "dirty tricks" had been used on those who had allegedly committed suicide in detention or while in the hands of the police.

At the time a friend of his was reported as saying that the pathologist had sent copies of his reports to a country abroad to be published "in case anything happened to him".

The hefty manuscript also contained his unedited memoirs which now sadly may never be published.

It will be recalled that he was the family pathologist in the Steve Biko inquest and that he was later the consultant for other families whose next-of-kin had died in similar circumstances.

After being involved in dozens of forensic consultations his sense of justice could stand no more, said an old-time colleague.

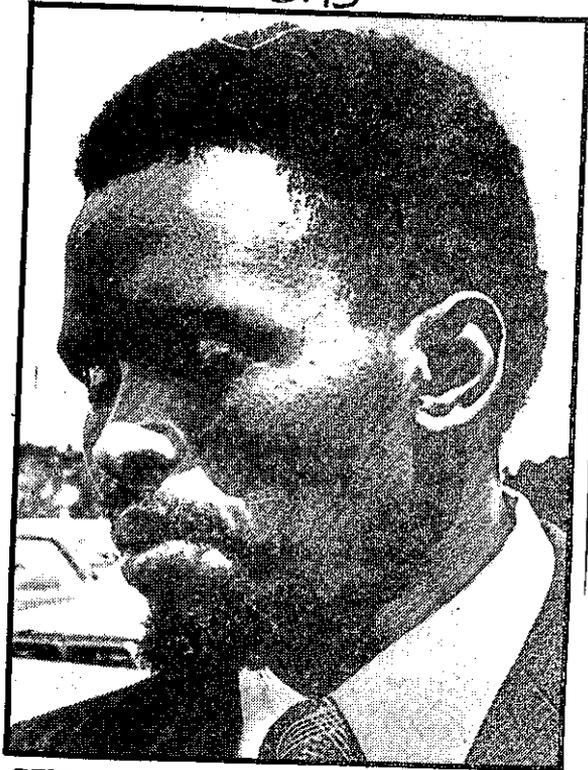
"He took on the might of the mighty South African government and was prepared to be pilloried by anyone for what he believed to be the truth - and he stuck to his ethical guns throughout," he said.

A product of elite institutions like Parktown Prep, Houghton College and Wits, where he later taught, he was nevertheless a man of the people, said a black medico who declined to be named.

His friend and colleague, Soweto leader Dr Ntatho Motlana, said: "He showed all SA that no one in authority can continue to kill people willy-nilly - as in the Lenkoe case - when he showed that electric shocks were used by the security police to extract what was to be later presented in court as truth.

"He was courageous, friendly, intelligent and had a full commitment to his calling."

In a statement, Azapo's Dr Gomolemo Mokae paid tribute to Dr Gluckman: "He was a pathologist with a difference and his death must have touched the hearts of many members of the medical profes-



REMEMBERED! ... Dr Gluckman's evidence caused a sensation at the Steve Biko inquest.

sion.

"In his commitment to the Hippocratic oath he was head and shoulders above us all and did us proud.

"Respect for him extended beyond the borders of medicine to the rest of the world, and to the inhabitants of this embattled land he was a hero.

"This dates back to 1977 when he cocked a snoot at the government and its police force - giving an insight into the wanton brutality to which Biko must have been subjected to before his death.

"Recently he once again ruffled the government's feathers when he suggested that the "new SA" detainee's lot still leaves a lot to be desired. In short it is still horrible.

"He suggested that the SAP still took liberties with those detained in the country's prisons."

May his soul rest in peace.



CHRIS HANI
'A big brother and a friend'

TALKING TO CHRIS

SAT Times 30/5/93

THE modest wooden cross is embellished with black, green, gold and red ribbons, representing the ANC-SACP alliance.

Limpho Hani, dressed in a two-piece suit with a black shawl around her shoulders, stands next to the cross, above the flowers at the grave of her late husband — Chris Hani.

For Mrs Hani, a regular and tireless visitor to the grave at South Park Cemetery, Germiston, it is a special moment — "time to speak to Chris", father of her three children, whose death seven weeks ago shook the world.

After staring at the grave, Mrs Hani begins to talk to her husband, thanking him for his role as a father and leader. "We shall all miss you," she rounds off her conversation. Since the burial of her husband, Mrs Hani, abiding by the African tradition of conversing with the dead, has travelled daily to her husband's grave to perform this brief ceremony.

"I feel relieved after coming here to talk to Chris," says Mrs Hani.

"I visit his grave every day. To me and to others, he is still alive."

Tears

Helped by cemetery workers, Mrs Hani has replaced dried flowers with fresh plants.

"When I came here carrying a bunch of plants, I found myself surrounded by workers, each wanting to place a plant in honour of my husband. They also decorated the cross with ribbons. "It is now a tidy plot," she says.

Arriving home to her driveway brings back sad memories for Mrs Hani — it is the spot where her husband lay in a pool of blood after being shot, allegedly by Polish immigrant Janus Walus.

It was here where Mr Hani's comrades-in-arms — ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale and SACP negotiator Thenjiwe Mhinto — wept.

When explaining how she feels about the driveway, Mrs Hani chokes, and tears roll down her cheeks.

"Every time you drive in or walk past the driveway, you are reminded that this is where Chris was shot," says Mrs Hani.

The family, she says, now "finds life without Chris a nightmare".

BRIAN SOKUTU talks to Limpho Hani, widow of murdered SACP general secretary Chris Hani

The Hani many knew only as a leader was "not just a father, but a big brother and a friend in one", says Mrs Hani.

"Chris was a loving, caring and understanding husband.

"There are moments when my children start thinking about their father and become sad.

"But sometimes they'll be bright and look happy.

"Democracy started in this house. My kids would not be afraid to say 'daddy, I disagree with you', and Chris would accept that.

"He was our friend, and sometimes we bullied him."

Mr Hani's democratic political style, says his wife, was reflected when he held meetings with ANC officials at home.

Unsafe

Mrs Hani, although not occupying any political post in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, would not be asked to leave.

"Chris would invite me to participate in their discussions.

"I was part of the team and contributed to it," she says.

Mr Hani and his wife — a Lesotho national — married in Zambia, where Mrs Hani studied journalism, in 1974.

They later lived in Lesotho, where Mrs Hani worked as manager for the Lesotho National Tourism Department.

For Limpho Hani, daily visits to the graveside of her slain husband bring a certain sense of relief



A TIME OF GRIEF ... Limpho Hani with her daughter Nomakhwazi (centre) and a friend at the funeral which caught the attention of the world

The Hanis lived an unstable life in exile during the PW Botha era, marked by cross-border raids on southern African states where the ANC had established bases.

"We moved from one house to another, narrowly escaping assassination attempts," she says. These included the 1982 Maseru raid that led to the massacre of many people.

Mrs Hani was the first survivor to slip out of Lesotho to report to the late ANC chairman, Oliver Tambo, on the Maseru raid.

Mrs Hani feels unsafe, particularly after the assassination of her husband.

She says the family is being followed by "strange men" driving cars with tinted windows. She has also been receiving "unpleasant telephone calls".

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Wikus Weber said police were investigating her complaints.

Meanwhile, Mrs Hani says ANC president Nelson Mandela

"has taken a personal interest in our safety" by stepping up security at the house.

Asked what she thought of the police investigation into her husband's assassination, she says: "This investigation is a waste of time and people's taxes.

Support

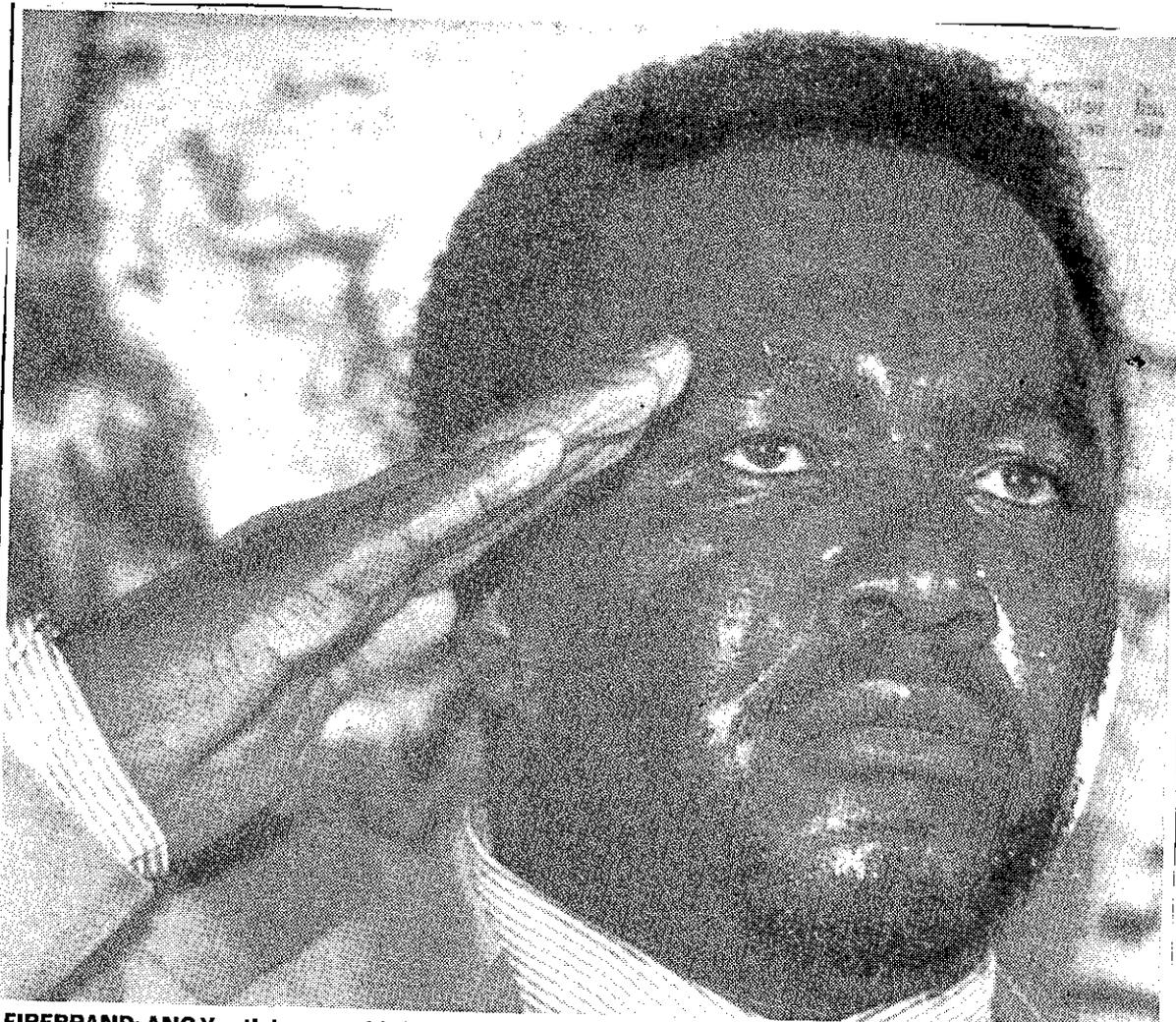
"Unless the think-tank that planned Chris's killing is brought to trial, we shall continue to be in danger.

"But whatever the outcome of this trial, it won't bring my husband back."

Mrs Hani, faced with the task of raising her children alone, is thankful for the support she has received from Mr Mandela and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

"But I don't see myself as an activist.

"I have always supported and stood by my husband's beliefs and desire for our freedom. I will continue to support the liberation struggle."



FIREBRAND: ANC Youth League chief Peter Mokaba repeated plea to 'Kill the Boer' Picture: CECIL SOLS

By BRIAN SOKUTU

ANC and PAC militants proved they were comrades-in-arms, despite their ideological differences, on Friday when they joined forces to commemorate the deaths of SACP general secretary Chris Hani and ANC chairman Oliver Tambo.

PAC youths sang, chanted and toyi toyied alongside ANC comrades at a rally at Medunsa University, called by the Medunsa branch of the South African Students' Congress.

Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela — the three leading figures on the militant fringe of the ANC — also seemed to breach their organisation's ideological gap with the PAC in their fiery speeches.

Mr Mokaba called on Umkhonto we Sizwe to increase its presence inside

ANC GETS IN STEP WITH PAC YOUTH

the country and repeated his "Kill the Boer! Kill the farmer!" slogan.

Mr Gwala called on people to arm themselves.

Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa shared the platform with the ANC's foremost militant leaders for the first time.

Mrs Mandela called on students "to help me in another war — war on poverty".

"I'm constantly accused of war talk and I'm now calling on you to help me in another war — to help the poor and the starving," she said.

Calling for an increased presence of MK cadres inside the country, Mr Mokaba said: "They have denied me a licence to carry a gun. But I must tell you that we're now armed."

"Why do we need firearm licences, anyway? There is no army without guns. Let MK be in Thokoza where our people are being shot. They must return fire with fire."

Referring to negotiations, Mr Mokaba said it was untrue that the youth were against negotiations.

"It is not true that, when calling for arms, we're against negotiations. You (ANC) would not be negotiating there if there had not been smoke (the armed struggle) before," he said to thunderous applause from the crowd.

Big business in push for election date

S Times 30/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

AS the June 3 deadline to announce an election date looms, business leaders this week met delegations from the government, the ANC and the Concerned South Africans Group.

The businessmen's aim was to push for a swift settlement while also keeping all the parties in the talks.

The business leaders were led by the Consultative Business Movement's co-chairman Murray Hofmeyr. Those present included Premier's Peter Wrighton and Murray and Roberts's David Brink.

Both the ANC and the government are keen to announce an election date on June 3 at the negotiating forum.

But Cosag insists that certain issues, such as the principles governing a new constitution and the way elections should be held, need to be settled beforehand.

The ANC, which has come under increasing pressure from its constituency to pro-

duce conclusive results after three years of negotiation, has warned of mass action after June 3 if no election date is announced.

Mr Hofmeyr said Cosag representatives clearly had a problem with the June 3 deadline and with the urgency that they felt had been forced on them.

"We had to say to them that we understood their difficulties in making a commitment on important issues in such a short time," Mr Hofmeyr said.

"But we are all in this together and one has to find a basis on which there can be agreement in a fairly short period."

He said the discussions with the delegations focused on the question of speed and inclusivity to see how to achieve the best settlement.

Mr Hofmeyr said the ANC told the businessmen it was anxious to announce an election date on June 3 and then afterwards do whatever else was necessary to accommodate Cosag.

He said businessmen were keen to do what they could to help achieve the best resolution in difficult circumstances.

"Business clearly feels that it is important to avoid a let-down or give the impression that the process has broken down.

"But, clearly, this must be seen against the other consideration, which is making the settlement as inclusive as possible."

Mr Hofmeyr said it was not clear whether the June 3 decision was going to be "make or break".

"The feeling is that the process should not drag on for weeks and months. If a resolution on elections is not reached on June 3, then it will have to be reached shortly afterwards," he said.

Concern

Another participant who attended the talks said the businessmen's underlying message to political players was that business was deeply concerned about the negotiations progress and that, should there be a breakdown and the economy knocked again, it would take a long time to recover.

He was not optimistic that the negotiating forum would announce an election date on June 3 as there were so many firm agreements that needed to be in place before.

Business's concern over the negotiations process was reflected in a Business Forum statement.

"Another political impasse will lead to more business closures, the withdrawal and withholding of investment, a further flight of capital and skilled manpower and further loss of job opportunities. Business confidence, already at a very low level, will suffer another blow," it said.



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'A big brother and a friend'

TALKING TO CHRIS

Sf Times 30/5/93

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"There are moments when my children start thinking about their father and become sad.

"But sometimes they'll be bright and look happy.

"Democracy started in this house. My kids would not be afraid to say 'daddy, I disagree with you, and Chris would accept that.

"He was our friend, and sometimes we bullied him."

Mr Hani's democratic political style, says his wife, was reflected when he held meetings with ANC officials at home.

Unsafe

Mrs Hani, although not occupying any political post in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, would not be asked to leave.

"Chris would invite me to participate in their discussions.

"I was part of the team and contributed to it," she says.

Mr Hani and his wife — a Lesotho national — married in Zambia, where Mrs Hani studied journalism, in 1974.

They later lived in Lesotho, where Mrs Hani worked as manager for the Lesotho National Tourism Department.

For Limpho Hani, daily visits to the graveside of her slain husband bring a certain sense of relief



A TIME OF GRIEF . . . Limpho Hani with her daughter Nomakhwezi (centre) and a friend at the funeral which caught the attention of the world

The Hanis lived an unstable life in exile during the PW Botha era, marked by cross-border raids on southern African states where the ANC had established bases.

"We moved from one house to another, narrowly escaping assassination attempts," she says. These included the 1982 Maseru raid that led to the massacre of many people.

Mrs Hani was the first survivor to slip out of Lesotho to report to the late ANC chairman, Oliver Tambo, on the Maseru raid.

Mrs Hani feels unsafe, particularly after the assassination of her husband.

She says the family is being followed by "strange men" driving cars with tinted windows. She has also been receiving "unpleasant telephone calls".

Witwatersrand police spokesman Captain Wikus Weber said police were investigating her complaints.

Meanwhile, Mrs Hani says ANC president Nelson Mandela

"has taken a personal interest in our safety" by stepping up security at the house.

Asked what she thought of the police investigation into her husband's assassination, she says: "This investigation is a waste of time and people's taxes.

Support

"Unless the think-tank that planned Chris's killing is brought to trial, we shall continue to be in danger.

"But whatever the outcome of this trial, it won't bring my husband back."

Mrs Hani, faced with the task of raising her children alone, is thankful for the support she has received from Mr Mandela and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

"But I don't see myself as an activist.

"I have always supported and stood by my husband's beliefs and desire for our freedom. I will continue to support the liberation struggle."

the police but no one was wounded.

ANC's Gwala infuriates Inkatha

INKATHA filed a complaint with the National Peace Committee on Friday after alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala at Technikon Natal recently.

Gwala is alleged to have said: "We call on students of the South African Students Congress to learn how to handle firearms because if negotiations fail you must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47."

Inkatha said Gwala's statements were intended to "incite violence and hatred". (11A) (10)

Mangope lashes out at ANC

BOP President Lucas Mangope says the ANC-alliance is paying students to instigate revolt at the homeland's Setlogelo Technikon.

Mangope said Bop was "in the grips of a sinister and well-orchestrated campaign to throw education into disarray". (11A) (10)

He accused the ANC of paying Student Representative Council members to disrupt the institution. (11A) (10)

Inkatha woman necklaced

INKATHA confirmed that the woman who was necklaced in the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park on Tuesday was Inkatha branch secretary Julia Mtshali.

An Inkatha statement said Mtshali was abducted last weekend and Inkatha officials had spent several days searching for her.

SABC board announcement soon

THE names of the new SABC Board members will be announced by FW de Klerk early next week, according to a recent government statement.

The statement said the original list "created concerns which De Klerk discussed twice with the panel". (11A) (10)

An amended list has now been submitted.

Sisulu calls for reincorporation

THE ANC yesterday called for the reincorporation of all homelands into SA as well as the unconditional restoration of SA citizenship to all homeland inhabitants.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, speaking at Wits University, said linked to this central issue was the demand for free political activity and association in the homeland territories. (11A) (10)

SA's first authentic general election seems inevitable and some parties and groups have ventured out on the streets to test the electorate. Some of their findings were technical - is an "X" with its classroom association of "incorrect" too confusing? However, the general public response was ambiguous. The idea of really having a say seemed too good to be true. Yet underlying this deep cynicism lurked an equally fierce determination to taste the prohibited power of a vote.

By AMY WALDMAN

At Kempton Park, the scent of an election date is in the air. In anticipation, voter education efforts by independent organisations and political parties are moving forward. Those efforts reflect the excitement generated by the prospect of elections, but also the concern, cynicism and confusion.

At the Randburg CBD taxi rank, the ANC sets up a cardboard polling booth and ballot box every Saturday, and passersby stop to learn how to vote. An ANC organiser explains, "An X is not bad, like in school. It doesn't mean you don't like the party." He holds up a sample ballot. "Don't make your X too small or too big."

They step up to take their turn, at first shyly, then confidently. After they vote, ballots are removed from the box, checked to make sure they are correctly marked and counted up. The ANC usually wins.

The ANC ballot lists party names and symbols. The fake ballot which the DP uses has no symbols. Until an Electoral Act is passed no one knows whether the ballots will be with or without symbols, in colour or black and white, with or without photos of party leaders.

And while the ANC thinks that only an "X" will do, others say almost any mark will be acceptable. Mipho Keagile of the Matla Trust says: "Parties with literate voters will push for having an X be the only mark. Parties with illiterate voters - who have learned that an X means 'wrong', or is for a signature - will push for any mark to be acceptable."

Electoral Act

Keagile says people in workshops often become despondent when they find out that no rules are final - including the necessary form of ID - until an Electoral Act is passed.

Some concerns are even more basic. The Black Sash provides a sheet which allows people who have never held a pen before to practise making Xs. To reach diverse and semi-literate audiences, the Sash also uses a play of two women discussing the vote.

Both Matla Trust and the Sash are making special efforts to reach rural women who cannot easily leave their home and work to learn how to vote.

"Too many voter education programmes are holding conferences and talking about what needs to be done," says the Sash's Gill De Vlieg. "Maybe they'll have it all figured out by the election, but then it won't do much good."

Start doing, she says and you'll learn what needs to be done. De Vlieg says she has been asked, "Why should we vote?" and "Do we have to vote?" There is no law, she says, but it is important for democracy.

Keagile says the "voter motivation" section of the Matla Trust workshops try to convince people that their votes are history-making.

That people need motivation may depress those who have fought so hard for the vote. But for many, the prospect of voting means as much fear as liberation.

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC in Natal are so high that voter education workshops no longer announce sample results, for fear of provoking retribution against those in the minority.

De Vlieg says the question of violence arises frequently in workshops: "How will a new government end the violence?" For some, elections seem the only hope; for others, the workshop is a place to talk about a hopeless situation.

"No one can see who you are voting for. It's totally secret. If your employer says you must vote NP, you can vote ANC, then say you voted NP," the ANC organiser tells the Randburg crowd.

Keagile says the fear comes not just from the

prospect of intolerance among parties, but also from the potential presence of Home Affairs officials or the police and army at the polls.

"We have to convince them that there will be international observers and representatives of all parties," he says. "Intimidation shouldn't stop an election. There has been fighting in Northern Ireland almost since they started having elections, and still people go to vote."

The technical committees at Kempton Park may

Politicians find deep suspicion and desire on streets

understand the difference between a Transitional Executive Council, Constituent Assembly, Interim Government and Government of National Unity, but things aren't so clear for the man and woman on the street.

"If there's an interim government, there is no State President, so why are we having non racial elections?" Goodman Lekwakwa demands of an ANC official in Randburg. He adds: "Do we vote for a State President once, and then is he president permanently?"

Lekwakwa gets sorted out, sort of. But there are limits to how much of the twists and turns of the negotiation process anyone can absorb. "Especially with real rural people, if you take them and bombard them with a lot of knowledge, you actually leave them with nothing," Keagile says.

Taste

Interpreting the policies of different parties can also be mind-boggling. The ANC both gains and loses followers for its supposedly communist beliefs. "I don't care if the ANC is communist, I don't give a damn. I don't know what communism is, but I want to taste it just like I tasted apartheid capitalism," says Mphalla Motlakeng, of Juikse Park.

A DP explanation of the importance of regionalism elicits an indifferent response from most of the domestic workers at a meeting in Sandton. Local control, national control: what the workers really want to talk about is how hard they work for so little pay, with so few breaks.

Voter education cannot teach people how to tell the difference between an empty promise and a realistic one, or between a slogan and a policy. De Vlieg says: "We can only encourage people to be cautious of promises - the economy cannot produce instant housing and water."

Keagile believes, however, that most people will not vote on issues in the first election. "Right now they are just looking for a new government - to vote is to change."

This time around, despite the delays, concerns and confusion, the act itself will be most important. He describes a workshop where during the mock voting, the power generator failed. "We bought candles and kept going in the dark, because people wouldn't move from the queue until they voted."

DEMOCRACY

Press 305/1
SAME BOAT? ...
 Everybody wants something different out of the election, but for domestic workers, such as this woman attending a meeting in Sandton, the issue was how hard they worked for so little.



CITY PRESS, May 30,



POP IT IN HERE BUB ... An organiser assists a voter to cast a mock vote. Political parties and organisations were out on the streets this week testing voter awareness.
 Pics: AMY WALDMAN

The black majority have waited all their lives for a real vote. Few were prepared to vote for the "black" local authorities

Its name is Tshwane

IT'S a picture all too familiar to millions of television viewers. Angry mobs tearing down statues, ripping off familiar street names, and changing the names of airports or schools or hospitals as well as those of cities and towns.

It's called democracy. It has happened in countries with names which have receded into history — the once-mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Indo-China, Malaya, Belgian Congo.

And now it may well be South Africa's turn as the transition period gets under way, probably in a scant few weeks with the appointment of the transitional executive council.

Places named after politicians are almost certainly to be altered by a new government in the years ahead.

Cities and towns such as Verwoerdburg, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Germiston, Roodepoort, Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Pietersburg or Pietermaritzburg are all on the

line, it would appear.

And then there's Louis Botha Airport, H F Verwoerd Airport, P W Botha Airport, Ben Schoeman Airport and a host of other similarly named landing fields. Even internationally-recognized Jan Smuts Airport, named after one of the four men who wrote the preamble to the United Nations Charter and who helped steer the world back to peace after World War 2, could be affected.

Lucie Moller of the United Nations Centre on Geographical Names at Pretoria's Human Sciences Research Council says before change is undertaken, there should be careful consideration of each name.

In a country such as South Africa, with its many different national groups from Zulus to Afrikaners, the choosing of a particular name could be offensive to one or other group.

And to chop-and-change at the whim of a political party or group in power is not only costly but downright confusing for the man-in-the-street, if he

What's in a name? That's the dilemma facing South Africans, comfortable with place names, some of which are hundreds of years old, as the age of the New South Africa lies just over the horizon, says NORMAN CHANDLER of The Star Pretoria Bureau.

knows what street he is in ...

Land Acts, municipal documents, deeds and a huge number of company and house addresses will all need to be altered, at a massive cost to the taxpayer.

Legislation is at this moment being prepared, says Moller, for the removal of offensive names, especially those of post offices, farms and geographical features.

Kafferrivier and *Boesmansriviermond* are just two of a thousand names which are safe bets for alteration.

There is also the fear that anything to do with the *Voor-trekkers* could be altered as well — even the Voortrekker Monument could come in for radical alteration unless wiser counsel prevails.

The swing of the pendulum is

getting wider, however, and Moller notes that requests for name changes now include those of areas named after past and present leaders and cabinet ministers of the National Party.

The mostly hotly-debated are those honouring former prime minister Dr H F Verwoerd. Not only does Verwoerd have hospitals and airports named after him, but also the town of Lyttelton was renamed Verwoerdburg and a shopping centre in the town called Verwoerdburgstad.

The latter has now been renamed, probably because the owners are thinking ahead, to Centurion Centre.

"The removal of names that are potentially offensive to any specific group may be long overdue, but careful considera-

tion of each name is necessary, and the feelings and attitudes of the specific groups should be probed very diplomatically," says Moller.

Already, alternative names for cities and towns exist in South Africa. Even Soweto — once-upon-a-time known as South Western Townships — and other black residential areas have their Tambovilles, Mandela Parks, Hani Parks, etc., in place of names given to the areas by municipal authorities.

Cape Town certainly did not start out in life as "Cape Town". Moller points out that the Table Bay area was first known to the original inhabitants, call them Strandlopers or the San, as "Huigas". Along came the Portuguese with their "Cabo de bona Esperanza", the Dutch with "Kaap de Goede Hoop", the British with "Cape Town" and the later Afrikaans translation of "Kaaipstad".

Up the coast is Port Elizabeth, now known to Xhosa-speakers as "Bhayi", and then

there is Durban with its well-known Nguni name of "eThek-wini".

It's a good bet that, like Salisbury in the former Rhodesia, which was 11 years ago renamed Harare after the city's adjoining black township, Bloemfontein will probably be called "Manguang" after its township.

Johannesburg has tribal names — the well known Nguni name of "eGoli" and the Sotho and Tswana name of "Gauteng" or "Rauteng". It is thought that the name Soweto may continue to refer to the predominantly black area south-west of the city, particularly as it is internationally recognised.

Will Pretoria remain the capital at least under the name which remembers Andries Pretorius, the Voortrekker leader?

There are indications that Pretoria may escape the axe but if it doesn't, stand by for "Tshwane" or, like Saigon became Ho Chi Minh City, it could end up as Oliver Tambo City or Chris Hani City. □

Star 31/5/93
**Set election
date or else,
~~SEPP~~
says Mokaba**

The country's negotiating teams have until Thursday to announce the date for the first democratic elections, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said on Friday.

Speaking at a ceremony at Medunsa to commemorate Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo, Mokaba warned that if an agreement on an election date were not reached by Thursday, the youth would make the country ungovernable.

He said he had met ANC president Nelson Mandela earlier that day and informed him that Umkhonto we Sizwe members should be allowed to carry arms and protect township residents.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala supported the call for the voting age limit to be reduced from 18 to 14. — Pretoria Bureau.

Star 3/15/93

ANC changes tune on Pilatus planes

ZURICH — The ANC has told the Swiss government it is not fundamentally opposed to the sale of 60 Swiss trainer aircraft to South Africa, the Foreign Ministry said yesterday. (11A)

Spokesman Franz Egle said an ANC delegation told the Swiss government during a visit to Berne last week it was ready to seek a so-

lution that was "satisfactory" to both sides.

Egle described the talks as extremely constructive.

The ANC criticised Switzerland in the past over the proposed R560 million sale of the Pilatus PC-7 aircraft, saying the deal violated the spirit of the UN arms embargo. A UN Security Council committee also

called on Switzerland to prevent the sale.

The manufacturer, Pilatus Flugzeugwerke AG, acknowledged that some countries buying its training aircraft had armed them.

On the orders of a Swiss government stung by UN criticism, the company pledged to modify the planes so that they could not be armed.

In such cases, the wings would be modified so that they could not carry weapons systems but only additional fuel tanks.

Two Swiss newspapers yesterday reported that ANC spokesman Thabo Mbeki had insisted that the aircraft be delivered only after South African elections next year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Arrests 'foil Apla raids'

11A ARG 31/5/93

Three held after attempted bomb
attack on Johannesburg restaurant

The Argus Correspondents

DURBAN. — Arrests of Azanian People's Liberation Army members in Natal may have prevented three planned attacks being carried out on bars in the province — two in Durban and one on the South Coast, police said today.

Three suspected Apla members were arrested in a games hall in Rokeby Street, Johannesburg, on Saturday night.

Police said they were in possession of a stick grenade, 250g of Russian-made TNT explosive and 1kg of plastic explosive. The plastic was packed with 130cm nails for maximum effect.

Law and Order Minister Henus Kriel said the arrests could have foiled a suspected Apla attack on a nearby restaurant.

Police spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said police had identified three Natal targets after the interrogation of Apla members arrested in the province.

Colonel Mostert identified the targets only as bars and said police had decided not to name the venues — two in Durban and one on the Natal South Coast.

Investigations were continuing, Colonel Mostert said.

After the attempted bombing of a crowded Yeoville restaurant on Saturday, a Chinese stick grenade was detonated in a controlled explosion by bomb disposal experts about 9.30pm.

Another man was arrested and more arms were seized in a follow-up operation in Soweto late on Saturday night.

Colonel Mostert said the restaurant Rockerfella's had been the initial target in Rokeby Street, but the men had apparently noticed police there and had moved off to the games hall instead.

He said they were arrested as they approached the games hall to place their bomb.

The men were members of Apla, the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, he said.

Colonel Mostert said if the explosives had gone off, the damage would have been "horrific".

He said members of the Crime Combatting and Investigation unit, investigating the activities of Apla, kept a watch on the restaurant on Saturday night and arrested the three men.

"As a result of the arrests and in follow-up investigations during the night, police went to a house in Diepkloof, Soweto.

"When police tried to gain entrance to the house they came under fire. During the ensuing fight, a man was wounded and arrested."

Colonel Mostert said this was the second group to be arrested in a week.

Last week a group was arrested in Natal and — during interrogation of this group — police established that several public bars and restaurants had been targeted for attack.

The arrests on Saturday had been a direct result of the Natal interrogation, he said.

Mr Kriel said in a statement: "The incidents once again fully justifies last week's actions by the police against the PAC and Apla."

He said police would continue combatting "atrocities" by the PAC and Apla.

Reacting to the events, PAC legal head Willie Seriti said his organisation did not know what evidence police had to conclude that Apla members were involved in the foiled attack.

He said the PAC had no knowledge of the men alleged to be implicated in the attack.

Govt, PAC prepare for tit-for-tat

Star 31/5/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Government go into tomorrow's second round of crisis talks with widely divergent views.

The PAC national executive committee (NEC) — convened to discuss last week's police crackdown — emerged on Saturday saying the organisation would not suspend the armed struggle.

It was prepared only to discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government. "There has to be two-way traffic and not a one-sided suspension," said a senior PAC source.

In terms of a PAC national conference resolution, taken in Umtata last April, the organisation could not suspend the armed struggle until the ballot had been secured, the source said.

It is likely that both the PAC and Government will enter tomorrow's bilateral talks without having fulfilled their sides of the "bargain".

In terms of a joint statement issued on Friday by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, the PAC undertook to "discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence" at Saturday's NEC meeting. The organisation further undertook to give "a clear, unambiguous report" on these issues at tomorrow's meeting.

The Government undertook to release certain key PAC mem-

bers and return those documents police had seized and which were not required for investigations. (20/11) (11A)

Top Government sources said it would require the PAC to suspend its armed struggle and to sign the National Peace Accord.

The Government indicated it would press for compliance with earlier resolutions taken by the Negotiating Council. These resolutions committed parties to peace and barred them from further participation in negotiations if they did not do so.

Another top PAC source said that if the Government had not complied with its side of the bargain, the organisation would report this to the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow afternoon. It would also not enter into further talks with the Government. Damage to PAC homes and offices would be discussed at tomorrow's meeting.

Negotiations enter a critical week with the Negotiating Council facing a severe backlog after the delay caused last week by debates on the PAC raids.

Crucial decisions on fundamental constitutional issues, including regionalism and constitutional principles, are to be taken this week if negotiators want to keep to an earlier decision to announce an election date on Thursday.

● Senior SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe officials met last Monday and Tuesday to discuss a future defence force. Sources on both sides were tight-lipped about the contents of the meeting. However, they said progress was being made and talks were at a "sensitive" stage.

Star 21/5/93

ANC probes death of 'Govt spy'

(11A)

The ANC is investigating the "strange circumstances" surrounding the death in April of Solly Smith, the former chairman of the ANC's northern Free State branch and allegedly a Government spy.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that Smith had admitted to the ANC that he had been "compromised into working for Military Intelligence (MI)".

"He was fearing for his life at

the time, believing the State's security forces would target him if they found out about the confession," Niehaus said.

Smith's body was found at his home in Onderdaalsrus near Welkom. A State pathologist's report listed the cause of death as cardio-respiratory failure. His family told a Sunday newspaper he died of natural causes.

The newspaper reported yesterday that the ANC was also looking into the death of Dr

Francis Meli, who edited the ANC's mouthpiece, Sechaba while exiled in London.

Meli was also alleged to be an MI informant. He died in Johannesburg in October 1990, apparently of heart failure after a drinking binge.

According to the newspaper, the ANC believes both men may have died of poisoning to prevent them from revealing what they knew about the activities of MI. — Staff Reporter.

Farmers march to township

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 56 armed and angry farmers marched to the Boitumelong township at Bloemhof, Western Transvaal, at the weekend to present a memorandum to the African National Congress calling for an end to a consumer boycott there, the ANC said yesterday.

ANC spokesman Mr Rankoa Molefe said the farmers called for a halt to future marches, and

UP CT 31/5/93

end to the consumer boycott.

Violence flared in the township recently after the town's entire black workforce was sacked as a result of the boycott.

Nineteen Boitumelong residents were arrested after allegedly stoning police.

At a meeting last Wednesday between the Bloemhof Business Centre and residents, brokered by the regional peace secretariat, agreement was reached on

ending the boycott and the "unconditional release" of those detained, Mr Molefe said.

Police reneged on this, which led to a continuation of the boycott, the ANC alleged.

Workers had also not been reinstated, Mr Molefe said.

In another incident a pig was thrown into an Indian-owned shop, apparently in retaliation to the boycott, Mr Molefe said. — Sapa