

BLACK POLITICS

1993 - JUNE

# Abolish Republic, says PAC

Staff Reporter

PAC supporters marched on Parliament yesterday in an anti-Republic Day protest, demanding the resignation of the "illegal South African regime".

As a 21-gun naval salute rang out from Signal Hill at noon, PAC supporters gathered on the

Parade for a march on Parliament to demand the abolition of Republic Day.

"Without apologies, one settler, one bullet," Azanian National Youth Unity regional chairman Mr Patrick Baba told about 400 cheering supporters.

At Tuynhuys Mr Baba handed over a memorandum demanding

an elected constituent assembly and the disbanding of "the regime's private armies".

The PAC also demanded police return "stolen property" — including weapons.

● A PAC march at Ceres yesterday proceeded without incident, as did an ANC rally in Eerste River.

## Azapo warns DP and NP

JOHANNESBURG. —  
The Jabulani branch of  
the Azanian Peoples Or-  
ganisation has warned  
the Democratic and the  
National parties against  
political campaigning in  
predominantly black  
townships.

The statement came  
at the end of a meeting  
at Soweto's Kholwane  
Primary School, to dis-  
cuss plans for June 16 —  
Soweto Day. *ARC*

Addressing about 150  
members yesterday,  
Azapo branch spokes-  
man Makoma Lekala-  
kala said it was "undem-  
ocratic for the  
oppressors to organise  
the oppressed".

Only black people  
should organise among  
their communities, while  
mainly white parties  
should campaign in their  
own communities, she  
said. — Sapa. *16/93*

# PAC march in city to demand scrapping Republic Day holiday

400 in peaceful procession from Grand Parade to parliament (119) ARG 11/6/93

## Staff Reporter

ABOUT 400 Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) supporters marched from the Grand Parade to parliament to protest against the celebration of Republic Day as a public holiday.

They were also protesting against the detention of PAC leaders.

The march proceeded peacefully yesterday through a deserted city centre amid a heavy police presence.

At parliament Azanyu regional chairman Mr Patrick Baba handed a memorandum to a representative of the State President's office, Mr Desmond Laing, demanding:

- Removal of Republic Day from the calendar;
- Immediate resignation of the "illegitimate regime";
- Immediate convocation of a democratically elected constituent assembly; and
- Immediate release of PAC leaders and members and the return of stolen PAC property, including ammunition.

"To the Africans in Azania this day symbolises years of oppression, exploitation and its continued celebration is a clear indication of the unwillingness of the ruling class to abdicate," Mr Baba said.

He said the marchers had shown "the settlers of this town that we (PAC) are disciplined".

"We will continue this kind of action until our leaders are released and our demands met," he said.

● The arrival of PAC regional secretary Mr Anda Ntsodo averted a confrontation between a group of marchers and police in Ceres.

Before his late arrival yesterday, police warned they would act against the group of about 200 chanting outside Ceres police station.

The group stopped at the police station at 11.55 am.

At 12.05pm a Warrant Officer Bal-



Picture: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.

**REPUBLIC DAY PROTEST:** Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian National Youth Unity members march through an almost deserted Cape Town city centre in protest against the celebration of Republic Day as a public holiday and to demand the release of PAC leaders.

lack told marchers he was sorry, but they had to return to the township of Nduli where the march had started.

"No permission was given to you to stop. Please move."

He said police would act if the marchers did not move in five minutes.

A Warrant Officer Rossouw told leaders that the PAC had agreed the march would not stop along the route.

"There was an agreement between us and the PAC. It's not our fault that we are here and your leaders aren't."

After talks with march organiser Mr Lucas Mhlahlo, police agreed to

extend the time limit to 20 minutes.

The group, carrying a small PAC flag, cheered when Mr Ntsodo arrived at 12.20pm.

He led them to the centre of the town where the march, which was monitored by United Nations observers Ms Pamela Maponga and Mr Vladimir Zargova, restarted at 12.30pm.

Ten minutes later he stopped the march, again outside Ceres police station.

He said: "I'm happy to say the PAC has branches in each town and on every farm in the Boland. We are all out condemning the celebration of Republic

Day in the strongest terms."

The PAC regarded the government's calls for peace as hypocritical.

"There can be no peace without justice. To us anything less than the return of the land is not justice."

He then read out a memorandum before handing the document to Warrant Officer Ballack.

● Earlier Mr Ntsodo told reporters that men claiming to be members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had called the PAC, threatening to disrupt the Ceres march.

But there was no sign of the AWP during the march.





Sundowns supporters dash for cover on the eastern stand of the HM Pitje Stadium during a scuffle with AmaZulu fans on Saturday. PIC: MATSHUBE MFOLOE

# Government, PAC hold talks on Apla

*Sowetan 11/6/93*

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

## CRISIS MEETING Political chief

released on bail after being charged:

**T**ALKS BETWEEN THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government continue this morning to solve differences following last week's police swoop on members of the organisation.

Police unconditionally released three PAC leaders after an emergency meeting on Friday.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke was released on bail on Friday after being charged with the illegal possession of firearms.

National organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani is still in detention.

The PAC leadership, led by general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and the organisation's chief negotiator, Mr Gora Ebrahim, will meet again today with Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Yesterday, President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Roelf Meyer and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa held talks in Pretoria.

The office of the State President said in a statement that De Klerk and Mandela had met "as a continuation of their previous meetings. Outstanding matters from these meetings were attended to".

An election date is believed to have been one of the items at the top of the agenda at the Pretoria meeting.

Certain constitutional issues essential to the announcement of an election date had not been resolved, negotiators have said.

It is expected that an election date and its announcement will be decided

on at today's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

However, negotiators are divided over whether South Africa will know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

But Meyer and Ramaphosa are confident that the election date can be set at Thursday's negotiating forum meeting. Both men cautioned that much work lay ahead in the next 48 hours. Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was concerned at the "galloping" pace of negotiations.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council that not enough time was being spent to debate vital issues.

# Azapo warns NP, DP

Start 11/6/93

The Jabulani branch of Azapo yesterday warned against political campaigning in predominantly black townships by the Democratic and National Parties.

The statement came at the end of a meeting held at Soweto's Kholwane Primary School, to discuss plans for June 16, "Soweto Day".

Addressing about 150 members, Azapo branch spokesman Makoma Lekalakala said it was "undemocratic for the oppressors to organise the oppressed".

Only black people should organise among their communities, while mainly white parties should campaign in their own communities, according to Lekalakala.

## Violence

She said Azapo members still had a "bone to chew" with the DP for having been party to the expulsion of Azapo from the Patriotic Front in 1991.

The Azapo meeting was a response to the latest attempts by both the NP and

DP to woo black support in the townships.

On the issue of violence, the meeting called on black people to use any means to defend themselves.

Azapo executive branch member Zibuse Kubheka, said: "As violence escalates in our communities, we reserve the right to self-defence and maximum amount of retaliation."

Khubeka said: "June 16 was about black power and the seizure of power and not about multiparty talks". — Sapa.

# Progress of talks hinges on Star 11/6/93 meeting

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

Today's Negotiating Council meeting is shaping up to be critical for progress in the negotiating process — including the setting of an election date later this week.

Yesterday negotiators were divided on whether South Africa would know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

Sources last night indicated that a weekend of bilateral meetings in which the Government met both the ANC and the IFP were designed to narrow gaps between various players in the process.

The success of these would depend on developments in today's meeting and hopes of an election date announcement hinge on substantial progress being made.

  
Concern

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have been confident that the election date could be set at a scheduled meeting of Thursday's negotiating forum.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose has expressed concern at the "galloping" pace of negotiations while IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the setting of an election date at this stage as impossible.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Council that not enough time was being spent on debating vital issues.

The Consultative Business Movement last week met the ANC, the Government and Concerned South Africans Group.

The political groups were asked not to pursue their respective timetables too rigidly. The CBM was concerned that some parties were intent on speeding the process up while others appeared intent on delaying it.

# ANC on publishing freedom

The African National Congress favours a wide-ranging publishing industry independent of government, according to ANC education chief John Samuels.

Samuels was speaking last week at a conference to address "Publishing for Democratic Education". According to a statement yesterday from organisers Sached Trust, the conference was attended by 120 different educational and publishing organisations.

Samuels said freedom from government intervention would depend largely on "the extent to which publishers commit themselves visibly to the development of a local publishing industry".

"Published material should assist in a short-term transition and also lay the foundations for longer-term educational changes," Samuels said.

The conference recommended that no "relationships of privilege" should exist between the State education ministry and publishers.

Calls were made to the two representative publisher associations — Publishers Association of South Africa and Independent Publishers Association of South Africa — to draw up a code of conduct. The code should effectively prohibit "corrupt and nepotistic recommendations".

This is expected to be presented to the National Education and Training Negotiating Forum, which is being established. — Sapa.

# Hopes high after talks at weekend

Star 116193

Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

A far-reaching compromise — one that would sharply facilitate movement towards a new democratic order — could be brokered in negotiations within days.

This follows a weekend of intense bilateral meetings. But top negotiators warned against undue optimism.

Yesterday President de Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela met Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, to discuss the constitutional talks.

A Government source said the meetings "went well".

Today the Government meets the Pan Africanist Congress for a second round of talks on the crisis sparked by last week's PAC raid.

## Regionalism

The breakthrough compromise would require the ANC and its allies to soften their position on regionalism.

Central to a deal would be agreement on which constitutional principles should be entrenched and binding on the constituent assembly.

The committee on constitutional matters put forward proposals on "allocations of powers to different levels of government" which would require the ANC to move from its present position on regionalism.

Specifically, it would make provision for each level of government to have "exclusive and concurrent powers".

The ANC has to date insisted

that central government should have concurrent and overriding powers.

The document also calls for a specified majority of the legislatures of regional governments for amendments to be made to the constitution.

In terms of the committee's proposals these principles would be binding on the constituent assembly.

The Inkatha Freedom Party would, for its part, have to accept a two-phase transitional process.

An IFP input to the technical committee on the transitional executive council (TEC) says it would support a two-phased transitional process if the following were agreed upon: an interim constitution; a set of constitutional principles that would be binding on the constitution-making body; final and entrenched boundaries; powers and structures of regions; and full agreement "on the nature of the political dispensation".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate described the IFP input to the technical committee as part of "a search for a solution ... We want to find ways to accommodate each other".

Yesterday Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman told The Star a breakthrough was possible if regional boundaries, powers and structures were made part of the binding constitutional principles and if safeguards were strong enough to ensure these could not be overturned by a constitution-making body.

Schoeman said the bilateral meetings over the weekend focused on the negotiations process. The major part of Government's talks with the IFP and the ANC dealt with ways of reaching a compromise.

# Negotiators optimistic about progress on transitional

Buss Day 116193

arrangements

NEGOTIATORS are optimistic that the negotiating council will make a breakthrough on transitional arrangements when it meets today.

Hopes have been buoyed by the indication that Inkatha would be prepared to accept a transitional executive council to pave the way to elections for an interim government.

The negotiating council meets at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park this afternoon to thrash out compromises and advance on key constitutional principles. Negotiators are expected to make suffi-

cient progress to be able to announce an election date on Thursday.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday the negotiators would do everything possible to set the date for elections by Thursday. But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said although there was a "general expression of optimism" on a breakthrough today, it remained to be seen whether the council would cover sufficient ground for the date to be set.

Niehaus said Friday's meeting had not come close to resolving the differences between negotiating parties. There was still

BILLY PADDOCK  
and WILSON ZWANE

no clarity on how the transitional executive council would function and much remained unresolved.

It is understood that on Friday, at a meeting between government and the ANC after the negotiating council concluded its affairs, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer expressed optimism that a breakthrough would be made today.

Inkatha's apparent acceptance of the transitional executive council hinges on re-

gional boundaries being set and regions' powers and functions and certain constitutional principles being decided before the establishment of a transitional authority.

Inkatha's decision to accept the transitional executive council follows the ANC's concession last month that regions be given powers entrenched in the constitution.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have not moved as far as Inkatha on the transitional executive council, and indications are that the main players might be prepared to leave them behind temporarily in the hope that they will shift their positions soon.

Today's negotiating council meeting will be preceded by one between government and the PAC, at which the PAC is expected to give a "clear and unambiguous report" on its commitment to the armed struggle and its position on violence. Government is likely to require the PAC to suspend the struggle and to sign the peace accord.

In another development, President F W de Klerk met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Pretoria yesterday to discuss what a government spokesman termed "matters of broad concern, including constitutional negotiations".

IN PORTRAYING Inkatha as the perceived "villain" of the Natal conflict, the ANC-aligned Human Rights Commission (HRC) predictably succumbs to the tempting "heroes/villains" theme in its analysis of violence trends and patterns in 1992.

Wrapped in a flimsy veneer of "neutrality", the report casually "overlooks" the mass killing of 93 Inkatha members in nine massacres during the latter half of last year, and the serial assassination of 63 Inkatha office bearers during 1992.

The HRC approach blocks information which would inform the public of the multidimensional nature of conflict in Natal. It is not simply an ideological battle of territorial supremacy between Inkatha and the ANC. It stems from a host of factors, many related to the socioeconomic deprivation wrought by apartheid.

HRC reports commonly focus on the carrying of traditional weapons, Inkatha as the alleged principal perpetrator and beneficiary of political violence, and alleged collusion between the security forces and Inkatha. The annual report, published in March, fails to explore the ANC's role in promoting violence through its strategy of "ungovernability" and

# Validity of data is suspect

ED TILLET

eliminating those identified as "collaborators". Nor do they document the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its link to the infiltration of sophisticated weaponry feeding the mass killing of Inkatha members.

The nature of HRC monthly "repression" bulletins is consistent with protecting and exonerating the ANC and its allies of involvement in violence while surreptitiously avoiding unflattering reports detrimental to its image. Anything connected with the alternate structures, with the civics, are "progressive", "peace-loving" and "democratic". Deviations are rarely reported. When mention of such things becomes unavoidable, reference is made to "youths", "unruly groups", "thugs" — shifty and evasive descriptions which cannot be associated too intimately with the tripartite bloc.

Unscrambling the various deceptive ploys which promote the HRC's anti-Inkatha vendetta and reinforce Inkatha's culpability can prove fas-

cinating. One such device is blame-laying. The bulk of the violence is almost always indiscriminately attributed to Inkatha members. This theme is developed further. A favourite method is to quote an Inkatha attack in isolation, by insulating it from the cause and context, and divorcing the individual act from a series of often long-standing and complex grievances. Another key method is to quote selectively from victims and observers.

A further ploy is labelling — manipulating the nature of the violence by attaching Inkatha/ANC labels to conflict best articulated in other ways. Recognising the media's need for brevity, the HRC has adopted convenient generic labels to describe conflict situations: "warlords", "impis", "vigilantes" for Inkatha; "com-

munity", "residents", "activists" and "progressive leaders" for the ANC.

The flaws in the HRC's research methodology go far beyond the margin of fallibility. In its interpretation of conflicting reports of events which culminate in violence, the HRC invariably adopts the ANC's version. Information is derived from ANC-aligned sources only but their identity is seldom disclosed and their political affiliation is obscured.

HRC director Safoora Sadek says (Business Day, April 22): "The HRC is committed to the universal declaration of human rights and uses it as a guiding document. We are certainly not bound by the programmes or policies of any political party or organisation." She claims the assumption that the political affiliation "of a few" commissioners compromises the HRC's work is "flawed". She says commissioners were selected on the basis of their "human rights records", and "represent communities affected by political violence".

The evidence suggests otherwise. Given the board's composition, it is hardly surprising that their research methodology reflects a pro-ANC bias. Upon closer examination, one finds such ANC luminaries as Chris Dlamini (SACP executive member), Pius Langa (ANC human rights lawyer), Diliza Mji (National Medical and Dental Council) as well as Titus Mofolo and Dullah Omar (ANC NEC members), to mention a few. Subscribing patrons all tend to be organisations with close ANC links or sympathies. Amid evidence to the contrary, Sadek's indignation appears shallow and unconvincing.

Held up to scrutiny, the validity of HRC data emerges highly suspect. The HRC has exploited the fact that economic survival has dictated the dynamics of shoestring budgets and skeleton staff complements in modern newsrooms. Increasingly office-bound, hopelessly undermanned, newspapers' journalists are only too eager to be spoon-fed.

In the process, timeless liberal cornerstones are being destroyed. They are being whittled away as fast as leaders are being snuffed out.

□ Tillet is based at the Inkatha Information Centre.

LETTERS

announced by all in the business and

# Apla 'planned to hit yuppie bars'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A disturbing trend towards attacks against soft targets by Apla was emerging following the arrest of four Apla members who allegedly planned to bomb two Yeoville restaurants here at the weekend, police said yesterday.

Police spokesman Colonel Reg Crewe said another group of Apla members, who had planned to attack bars and restau-

rants in Natal, had been arrested after a confession by an Apla member detained in a nationwide swoop on the PAC last week.

He said police were receiving "co-operation" from several Apla members who were telling them of planned attacks, and further arrests were possible this week.

Police said three "yuppie" hotel bars in Natal had been picked as targets by Apla.

A spokesman for SAP public relations headquarters in Pretoria, Colonel Johan Mostert, said it was not possible "at this moment" to disclose the names of the bars. But he said the bars — two in Durban and the other on the Natal south coast — were usually frequented by "yuppies".

"These bars are usually very busy and are frequented by members of the ANC and by the National Party," he said.

CT 116193

(11A) (336)



# Armed struggle goes ahead - PAC

Sowetan 2/6/93

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

## ■ ABANDON ARMS Security forces

### must be put under multi-party control:

**T**HE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS came out of yesterday's bilateral talks with the Government adamant that the armed struggle by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, would continue.

The organisation said this would be its stance until the Government had agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Both parties put their cases to the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The Government insisted that no party which was committed and engaged in armed activities should take part in an election.

On the other hand, the PAC said the Government had no right to order it to abandon arms. It suggested that all armed forces be brought under joint multiparty control.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said international intervention was more necessary now in helping to create mechanism for an elected constituent assembly.

He accused the Government of attempting to get the PAC expelled from the multiparty negotiations.

"The regime does not own this process," Alexander said.

The Government said its discus-

sions with the PAC were intended to achieve the suspension of the armed struggle or a moratorium on armed activities.

It also said it awaited a response on this issue from the PAC at a meeting tomorrow.

The PAC was yesterday still standing firm on its demand that all its members detained in last Tuesday's swoop be released unconditionally and all material confiscated during the raids returned.

Meanwhile, the technical committee of experts on constitutional matters presented its report yesterday.

# focus on **Bosnia**

**F**ROM the Far Right to the black Left, South Africa's squabbling politicians agree on one thing — war-ravaged Bosnia provides a fine metaphor for their own country.

For some, the ethnic slaughter in the former Yugoslav republic is a premonition of their worst nightmare.

Others, seize on the UN-touted concept of ethnic self-determination as a solution to their own plight.

"The people will not allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia," the African National Congress said in May response to threats of secession from the white Right.

Meanwhile the white Right, in the form of Mineworkers Union chief Peet Ungerer, said: "We are at ease with the implementation of an ethnically based settlement similar to the UN peace plan in Yugoslavia."

President FW de Klerk, meanwhile, warned that if he gave in to the demands of the radical Left or Right "violence would increase and a bloody Bosnia-like civil war could ensue".

As in the former Yugoslavia, the issue most likely to drive South Africans to civil war is the refusal of some ethnic groups to be dominated by members of other groups.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, has hinted that he would consider secession for Natal where most of his followers live.

## **Ethnic cleansing**

Buthelezi, who has himself raised the Bosnia spectre with accusations that the constitutional proposals of De Klerk and the ANC amount to "ethnic cleansing", has drawn up an autonomy plan for Natal.

Early in May, leaders of the white right wing said Afrikaners would consider secession if constitutional negotiations failed to deliver on their demand for self-determination.

The threat came from a former general in the South African Defence Force, who said the white-led army would never obey orders from a black government to fight its fellow-Afrikaners.

Self-determination, or regionalism, is one of the key issues under discussion at the talks on a transition to democracy. A total of 26 groups, including the right wing, Government, ANC and Inkatha, are taking part.

Both Inkatha and the rightist Conservative Party have rejected the ANC's vision of a unitary state with a strong central government, saying their demands for self-determination are not negotiable.

In a departure from the Yugoslavia metaphor, Buthelezi said attempts to force a unitary

The former Yugoslav republic provides a chilling example of what could happen in South Africa. *Sapa-Reuter* spoke to leaders about this gloomy prospect for the country that has not known peace in the past decade.



**Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... secession a possibility.**

state on his followers would make the civil war in Angola look like a picnic.

Professor Mike Hough, a political scientist at the University of Pretoria, said those who referred to another Bosnia in South Africa were over-dramatising. But the possibility of full-scale civil war could not be ruled out.

## **Worst-case scenario**

"People used to refer to Lebanon, now they use Bosnia — they're worst-case scenarios of what could happen in a racial, ethnic conflict like that in South Africa.

"But we're still quite a way from civil war in South Africa. You have to have two armies for that and we only have one."

Hough said the defence force could split into

*Sowetan 2/6/93*

**There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on**



factions that would turn upon each other if there was a government collapse or if the right wing carried out its secessionist threat.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the right wing and black opposition would never reach consensus on regionalism.

## **Colour divisions**

"There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on.

"Things look very ugly — the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid is beyond repair."

In public at least, the ANC is optimistic it can reach agreement with the white Right on regionalism.

"Negotiations are about finding one another," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said recently.

"We've developed a very progressive and reasonable position on regions — those who have listened to our policies, have found sense in them. We look forward to convincing the Conservative Party."

One of the right wing parties at the constitutional talks, the Afrikaner People's Union, said this week it had achieved a breakthrough on regionalism in talks with the Government.

The AVU, more moderate than the Conservative Party, said it was greatly encouraged to hear from the Government that Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in its constitutional proposals.

Star 216193

### Azapo racists, says NP

The National Party rejected the threats by Azapo that the NP should stay out of the townships "or face the consequences" as shocking racism of the worst kind, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, director of media liaison for the NP, said yesterday. "We will not be intimidated by a minority and irrelevant party like Azapo." - Sapa.

~~SECRET~~

(11A)

# 'Train blacks for top defence posts'

Star 21/6/93

(11A)

CAPE TOWN — The proposed transitional executive council (TEC) should appoint a joint armed forces committee to investigate the incorporation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and the TBVC states' armies into the SADF, Democratic Party spokesman on Defence, General Bob Rogers, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Defence vote, he said the committee should look at issues including ranks, pay scales and training requirements.

Selected black NCOs and officers from these armies should be placed on special training courses to prepare them for holding key command and staff positions.

Rogers said he also believed that as soon as the TEC was appointed, the State President, acting on the advice of the Ne-

gotiating Council, should set up a transitional sub-council on defence.

This, with the Minister of Defence, would have political control of the defence force, take whatever steps were necessary to level the playing fields for a free and fair election, and prepare the way for restructuring the defence force. ~~SAPA~~

A council of defence should be appointed by the Minister on the advice of the sub-council to investigate the size and shape of the defence force, review the system of national service, and carry out any other tasks referred to it by the sub-committee. ~~SAPA~~

Rogers said that if the DP recommendations were followed it would ensure that responsibility for combating violence was shared by all political parties. — Sapa.

# Govt and PAC locked in talks

Star 21/6/93

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

The Government and the Pan Africanist Congress remain bitterly deadlocked after three meetings to resolve differences that flared last week.

They will meet again tomorrow but by late yesterday the PAC had indicated that its continued presence in talks would be impossible if documents seized in last week's police raids were not returned.

Central to the issue is the organisation's armed struggle. Yesterday PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the PAC

had to decide whether farmers were civilians because most were "commando members".

PAC and Government delegates met at the World Trade Centre yesterday. The PAC is demanding immediate and unconditional release of all members held in last week's raids, the return of seized documents and the repair of property it says was damaged.

The Government has called for an unambiguous position from the PAC on its armed struggle — and was apparently poised to call for the organisation's expulsion from negotiations if it continued to commit armed atrocities.

Although the PAC still

had to meet this condition, the Government was prepared to talk to it "with a view to achieving the suspension of the armed struggle by the PAC and Apla".

● PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani was released yesterday, Sapa reports.

He was held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday afternoon on charges of contravening the Firearms Act.

He was released on warning and is to appear again on June 14.

According to the PAC, 16 of its members were yesterday still being held without charge.

# 'Operation Stilstand' and the man of

STRAW

Star 2/6/93

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Allister Sparks

THE most astonishing — and alarming — thing about the police raid on the PAC last week is that neither the Commissioner of Police nor the Minister of Law and Order consulted, or briefed, or talked in any way to the State President or the Cabinet beforehand.

The official explanation is that they considered the raid to be "a routine police operation" which did not require such authorisation.

Which is nonsense. Anyone serving at that level of government who says he did not realise a raid like that would have a significant impact on the negotiations, and should therefore as a matter of routine have Cabinet approval, is either so dumb he has no business being there, or he is lying.

I don't believe either is the case in this instance. One might, at a stretch, accept that the Commissioner of Police is a political duffer who did not understand the implications of what he was doing, but not a Cabinet Minister who is a professional politician.

Hernus Kriel knew very well what the impact of the raid would be, yet he deliberately withheld information of the raid from Pre-

sident de Klerk until it was under way and too late to stop.

For him at least, and probably for the top police officers involved, not telling the President or the Cabinet was a calculated political decision.

That, as anyone remotely connected with national or international affairs will tell you, is a most remarkable decision. One that comes close to being analogous to a coup.

Yet President de Klerk has done nothing about it. He has disciplined neither Kriel nor the police generals responsible. Instead he and his Cabinet have fallen meekly in line with what they did.

That is the most alarming part of the whole story. For it tells us that President de Klerk is no longer properly in control. His position, which has been declining for months, has now eroded to the

point where he has lost effective control over the security forces and can only ride with their decisions.

The question is, why did Kriel and his generals do it?

Let me say at once that I hold no brief for the PAC. Its ambivalence on the issue of violence is deplorable, its failure to dissociate itself from Apla's claimed acts of murder is shameful, and its propagation of racist slogans such as "one settler one bullet" and "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", are criminally inciteful and disgusting.

If the police had conclusive evidence against anyone responsible for the attacks on police and white farmers, I would be the first to applaud the arrest of such people. But we have been shown no such evidence. Of the 77 PAC leaders arrested, Kriel has been able to tell us about five charged with possessing unlicensed weapons — and even those were weapons licensed in the Transkei, which, though not formally recognised in "white" South Africa, is a matter currently under negotiation.

As Lyndon Johnson might have put it, what kind of chickenshit

charge is that?

Which brings one to the inevitable conclusion that the raid was politically motivated. As speaker after speaker at last Thursday night's debate of the Negotiating Council remarked, it was a fishing expedition undertaken in the hope of catching something that would justify the raid on criminal grounds. But the real motive was political.

What, then, was the political purpose? I believe the raid was carried out in collusion with the Afrikaner Volksfront, that new right-wing alliance headed by General Constand Viljoen and three other retired military generals, with the deliberate intention of provoking a walkout by the PAC and a delay in the negotiations.

In an interview three weeks ago, Viljoen spoke of his concern that the negotiations were so far advanced. He told me the Volksfront wanted the process to be slowed down, with the negotiations suspended to give time for the violence to be brought under control and for right-wing Afrikaners to organise themselves so that they could present their case

properly.

This, I believe, is what the raid was intended to achieve. An "Operation Stilstand" planned by the police generals in cahoots with their old securocrat friends in the Volksfront.

As for Kriel, he has his own agenda that would have encouraged him to play along with such a strategem. He has emerged as the leader of the hawks in the Cabinet who accuse Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and other members of the Government's negotiating team of being soft and giving away too much to the ANC.

Kriel is making a power play to establish himself as the National Party's strong man and to replace the dovish Dawie de Villiers as leader of the party's Cape branch. Since the Cape is the biggest branch, that would make Kriel the heir apparent to De Klerk should the President falter and fall.

But whatever the motives, the strategy has backfired. Instead of derailing and delaying the negotiations, the raid on the PAC has strengthened the process and increased the determination to speed it up. Black participants, in-

cluding some of the Government's "homeland" surrogates, rallied around last Thursday night to appeal to the PAC to stay in the talks and "not fall into Kriel's trap" by walking out.

So far this seems to have succeeded, and if the negotiations can survive this crisis as well as the Chris Hani assassination they can probably survive anything.

Kriel himself has probably gained support in the NP caucus, which may alarm the insecure De Klerk into making some gestures of *tragedadigheid*. But overall the exercise has weakened the Government on every front.

It has tarnished its international image and revealed De Klerk, who only a year ago was enjoying some global prestige, to be a man of straw. It has embarrassed the Government's negotiating team by exposing them as being out of the loop when it comes to the real power decisions. And it calls into question the whole integrity of the Government's negotiating position.

The only group to have benefited is the PAC, which has been given a huge image boost among the young radicals of the black townships. □

controlling the finances of that country. [Time expired.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I think that the floundering hon member for Johannesburg North owes the hon member for Sea Point a debt of gratitude for trying to come to his rescue, but unfortunately what the hon member for Sea Point said implied that for 15 years the position has been static and nothing has been done. This does not stand up to critical examination. [Interjections.]

Ever-increasing attention has been given to this matter, so much so that there has not been a point at which more incisive attention has been given than at this very moment. [Interjections.]

I was on the point of trying to inform the hon member for Johannesburg North because I am trying to shed some light on the subject for him. He generates a lot of heat on the subject. I am trying to shed some light on the subject. [Interjections.]

I wanted to tell him, for example, of one specific mechanism in the whole process, namely suspensions. It actually happens frequently that proposed expenditure on specific items is suspended during the budgetary discussion. Before such suspension can be lifted, the affected party has to give full reasons justifying the lifting of that suspension, and these reasons have to be acceptable to the SA Government.

As I said earlier, the SA Government has a say in preparations made for these governments, but I must also remind hon members that the independent states frequently remind us of their independent status when the question of effective forms of control is discussed.

There is no disputing that taxpayers' money has to be protected and that proper financial control should be in force at all times. What I have been dealing with refers precisely to that. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Wednesday, 26 May 1993:

### Swedish aid to political organization

\*9. Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether South Africa's ambassador in Sweden exerted any pressure on the Swedish government to discontinue financial assistance to a certain political organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, what is the name of this organization;

(2) whether he or his Department gave (a) instructions and/or (b) approval for such pressure to be exerted; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, why;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B856E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(2) (a) and (b) No, not previously. I am of the opinion that benefits which are granted exclusively to the ANC result in heightened tension and do not contribute to reconciliation. This point of view was on more than one occasion conveyed to the relevant governments.

(3) Falls away.

### Citizenship: White males

\*12. Mr D S PIENAAR asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

(1) How many White male persons who renounced their South African citizenship and left the Republic before 1 January 1990 and before reaching the age of 30 years, were readmitted to the country after the said date (a) after regaining South African citizenship and (b) on a temporary basis in terms of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act No 1 of 1937), and the

Aliens Control Act, 1991 (Act No 96 of 1991);

(2) whether the admission of such persons was subject to any conditions; if not, why not; if so, what conditions;

(3) whether any of the persons referred to in paragraph (1) (b) are still in the Republic; if so, what are the relevant details with regard to the residence of such persons in the Republic;

(4) whether the South African Defence Force has been notified of the admission to the Republic of and the regaining of South African citizenship by the persons referred to in paragraph (1); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B853E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) to (4) Statistics on the required basis are unfortunately not available. However, for the hon member's information it may be mentioned that during the period April 1985 until December 1989 a total of 470 persons of all population groups, sexes and ages, whilst inside or outside the Republic, renounced their South African citizenship in terms of section 16 (2) of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949. It must also be pointed out that South African citizenship cannot be resumed whilst a person is abroad after he has renounced his citizenship in terms of section 16 (2) of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949. Such a person must first be admitted to South Africa lawfully and can only resume South African citizenship if he settles here permanently.

Persons who have renounced their South African citizenship and left South Africa and subsequently return to the country on a temporary basis are in terms of Departmental policy admitted to the country on temporary permits for holiday or business purposes only. Such persons must also hold return tickets.

When a former South African citizen resumes South African citizenship in terms of section 25bis of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949, or if he is in any way exempted from the loss of his South African citizenship, the South African Defence Force is advised thereof in writing. However, the South African Defence Force is not informed when a

New questions:

### RSA citizenship: national service for White males

\*1. Mr D S PIENAAR asked the Minister of Defence:†

Whether any of the White male persons who before 1 January 1990 and before reaching the age of 30 years had renounced their South African citizenship before they could perform their national service, performed such national service after they had regained their South African citizenship; if so, (a) how many and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished; if not, why not?

B854E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) 15.

(b) 1988. Statistics of this nature were not kept before this date.

### Housing finance: co-ordination

\*2. Adv C H PIENAAR asked the Minister of National Housing:†

Whether the Government intends co-ordinating all aspects of housing financed on the first, second and third tiers of government; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B814E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HOUSING:

Mr Chairman, I am grateful to the hon member for Heilbron for asking me this question, because I am told that as a new boy I am supposed to make a maiden speech, and here I am giving a maiden reply. Regrettably, it is a very short reply as well, under the circumstances.

As a new national housing policy and strategy for South Africa are at present being negotiated between all interested parties, unfortunately it is at this delicate stage not possible to reply to the hon member's question.

I would like to add that it is expected that at least three months will be required before full details are available.

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

## General Affairs:

## Representations from ANC: fourteen-year olds

\*I. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he or his Department has received any representations from the African National Congress that fourteen-year olds (a) be granted the right to vote and/or (b) be supplied with weapons; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, what is the purport of these representations?

B894E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the Department of Home Affairs and I have at no stage so far received formal or informal representations from the ANC that 14-year-olds should be given the vote. In fact, up to the recent political statements on the matter it was not a subject for discussion at all. I think that it was so generally accepted that the current practice, namely that 18-year-olds would acquire the vote, would also apply in future that Mr Mandela's statements even came as a surprise to the ANC.

There are actually a few countries in which persons younger than 18 may vote. It must be added immediately, however, that some of these examples include one-party states and that not one of them can actually be regarded as a model of progressive democracy. In no case, however, is 14 the age at which one is entitled to vote.

The reaction of political parties and the press on this matter placed it in perspective. No institution of which I am aware supported the proposal. The proposal is not only impracticable but completely unrealistic.

Meanwhile a committee of the ANC has also indicated that the organisation's original standpoint that the franchise would apply to persons 18 years old and older would suffice.

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As regards representations on the supply of firearms to 14-year-olds, I can inform the hon member that neither my department nor I have received any such representations from the ANC. I also made enquiries at the Department of Law and Order whether they had received representations but I was told that they had not received any from the ANC in this regard. In terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act, 14-year-olds cannot acquire firearms licences either.

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, it is very clear in South Africa today that, when the NP make a new announcement, they first have to go to the ANC to hear whether they agree with them. When the ANC make statements, however, it is very clear that they do not take the Government into account. [Interjections.]

The Government does not understand what the ANC and the SACP can bring about in Southern Africa. Just as the women opened the gates for Raka, this Government is propelled by strange passions. Just imagine that this Government wants to share power with the ANC, and then the Government hallucination is still that everything will be prosperous, peaceful and friendly in South Africa.

Mandela's idea to give 14-year-olds the vote is only exceeded in absurdity by the ignorance and recklessness of the Government. Mandela has all the characteristics of an African despot. He is looking for only one thing in South Africa and that is power. After that he is looking for only one thing further and that is to retain power. Mandela speaks sanctimoniously about democracy but in reality he is involved in unholy hypocrisy.

Mandela wants to use children to obtain and retain power. He wants careless, restless, disobedient and undisciplined children as a power base. In addition he is wooing them to keep them away from the PAC. He not only offers them the vote but also AK 47s, hand grenades, petrol bombs and necklace murders.

The NP wants to share power with such a person. The NP wants to regard the freedom of the peoples in Southern Africa as subject to such a person, and I want to ask them when they are going to stop this conduct toward Mandela. The NP is seeking an election date in Kempton Park

but they do not even have a constitution. They have no idea what the ANC's and the Communists' actual plans are for Southern Africa. [Time expired.]

\*Miss M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe has asked a ridiculous interpellation question because the hon the Minister would obviously not have received representations. It is especially ridiculous, however, to look for this opportunity for conducting a debate when the subject has already been concluded, and then to drag Raka in here.

The CP wants to say its say when everybody, including the ANC, has finished talking. We have already commented on the question of the 14-year-old voters. We said that it alarmed us and we also said that it was ridiculous.

This is an after meat mustard affair and I must say that the mustard has a dreadful taste, coming from the ranks of a party a senior member of which has been charged with complicity in the assassination of Mr Chris Hani. [Interjections.] I think that the one useful thing that a person can do in this cliquish gathering in this context is to point out to hon members that what Mr Mandela is trying to do among other things is to establish leadership over a group which could become angry and directionless without Chris Hani.

We think that there are better ways to make young people part of the process. A peace corps is one of them but there is no doubt that they must be taken care of. They are decisively important to the future of South Africa, both socially and electorally speaking. [Interjections.] Hon members should think about Mrs Winnie Mandela and then compare Mr Mandela with her.

There are 2 million young Black people between the ages of 15 and 19 outside the TBVC states. We estimate all South Africa's 14 to 19-year-olds at about 3,8 million. We do not think that they should vote or obtain firearms, not even in a youth brigade. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I should like to agree with the hon member for Groote Schuur. I think that this is a ridiculous question on which the time of this House is being wasted. [Interjections.] The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe also used

ridiculous arguments today. He is using this debate to say that the Government echoes the ANC before it makes statements. [Interjections.] With all due respect, those are arguments which a person could perhaps use in other contexts but not in this case. In this case, the moment Mr Mandela made his statement, which was completely ridiculous, the Government immediately said that it was completely foolish. [Interjections.]

I want to use the last few seconds of my time to share a few interesting points with hon members. The only country that has so far considered introducing the franchise for 14-year-olds was Nicaragua under the Sandinistic government. This created so much public consternation that they immediately abandoned it, even under those circumstances.

Countries that at this stage give franchise to people younger than 18 are Afghanistan, Iran, Cuba, Yugoslavia and North Korea. We do not want to associate ourselves with those countries.

\*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Chairman, this afternoon I want to tell hon members in the NP in particular that they have been negotiating for months with the future leader Mr Mandela. They have elevated him to an enormous figure in South African politics. Today I want to know from them what they thought when Mr Mandela did something that had not occurred anywhere in the world yet. He requested that 14-year-olds be given the vote. There was no newspaper or political organisation which did not wonder whether Mr Mandela's brain was slightly addled. [Interjections.] Everybody denigrated it as something ridiculous. He was a ridiculous figure when he said it. I do not want to express myself more strongly on this for the time being.

One asks oneself immediately why he did it. Surely he is the man who was elevated by the NP, and then he made such a fool of himself in public. There is only one reason: Mr Mandela has to bid against Winnie, the PAC and the Mokobas for the support of the minors. He needs them and wants them in his struggle with the NP. That is the only reasonable explanation for his conduct.

South Africa has never permitted political power to land in the hands of such people. That is why the NP is warning the CP today ... [Interjections.]

cont. →

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\*HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

\*Mr L F STOFBERG: . . . the CP is warning the NP. We say that they should beware. They may laugh now but they do not understand that Mandela does not want to share power. He wants total power in the country. [Time expired.]

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I want to tell the hon member for Groote Schuur that this afternoon she was very definitely not a mother of the people. She is an old-time liberal.

\*Miss M SMUTS: I am a Boer liberal!

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: If a White man or an Afrikaner makes a mistake, they jump on him but the Blacks of Africa can make all kinds of mistakes and they will support them. They are Jean Jacques Rousseau types. I want to tell the DP and the NP that Mandela is not just an ordinary leader in South Africa. He is accepted by the NP as the next president with the powers which the present hon State President holds. What do hon members think is going to happen? Hon members can speak as frivolously as they like today, where there are no Black people present, but I say that it is not a case of after meat mustard. This is the reality of South Africa. In another world there can be a J R Ewing in Dallas, but this is the reality.

Here is the leader of the ANC, whom they regard as the president of tomorrow, and he announces these things. The NP and the DP are living in a fool's paradise which will catch up with them in the reality of South Africa. In a year or two or three they will remember that the CP tried to talk to them for 10 years. Let him who does not hear, feel. The NP and the DP will still feel in this country. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member has only a few seconds left.

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I want to repeat this. That hon member will, as an old-time liberal, learn the reality of Africa the hard way. Hon members will still find out the problems regarding what Nelson Mandela really thinks of democracy. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the two hon members contended that this Government had elevated Mr Mandela to an enormous figure. I want to suggest that there

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is a measure of justification for that argument, but it is not because this Government released him now. It is because the former Government kept him in prison for years, for too long. This is what enhanced his image. I am not saying this in reproach but, if he had been released earlier, he would not have acquired that image.

I shall conclude simply by saying that those hon members and the country may rest assured that this Government will see to it that civilised standards are maintained, as regards the age of those entitled to vote as well.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That ends the first interpellation. Before I put the second interpellation, I want to express the hope that the discussion of the next interpellation will take place in a more orderly fashion and that more attention will be paid to calls for order from the Chair, otherwise I fear we are not going to conclude this question session at full strength.

Debate concluded.

#### Transfer of funds to TBVC states

2. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether any financial controls are in force in respect of the transfer of funds to the TBVC states; if not, why not; if so, what procedures are followed in this regard?

B900E.INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, during the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Vote on 29 April this year, the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs made the following comment on the financial affairs of the TBVC states. He said the following (Hansard 1993, col 6349):

My department and I are aware of the impression that financial maladministration, fraud and corruption are prevalent in the TBVC states and that not enough is being done to curb what is believed to be a wastage of taxpayers' money.

He acknowledged that there were irregularities, but in that debate he also stressed at length that important steps had been taken to put the matter on a sound footing. The steps taken and results achieved were dealt with extensively during that debate, as I said, and it is not possible,

in the short discussion we are having today, to repeat that.

However, the fact is that co-operation in terms of those joint financial adjustment programmes and the structural adjustment programme do represent progress, but that progress will have to be further strengthened. We acknowledge that at the outset.

I would like to remind hon members that, despite the agreements and the degree of success achieved in managing the problem of financial control and planning in respect of these states, their independent status is a hard fact of political life. As a responsible Government we must take that into account, but that does not remove the onus on us to be responsible in the way we act.

During the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Vote this same hon member raised this issue, as he is doing now by way of this interpellation, and he was given a comprehensive reply by the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The hon the Minister pointed out that the audit report to which that hon member referred in that debate, which was a performance audit, had been debated on 3 March this year by the Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

Although everything is certainly not faultless by any stretch of the imagination, the evidence laid before that committee clearly demonstrated that the Department of Foreign Affairs, the other functional departments and the Development Bank of Southern Africa are doing everything possible to try to strengthen financial control under the given circumstances.

I would urge that hon member, and any other hon member of this House that shares his concern, to study the evidence submitted to that committee. I think that if they did that in an open-minded way, they would then acknowledge that the matter is not as simple as I suspect the hon member is going to try to portray it this afternoon.

A fundamentally important objective of the structural adjustment agreements is mutual co-operation between the Government of South Africa and the governments of the countries concerned. [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, the hon the Deputy Minister quite rightly refers to debate on the hon the Minister's Vote.

In the course of that debate I put a number of specific questions to the hon the Minister concerning the transfer of more than R6 billion to the TBVC states last year. I asked him whether the department merely acted as a conduit, with cheques merely being forwarded to the four states, or whether normal accounting procedures were employed. I also asked whether funds were transferred against audited vouchers of expenditure to meet specific items, or whether globular amounts were simply sent to the homelands to be spent at will.

In his reply the hon the Minister ignored my request. He did not give me a comprehensive reply, as the hon the Deputy Minister suggests. He ignored my request for information, which was an extraordinary attitude to adopt, because the debate in Committee of Supply is to determine whether the funds which we are asked to approve are being properly expended.

The hon the Minister's reply was arrogant and dismissive. He told me to consult the record of a meeting of the Joint Committee on Public Accounts which was held on 3 March, as the hon the Deputy Minister indicated, a meeting at which he said senior officials of his department took two hours to inform the members of the committee "about exactly the matters he raised here today". He accused me of wasting taxpayers' money by raising the matter in Parliament. [Interjections.]

I want to say that I am doing my duty as a member of Parliament and as a taxpayer. I am concerned about how this money is being spent, and all other taxpayers in this country are concerned and want to know how R6 billion of their hard-earned money is being spent in the TBVC states.

Let me say that I have taken the trouble to read carefully, and at great length, the proceedings of 3 March and the documentation which was handed out as a result of the meeting.

Mr D CHRISTOPHERS: Then you know exactly what happened!

Mr P G SOAL: I note the concern of the department in dealing with these internal financial arrangements within the TBVC states, but nothing was said at that meeting, and no documents were presented, to explain how the expenditure of the R6 billion is controlled by his department.

cont. →  
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

**T**HE ball is in the ANC's court in the economic policy debate. Government has served a cannonball in the form of Finance Minister Derek Keys's normative economic model. What will the ANC's return of service be like?

Government's model, for all its faults, represents a detailed account of the economic policies it would like to implement.

Government representatives use it in discussions at the national economic forum and it will form the basis of its viewpoint once a transitional executive council is in place. It is the economic policy with which the NP will fight an election.

Which policies will the ANC want to see implemented once it has become part of the forum and part of government? How will these be reconciled with the Keys plan?

The ANC's last comprehensive policy framework, which was lacking in detail, was issued in May 1992. Since then, clues on policymaking have emerged from work released by macroeconomic research group (Merg) academics, workshops (such as on anti-trust policy) and speeches.

**T**he model developed by Merg academics is regarded as an ANC response to Keys's model. It was developed by University of Durban-Westville economist Stephen Gelb, his colleague Bill Gibson, MIT academic Lance Taylor and Development Bank of Southern Africa economist Dirk Ernst van Seventer.

Gelb and his partners' work is not strictly comparable to the Keys model in the sense that it does not offer detailed policy prescriptions, but does provide an important alternative view of how the economy works. A model reflects its architects' view of how the economy functions and the Merg model has illustrated that government's view is not an objective truth.

With the present focus on economic modelling, sparked by government calling its policy document a normative economic model, the Merg model is a useful contribution to the debate.

Its authors dispute government's

assumption of a savings shortage and argue that there is room for demand-led policies side by side with supply-side policies. A maximum of two years' demand-led growth could push SA on to a longer-term growth path. The model postulates that, if the structure of the economy does not change due to policy interventions, real GDP growth will not exceed 2,2% in the '90s.

But the model does not carry the ANC's official stamp of approval. It is also lacking in policy detail and not available in the same easily digestible form as the Keys model. It might be incorporated in a new ANC policy document, but on its own it is undoubtedly an inadequate response to the Keys package.

A further indication of ANC thinking on economic policy came from ANC economic planning head Trevor Manuel's favourable comments about the World Bank's work on SA.

The World Bank's analysis, although not yet released officially, differs from the Keys model in many respects. Among others, it calls for "renewed emphasis on public investment ... given the need to expand publicly provided facilities for much of the population". SA, if it grew at 5% a year, could sustain a fiscal deficit of 6% of GDP — a figure government rejects.

# ANC struggles to plot fresh course in policy debate

GRETA STEYN

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Unlike the Keys model, the bank has detailed policy suggestions on agriculture, including developing small-scale agriculture centred on the black family farm.

Manuel did not, however, endorse the document in its entirety. How much of the bank's view will find its way into the ANC's formal view on the economy?

**W**hile there have been clues, there has also been confusion. People who attended the workshop on anti-trust policy will remember the ANC's stance against lifting exchange controls which were seen as a means of discouraging concentration of share ownership. However, not too long afterwards, Manuel spoke in favour of the repeal of exchange control. Since the comments were made in specific contexts, it is difficult to work out what the actual position is.

There has been no new "wrap" of economic policy explaining the situation; the specifics lacking in the 1992 paper have not been filled in and new questions have arisen. Is a new policy wrap on the cards?

Merg intends bringing out a comprehensive policy document by Sep-

tember based on the projects undertaken by academic researchers. The intention was that the Merg policy recommendations would form a major input to ANC economic policy, effectively providing the basis for a comprehensive policy document. But it now appears that the Merg recommendations might have the status of just another source.

In-fighting within Merg and rumours of tension between some academics and the ANC economic planning department have raised questions over the extent to which the Merg exercise will be translated into a formal ANC position.

The in-fighting centres on who should write the policy recommendations. There is a belief within the movement, not unfounded, that the choice of writers will shape the slant of policy and the way it is received. Hence the key role accorded to two reputed communists, Ben Fine and Laurence Harris from the London School of Oriental and African Studies, has raised the ire of some key local academics. Many believe that SA has enough talent to do the job.

A Merg policy document might well gather dust on the shelf rather than find its way into a formal ANC position. This does not mean that individual researchers' work will not form part of ANC economic policies.

Outside Merg, there are also detailed analysis and policy recommendations that the ANC can draw on — aside from the World Bank, the Development Bank and the scenario exercises done by Old Mutual/Nedcor and Frankel, Pollak, Vinderine.

But who will pull together the strands to present a viable alternative to the Keys model?

The longer that question is not addressed, the greater government's chance of winning the policy debate. Government's key to selling harsh policies — sharp cutbacks in government spending and the abolition of centralised wage bargaining — is to promise economic prosperity at the end of the road. With the help of a "model", it has "proved" that unpalatable policies will generate sustained growth, low inflation and new employment.

The label "normative economic model" was not chosen by accident; it has a scientific ring to it that common-or-garden "policy documents" or "plans" do not.

**W**hile the ANC has not yet provided a detailed policy framework to compete with government's, it has taken part in some telling offensives against the normative economic model. Its economists emphasised the need to release the mathematical equations underpinning the model.

The furor led to Finance special adviser Japie Jacobs admitting government should never have called it a model — it was, rather, a policy framework.

But the ANC, if it is not careful, might find itself in a position where its only role will be to modify government's position rather than have a chance to see its own implemented. That would be fine if it were by choice, but there is no clear indication yet that this is the case. The ANC faces a vacuum in economic policymaking that will become telling once a transitional executive council is in place.

Manuel is not to blame for the vacuum, as the burden on his shoulders is too much for any one person to bear. But if the ANC does not take an urgent look at the process of economic policy formulation, it will find itself wrong-footed.

# Apla 'link' to police attack

JOHANNESBURG. — The three alleged Apla members arrested in Bellevue, Johannesburg, on Saturday in connection with an attempt to bomb a local restaurant might be linked to an attack on police in Diepkloof last year.

Police liaison officer Captain Nina Barkhuizen said yesterday police were investigating a possible link between the three men and the Diepkloof attack on August 25 last year, in which one policeman died and another was

injured.

The three men would be held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act while the investigation continued, she said.

Police headquarters in Pretoria confirmed yesterday afternoon that the men had not yet been taken to court and faced further indefinite detention.

The arrests were made on Saturday night when three men were found allegedly carrying ex-

plosives at the games hall, next to Rockerfellas restaurant.

Chinese stick grenades, hand-grenades, and firearms were confiscated, according to police.

Another man was later arrested in Diepkloof, Soweto.

Law and Order Minister Mr HERNUS KRIEL said available information indicated the suspects were Azanian People's Liberation Army members. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

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# says N2 victim

warned — my par-approve of us driv-N2. But since there en any recent inci- at quite safe," she

Mr William Lan- a school inspector, angry about the in-

ould see the car — I at it with all the said.

Miss Langenhoven is a dieti- cian at the Medical Research Council.

Her mother, Mrs Grace Lan- genhoven, said she was "dev- astated" that her child had lost her eye but that Deidre's positive attitude was "giving her the strength to cope".

Deidre is to undergo surgery to rebuild her cheekbone, and will be fitted with an artificial eye.

## Arms cache found at school

JOHANNESBURG. — Three AK-47 rifles, a shotgun, a 9mm magazine and ammunition were discovered at the caretaker's quarters of an East Rand primary school early yesterday.

Four people were arrested after policemen searched the room at the Enkangeni Primary School in Actonville, near Benoni.

# Independence a '15-year game'

CT 3/6/93

By BARRY STREEK

THE government had played games with the "in- dependence" of four homelands for 15 years at the taxpayer's expense, Democratic Party caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin said yesterday.

The minister and successive deputy ministers of Foreign Affairs had given the same unsatisfac- tory replies to the same questions about financial control of TBVC funding for 15 years, he said.

They had been years of financial misdirection, misappropriation, shady deals, R1 million bribes, shadowy characters, shady companies, military coups and military governments.

Within these realities, it was inappropriate for the Department of Foreign Affairs to control these homelands' finances.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Renier Schoeman, said the financial controls in these homelands were tighter than ever. It was not true that the issue had received very little attention over the last 15 years.

# Call for ANC, IFP summit

11A

CT 2/6/93

DURBAN. — The ANC in south- ern Natal issued a comprehensive eight-point plan for peace and po- litical tolerance yesterday and called on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to prepare for their summit as a mat- ter of urgency.

The organisation called on both the ANC and the IFP to "preach the right to free political activity and an end to the militarisation of

politics".

The peace document was ap- proved at the weekend by repre- sentatives from the organisa- tion's 126 branches in the region.

Regional chairman Mr Jeff Ra- debe mooted joint rallies and said local organisers of both groups should "creatively involve them- selves and their supporters" in nurturing tolerance.

On the question of the Mandela-

Buthelezi summit, the organisa- tion suggested that the two leaders hold an initial meeting and then give further instruc- tions to the committee preparing for the summit.

Responding to the programme, the IFP said the proposals "might prove constructive" but that it would "reserve judgment until we see more tangible signs of the ANC's commitment to peace".

Election date still in doubt

# Hope as talks reach vital stage

Star 2/6/93

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

Negotiations were given fresh impetus towards a settlement last night — but the chances of an election date being announced this week still hang in the balance.

A majority of the 26-party Negotiating Council agreed after five hours of meetings to a resolution providing for a two-phased transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles.

The resolution adopted by the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre also provides for interim regional governments and a transitional constitution.

The IFP's Joe Matthews said it wanted to consult its leadership on the resolution.

The Conservative Party and the Bophuthatswana government reserved their positions to allow for consultation with their leaders.

In another significant development President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are due to meet today in Cape Town. They are certain to discuss the transition process.

The leaders met on Monday in Pretoria. It is under-

stood the appointment of the SABC board and the Government's position on entrenched permanent power-sharing were among the topics under discussion.

Top Government and ANC negotiators met last night after a three-day bilateral meeting at the weekend.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night left the Negotiating Council describing the resolution as "a major breakthrough in terms of putting the negotiations process on a firm footing and also agreeing that there would be a two-phased process".

## Determined

In terms of the resolution, the transition will be divided into the drafting and adoption of an interim constitution by the negotiating forum and of a final constitution by an elected parliament.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government was still determined to secure an election date tomorrow.

But he said it depended on progress during tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting, which has replaced a proposed negotiating forum meeting.

In effect the resolution adopted yesterday bridges

the demand for a two-phased process and for entrenched constitutional principles being binding on the final constitution-making body.

The resolution instructed the constitution technical committee to make recommendations on:

- The powers, structures and functions of regions during the transition.
- The constitution-making process to be followed.
- The procedures to be followed in the drafting and adoption of a transitional constitution by the multiparty forum.
- The procedure to be followed in the elected constitution-making body.

Initially there were tense moments at yesterday's meeting.

Before any debate on the crunch issue of the transition could begin, the CP complained it has not been given an opportunity to argue its case for a confederation to the technical committee on constitutional matters.

All parties were to send written submissions to the committee. It then compiled a report based on the submissions.

It was finally agreed that the CP should make written submissions to the committee, which would advise the Negotiating Council whether oral evidence was required.

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# Judgment on Winnie's appeal today

Buss. day 2.16.93

SUSAN RUSSELL

WINNIE Mandela will know today whether she is to go to jail when judgment in her appeal against a six-year prison sentence for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault is handed down by the Appellate Division.

Lawyers confirmed yesterday they had been notified that judgment would be handed down this morning.

Mandela was sentenced to an effective six years in prison by Rand Supreme Court Judge M Stegmann in May 1991 for her involvement in the kidnapping of Stompie Seipei and three other young men from the Methodist manse in Soweto during Decem-

ber 1988. She was sentenced to five years for her part in the kidnapping and an additional year for being an accessory to their assault.

The trial court found that Seipei, Gabriel Mekgwe, Barend Mono and Kenneth Kgase were abducted and taken to Mandela's home where they were assaulted by her co-accused, Xoliswa Falati, and others.

Mandela's appeal against her conviction and sentence was argued over three days in front of a full Bench of five Appellate Court judges chaired by Chief Justice M Corbett in March.

# Council clears hurdle on new constitution

Buss. day 216193  
BILLY PADDOCK

THE negotiating council made substantial progress yesterday in accepting a government- and ANC-brokered two-phased approach to drafting a constitution.

The implications of this are that Inkatha has conditionally accepted the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for an interim government to draft the final constitution. 216193

Inkatha's acceptance follows the ANC concession that the powers, functions and structures of regions will be entrenched in the constitution. (IA) (B)

The negotiating council resolved that it had not made sufficient progress for an election date to be set at tomorrow's meeting, as originally proposed. It would meet on June 25 for a decision on a date.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met yesterday and may have been trying to work out an appropriate date for an election. They will meet again today for talks on the negotiations process.

It is also understood that the negotiating council may make recommendations tomorrow regarding a date.

Progress yesterday covered:

- Instructing the technical committee on constitutional matters to make recommendations on the powers, functions, and structures of regions during transition;
- Details of the constitution-making process to be followed, including the structures needed for that purpose;
- Procedures for drafting a constitution for the transitional period and its adoption by the multiparty negotiating forum; and
- Procedures thereafter for an elected constitution-making body to draft and adopt a constitution. (IA) (B)

Yesterday's unanimously agreed compromise resolution implies that a transitional executive council can be established in the period leading up to elections for an interim government. Inkatha and Bophu-

To Page 2

## Constitution Buss. day 116193 From Page 1

thatswana, however, reserved their position on certain details. In return, government and the ANC conceded that a fairly comprehensive interim constitution be drafted in accordance with binding principles agreed in the multiparty forum.

These principles will also provide for justiciable fundamental rights, the structures of national and regional government and their respective powers, functions and authority. (IA) (B) (C)

Also yesterday, after the PAC and government failed to reach agreement in face-to-face talks, fears arose that the PAC might be forced out of the negotiating process.

The PAC issued an ambiguous four-page report calling for mutual cessation of hostilities and claiming that it had no war against women or children. It was unclear on the position of white men, especially farmers who it said were mostly members of commando units.

Government has insisted that the PAC cannot negotiate peace while waging an armed struggle. It has called on the PAC to enter into bilateral talks with the aim of suspending the armed struggle or placing a moratorium on it.

The parties agreed to meet tomorrow to try to break the deadlock.

**PAC reviews 'struggle'**

**THE PAC will review its support of the armed struggle at a congress, probably in August, according to a Democratic Party delegation who held talks with the movement yesterday.**

*AP 4 3/10/93*  
**DP national director Mr James Selfe said the party sought to persuade the PAC to hold the congress sooner. (114)**



# ANC 'must declare if Winnie to hold office'

ARC 3/6/93

114

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent  
and Sapa

□ DP challenge as guilt confirmed

THE ANC has been challenged to declare whether or not Winnie Mandela will continue to hold executive office in the organisation after the Appellate Division upheld her conviction for kidnapping.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon said yesterday that the ANC had to make its position clear.

Mr Leon, who reserved comment on the sentence pending a study of the Appellate Division's reasoning, said in a statement that the State "has been remarkably passive on the question of prosecuting Mrs Mandela on a

range of other actions on which the police have evidence".

He added: "This includes admissions resulting from convictions for the murder of Mr Maxwell Madondo."

The DP noted with concern that "the prosecution of Mrs Mandela was adversely affected by the fact that two key witnesses in the trial — Mr K Cebekhulu and Mr G Mekwe — failed to appear in court as either witnesses or as co-accused".

The National Party's media liaison director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said in a brief statement that "no matter the feelings

people may have about Mrs Winnie Mandela and her irresponsible political behaviour, the law took its course, evidence was laid before the court and a considered decision was made".

"We believe very strongly in equality before the law and that the rules of justice must be properly adhered to."

Mandela, who refused to comment on the judgment yesterday, celebrated with champagne behind closed doors in her Braamfontein office.

Telephone calls from family and friends flooded into the office, which was virtually besieged by Press.

# 'No talks breakthrough'

Sowetan

3/6/93

**By Themba Molefe**

NEGOTIATORS meet again at the World Trade Centre today to consider recommendations on constitutional matters following broad agreement earlier regarding transition.

The PAC yesterday said the 26 parties in the negotiating council still maintained their original positions and that there was no major breakthrough in negotiations. (11A) ~~(SOW)~~

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander told a Press conference: "Reports of a major breakthrough on constitutional matters at Tues-

day's negotiating council meeting are blatantly untrue. The fact of the matter is that parties still maintain their original positions."

The majority of the parties adopted a resolution tabled by the ANC and the Government which provides for a two-phased process of transition. This would be the drafting of an interim constitution and an elected constitution-making body. The resolution also instructed the technical committee of experts to make recommendations on constitutional principles and powers, functions and structures of regions and procedures to be followed in the drafting and adoption of a transitional constitution.

# Speed up talks, urges Cosatu

Sowetan 3/6/93

## ■ Federation calls for setting of an election date:

ALL South Africans should take action to ensure speedy progress at multiparty talks, Congress of South African Trade Unions spokesman Mr Neil Coleman urged yesterday.

In a statement issued yesterday, Coleman said all civil society organisations should decide on the action that should be taken if the negotiation council did not decide on an election date by today. (SAPA) (SAPA)

"The planning committee should recognise the urgency of the situation by bringing the meeting date of the broader negotiations forum forward from June 25. (SAPA)

"The negotiations forum needs to, as

a matter of urgency, agree on a package which will include the question of the transitional executive councils, constitutional principles and the functioning of the constituent assembly," he said.

### Formal or informal

Asked to elaborate on the action that would be taken, Coleman said it could be formal or informal.

This, he said, would depend on a consultation between civil society and other interested organisations.

He further urged non-political groups to participate or follow their own programmes of action. - Sapa.

## News in brief

### Johnny in court

MR JOHNNY Mokaleng, the man who alleged that police murdered and buried political detainees in graves in the Western Transvaal, has appeared in court.

His claims in January sent police on a grave-digging expedition through the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana but the widely publicised excavations revealed no bodies. Mokaleng (29) appeared before Rustenburg Regional Court magistrate Mr AF Snyman yesterday. No charges were put to him and the case was postponed to June 15. Bail was set at R1 000.

### Croc shocker

A ZIMBABWEAN policeman travelling in the back of a police truck with an apparently dead crocodile got the shock of his life when the reptile suddenly lunged at him.

The crocodile had been stoned and knocked unconscious by villagers after it rushed at a group of

children on a riverbank in central Zimbabwe. The police were called, pronounced the 2.5-metre beast dead and loaded it into their truck. One of the officers hopped in the back with it. He was next heard screaming for help as the crocodile chased him around the moving truck. Colleagues stopped the vehicle and shot the reptile.

### Search for miners

FIVE teams of rescue workers were by last night still trying to locate a miner who was trapped underground following four earth tremors at the Vaal Reefs Mine in the Western Transvaal. 3/6/93

And six miners, who were admitted to the Duff Scott Mine Hospital in Klerksdorp after being injured during a faction fight between Shangaan and Xhosa workers at Hartebeesfontein Gold Mine, also in the Western Transvaal, have died. (SAPA)

This brings the death toll at the mine to 17.

**NEWS** She is dogged by controversy, but she does not let misfortune get her down

# Winnie always comes up smiling

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Investigations Editor

Sowetan  
3/6/93

## DETERMINED FOE

*Count on her to stand up for the rights of the people:*

**T**HERE are few people in this world who would go through what Mrs Winnie Nomzamo Mandela went through and still come out smiling. But then Mandela is no ordinary person. Worshipped and shunned by a community she has both served and allegedly terrorised, she has also been a consistent victim of police harassment, with detentions and raids an everyday routine.

Few women, even those married to political prisoners of note, can claim to have enjoyed the hero-worshipping that went with being the "mother of the nation".

She became the toast of a nation struggling to be free. And in the process she was made infallible, thereby laying the foundation for her eventual downfall.

Or was it downfall?

The background to yesterday's dramatic outcome of Mandela's appeal goes back to December 29 1988 when a youth, Stompie Seipei (14), and three men, Mr Kenneth Kgase (31), Mr Barend Thabiso Mono (21) and Mr Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe (22), were removed from the Methodist manse in Orlando, Soweto, by Miss Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan.

The youths were driven in Mandela's kombi to her house in Diepkloof Extension where, according to evidence, Mandela and her bodyguard, Morgan, repeatedly assaulted the youths.

It was later claimed that the four had been removed from the manse to save them from the alleged homosexual activities of the Reverend Paul Verryn.

The youths were sjambokked by an allegedly drunk Mandela, who accused Seipei of being a spy for the police. Seipei was later taken out of the house and killed and his body dumped outside Soweto.

The disappearance of Seipei unleashed a series of events that culminated in a Soweto Crisis Committee being formed to look into the matter and try and contain the affair.

The Mass Democratic Movement, after the scandal broke, issued a denunciation of Mandela for which many of its leaders are still paying today.

Mandela was sidelined but bounced back when her husband was released from jail in 1990. Then came the trial and the sordid details that were revealed.

Details of a drunk woman beating children to a pulp as she drank wine. Details of a terror campaign that was unleashed by her so-called football team, the Mandela United Football Club.

Details of a team that raped schoolchildren who later retaliated by burning Mandela's house down. Mandela denied in court that she had taken part in the beatings.

She said she had been in Brandfort to which she had earlier been banished.

### Uphill

The court found her to be an unblushing liar and sentenced her to six years in jail. Parts of her sentence were set aside by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Life for Mandela has since been difficult. She is estranged from her husband, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, after a scandal involving her alleged lover, lawyer Mr Dali Mpofu.

An elected member of the ANC national executive committee, Mandela was also forced to resign from the position as pressure mounted on her.

She also lost her position as chairman of the PWV region of the Women's League, thereby becoming a freelance activist.

Never one to be dampened by trials and tribulations, Mandela has continued to be a feature of the political landscape of South Africa.

A social worker by profession, Mandela has built herself strong bases among poverty-stricken and homeless residents of the Reef's mushrooming informal settlements, where her name is revered.

She can be counted upon to make an appearance when police make raids into these areas, to be there and stand up for the rights of the residents.

She has recently been openly critical of ANC leadership positions on negotiations and was closer to slain SACP secretary-general, Mr Chris Hani, with whom she led many marches and shared many platforms.

Of late, she has been accompanying youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba, with whom she has been accused by the Government of inciting violence against white farmers.

As the dust now settles on the Seipei affair, still looming over her is the as yet unexplained alleged involvement in the murder of well-known Soweto medico Dr Abu Baker Asvat.

Asvat, who was health secretary of the African Peo-



Winnie Mandela ... came out smiling.



Dr Abu-Baker Asvat ... killed in his surgery.

# ANC on peace moves

#

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

## ■ INITIATIVE WELCOMED Mugabe's attempts

to bring factions together are appreciated:

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS has welcomed initiatives by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe to bring an end to violence in South Africa.

At the same time it dismissed "insinuations" that its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, was not keen on meeting Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"The insinuation is incorrect and misleading," the ANC said yesterday.

Buthelezi met Mugabe officially for the first time in Harare this week. Among issues discussed was violence in this country.

"The ANC welcomes President Mugabe's

initiative to bring an end to violence, which has stalked our country and its people for many years."

It said Mugabe's move followed a decision by the Organisation of African Unity's ad-hoc committee to assist in bringing the carnage in South Africa to an end.

### Concern of Africa's leaders

The organisation believed Mugabe and the OAU ad hoc committee could help accelerate a Buthelezi-Mandela meeting.

"This initiative indicates the concern of Africa's leaders about the senseless bloodletting which has left many of our compatriots dead, maimed or displaced," it said.

The organisation felt, however, that all initiatives taken to end violence should be influenced by present programmes within the country.

The ANC's national executive committee had, therefore, decided that Mandela and Buthelezi should meet to discuss the issue of violence only after thorough preparations had been made to ensure the success of the meeting.

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# DP lodges complaint on threats

Sowetan 3/6/93

## ■ Peace secretariat in- formed about Azapo's warning:

~~3/6/93~~ (11A)  
THE Democratic Party's Soweto branch has lodged a complaint with the National Peace Secretariat following statements by the Azanian People's Organisation at a recent meeting.

On May 13 Azapo branch spokeswoman Ms Makoma Lekalakala warned at a meeting in Jabulani, Soweto, against political campaigning in the townships by the National Party and the DP.

She said only blacks should campaign in the townships, while whites should consolidate their campaign in their own areas.

# Focus on talks

**T**HE confluence of events over the past few weeks have demonstrated that this country is in dire need of an international peace-keeping force, an independent mediator and quarantining of all the security and other armed forces.

Wherever there has been conflict, international codes of conduct have accepted that the parties engaged in conflict cannot themselves arbitrate a peaceful settlement of that conflict — except in very unusual circumstances.

In Angola, Mozambique, the Middle East and numerous other countries, the contending parties meet under the guidance of a neutral mediator, while international agencies place peace-keeping forces in the arena of the conflict to ensure that peace is maintained while the parties negotiate.

Curiously, in this country there is an almost naive belief that it is possible to negotiate without neutral mediators and without a neutral peace-keeping force.

## Neutral mediation

Political analysts, commentators, the media and the parties themselves all appear to have their heads buried in the sand as far as this question of neutral mediation in this country is concerned.

Everyone, it appears, is avoiding such a discussion like the plague. One wonders why.

Is it because there is a settlement already in the bag and the so-called contenders are waiting for the ideal moment to pop it out like some magician entertaining a group of schoolchildren?

Or is that the Nationalist Government has so brow-beaten the contenders — some of them, at least — that they are afraid to pull out of these farcical talks and call for another format or mechanism?

The death toll in this country — since February 2 1990 — is an indictment against every party who plays the fiddle at Kempton Park. Can they continue to act the part of the proverbial Nero while our people continue to die?

It is evident that the most recent incidents in Tokoza and Katlehong, and the loss of innocent lives there, have altogether ruled out any possibility of there being a joint policing system.

The African National Congress, Inkatha and the South African Police have no capacity to control their members.

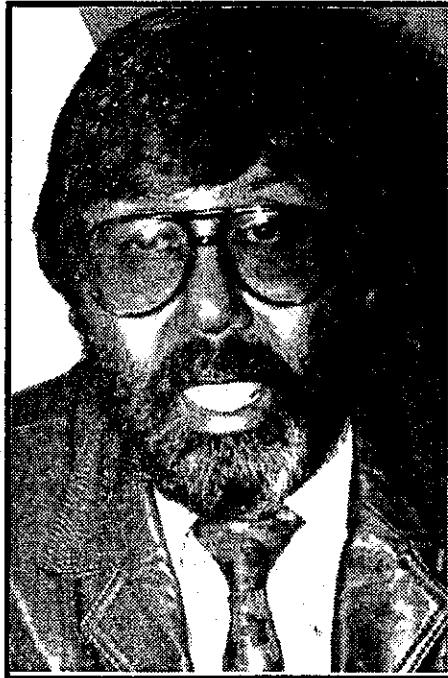
## Unimaginable

It is unimaginable that such a joint force can work together when the conflicts and contradictions among and between them are so irreconcilable — whatever they may say at Kempton Park.

The manner in which confusion reigns in the education sector and the farce being played out by the various education departments and the

**Strini Moodley**, journalist and assistant to Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, asks whether it is feasible that the Kempton Park diplomats have the competence, capacity or the moral will to guarantee the free elections that have been promised within 12 months:

Sowetan 3/6/93



**Strini Moodley ... we need a neutral venue and a neutral mediator in order to negotiate.**

South African Democratic Teachers Union adds to the already overwhelming woes of the down-trodden people.

Never before have educationists shown such a blatant disregard for the well-being of children — let alone preparing a nation that seeks to rule itself.

Add to this the ANC's confusing position regarding 14-year-olds having the vote and the regime's arrest of the Pan Africanist Congress leadership and we have the makings of a major recipe for national disaster.

The arrest of the PAC leadership demonstrates quite aptly the Nationalist Government's plan for Kempton Park — whip everybody into line so that their recipe for the future is accepted by all.

We saw how the Nationalists immobilised the ANC when it did the same thing to them with the

Operation Vula debacle. Ever since then the ANC appears to have compromised almost all its positions with regard to the transfer of power from the minority to the majority.

All of the parties involved in the plethora of disasters that have assailed us are supposedly sitting at Kempton Park to plot out a course for the future.

## Moral will

There is talk of an election within a year.

Given these events that we have witnessed and add to it the confusion that has reigned since February 2 1990, is it feasible that these Kempton Park diplomats have the competence, the capacity or the moral will to guarantee fair and free elections within 12 months — let alone the structuring of a democratic mechanism which can usher in majority rule in a unitary state? I doubt it.

In fact, the majority of us in the country must stand up now and tell the gentlemen (and women) sitting at Kempton Park to admit their failures.

They must close down Kempton Park and call on the international community to mediate in the conflict that ravages our country.

Mr FW de Klerk and his government must do the honourable thing. Resign.

The Nationalist Government must suspend parliament and the constitution. It must suspend the armed forces and restrict them to barracks.

An international peace-keeping force must be brought into the country to takeover the policing of the country and create a climate for fair and free elections.

The Nationalist Government is not only illegitimate, it is perhaps, one of the most incompetent and bankrupt governments in the world.

In any normal society such a government would have been ousted from power a long time ago.

If that does not happen, then the least that can be done by Azapo, the ANC, PAC and SACP is for them to stop the political posturing and bungling and come together behind closed doors as a matter of urgency to thrash out a programme which can contribute to a solution which does the greatest good for the greatest majority.

# 'Fortunate' Winnie avoids imprisonment

SUSAN RUSSELL

WINNIE Mandela was fortunate to escape imprisonment for the kidnapping of Stompie Seipei and three other young men, Lawyers for Human Rights said yesterday.

Commenting on yesterday's Appeal Court judgment setting aside Mandela's six-year prison sentence, LHR national projects director Jody Kollapen said while the question of an appropriate sentence was problematic, the judgment was well reasoned and motivated. (11A)

Mandela had been sentenced to an effective six years in prison by Rand Supreme Court Judge M Stegmann in May 1991 for her role in the abduction of Seipei, Barend Mono, Gabriel Mekgwe and Kenneth Kgase in December 1988.

Her appeal was heard in March this year by a full Bench of five judges, headed by Chief Justice M Corbett.

The Appeal Court confirmed Mandela's conviction on four counts of kidnapping, but set aside her five-year sentence and substituted a R15 000 fine. She was also ordered to pay a total of R15 000 in compensation to the victims.

Mandela's conviction and one-year sentence on four charges of being an accessory to assault were overturned.

Reacting to the judgment, the NP said whatever people might feel about Mandela and her "irresponsible political behaviour", the law had taken its course, evidence had been put before the court and a considered decision made.

"We believe very strongly in equality before the law and that the rules of justice must be properly adhered to," NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said.

"We also value very highly the independence of the judiciary in our country. Therefore we respect the ruling on Mrs Mandela in the knowledge that the Appeal Court would have considered thoroughly all aspects of this case."

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said it was not possible to comment fully without a full reading of the judgment. The DP was, however, concerned that the prosecution had been adversely affected by the

To Page 2

## Winnie

fact that two key witnesses, including Mandela's co-accused Katiza Cebekhulu, had failed to appear in court.

"We note with concern that Mr Cebekhulu has been detained in jail in Zambia and was allegedly removed from SA against his will. It is very alarming that one of the reasons delaying his return to SA is that he fears for his life and safety as a result of the trial." (11A)

Leon said the State had also been remarkably passive on the question of prosecuting Mandela for a range of other actions on which the police had evidence.

The DP said the ANC should explain

whether Mandela would continue to hold executive office in the organisation.

ANC Youth League leader Peter Morkaba said Mandela had been vindicated by yesterday's judgment. He claimed that the confirmation of her conviction on the kidnapping charges and imposition of a fine constituted a "political sentence".

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was happy his estranged wife was not going to prison. He said it would not be wise to comment further until he saw the full copy of the judgment.

● Comment: Page 6

Buss. day 31/6/93

From Page 1



# ANC Natal branch calls for Mandela-Buthelezi meeting

Buss. day. 31/6/93.

THE ANC southern Natal region yesterday joined Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in calling on ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi urgently to defuse violence.

However, the ANC national office said in a statement yesterday that while the meeting was desirable, essential preparations had to be made to ensure it succeeded.

Sapa reports that the southern Natal ANC leadership outlined a peace plan in Durban to engage Inkatha in joint initiatives to bring an end to Natal violence.

Inkatha has cautiously welcomed the move.

The main stumbling block to a meeting between the two leaders appears to be that the ANC wants a commitment from Inkatha that it will allow the ANC to freely organise and conduct rallies in KwaZulu.

The national office's statement said it welcomed Mugabe's initiative, which followed a decision of the OAU ad-hoc committee.

It said the discussions of the preparatory committees had progressed well, except in dealing with free

## BILLY PADDOCK

political activity, where the Inkatha committee members had been tied up with constitutional negotiations and had not been able to meet regularly. (11A)

The ANC region's plan is to call for an "initial peace meeting" between the two leaders to prepare for a formal summit.

Southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said the first meeting should aim to instruct the ANC/Inkatha preparatory committee, appointed at the end of last year to remove obstacles to a summit, to complete its tasks by a set date, and to instruct its regional counterparts to consolidate the peace process.

After the formal summit, the ANC and Inkatha should convene joint peace rallies where free political tolerance and an end to the militarisation of politics should be advocated.

Radebe said a summit was not the answer to Natal's war, but the leaders needed to be seen together to accelerate the peace process and to encourage political tolerance.

Inkatha said in a statement: "If the ANC's rationale is truly to put an end to

violence, we must accept that today's proposals by the ANC might prove constructive".

However, it questioned why the ANC had proposed the plan through the media instead of the regional peace accord structure, and said ANC supporters "continue to wage war on us".

"We must therefore treat the ANC's call with caution," Inkatha said.

Our Durban correspondent reports that the ANC Youth League has proposed a paramilitary youth peace corps be established to balance the existing security structures' bias during an interim government.

ANC Youth League publicity secretary Phakamile Mankahlana said the corps should target the masses of unemployed youth. Such a corps would help prepare blacks to trust future police structures.

## Southern Life rejected Masterbond, says agent

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Southern Life rejected the offer of involvement in a property equity participation scheme proposed by Masterbond agent Thomas Hosking, Hosking told the Nel commission of inquiry yesterday.

The scheme was eventually accepted by Fedlife.

Hosking, who acted as Masterbond agent in Port Elizabeth, had about R1m personally invested in the group at the time of its collapse. He said Fedlife agreed to gear the scheme on a two-to-one basis after its actuary and development manager had studied it. Fedlife eventually loaned R18m of its pension and annuity funds to investors in terms of the scheme.

Hosking told the commission he learnt later there were no assets in Club Mykonos Investment Holdings to underpin the scheme as was claimed in the information document. Higher than normal commissions of between 5% and 10% were paid to agents for selling the units in the scheme.

He said he had had great confidence in the project and had relied on the expertise of former Masterbond chairman Koos Jonker, who projected an internal rate of return of 34%.

# THIRTY DOUBLE TRIPLE

NOW THAT WE'VE GOT Y  
MAKE SURE YOU'VE  
OFFICE NUMBER:



TIGER O

WHAT IT TAKES TO GROW

# No one is safe from Apla attacks — PAC

*Buss. day 3/6/93*

**BILLY PADDOCK**

member of the security forces or the reservist units.

However, civilians could get hurt. "Nobody will be safe until there is a legitimate government, therefore negotiators have to move faster," Nemadzivhanani said, adding that Apla and the PAC would not unilaterally suspend the armed struggle.

Nemadzivhanani and Alexander said "Operation Iron Fist", initiated by the SA security forces and military intelligence, had a three-point aim — forcing the ANC/government deal through negotiations, imposing a state of emergency that had legitimacy, and then clamping down on

radicals on the left and right wings. The PAC was one of those groups.

Alexander also claimed that government negotiators were trying to force the organisation out of negotiations and were poised to call on the negotiating council to expel the organisation for refusing to suspend the armed struggle.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer denied this and said that it was still government's firm view that no party that was engaged in armed activities could participate in an election or the preparations leading to an election.

The two sides will meet today at the World Trade Centre for the third time in a week to try and break the deadlock in their positions.

NO ONE would be safe from Apla attacks until there was a legitimate government in power and the security forces were under multiparty joint control, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said at a media conference yesterday.

"The regime is acting like Dracula in charge of the blood bank and until it changes this attitude and stops trying to conduct everything on its own terrain we will not submit," he said.

Nemadzivhanani was released from custody yesterday after being held on charges of contravening the Firearms Act. (IIA) (SFA)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, when asked who was regarded as a civilian and therefore not a target, said anyone who was not a

*Spoor's claim on self-defence is an organisation, eg ... regarded as ...*

## Slovo refused licence for firearm

*Buss. day 3/6/93*

**WILSON ZWANE**

SACP chairman and ANC NEC member Joe Slovo, the target of a recent assassination plot, yesterday received notification from the police that he had been refused a licence to possess a firearm, the ANC said.

No reason was given, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said.

The organisation said in a statement it found the refusal "extraordinary, particularly given the spate of death threats."

"Slovo's request for the right to the means of self-defence is urgent and legitimate". (IIA)

The news of the rejection of Slovo's application came as two Johannesburg lawyers debated gun controls at a seminar organised by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Richard Spoor said self-defence was not a legitimate reason to acquire a firearm. He added that making guns available for self-defence purposes was tantamount to "privatising law and order".

Spoor said access to guns should be limited to people specialising in sporting and commercial activities. The money police were pumping into making posters warning against the dangers of weapons could be better used in school projects, aimed at instilling in pupils the awareness that carrying a gun was an "anti-social act".

Tefo Raditapole said the possession of guns by the public created a pool drawn on by criminals and perpetrators of violence.

**A W D**

# Push to set election date today

NEGOTIATORS at constitutional talks will make every effort today to set an election date, meeting the initial deadline they set themselves. (CIA)

President F.W. de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met yesterday and Mandela said afterwards the two had moved "very close together" on the question of an election date. (SAPA)

Sapa reports that participants in negotiations were convinced that pressure was being exerted to set a date today. But the DP's Colin Eglin said: "It can only be tentative and ringed with provisos."

ANC and government negotiators said yesterday they would be pushing for a date to be decided today, when talks would focus on constitutional principles, and the powers, functions, and duties of regions.

At the same time Cosatu said negotia-

Buss. day 316193  
**BILLY PADDOCK**

tors were dragging their heels. It would initiate action to put pressure on the politicians to meet today's deadline for setting a date and to speed up the process.

At Tuesday's negotiating council meeting, the technical committee on constitutional matters was instructed to make recommendations on regions during the transition. The committee said it would be able to report on these today.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the ANC Youth League said it was prepared to launch within days its campaign to make the country ungovernable should an election date not be set today. League president Peter Mokaba said: "We are intent on ensuring that the people who delay the elections are unable to govern us."

Star 4/16/93  
**Stop stoning cars - ANC**

The ANC in the western Cape yesterday appealed for an end to the stoning of cars on the N2 freeway. Regional secretary Tony Yengeni called on blacks to concentrate their efforts on winning the final victory against apartheid, adding that "senseless hooliganism at this crucial time can do nothing to advance the cause of democracy, freedom and peace". - Sapa.

(11A)

By IDEN WETHERELL

MAJOR questions have been raised about accountability for donor funding in a range of companies belonging to the African National Congress' business arm, Thebe Investment Corporation.

Companies that have been cited as less than transparent in their administration of external funding include Thebe's tourism wing, Oriole Travel.

This follows disclosures last week that Thebe had concluded a deal with Macmillan Boleswa, giving the publishing giant privileged access to a future ANC government in return for shares in a joint publishing venture. That deal, described by Thebe and Macmillan as exploratory, has been criticised by other publishers and by the ANC's education department.

In a letter to the press, Thebe managing director Vusi Khanyile has refuted "suggestions of corruption or potential corruption" in the proposed joint venture. While no allegations of corruption have been made in regard to the Macmillan deal, irregularities

# 'Irregularities' in ANC firms

and sloppy accounting procedures appear to be plaguing various Thebe concerns. "Thebe is so busy setting up new companies that it is ignoring the need to consolidate existing ones," a former Thebe executive said.

Oriole Travel has been the recipient of funds donated to the ANC by European and American donors. It is believed that casual ticketing and poor record-keeping at Oriole has led auditors to insist on tighter procedures. "They were losing money hand over fist," said one business consultant.

Part of the problem at Oriole and other Thebe companies is the random selection of directors, many with little hands-on experience, and a lack of accountability.

Thebe appears to have little capital of its own and depends upon ANC transfusions. Although over \$5-million (R15-million) raised by Nelson Mandela in the United States in recent

W/Mail 4/6-10/6/93  
years on behalf of the ANC is routinely channelled through Thebe, the company says that as an independent concern it is not accountable to the wider ANC membership.

This may explain certain policy inconsistencies. While the ANC has been calling for sanctions to remain in place until the establishment of a transitional government, individuals in the ANC treasury department were negotiating for foreign investors to enter the South African market. Digital Equipment Corporation of the US has just announced a deal whereby Thebe-related company BCS will market its equipment in South Africa.

When Khanyile was head of the ANC finance department auditors Coopers Theron Du Toit are believed to have withdrawn from a 1990 audit of the ANC's accounts because they were such a mess.

Accusations about lack of trans-

parency surfaced at last year's Durban congress, when Khanyile claimed that, because ANC headquarters Shell House was not owned by the ANC, its ownership was not the concern of members. There has also been controversy surrounding the receipt of gifts by individuals in the ANC leadership.

Controversy also surrounds Thebe's catering company, Pitseng, which has reached an agreement with established caterers Feedem Catering Services to enter the mines' canteen business. The mining houses are anxious to sub-contract their catering divisions and Thebe has expressed a keen interest.

Pitseng MD Jeremy Webb believes that "structured partnerships" leading to black economic empowerment is the way to go in the catering industry.

But National Union of Mineworkers' spokesman Marcel Golding said his union would oppose any proposal to sub-contract in respect of hostels

and catering, which he regards as prejudicing the welfare of NUM members and causing problems in future negotiations with the mining companies. "Health care, housing, transport and catering are management's responsibility," he said.

There appears to be some concern in the ANC that, as in the Cape fishing-contracts saga, white business concerns see Thebe as a useful conduit to new opportunities. Black businessmen have complained that Thebe employs white banks, auditors and other established service-sector companies instead of emergent organisations.

One ANC insider familiar with Thebe's operations said the most frequently expressed criticism is that "in promoting black empowerment, Thebe rides roughshod over the sensibilities of local communities, the unions and other interests with which the ANC is closely affiliated".

Khanyile was reported to have been in Ghana, exploring the possibility of a partnership with a bank there.

See PAGE 19

Sowetan 4/6/93

# Negotiators must restore our hopes 11A

Sowetan & Radio Metro

## Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti

INTENSIVE political education, accountability, an end to violence and the restoration of the social fibre were essential components to the solution of South Africa's problems.

All three senior black journalists who were Tim Modise's guests on the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show* said these were the basic issues that needed to be addressed in the negotiations process.

While both Jon Qwelane, editor of *Tribute* magazine, and *Sowetan* managing editor Joe Thloloe agreed that negotiations had not yielded any fruit during the past three years, editor of *Ilanga* Tholothembelihle Mthembu said the problems facing South Africa

Mthembu said the nation was expecting a lot from the negotiators.

"What is coming out of Kempton Park is chaff. We are being led down the garden path by politicians and are being called upon to endorse decisions we know very little about," said Qwelane.

Echoing these sentiments, Thloloe said politicians had to realise that the negotiation process was about the restoration of hope to people who had lost it.

"The irony of it all is that the negotiators have the fate of millions of people in their hands," said Thloloe.

While a wide range of issues were dealt with

extensively during the show, the three journalists emphasised the need for dialogue as a means of finding common ground.

"Shouldn't we acknowledge that the democracy of the knobkierie does not belong in this day and age?"

Jon Qwelane

"We are not doing enough to rescue the so-called lost generation. Parents are not doing enough for their children."

Joe Thloloe

"We should re-examine ourselves and put things into perspective."

Tholothembelihle Mthembu

"We know that Sadtu's grievances are legitimate, but is embarking on strikes going to solve the problem."

Lebo, Alexandra

"I believe that culture is dynamic and we can't remain stagnant. We have to go with wind."

Daniel, Hillbrow

# How the NP will hang on to power

W/MAIL 4/6-10/6/93



**T**HE government plans to entrench "power-sharing" in a future constitution—not only in the transitional phase, but permanently. It also plans to strip a future state president—sure to be an African National Congress leader—of almost all executive powers.

In the National Party's scheme of things, the president will only be able to exercise his powers "on the advice" of the government—and the government will consist of "cabinet ministers designated by ... parties in proportion to their relative support in the National Assembly".

This will ensure that the white-dominated NP has an effective say in the governing of the country for as long as it can muster substantial electoral support—without winning majority backing.

The government strategy emerges from the

*The government's draft constitutional proposals ensure that 'power-sharing' continues long after the transitional phase, and make for a puppet president.* By **CHRIS LOUW**

draft text of its constitutional proposals tabled at multiparty talks. *The Weekly Mail* has obtained a copy of the proposals.

On Tuesday the government scored a victory in its drive to entrench "power-sharing" in the constitution, when the negotiators in Kempton Park agreed to a two-phase transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles. This was a major concession by the ANC,

which had insisted a constitution should be written by an elected constituent assembly.

Although the government's proposals are presented as a "text of a transitional constitution", they will be virtually impossible for a future democratically elected government to change.

It will only be possible to alter the constitution by a majority of at least two thirds of National Assembly members—and all changes will have to comply with stringent constitutional principles which will also be laid down by the multiparty negotiating forum.

The draft constitution provides for a bicameral parliament elected for a five-year term, comprising a 400-seat national assembly and a senate made up of at least five representatives of each region.

It stipulates that "there shall be a government of national unity" consisting of the leaders of political parties having at least 20 seats in the National Assembly, and of cabinet ministers designated by those parties in proportion to their support in the assembly.

Power-sharing is entrenched in proposed "principles governing constitution making". The document states: "The electoral system, procedures for the appointment of executive bodies at all levels of government, and the representation of parties in the executive relative to their representation in the legislature, shall be designed to provide for the effective participation of the major political parties in executive bodies."

Entrenched powers and strong autonomy for the regions are also a major feature. The criterion is the "maximum measure of powers and functions" allocated to each level of government.

A state president would be the constitutional head of state, but his powers would be limited to addressing parliament, defining parliamentary sessions, entering international agreements, promulgating legislation or referring it back to parliament on grounds of procedural shortcomings, referring constitutional disputes to a constitutional court and convening cabinet meetings. All other presidential powers would be exercised "on the advice" of the government.

Ordinary legislation would be passed by 50 per cent majorities in each house of parliament, or a majority at a joint sitting. But legislation "concerning the interests of regions" would also have to be endorsed by some two-thirds of the regional legislatures.

Parliament will not consider constitutional legislation unless the constitutional court rules that it falls within the schedule of constitutional principles. It would then have to be passed by a two-thirds majority of the national assembly. If regional rights are involved it would also have to win a two-thirds majority in the senate. The constitutional principles could only be amended by a four-fifths majority in a joint sitting of both houses of parliament.

If all else fails, changes can be referred to a referendum—but can only be approved by a majority of 60 percent of the votes cast.

The draft proposals confirm a *Weekly Mail* report that the government's strategy is to have a new constitution drawn up "by stealth", leaving a democratic government to fill in minor details.

The proposals provide the first clear picture of the sort of deal which the NP is seeking at multiparty negotiations. They also explain President FW de Klerk's insistence, in a recent interview with the *London Financial Times*, that his government "definitely believes that in a final constitution ... the principle of power-sharing must be part of it".

In the interview, published on May 26, De Klerk went further: "I'm committed to ensuring that the only workable alternative will be in place. We cannot afford to experiment with anything else."

The need was "a government of national unity—with regard to fundamental issues—for the country to be governed on the basis of consensus between the main role players", De Klerk said.

In practice, this means minority parties will have an effective veto on all cabinet decisions.

● Homeland's chief negotiator under fire

# Buthelezi, Mandela meeting hits snags

Sowetan 4/6/93

■ PEACE PROGRAMME Natal Midlands

leader says time is not ripe for summit:

**A** BID BY THE ANC Southern Natal region to clear the way for an early meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has run into trouble with the more militant Midlands ANC region.

Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala said on Wednesday night that a meeting between the two leaders could not happen until a number of issues had been cleared.

These included the preconditions set by the ANC, among them the banning of cultural weapons and fencing off of hostels.

Gwala said a document from the

Southern Natal region outlining its eight-point peace programme had been presented to him but he needed time to study it. (11A) (11A)

He chastised the region for "rushing into peace" without thorough preparations, adding that his region found a number of the points "problematic".

Gwala said he was not sure whether a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi at this stage would achieve anything.

Gwala added that the preparations would ensure that peace was sustained.

He said the Midlands would study the Southern Natal document before taking a final position on whether it would support it or not.

The ANC Southern Natal region on Wednesday pointed out that a report that the three Natal ANC regions had committed themselves to the programme was incorrect.



# focus on reconstruction

**N**EGOTIATIONS for a new democratic order in South Africa have reached the point of no return. At least this is what the negotiators representing 26 parties at the World Trade Centre ensured this week, albeit unconsciously or involuntarily.

Basically, several factors indicate that indeed the solution to the country's political crisis will be reached at Kempton Park or a similar venue eventually.

All except a few participants agree the date for the country's first nonracial elections must be announced as a matter of urgency. An announcement was thus awaited from the World Trade Centre yesterday.

And, contrary to expectations, the Multiparty Negotiating Process, as it is called while an agreeable name is being sought, is still on course despite last week's infamous police swoop on the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress (a major negotiating partner).

## Compromise

Also, compromise from across the left to the right prevailed when the majority of the parties on Tuesday agreed to negotiate a proposal for a two-phased transitional process and an elected constitution-making body bound by certain principles.

On the PAC raid debacle, Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the PAC, said pulling out of the process would be playing into the hands of the Government (and its notorious Military Intelligence) which "wants us out".

And in spite of their seemingly irreconcilable differences, the two parties continue to meet bilaterally until they reach agreement on the instructions of the negotiating council.

The PAC refuses to abandon the ballot before the ballot and the Government says you cannot simultaneously shoot and negotiate.

While these two parties strive agonisingly to reach agreement, negotiations on substantive issues move forward.

- Who are the major players?

- What are the issues at the negotiating table?

- What do the players want from the process which has "replaced" the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — depending, of course, on which side you are.

● The major players are: the National Party-South African Government, ANC-South African Communist Party alliance, Inkatha Freedom Party-KwaZulu government (the NP and Government are separate delegations as are the ANC and SACP and IFP and KwaZulu); PAC, Democratic Party and the two rightwing groups, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

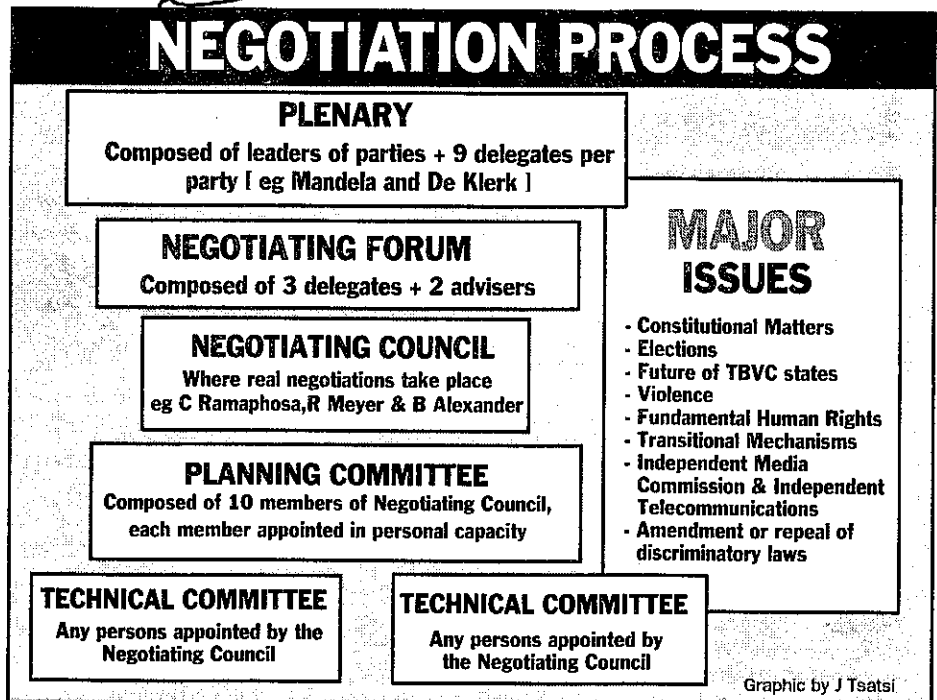
While on "alliances" the Bophuthatswana government, Ciskei, CP, AVU and IFP belong

**Themba Molefe**, *Sowetan* Political Reporter, takes a look at the talks in Kempton Park, the topics at the heart of negotiations and what major players expect agreement

on:

~~Sowetan~~

IIA



Graphic by J Tsatsi

to the Concerned South African Group which is opposed to bilateral decision-taking of FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on issues they say are meant for the multiparty table.

The ANC enjoys "strong" allied support of several homelands and parties around the table such as the Transkei government, the Labour Party as well as the Transvaal Indian Congress and Natal Indian Congress.

## Human Rights

● Seven topics are at the heart of negotiations: Constitutional matters; violence; fundamental human rights in transition; transitional executive council-transitional authority; independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority; independent electoral commission; and amendment or repeal of discriminatory laws.

Other constitutional matters are the form of state, transitional regional government, constituent assembly and the future of TBVC states.

● Instead of using the previous working groups of Codesa comprising large numbers of people, seven technical committees of experts

outside the MNP have been appointed. Consisting of between three and nine members each they produce reports for consideration by parties to speed up agreement.

These are the fundamental issues major players expect agreement on at the negotiating table:

NP-Government: Power-sharing. Strong regional government to forego unitary state. Free market system and multiparty democracy.

ANC and allies: Multiparty democracy. Limited interim government of national unity. Equal vote. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation.

PAC: Elected constituent assembly to draw new constitution. Multiparty democracy. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation. International intervention.

DP: Democratic election and constitution. Proportional representation. Regionalism-federalism.

Cosag: Regionalism-federalism. Self-determination. Ethnic political aspirations.

Notably, therefore, the technical committee on constitutional matters is charged with the most tedious of tasks: to base recommendations on diverse perspectives to aid negotiators.

# Winnie: ANC sigh of relief

W/Mail 4/6-10/6/93

Weekly Mail Reporter  
WINNIE MANDELA'S avoidance of jail this week may have been the most convenient outcome of her appeal for the African National Congress.

Had she gone to jail, ANC insiders commented, hard-line activists would have characterised any refusal by the organisation to campaign on her behalf as another betrayal by the leadership.

The Appellate Division (AD) finding had left the situation substantially unchanged, the sources added. With Mandela out of jail but with her conviction upheld, the ANC would be able to continue with its policy of ignoring her and her efforts to build a power-base and constituency independent of her estranged husband. Yesterday, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus blandly said the organisation would accept the judgment.

Mandela's appeal against her conviction on four counts of kidnapping was dismissed. However, the AD set aside her five-year jail sentence and instead gave her the option of a fine of R15 000 or a year in jail, with a further two-year sentence suspended for five years. She was also ordered to pay R5 000 to each of the three youths who survived the 1988 kidnapping. The court quashed her conviction on four charges of being an accessory to assault after the fact.

Despite the equivocal nature of the judgment, Mandela's supporters are using the easing of her sentence to demand her reinstatement in the organisation's leadership. Commenting on her acquittal on the assault charges, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said: "What was taken from her as a result of these false allegations must now be given back."

He described the AD decision as "a political sentence", saying: "It has nothing to do with whether she was guilty or not."

Mandela's conviction on kidnapping charges was widely cited as the reason for her resignation from ANC and ANC Women's League executive structures. The ANC will now have to decide if they will allow a convicted criminal — who has cultivated an important constituency within the organisation — to hold an official position.

# NEWS FEATURE *The real story behind Chris Hani's assassination*

Sowetan 4/6/93

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Investigations Editor

# Operation Thunderstorm

■ **DIRTY TRICKS** *Aimed at destabilising black*

*opposition groups in the interests of white supremacy:*

**T**HE UPHEAVALS of the past week, when Military Intelligence officers and police swooped on Pan Africanist Congress leaders, are the beginning of a disinformation campaign against the liberation movement.

A German-based observer of military intelligence and spying activities, *Top Secret* editor Mr Michael Opperskalki, says the swoop is part of an exercise codenamed Operation Thunderstorm, aimed at destabilising black opposition groups in the interests of white supremacy.

At the core of the operation is a group of special agents led by a former journalist and a policeman, who are in charge of a disinformation campaign to create division within the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

The detention of PAC leaders is a ploy to persuade the PAC to suspend or halt the armed struggle, a position that would engulf the organisation in protracted arguments among its own membership, thereby weakening or even splitting it.

The agreement on Friday by the PAC to discuss the cessation of the armed struggle and the resultant deadlock in negotiations on the issue on Tuesday, since the Government insisted on an end to attacks, are seen as some of the effects of the campaign.

The operators also aim to kick the PAC out of

the talks or to get them to walk out in protest, to smooth the way at the multiparty talks for agreements between the ANC and the National Party reached at various *bosberade*.

Militants within the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, SACP, PAC, Apla and Azapo are targeted for smear campaigns, detentions and eventual assassinations, Opperskalki says.

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba and Mrs Winnie Mandela are to be among the immediate targets of this campaign. "Mokaba will be blamed for attacks on farmers or for creating the atmosphere in which the attacks could take place, while Mrs Mandela will



Benny Alexander

be blamed for creating militant noises in support of such positions," Opperskalki says.

Last week's leak by military intelligence sources to journalists, claiming that MK, Apla and Transkei's military ruler General Bantu Holomisa had dispatched a group of killers to Natal, is seen as part of the campaign.

Denied



All those involved in this alleged scheme have denied any knowledge of the operation. Since then, police have announced the arrest of alleged Apla combatants on their way to blow up a restaurant in Yeoville, Johannesburg. Apla has denied any links with the arrested men.

Opperskalki says the assassination of Mr Chris Hani was part of the operation, which also uses extreme rightwing groups and fictitious organisations such as the Boer Republican Army, *Pretoriase Boerekommando* and *Orde Boerevolk* to conceal its involvement.

Random massacres of people, such as at Boipatong, Tokoza and other areas, are also part of the plan. The idea is to preoccupy the libera-

tion movement and debilitate the resolve of black people to fight for their freedom as they would be concerned with survival.

Opperskalki says intelligence sources informed him that plan B would be to declare a state of emergency after the transitional executive council takes over and to detain all identified militants in the ANC, SACP, PAC and Azapo.

Alexander agrees with Opperskalki that the swoop was a ploy to launch secret operations against his organisation and other components of the liberation movement. He points out that while Apla is allegedly the target, no Apla member has been detained.

"Military intelligence has never been involved in law enforcement and their involvement is significant in terms of who is taking the decisions and seeing to their implementation," he says.

The fact that the Government's chief negotiators were kept in the dark about an issue that would impact so greatly on the negotiation process could be an indication that security officers are toying with the idea of a coup in which the politicians will only be informed if and when necessary.



# Poll date agreed on

Sawetun 4/16/93  
(Bella)

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

**A** DATE FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S first nonracial election has finally been agreed upon.

Negotiators at the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last night agreed on

April 27 next year as the election date.

The agreement followed intense debate throughout yesterday with battle lines clearly drawn between those who supported and those who opposed it.

The proposal was tabled by the African National Congress-led alliance and supported by the Pan Africanist Congress, which also suggested that the elections should be for a constituent assembly.

The Concerned South Africans Group — consisting of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — agreed to the proposal after putting up a fierce fight.

Their main objection was that the date was being foisted on them by the Government and ANC.

The Government, ANC and PAC and their

allies pointed out that failure to move on the election date by last night would render the negotiations useless, with South Africans losing patience and the violence escalating.

South African Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said in a motion that the negotiating council had, in fact, adopted a declaration of intent on May 7 that the process should be concluded constructively, urgently and peacefully.

The negotiators had, therefore, agreed that an election date should be announced within four weeks of that date, said Slovo.

In his compromise motion, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposal on the date would be tabled again on June 15 with a view to getting consensus.

The decision would be recommended to the broader negotiating forum on June 25 for adoption.

The Cosag group agreed to this with the proviso that they report to their principals and would give a final decision on June 15.

Earlier in the day there was tension as negotiators wrangled over the proposal that elections should take place next April.

And there were signs the parties would postpone announcing the date in order to consult more fully.

## Birth of new SA: April 27, 1994

- Date proposed by ANC.
- Endorsed by PAC.
- Cosag agrees after a fierce fight.
- Proposal to be tabled again on June 15.

(IIA)

# Govt, PAC talks due to continue

Star 4/16/93  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Deadlocked talks between the PAC and the Government will continue. (11A) (32A)

However, a heated row was conducted between the two parties after last night's negotiating forum. After two meetings yesterday, they were expected to report back to the negotiating council.

National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, on behalf of the Government, asked that a motion be tabled calling on the PAC to abandon or suspend its "policy of political violence".

After opposition from PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, it was decided that the report back would only take place at the next meeting of the council in 10 days.

At a press conference after the council meeting, De Villiers said the Government had no other option but to request the negotiating council to urge the PAC to abandon the armed struggle or to place a moratorium on armed activities.

At a separate press conference, Alexander accused the Government of non-compliance with an earlier resolution by the council. It called on the Government to immediately charge or release PAC detainees and to return confiscated documents.

He accused the Government of "deceit" and read out a joint statement drafted earlier.

In terms of this statement, the two parties were discussing a mutual cessation of hostilities by June 18 and the return of documents within 48 hours.

The PAC further accused the Government of killing a PAC member in detention and said two of its detained members were unaccounted for.

The Government denied this.

# PAC denies <sup>Star 4/16/93</sup> plotting to bomb clubs

DAR ES SALAAM — The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has denied claims by the SA Government that it was behind a foiled plan at the weekend to blow up six nightspots in the country. (SAPA)

PAC spokesman Johnny Majozi described Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's claims as "a hoax and disinformation campaign designed to justify his recent clampdown on the PAC" (IIF)

On Sunday the Government said it had foiled a plot to bomb six nightspots and arrested three Apla members in connection with the plan.

But the PAC said yesterday it had no knowledge of the three people arrested in Rockey Street, Yeoville, on Saturday night.

The PAC added that it had noted serious irregularities in the weaponry displayed by the SAP. It said the type, quantity and effectiveness of the weapons in question were not in line with Apla's way of equipping a unit for attacks on such alleged targets as hotels, restaurants or clubs. - Sapa-AFP

# Meyer, Ramaphosa share award

The two central figures in the negotiation process — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer — jointly received the Man of the Year award presented by New Nation and Engen in Johannesburg last night.

The cream of black and white business people and political figures, led by ANC president Nelson Mandela, packed the Carlton Hotel's ballroom for the awards ceremony. President de Klerk was unable to attend.

Meyer and Ramaphosa had to leave the World



Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer . . . had to leave Negotiating Council to accept award.

Trade Centre's Negotiating Council last night to appear at the banquet.

Ramaphosa's announcement of April 27 as the tentative date for the country's first democratic election was greeted with applause.

"The date for elections has been set and this country is now irrevocably on the way to democracy," he said.

Mandela said he was confident black and white South Africans would vote together for

the first time before the end of April.

Meyer said there was no alternative to a negotiated settlement.

Both men were rushed off to the airport where a plane had been delayed to ferry them to Boston, United States, where they will receive an achievement award.

They are expected to return to South Africa on Sunday.

National Sorghum Breweries founder Professor Mohale Mahanyele was honoured as New Nation/Engen Businessman of the Year at the function. — Sapa, Staff Reporter.

Star 4/16/93

11A

# Jaw, jaw better than war but what a bore

By Chris Whitfield

It has become, in the words of Natal Indian Congress delegate Pravin Gordhan, all "rush, rush" versus "halt, halt".

Bewildering moments of progress in the multiparty negotiation process make it to the headlines, but for those around the horseshoe table and under the hot glare of television lights in the World Trade Centre, the

going can be very, very slow.

The so-called "Rajbansi factor" — in which the most minute of parties can make an equal input — is one reason. National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi is one delegate who is never hesitant about making a contribution, and yesterday he was at it again. Repeatedly.

It all cried out for some light relief, and it came from Ciskei

delegate Mickey Webb.

Asking for clarification on an issue, he commented: "I don't want to be caught with my pants down again."

After laughter, Webb added: "It's an awesome sight."

Another notable sight was the presence of AWB members in the communications hall.

It was heavy going and the new SA appeared to be a light at the end of a long tunnel.



**P**EACE has dawned on the rolling brown hills of rural kwaXimba, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and a 1 000-strong crowd is celebrating the launch of a R10-million water project in an area once racked by sectarian strife.

After the traditional dancing and gospel singing, the local traditional leader, Zibuse Mlaba, addresses his subjects from a makeshift podium on a piece of land where African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters waged fierce battles in 1990, leaving scores of people dead. "We have not come to mourn, but to celebrate. We have not come to protest, but to see things happen."

With his headmen, Mlaba has held negotiations over the past few years with the Umgeni Water Board, the Port Natal/Ebhodwe Joint Services Board (JSB), Telkom and the Independent Development Trust (IDT), with an eye to the development of kwaXimba.

The results have been remarkable: apart from the water scheme, other projects under way include an electrification scheme — Eskom has already provided 6 000 homes with electricity; a sanitation project, to be financed by the JSB to the tune of R1-million; the extension of the health clinic with the help of IDT funding; and the installation of telephone lines — Telkom has already installed 3 000 telephones in the community's homes.

The 33-year-old chief's achievements are even more extraordinary considering that he has received no help from Ulundi.

He is an ANC supporter — in fact, the only traditional leader serving on the regional executive committee of the ANC in the Natal Midlands. "Not having a relationship with Ulundi has been good for us. It has taught us self-reliance," he says.

During the 1990 violence, Inkatha supporters from nearby kwaNyavu — allegedly with the assistance of the South African Police — tried to force Mlaba out of the area.

The reason is clear: with a signed-up membership of 5 653, the ANC's kwaXimba branch is the second largest in the Midlands.

Despite his ANC links, Mlaba tries to practise tolerance: "We do not discourage anyone from joining Inkatha, but people here prefer the ANC. The South African Communist Party also launched a branch in kwaXimba about a month ago and has a signed-up membership of 300."

**S**ignificantly, the youth — often portrayed as opposed to the tribal system — idolise Mlaba. Says ANC Youth League organiser Jetro Msomi: "He is my political leader and my tribal chief. I fear him and I respect him. It comes automatically."

Mlaba has laid down strict guidelines for the ANC in the area: either he or his headmen must approve the agenda and resolutions adopted at meetings. The ANC cannot raise

Peace and progress in Natal? <sup>2086</sup>

An ANC chief <sup>11A</sup> shows how <sup>1993</sup>

*W/maail 4/6-10/6/93.  
A remarkable young ANC-supporting traditional leader in the Natal Midlands achieves the near-impossible — and proves to his Inkatha counterparts that they can survive, and succeed, without Ulundi's backing.*

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

funds from door to door in the district. "Elders object to the youth collecting money. There are bad elements among them. It is only the *induna* (headmen) who can do that," Mlaba explains.

He believes he commands more respect among his subjects than pro-Inkatha chiefs do among theirs. "Their position has been undermined. An Inkatha leader will come to an area and call a political meeting without the permission of the local chief. Such things never happen in kwaXimba."

He has set out to woo Inkatha members in kwaNyavu, some of whom attended the celebrations held last Sunday. "The past is forgotten. We want to live in peace with the people of kwaNyavu," he says.

As the ANC attempts to win over traditional leaders in Natal, Mlaba has become an essential cog in the organisation: a chief who is proving to his Inkatha counterparts that they can survive — and, more importantly, succeed — without Ulundi's backing.

He spends much of his time visiting fellow chiefs, urging them to throw their weight behind the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

And he believes he is winning: "The homeland system is collapsing. The chiefs are realising that their future lies with the ANC, not with (Inkatha president) Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is using Zululness and the chieftainship for his own interests."

He points out that 23 chiefs, most of them

aligned to Inkatha, had agreed to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela in the Natal Midlands last weekend, and that the talks were only called off because Buthelezi had ordered the chiefs to Ulundi. "It would have been the biggest meeting between the chiefs and Mandela in this region. It (Buthelezi's summons to the chiefs) is a sign that he is afraid."

Mlaba believes Buthelezi is increasingly antagonising traditional leaders, and that they are slowly beginning to stand up to him. He cites the unprecedented case involving 14 headmen from Babanango, in the Nquthu district in kwaZulu, who took the Inkatha leader to the Durban Supreme Court in a bid to prevent him from installing three foreign chiefs in the area.

In his recent budget speech, kwaZulu minister of justice CJ Mthethwa disclosed that only one tribal court was functioning in the homeland. "They are admitting that their system is collapsing. Chiefs are rejecting the bantustan," comments Mlaba.

The director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, John Aitchison, believes the problem goes deeper. "In spite of all the fuss around traditionalism, tribal structures are not working," he says. "Mthethwa was unwittingly giving away the fact that real allegiance to the traditional past is, in fact, nonsense. It won't stand up to the changes in South Africa. The ANC, essentially a modern political party, will capitalise on this in an election."

While he is at odds with Buthelezi, Mlaba respects Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini: "I recognise the king as my superior by tradition and custom. I respect him. He is in a tight corner because of resources and housing — all of which happens through Buthelezi."

In the multi-party negotiating forum, traditional leaders from across the country, including those aligned to Ulundi, are represented. But chiefs aligned to Contralesa in Natal are not represented.

"We have made submissions to the negotiating council. We believe we can make a contribution," says Mlaba, who is Contralesa's Natal secretary.

On the future role of traditional leaders, he says: "There should be a house in parliament for chiefs. They should have observer status, but should be consulted on matters concerning them."

Mlaba is following in the footsteps of two of his heroes: his brother and predecessor, Msinga Mlaba; and the former president of Contralesa, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Both were ANC sympathisers, and both were assassinated by unknown gunmen — Msinga Mlaba in 1988 and Maphumulo in 1991.

Is he afraid of death? "Fear doesn't solve anything," Mlaba replies. "I am only a slave of the people, and I'm doing what I'm expected to do. Killing me would only worsen the situation."

# Batman's mission: Buy Modise shoes

W/ Mail 4/6 - 10/6/93

(11A) (22A) (23A)

**U**MKHONTO WESIZWE commander Joe Modise was the "ANC prisons architect", according to a witness at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into human rights abuses in African National Congress detention camps.

The witness, former MK member Samuel Mngqibisa, made his accusations during an appearance before the commission in which he read from a prepared statement.

The accusations are the most damning indictment of Modise to come out of the hearings so far. Modise is due to testify before the commission.

Mngqibisa, who claims to have been one of Modise's batmen, said he was bitter about the way he was treated by his "boss" and would like to see him justify his actions in exile to the nation.

As early as 1978, claimed the former cadre, Modise threatened MK men with detention camps in Angola if they were undisciplined. He said MK soldiers were ordered to undertake difficult missions and, if they refused to obey, they were labelled agents and sent to Angola.

Worse still, said the witness, was that cadres were forced to risk their lives to satisfy Modise's personal whims. Men who knew they were wanted in South Africa were forced to infiltrate the country to buy expensive shoes and clothes in Johannesburg for Modise.

Mngqibisa said his problems started because of his open criticism of the tactics and maladministration of the camps by Mbokodo, MK's security wing. He told the commission he was detained in 1978 on specific orders from Modise and served "a slavery sentence" of 14 months' hard labour in a Zapu prison in Lusaka. He was released in 1980 when Zapu members were repatriated after the Lancaster House agreement.

The same year, he said, Modise dispatched him to Livingstone in Zambia. He and three other MK men were to cross the crocodile-infested Zambezi river into Botswana and Zimbabwe. According to Mngqibisa, this was a test of his loyalty to the ANC. His unit was called back to Lusaka in 1983.

In July 1984, an angry Modise ordered him to go to Tanzania, because he continued "being a

*Allegations that MK cadres were subjected to the personal whims of the ANC's 'prisons architect', Joe Modise, were heard in the inquiry into the organisation's camps.*

**By WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER**

nuisance in his sight". Mngqibisa said Modise lied to him about a vocational training centre in Dakawa, where he was to further his studies. When he arrived in Dakawa, there was no centre.

In 1989, he claims, Modise's continued statements that there were agents infiltrating MK in Dakawa led to the construction of a prison there. He was also behind the conversion of former girls dormitories in Ruth First Camp, Dakawa, into cells, where Mngqibisa was detained.

Mngqibisa also made allegations of sexual abuse in the camps, claiming that he was part of a group which exposed Mbokodo's harassment of young girls fresh from South Africa. He said it



Joe Modise ... Expensive tastes?

Photo: PATRICK EKLOFF

was tradition in the ANC, especially in Mbokodo, to sexually abuse young girls. The promise of scholarships was used to elicit sexual favours and, if the girls resisted, they were detained and

labelled agents of the government.

Mngqibisa further told the commission that Modise's son was given preferential treatment. He smoked dagga and stole property, but was not arrested. Instead, he was sent abroad to a military academy to further his training.

In a letter to the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mngqibisa accuses former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere, Zambia's ex-leader Kenneth Kaunda and Angola's Marcellino dos Santos of being accomplices to ANC atrocities in exile because they authorised ANC kangaroo courts and prisons in their countries.

Speaking to *The Weekly Mail* after the hearings, Mngqibisa said: "If the commission's resolutions are not implemented, I am taking further steps. I will seek assistance from Judge Goldstone.

"Some ANC leaders in exile thought we wouldn't come back. They enslaved us. We thank Dr Mandela for negotiating our return. His initiatives caught the exile leadership with their pants down. What Mbokodo did to me has caused me much pain and suffering. The hatred and grudges are at a high degree. Something has to be done."

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**BLIND DATE** FM 4/6/93

The chances of an election date being set this week received a not unpredictable setback when the 26-party negotiating council on Tuesday agreed to a planning committee proposal to cancel Thursday's scheduled meeting of the negotiating forum, which was expected to name The Day.

The negotiating forum will now meet on June 25, essentially because the negotiators have not made "sufficient progress" in order to set a date.

An ANC source said on Tuesday it was "still possible" that the council — which now has more time to work on a package

of agreements, including constitutional principles and the form of transition — could recommend a date by June 3. Much depended on whether a draft resolution on principles and process, before the council on Tuesday, would be adopted.

The intensity of bilateral discussions set down for the 48 hours before Thursday was unprecedented, said a government source.

If a date cannot be announced as expected, it could for political purposes doubtless be ascribed to the security swoop on the PAC last week, which delayed matters.

to be far superior to anything our neighbours possess. So they want — on an economic basis — reasonable access to them.

Development is a thorny topic in Africa. It has not always provided the fruits offered and sometimes there have been bitter re-cremations. Large clearing banks throughout the Third World are criticised for not gearing their lending towards development projects and small high-risk business. But central bankers from sub-Saharan Africa are cautious about losing the benefits these institutions have for the developed segments of their economies.

Most of their countries have struggled with debt and with the often cavalier lending policies of their commercial banks. While they would like to see all commercial banks in an enlarged free trade area make more of an effort to help small businesses, their preference is for the development of informal savings schemes into enterprises for development purposes. But intermediation must remain with the commercial banks.

They see a much larger role for the Development Bank of Southern Africa, in an enlarged free trade region rather than the diversion of commercial banking endeavour into the developmental area. They regard the Development Bank as an established institution that has considerable developmental

skills and see it as a useful basis for further developmental work.

While there are certainly fears of the dominance of the SA economy and its institutions in the broader region, there are African central bankers who have suffered so much from capricious rulers that they would welcome the constraints that SA's relative financial and economic sophistication could bring to their own governments' profligacy.

Too many important economic policy decisions in Africa have been taken out of sight of what might be construed as public censure. Consequently, central banks have had no real ability — though they carry the responsibility — to constrain the consequences of profligate government spending. Their independence is a fiction.

What is an effective constraint on government profligacy is the widest possible public awareness of economic policy. This, bankers from the north believe, will be encouraged and enhanced in a free-trade area that includes SA and its developed media.

Interspersed between the apprehensions of the sub-Saharan bankers of SA dominance and their enthusiasm for free trade with SA is a clear belief that together the IMF and SA will bring about a limitation of their own rulers' financial delinquency.

This is tantamount to expectations of a

benign form of economic colonialism, which, whatever its economic advantages in the midst of widespread indigence, may still be political anathema to the ruling despots of the region.

But some are very old, some are becoming wiser and some are so dependent on foreign aid they may have no choice.

These are considerations that need to be taken into account in a new SA when policies that will affect our neighbours are taken into account. While expectations among our neighbours of material wellbeing through free trade with SA probably exceed their apprehensions, they have the resources which, with our assistance, could not only ensure their self-sufficiency but enhance our own economic performance. So a new SA government should grasp quickly the African initiative.

The decision of the central bank governors at the FM conference to form a committee to commission a survey on monetary, investment and trade issues in the region is an auspicious start. Whether it is able to provide the volition towards freedom of exchange and trade in the region will depend critically not only on the political developments here over the next few weeks, but also on an interim government's unambiguous commitment to free enterprise. ■

## REGIONAL OPTIONS

FM 4/6/93

# Playing tight and loose

Commonsense is at last beginning to dominate the federal debate

**We may** not come to be known as the Federal Republic of SA, but it is almost certain that a new constitution will accommodate strong regional authorities as part of a three-tier system of government.

Aside from being the key to producing a lasting political settlement, the practicality — political, economic and social — of some form of regional government has become common cause.

Still to be resolved are the precise powers and functions of regions. The actual boundaries are not really contentious; a nonpartisan commission is to be formed to investigate them. The critical aspect is the precise relationship between regions and central government: under what circumstances may the centre override the region?

Fortunately, the gap on this issue has been greatly narrowed at negotiations. A workable compromise will probably be struck — perhaps this week.

It has gradually dawned on the protagonists that, in practice, as the Consultative Business Movement's report on regions in SA last year argued, "there are no absolutes as to central versus regional powers, but rather a continuum of greater or lesser powers and responsibilities." In short, words

like "federal" and "regional" can mean pretty much what you want them to mean; the trick is make sure that everyone agrees on those meanings and feels happy.

The big breakthrough on regionalism came last month when the ANC finally agreed to the demand that regional powers — or at least the principles governing them — should be constitutionally entrenched. In return for the ANC's concession on regionalism, it appears that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party has dropped its opposition to the need to set up a transitional executive council.

This suggests that the process of transition can now go forward — even though the setting of an election date by the multiparty negotiation forum by this week's deadline hung in the balance.

Inkatha's position has been that it wants the "form of State" (federal, confederal, regional or unitary), including regional boundaries and powers, to be determined before an election; and that these should be constitutionally entrenched and beyond the reach of an elected constitution-making body.

The ANC, of course, sticks to its belief that the precise formulation of regional

powers and functions should be left to an elected constituent assembly — though its work will obviously be constrained by parameters predetermined at the negotiations. So, if the ANC, for instance, wanted in future to take away or amend entrenched regional powers, it would need a specially large majority, 67% at least, to do so.

But the ANC has for practical purposes accepted the regional idea — as a check and balance on the centre, as a means of bringing government closer to the people and to achieve more effective government. And with signs of its youthful constituency growing rapidly impatient with a drawn-out transition (some talk darkly of a pre-Bolshevik situation in SA), the ANC is holding the prospect of an imminent agreement in both hands.

The ANC bottom line is that the centre should ultimately have the power to override regional governments on matters deemed to be repugnant to the national constitution. It also believes the centre should be the repository of powers not specifically allocated to the regions (the concept of residuality). But these are eminently reasonable positions — and include the proposal that a constitutional court would adjudicate in such disputes.

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federal government."

This is at variance with both government's and especially the ANC's view, which has it the other way round — giving the central government the power of ultimate override. Where Buthelezi wants residual powers vested in the member states, the ANC places these at the centre.

The IFP stresses its belief that federalism and territorial autonomy cannot be solved through majority rule.

However, this begs the question of whether most people in KwaNatal want the kind of federal autonomy Buthelezi and the IFP are pressing for. To that extent at least, there's a certain logic in the ANC's insistence that in the end only an elected body

can write the constitution.

Unless the negotiators opt for confederalism or a unitary state, the outline of a regional dispensation that has emerged is as near to a federal system that anyone could reasonably expect.

A little more give-and-take ought to resolve the outstanding issue of power-sharing between regions and the centre — which in a modern state is neither black or white, after all.

Meanwhile, negotiators will have to be on their guard against approving a system which represents a compromise between the various political players — but which turns out to be inefficient or even unworkable in practice. As the *Penguin Dictionary of Poli-*

*tics* expresses it, "federalism is often seen as a complex and cumbersome method of government because it involves a number of potentially overlapping jurisdictions . . ." Whatever form our system eventually takes, and whatever it is called — if it has to be called anything — that kind of confusion must be avoided.

Theoretical clarity is essential: if hard choices must be made, let them be made in advance rather than fudged in the interests of compromise.

It is worth noting that most constitutional systems with federal features have created an enhanced role for the judiciary, in order properly to adjudicate disputes between central and regional authorities. ■

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THE TRANSITION



# Time is of the essence

We entered this week expecting the announcement of the date of the first general election in this country based on universal suffrage. It seemed a fateful week, one that could set the seal on the political aspirations of the majority of South Africans — and be a source of anguish to those whites who fear for their existence in the midst of a very familiar yet alien majority.

The process of negotiation that made this historic event possible cannot be said to have been either smooth or rapid. The setbacks have been enormous — at times, they have seemed to ordinary people to be overwhelming. Final agreement should have all the force of having been forged on a solid anvil out of great heat.

Negotiations have survived frequent rioting over education matters; mayhem in some townships; the Boipatong and Bisho massacres; the assassination of the charismatic and pragmatic SACP leader Chris Hani; the posturing and politicking of a variety of leaders; the puzzling demands of hidden agendas; the ill-starred raid on a hopelessly belligerent Pan Africanist Congress leadership; and the seemingly constant revelations of government corruption.

Most parties have moved substantially from their declared policies of only three years ago — and have taken substantial care to enjoin the support of a wide spectrum of dissenting opinion. None can hope to move back to previous positions: apartheid cannot now be reinstated, nor the armed struggle resumed with any hope of victory in the field. There is no future in “whites only” thinking; there is no “bush” to go back to, whatever Winnie Mandela might say.

The ANC has begun to lift its eyes above the horizon and show concern, not only about the type of society that is to follow but also how ordinary citizens, many unemployed, will be able to provide for themselves the basics of civilised life. It is none too soon.

A likely candidate for Foreign Minister in the new SA, Thabo Mbeki, has begun to ask foreigners to consider investing in SA. Even the ANC's economics chief Trevor Manuel has taken the *FM* to task for calling him a socialist: he fears it might damage investment prospects.

If an interim government in some form or other follows shortly, the World Bank says it will bring material assistance to the country. The Gramm Amendment, which effectively blocks SA's access to IMF balance of payments support facilities, will have little force or effect.

Maybe even Archbishop Desmond Tutu will display uncharacteristic consistency and call for a reversal of trade and financial sanctions and a return of American investment. He once did claim he would leave the country under certain

circumstances which, when they were fulfilled, he ignored.

If, in addition, US President Bill Clinton continues to do his incompetent best for us, the gold price will remain reasonably buoyant and the year should end on a substantially higher level of business activity than that on which it began, which was very low indeed.

But there are still some dangers. After a year's delay following the Codesa breakdown, there is not a great deal of time left. We probably don't have enough to sustain the inevitable violence if there should be another major hitch.

The perceptive Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, tells us we have the potential for a stable and prosperous society here. But the potential will not, he observes, last for ever. He has noted that much of last year was wasted and wonders how many years — or months — we have left.

Investors, whether they be locals with limited choices or foreigners who have the world at their feet, will be encouraged by a general election date. But that is not going to be enough to preserve even the present fragility of investment confidence.

Firm measures are going to be needed — and the ANC and IFP will have to be seen to be enthusiastic participants in their propagation — to curb violence. Both delinquent teachers and children will rapidly have to be disciplined.

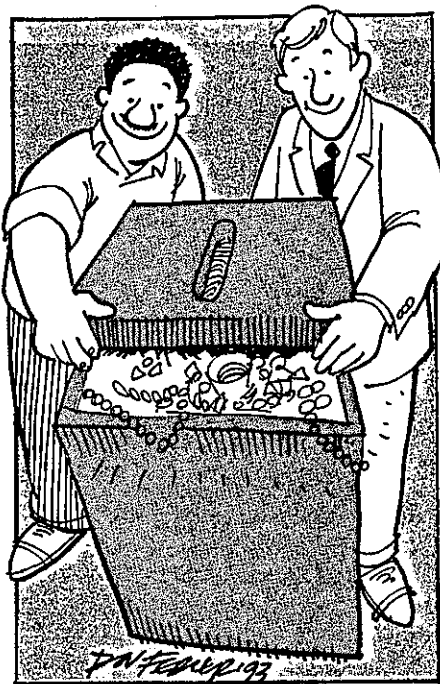
Those measures are necessary if investment is to be encouraged — but they are not going to be sufficient. Investment decisions, especially those by international entrepreneurs, coalesce over a period.

No government can legislate private-sector investment into existence. It is going to take time before the economy experiences investment initiatives other than those already announced.

It is for that reason that the *FM* has constantly remonstrated with those who have stubbornly refused to remove their opposition to SA's IMF facility, until their access to a vote is a legislative fact. It is now clear that the process towards universal enfranchisement may at worst be delayed, but it is not going to be reversed.

Yet the process of economic despoilment continues, capital is still leaving the country in quantity and the programme of mass action — which inevitably leads to more deaths — will linger on. The families of those without jobs will sink deeper into misery.

Hopefully, the process of renewal will begin this week — and those who have needlessly prolonged the suffering of so many for so long will have to look into their consciences to find out whether the delay was worth it. ■



CLAMPDOWN ON PAC FM 4/6/93

### General mistake <sup>11A</sup>

As if by magic the multiparty talks in Kemp-ton Park seem to have survived last week's ham-handed police action against the PAC. Bilateral discussions on Tuesday between government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary-general Bennie Alex-

cont D

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

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ander were apparently progressing well as the FM went to press.

They followed a bilateral agreement between the two last week that some of the senior PAC officials arrested in the nation-

farm murders and attacks on policemen that were the implied justification for the crack-down.

In the absence of high-profile trials of PAC leaders, Law & Order Minister Hernus

Kriel and his police generals are left with egg on their faces. The *kragdadige* action against the PAC apparently included smashing down doors, ransacking houses and detaining a wheelchair-bound official, clearly a serious setback to SAP efforts to improve its public image, particularly among blacks.

The reason for the action remains unclear. It was probably a combination of police frustration at their inability to end the killings, irritation at the manner in which politicians seem

negotiator Dawie de Villiers should have been fully briefed before the action was taken. In varying degrees, all three were embarrassed by the way in which the swoop was conducted.

Police claims that it was a normal law and order function that did not need to be cleared with other Ministers is a dangerously naive view of the political process and brings into question the free rein the generals enjoy. Kriel denies that the action was a deliberate attempt to bolster his Cabinet status or undermine De Villiers's position as Cape NP leader or Meyer's position in the negotiations. This is probably correct.

The incident has reportedly severely dented Kriel's standing in the Cabinet and, in the absence of serious charges being successfully pressed against PAC leaders, his political career could be far shorter than he had hoped.

His dismal performance in last week's debate at the World Trade Centre added to his problems and portrayed him as a spoiler.

Whatever credibility gains the SAP and Kriel hoped to make among whites have probably been neutralised by Meyer's deal with Alexander to release some of the arrested PAC officials and the inability so far to charge anyone with serious offences.



Law and Order's Kriel ... ham-fisted action

wide swoop would be released and others charged. So far the charges brought against PAC members have related mainly to alleged illegal possession of weapons and ammunition. No-one has yet been charged with the serious offences related to the wave of

to be sacrificing law and order for political progress, the need to reassure whites that the PAC's activities would not be tolerated, and an attempt to rattle the PAC and force it into a more moderate stance.

President FW de Klerk, Meyer and NP

### Township radicals

Fortunately, most negotiating parties

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seem to accept that Kriel and the SAP were acting for reasons of their own and not in concert with the Cabinet or government. Damage to the process is therefore likely to be limited.

An interesting side issue is that the action exposed the dearth of organised support for the PAC. While the township radicals readily scream PAC slogans, it seems that they are not willing to take to the streets in protest against perceived injustices against their organisation.

In spite of the crackdown being the most severe action taken against a political group since De Klerk's reforms began in 1990, the best protest the PAC could muster was a crowd of 400 who marched peacefully through Cape Town's deserted streets on Republic Day. Similar action against the ANC would no doubt have brought out the masses in their hundreds of thousands.

For this bit of pre-election intelligence, perhaps the ANC should quietly thank Kriel.



# View from a bridge

FM 4/6/93

**THE NEGOTIATED REVOLUTION: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa** by Heribert Adam and Kagila Moodley (Jonathan Ball, 277pp, R59,95).

"If we are to understand SA politics, victimology needs to be balanced by accounts of how the seemingly powerless survived, gave meaning to their lives, and acted upon their particular historical circumstances." This is how Heribert Adam introduces his third major work on SA politics (the second to be co-written with his wife, Kagila Moodley). The others were *Modernising Racial Domination* (1971) and *South Africa Without Apartheid* (1986). I shall refer to them as "Adam" for the sake of convenience, without detracting from Moodley's contribution.

Adam is a Canadian academic who has worked for long periods in this country; his wife, also an academic, was born and raised in the Durban Indian community. Only they can know exactly how their differing life experiences have been mutually enriching for political analysis, but about the results there can be no doubt: this is an important, refreshing and readable contribution.

"The ideological confusion," Adam writes, "of black activists about the new politics of negotiation can be traced to past indoctrination. The assumption was that the government would make no concessions unless absolutely forced to do so. But the regime almost out-radicalised its opposition in adaptive political manoeuvring." It is a simple point with profound implications, but one not widely appreciated.

The result is that the ANC needs myths to explain the "capitulation" of Pretoria. In contrast with armies in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, the ANC's guerrillas were never a serious military threat and hardly saw action. Hence the necessity for negotiations — and hence, Adam argues, the fiction that SA forces were humiliated at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola.

But the SADF was not defeated at Cuito, as has been demonstrated conclusively by Fred Bridgland in *The War for Africa* and in Chester Crocker's new book *High Noon in Southern Africa*. As Adam notes, the ANC's "revelling in an imagined victory was all the more remarkable since no ANC units were involved in the stalemated siege ... (the ANC was) appropriating foreign heroism."

Adam presents an excellent analysis of Nelson Mandela's position, including his paradoxical views on the need to accommodate whites, coloured and Indians in the ANC. Instead of opting for the more fragile role of "a reconciling statesman capable of rising above the petty quarrels," Mandela had the shrewdness to emphasise on his release that he was a disciplined ANC member. This was ultimately to give him a demo-

cratic mandate and greater clout.

But Mandela's historic need to appear militant will have its backlash, suggests Adam: when the deal with government is finally achieved, and power is seen to be shared rather than transferred, "the resulting compromise will necessarily be considered a sell-out, especially when compared to the notion of a victorious transfer of power."

Adam tends to confront simple truths which more jaded observers have either neglected or forgotten. For instance, he wonders why there should be in the ANC mem-



**Mandela, De Klerk ... raw material for academics**

bership a "total absence of liberal whites who have fought the anti-apartheid struggle within the country."

There is a commendable lack of mercy for the SA Communist Party: Adam relentlessly demolishes the fumbling and unconvincing backtracking from the SACP's Stalinist past. He also excoriates socialists generally for refusing to acknowledge what has happened in eastern Europe — and thunders about the ANC's lack of morality in accepting money from foreign dictators.

However, there is a cost to this roller coaster stuff. Contradictions appear; some issues are apparently not thought through. For instance, Adam writes that white SA "has so far failed to recognise the ANC's need for symbolic victories," because "the more the ANC is drawn into constitutional politics, the more it loses its status as a liberation movement." Well, yes — but does Adam appreciate that President F W de Klerk's reluctance to allow the ANC too many symbolic victories may rest on De Klerk's own need to avoid symbolic defeats?

There are times when the style conceals the lack of substance. Consider this persuasive explanation of *toenadering*: "The instant love affair between the NP and the ANC replicates an experience many SA exiles from different political backgrounds

have had when they meet abroad. Free of the apartheid framework, they discover their common South African-ness. A psychological explanation of cordial relations between former archenemies would point to the rediscovery of bonds of origin, of a repressed kinship." Perhaps it would point to that — so what?

Towards the end of the book there are more instances of the obvious being stated. "No democratisation," argues Adam, "can succeed without some degree of tangible equalisation; enfranchisement without redistribution remains meaningless ... in SA, a special form of democratisation is being attempted in order to block too radical an equalisation."

But this thinking ignores the kind of redistribution that is already taking place: in education, for instance, and in the higher real wages paid to unionised workers, and in the equalisation of State pensions.

After so much that is sensible, it comes as a shock to read Adam's views on privatisation — "a particularly devious design" on the part of Pretoria. He continues: "The ANC quite correctly states: 'The current privatisation programme is simply transferring wealth to a privileged few and would diminish the stock of assets and resources available to a future government to satisfy a pent-up demand for social services.'" What does Adam want? To cram the railways with tens of thousands of unproductive workers, as the Nats once did?

Perhaps the most serious error by Adam is the acceptance at face value of the slogans surrounding the 1992 referendum — such as the NP's "Vote yes, if you are afraid of majority rule." Adam argues that whites did not vote to transfer power, but to share it. Perhaps he was out of the country at the time: the mood among white voters was grim acceptance that majority rule was inevitable. They voted for De Klerk mainly in order to get the best terms.

Opinions are arguable, but sloppy writing should simply not have been allowed to infiltrate such a book: "ANC supporters in the eastern Cape have burned copies of provincial newspapers for continuously misrepresenting and neglecting ANC views." Were the newspapers guilty of these things? Or were they merely allegations?

There is a sudden shift in tone when Adam deals with women's rights. The breezy polemic becomes quite prudish: "Half-naked bodies adorn the front pages of even serious newspapers." And a glaring factual error surfaces here: Adam talks of "the lone female member" of the NP caucus, whereas there have been at least three female Nat MPs since the 1989 general election — Rina Venter, Sheila Camerer and Tersia King. Such mistakes are always unfortunate; when the writer is taking risks, they are embarrassing.

David Williams



# Sound reasons for setting election date soon

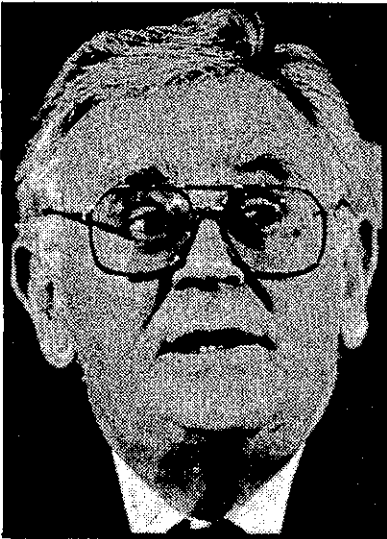
11A

DEMOCRACY talks have advanced considerable way with some dramatic breakthroughs in a very short period, despite parties' failure to get grips with detailed agreements.

There are now sound political and economic reasons for setting an election date soon — albeit with conditions and riders — despite protests from several quarters that government and the ANC are rushing the process. And the same applies to the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Facilitating the setting of an election date are the ANC's concessions on regionalism. Inkatha, in turn, has indicated that it is prepared to make concessions with regard to accepting a two-phased approach to the transition. This has bridged major gaps between the key participants.

The announcement of an election date could, for a start, go a long way towards easing the deadlock between government and the PAC over the continuation of the armed struggle. PAC negotiators would better be able to argue among members for a suspension of the armed struggle if there was a firm election date plus transitional authority with significant powers, particularly over the



□ SLOVO

security forces.

It will also, to a certain extent, mollify the ANC radicals. The ANC has recently made significant concessions that have elicited criticism from its more radical quarters. According to a senior negotiator, it has

## BILLY PADDOCK

little scope for further movement in this area. "Our constituents need to see progress. We need to fulfil our promise to them after the assassination of Chris Hani," he says.

An election date will also expedite the lifting of sanctions, creating better conditions for economic growth and political stability.

According to SACP negotiator Joe Slovo, an announcement on an election date will also undermine those fomenting violence with the express purpose of delaying elections.

A multiparty transitional executive council can potentially create a more legitimate governing authority that will create the conditions for increased stability, removing from the political contest key areas required for development.

For example, the police would be able to act with more authority without the fear that a major negotiating partner is going to criticise its every move.

The NP government, too, has a constituency problem, and it as-

sumes that progress may stem the flow of support away from the party.

Inkatha has a significant problem with the establishment of a transitional executive council — it will mean a dilution of the powers of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. However, it did agree at Codesa to a transitional authority.

Last week the negotiating council effectively operated like a transitional executive council when it summoned Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to account for his department's actions against the PAC. In that debate Inkatha participated with fervour, and helped prevent a bungle degenerating into a fiasco.

Inkatha's main conditions for progress are that the interim constitution be fairly comprehensive and that the powers, functions and duties of regions be entrenched. The hard bargaining has only just begun over those and other principles of an interim constitution.

The current process is in sharp contrast to Codesa, which was marked by ambiguous agreements and inadequate safeguards or mechanisms for dealing with amendments to the interim constitution. Now, it has been proposed that the

constitutional principles to be negotiated in the multiparty forum be binding on the elected body, and that any changes to these must have a two-thirds majority. Also, changes that directly affect regional powers will have to be passed by a two-thirds majority in the national assembly (which includes the regional representatives) as well as a separate two-thirds majority by the regional representatives.

So far, the general constitutional principles drafted by the technical committee from the submissions of the 26 participating parties suggest there is not much difference among most of them.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says these principles have been debated thoroughly over the past year. "Therefore we do not need to drag out the process of reaching agreement. We can realistically debate, compromise and come to an acceptable agreement on the constitutional principles within a short period of a week or two."

An announcement of an election date would be a clear, morale-boosting signal to the total population — and the international community — that progress is being made.

# Judgment vindicates my claim — Winnie

Buss Day  
4/16/93  
MARIANNE MERTEN

WINNIE Mandela felt her claim that she "would never lift a hand onto a child" had been vindicated by the Appeal Court's judgment which set aside four charges of being an accessory to assault.

The court upheld her conviction on four counts of kidnapping Stompie Seipei and three other youths. But it commuted a five-year prison sentence to a R15 000 fine and ordered Mandela to pay R15 000 compensation to the victims.

Mandela — who would not speak to the media in person — said in a statement yesterday she would have welcomed "a judgment which had absolved her of all blame".

"During my trial, I felt that not only was I facing specific charges, but that my whole personal and political life was on trial."

She claimed her co-accused had been "paid to lie against me".

She said: "The Press and unfortunately some of my comrades in the struggle created an atmosphere before and during my trial where I felt that I was being tried by the media and many of those who were opposed to me and the organisation to which I devoted a great part of my life."

In response to allegations that her punishment was too light, she said in the past she had been falsely accused and convicted. "Before unfairly judging me again, at least take the trouble to read the court of appeal's full judgment."

She described allegations that she was responsible for Seipei's death as "ridiculous".

Her involvement with the four youths was based on a genuine belief they were being sexually abused. "This was a social problem which I saw as my duty to solve."

ANC information department spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa would not comment on whether Mandela would be prohibited from holding ANC office because of her conviction. It was a hypothetical question and it sufficed to say she resigned all her positions last year, he said.

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# Political violence Buss. Day 4/16/93 'has decreased'

VIOLENCE of a "purely political" character had declined markedly in the 18 months in which the national peace secretariat had been operating, secretariat chairman Antonie Gildehuys said yesterday. (2/19)

In a report to regional secretariat chairmen and international observers, he said the violence had shifted from high-profile political confrontations to assassinations, taxi wars and crime. The recent fighting between Thokoza residents and hostel dwellers was an exception to this rule.

"In the 18 months in which we have been active, we have not managed to stamp out violence ... but I think there is a marked reduction in purely political violence," he said.

Natal regional secretariat chairman M C Pretorius said ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala and his Inkatha counterpart David Ntombela held a groundbreaking meeting on Wednesday. The two had reached agreement on the return of refugees to the strife-torn Pateni area.

Gildehuys said the secretariat had achieved "structural independence" since its R41m budget had been shifted from Justice to Home Affairs in April, and was preparing to administer its own finances.

Bophuthatswana remained relatively inaccessible to the secretariat, but agreement had been reached on establishing a peace committee in Venda and the secretariat had free access to Transkei and Ciskei.

Eleven regional peace committees and 85 local committees had been established in terms of the accord, with a further 30 local committees on the cards, he said.

UN observer mission head Angela King said in her report that most

RAY HARTLEY

regional and local peace committees were "still not representative of the local population-mix, political viewpoints or community groups".

She said key areas of the peace accord were yet to be implemented, including the code of conduct for the SADF, "self-protection units", the appointment of the "full complement of justices of the peace" and enforcing the ban on dangerous weapons.

Peace accord marketing committee head Graham Higgs said a second series of advertisements shortly be launched following the donation of R5m in media space and time.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela is to announce at a rally in Kathlehong tomorrow a plan to end violence on the East Rand.

The ANC's PWV region said violence was threatening the social fabric of the East Rand. "Schools have ground to a halt, families displaced, women turned into widows and children left without parents."

And the Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday appealed for peace during the coming funerals of the victims of East Rand violence. It also called for a meeting with the ANC Youth League.

□ Police said the bodies of two men who had been shot and burned to death were found in the Mandela Park squatter camp near Thokoza yesterday. Two injured people were admitted to Natalspruit Hospital and three squatter shacks had been razed by petrol bombs. The squatters said men from Holomisa Park had attacked the camp with AK-47 rifles.

The body of a third person who had been shot dead was found in Holomisa Park.

## ANC to search its marchers

Buss. Day  
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Participants in mass action demonstrations or marches organised by the ANC alliance would be searched by marshals for weapons, ANC peace desk head Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday. (11A) (2/19)

The searching of protesters was one of the recommendations contained in a guideline mass action document being prepared for circulation among ANC regional and local offices nationwide.

The guidelines follow the findings of the Goldstone commission of inquiry into last month's Thokoza march, in which 13 people died, and were aimed at ensuring that marches remained peaceful.

An internal ANC PWV region investigation into the violence at the Thokoza march had also contributed to the new guidelines.

Mufamadi said that while all parties represented at the commission had agreed that demonstrations were a democratic right, clearer rules were required to prevent violence. 4/16/93

These included the notion of "joint responsibility" for all parties involved, weapon searches, improved preparations and closer liaison between organisations involved in the march, marshals and security forces.

"Steps should also be taken to contact any organisation possibly affected by the march to ensure its members and supporters are informed about the rights and routes of the protestors as well as to avoid a violent reaction," Mufamadi said.

Other points in the guidelines were that adequate numbers of marshals should be appointed, that regulations stipulated by authorities be adhered to and local police commanders reminded of their responsibilities.

# April 27 is target day for election

Star 4/6/93

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

South Africa has a tentative date for its first democratic elections — April 27 1994.

But negotiators are still some way from agreeing that the nation will go to the polls on that day.

A dramatic 2½-hour debate on the issue in the Negotiating Council last night ended with the majority acceptance of a compromise resolution. It said the council would discuss the issue on June 15 and recommend to the negotiating forum meeting on June 25 that the date of an election should be April 27 next year.

However, the resolution left the final decision to the Negotiating Council meeting "with a view to maximise consensus".

And it left room for an even earlier date if a final settlement in talks allowed for it.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had tabled a resolution calling for the fixing of the April 27 date after fierce debate on whether it should even come before the council.

He argued that sufficient progress had been made in talks to warrant the setting of a date. He also warned of growing expectations across the country and "unpredictable consequences" if setting a date was delayed.

IFP and  
CP not  
happy,  
but 17  
give nod



After extended debate and objections from most delegates of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa proposed the compromise.

Most Cosag members continued to express opposition and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje explained later that while he had no opposition to determining the date, he felt several fundamental issues should be resolved first.

The KwaZulu government flatly rejected the resolution due to what it called "manipulation of the process".

The Conservative Party reserved its position and must now be perilously close to walking out.

CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs told The Star he would have to report back to the party leadership, but warned that "the Afrikaner

people" could not go along indefinitely with a process that continually adopted positions it could not agree with.

In sharp contrast, the Government, the ANC and 15 other parties were upbeat about the progress. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had been a long struggle but thought "the resolution is enough progress for now".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate, who reserved his position because he did not have a mandate to accept a specific date, said the end of April target date should not have been adjusted.

The IFP had no objection to any election date, but felt this should be set only once "we can properly do so and be sure it is attainable".

Both the Democratic Party and the PAC suggested March 31 as their preference but did not get any other support.

They felt important issues had been deliberately skipped in an attempt to settle an election date. Earlier debate on constitutional principles that would be entrenched in a future constitution had been cut short, and debate on a technical committee report on violence would also have to be continued at the next meeting.

Other issues not addressed were the independent media commission and independent electoral commission.

● The talks — Page 3

# April 27 set down as date for elections

Buss. Day 4/16/93

APRIL 27 next year was provisionally agreed to last night as the date for SA's first nonracial election.

The 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park passed the resolution with sufficient consensus, despite stiff opposition from some members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) alliance.

After initial protest, Inkatha and Bophuthatswana agreed to a compromise resolution that the date be set, but that it be finalised only on June 15, when the council meets again to debate its merits. Four parties objected — the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, KwaZulu and Ciskei.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo made the proposal to set the date on behalf of the 10-member negotiations planning committee. He admitted, though, that there was not unanimous support for the proposal.

Slovo, in motivating the proposal, said there was "a visible sigh of relief among the vast majority when we declared that we would set an election date today. Failure to set it will have a serious negative effect in the country, and trigger responses that will be unpredictable and spread a feeling of betrayal."

His proposal encountered instant opposition, mainly from Cosag, but government and the NP supported the view that a final decision should rather be taken at the next council meeting so that "consensus could be maximised".

Inkatha's Walter Felgate said much was at stake "and the process of finding each other and reaching agreement is in jeopardy if we try to rush this process now on the basis of party political interests".

The DP's Colin Eglin said: "There has

BILLY PADDOCK  
and WILSON ZWANE

been significant progress and if we set the date tonight, it will be a clear signal to the world."

In other business yesterday, the technical committee on violence recommended joint multiparty control of all armed formations, implemented in a phased way.

The committee said its proposals should be considered in the light of the objective to establish "impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA". It proposed that in the short term all parties with arms or armed formations establish proper control over them, conduct an audit of all weapons and personnel and establish mechanisms for bringing them under the supervision of "a joint multiparty agency".

During phase two, after the establishment of a transitional executive council, a joint agency should be established, and a distinction made between statutory and non-statutory armies and police forces.

The committee said policing functions had to be clearly distinguished from military functions, and that the various armies should play no role in the election process while police fulfilled normal law and order functions. "The multiparty agency must ensure effective supervision, including clear identification of personnel, weapons and locations and the circumstances and manner in which any armed formation or members of any armed formation may be deployed in peacekeeping functions."

During phase three it would be the responsibility of an elected government to

□ To Page 2

## Elections Buss. Day 4/16/93 □ From Page 1

integrate, disband and rationalise the various armed formations and introduce comprehensive measures for integrating their members into society.

The committee made a variety of other recommendations to help eliminate violence, including the strengthening of the peace accord to ensure parties abided by its terms. It also recommended that all parties not yet signatories to the accord be put under pressure by the negotiating council to join the peace effort.

With regard to mass action, the committee endorsed the Goldstone commission view that it was a fundamental right to protest and demonstrate, but it recommended that all organisations adhered to a strict code of conduct to ensure these did not lead to violence or intimidation.

The technical committee on constitutional issues said allocating powers and functions for regions was particularly difficult when the nature of the final constitutional order had not yet been settled. It was therefore more advisable to make these flexible, subject to the supervision of a

constitution-making body and a government of national unity.

The committee set five criteria for dividing powers between national and regional governments:

- The level where there was most control over the quality and delivery of services should be the level responsible for the execution of the programme or the delivery of the service;
- National government should not encroach on the territorial, functional or institutional integrity of the regions;
- In the event of a dispute over concurrent powers, precedence had to be given to national government;
- Where it was necessary for the maintenance of national standards, economic unity or national security, or where one region's action prejudiced the interests of another, the national government should be empowered to intervene; and
- The essential principles of the constitution and fundamental rights should apply to all organs of state at all levels.

● See Page 3

# ANC on the pool road

## □ They're planning to stage mass marches, motorcades and housemeetings

THE African National Congress is preparing for a "mass-driven" election campaign with marches, motorcades, rallies and country-wide mobilisation of supporters.

A brief glimpse of coming events was given this week by ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni when he lifted the veil on ANC election plans during a wide-ranging interview with Weekend Argus.

At the same time, he warned of a "social explosion" or uprising if, for any reason, the promised April elections next year were delayed.

And, he had no reassuring answer to the key question: Will the elections be violent or peaceful, fair or unfair? But, he did offer guidelines for creating a more peaceful political climate.

Sitting behind his desk in a neat, well-organised office at the Western Cape ANC headquarters in Woodstock he looked anything but the militant activist he has been depicted. His smiling appearance, with neat white shirt and dark tie, was more like that of a businessman.

On the issue of undisciplined youth, he made it clear the ANC disclaimed sole responsibility for controlling the behaviour of unruly people.

An issue repeatedly emphasised by Mr Yengeni was the question of speeding up negotiations. The negotiators had to get on with the job or face chaos if they delayed too long.

He was sure that if an election was not held by early next year, South Africa would see a "massive social explosion" or uprising.

Would an April election be too late to avoid this? — "That should still be all right," he said. The country could not afford an upheaval that would disrupt the economy.

"Without a strong economy, there is no possibility of delivering anything to anybody. We are not struggling to inherit ruins. We want to inherit an economy on which we can build."

"Everybody must stand up now and add their voices to those saying: 'Please let the pace of negotiations be speeded up.'"

Asked if he believed elections held under conditions of violence and intimidation could be free and fair, Mr Yengeni said: "We don't think in a situation of massive violence there can be free and fair elections. That's why we are insisting on leveling the playing fields."

Requirements to "level the playing fields" to create a peaceful atmosphere included:

- Joint control of the security forces;
- An SABC board that was "broad enough" to cater for the interests of all South Africans; and
- Transitional executive structures to take over responsibility for certain areas of government prior to elections.

Mr Yengeni did not think these steps alone would end the violence, but would help contain it.

Another factor in creating more peaceful conditions for elections was the extent to which opportunity was provided to all political organisations to mobilise support in all areas for peaceful political campaigning.

The ANC still did not have freedom of movement or freedom to campaign in Bophuthatwana, certain areas of KwaZulu, the Bisho area of Ciskei and in some parts of the PWV region.

■ As negotiators were setting a provisional election date this week for April 27 next year, a key Western Cape ANC official lifted the veil on some of the organisation's election plans.

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**  
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

Confirming that the ANC would contest the election as a liberation movement and not as a political party, Mr Yengeni said the ANC campaign would not be run on conventional lines.

"Our election campaign will be mass-driven because that is where our strength lies."

"We are not going to wage highly technical or conventional election campaigns as they have in the United States. Ours will consist of much more traditional forms of action. We will have rallies, mass marches, motorcades, and public meetings in stadiums, in the open air, in halls, all over the place and in all areas of the country."

Mr Yengeni said the ANC would campaign not only be in the cities and suburbs, but also in rural and farming areas.

The ANC's election strategy would include direct contact with all voters — including Afrikaaner rightwingers — at house meetings.

"We want people to ask us questions, to meet us and to tell us of their fears and suspicions."

This week, he said, he addressed about 30 Afrikaans-speaking people at a house meeting in Cape Town.

"They grilled me and many critical questions were asked. This interaction was an eye-opener to me."

He said he believed the election campaign could become violent or unruly "if the role of the security forces is not dealt with properly."

"Violence from black people is a response to an event, like an assassination. If you can have joint control of security forces, there is less possibility of unruliness."

Would controversial ANC "freedom songs" or slogans, like "Kill a boer, kill a farmer" be sung during the election campaign? Those songs were part of the history of the ANC's armed struggle, he said.

Whenever there was a "situation of anger", such as state violence, rightwing violence or the assassination of ANC leaders or members, those slogans "come back again because they are a way of expressing the people's anger. They don't necessarily call for war or murder."

He did not think the "Kill a boer" slogan would be used in an election, but also did not think the ANC would ask for it specifically not to be used.

"The election campaign will determine our approach. If things go well, I'm sure the slogans will fall by the wayside. On the other hand, if there are massacres and violence, the slogans will come back."

On the issue of rightwing fears and threats of violence, Mr Yengeni said there were suspicions that Afrikaner communities would be "under massive attack" from an ANC government. Rightwing groups were threatening to take up arms if the ANC came to power.

"There is no need for that," said Mr Yengeni.

"Everybody has a place in the future South Africa. But, racialism should have no place and should be declared a crime."

Other comments by Mr Yengeni included:

■ **Stone-throwing on the N2 and elsewhere:** "I have issued statements condemning that type of thing. Two weeks ago, we took a resolution at a meeting of organisations of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) that in all Press statements and speeches the dangers of that type of thing be explained. However, the ANC should not be made to take sole responsibility. All other political parties and groups should be asked to do something about it."

Twice this week, Mr Yengeni travelled in a car with Mr Nelson Mandela on the N2 — on Monday when Mr Mandela was fetched from D F Malan Airport for a visit to Cape Town, and again on Wednesday for his return to the airport.

"There was no stone-throwing then, but if there had been, what would the stone-throwers have said if Mr Mandela had been hurt?"

In a call this week for an immediate end to stone-throwing on the N2, Mr Yengeni said: "Senseless hooliganism at this crucial time can do nothing to advance the cause of democracy, freedom and peace in South Africa."

■ **Political tensions:** "The level of tension is building up. This is due to frustration, the high rate of unemployment, ever-increasing violence, the slow pace of the negotiating process and the fact that it is not seen to be delivering anything."

■ **The role of politicians:** "Although political parties and organisations have an important role to play in finding solutions to problems, I think it's a very serious mistake to leave everything in their hands.

"Other leaders, like those in churches, educators, academics, women's organisations and business leaders must begin to have a say."

■ **Undisciplined youth:** "A solution might be found if everybody were to look again at Chris Hanli's idea of a peace corps. It will give youth hope by doing something constructive."

"Hanli's idea was that self-defence units be transformed into a peace corps. Sadly, he did not live long enough to give a detailed definition of his plan. It is for us, the living, to continue that idea and to give it flesh."

■ **Where he stands in politics:** "I stand for radical transformation of the political and economic system. I also believe the masses are the makers of their own future and that they should have the necessary freedom and power to influence developments in their own society."

■ **The Afrikaans language:** "Afrikaans is spoken by many people and is a very important language among other important languages in our country. It must not only be preserved, but also used by the apartheid regime and got the image of the oppressors' language."

■ **Chances of a peaceful future:** After a long sigh, Mr Yengeni replied: "I'm confident that if we get our act together and move a bit faster in finding solutions, the future will be bright for us. The fact that the country at this time is on the verge of a breakthrough to democratic elections shows a spirit of positiveness."



ANC Western Cape regional secretary Tony Yengeni — offering guidelines for creating a more peaceful political climate. **ART 5/6/93**



# 'Now is the time' offensive

Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

THE Western Cape region of the ANC plans to launch the next phase of its election campaign on June 26 — Freedom Charter Day.

To prepare for this phase, all branches of the organisation have been urged to embark on election training programmes.

The planned campaign will be "the biggest mass action campaign in the history of the ANC's struggle", according to a new-look ANC newsletter, entitled ANC Speaks, which has been launched in the Western Cape.

The newsletter says the campaign will be waged under the slogan "Now is the time".

Meanwhile members and branches of the ANC are reported to be dissatisfied with the manner in which identification documents have been

issued by the Home Affairs Department.

(11A)

One of the complaints is that department officials unnecessarily harass applicants and use "deliberate delaying tactics".

ARGUS 16/93

Another complaint is that documents needed for applying for ID booklets are difficult to obtain. It is also claimed that it takes up to six months for ID booklets to be issued.

A delegation of the ANC's regional office recently met Home Affairs Department officials to demand that all problems be attended to and solved.

The delegation, led by ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, asked that mobile units be introduced to facilitate the speedy issuing of identity documents in preparation for the elections.

The ANC's newsletter reports that the department agreed to issue ID booklets within two months after applications have been made at its offices or at mobile units.



# ANC Speaks!

ANC Western Cape Newsletter June 1993

**NEW LOOK ANC Speaks**

## Now is the time!

THE ANC in the Western Cape is launching this new-look Newsletter to help guide the branches, improve their awareness among all members and prepare for the building of a democratic media in a free, democratic and free South Africa.

All members, branches, zone and regional structures will be encouraged to make ANC Speaks reflect their interests.

ANC Speaks will also focus on the struggles of our communities in the fight to finally bury the brutal system of apartheid.

All branches are invited to write for the ANC Speaks about the events that are taking place in their areas.

NOW is the time for every South African to make a choice for democracy, peace, freedom and equality. It is the call of thousands of ANC members and supportive structures and mass base organisations in Atlanta, Harare, the 100 nations and the township throughout the Western Cape, including the rural areas of the Southern and the Zone.

It is emphasised the demand of the ANC is to launch National Struggle in the Year of Democratic Elections.

The ANC will play a central role in the historical turning point in South Africa. Winning the elections will ensure that the ANC establishes democratic institutions in South Africa and prepare for political, economic and social reconstruction and transformation.

Already in the Western Cape the ANC has announced the NP in response to the call of the National Executive Committee (NEC) and the call of the ANC to urge members to get out on campaign, which the ANC will wage under the slogan "Now is the Time".



National heroes Comrade Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani.

The forthcoming general elections will be the first occasion in the history of South Africa in which all South Africans will participate as equals. These elections will mark an historic turning point in the culmination of decades of struggle for a democratic South Africa.

The election campaign will be the most important mass action the ANC and other democratic forces will wage in the course of the coming months," the NEC said in a statement.

ANC national chairman, Comrade Oliver Tambo, said before his death that the forthcoming elections should be turned into a vote for freedom, democracy, peace and progress.

"We must not forget that the objective of our struggle goes beyond elections to the historic goal of creating a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa," Comrade Tambo said.

## HAMBANI KAHLE!

National heroes, Comrades Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo, died on April 10 and April 24 respectively.

They will be remembered for the critical role they played in the struggle for peace, freedom, democracy and non-racialism in South Africa.

We dip our flags in salute to these gallant fighters against repression, oppression and racism.

Hambani Kahle Maqabane!

# ANC decision on rally welcomed by the IFP

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday lauded the postponement of an ANC rally that was to have taken place on the East Rand on today, saying the move had probably saved lives.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was to have addressed the rally at Huntersfield stadium, Katlehong, at noon. The ANC leader said he would have made "a major speech on violence and the current political situation in the country".

But senior IFP Transvaal leader Mr Humphrey Ndlovu expressed reservations about the rally, saying it could lead to even more violence.

"The area (East Rand) is still tense after recent violence," he said.

"We in the IFP have lost many people to violence these past two weeks. We have been on the ground to try and calm temperatures and we fear the rally could spark more conflicts. It is better to try calm things down before planning events like the ANC rally."

But after being informed the rally

had been postponed, Mr Ndlovu said:

"This is a very good thing that has been done. It is not our wish to see people dying. Many of our people who lost relatives in the East Rand violence two weeks ago have still not buried their dead. We know through our ears on the ground there is still much ill feeling in Katlehong and other areas."

"We congratulate the ANC for their decision...it has probably saved lives...let us have rallies when conditions are calm."

The statement announcing the rally had been postponed made no mention of IFP concerns, although Mr Ndlovu said he had earlier contacted ANC officials to express reservations about the gathering.

The ANC said the rally had been postponed "to a date to be announced soon".

The organisation added:

"The rally was postponed to give more time for thorough preparations and organisation of the event." — Sapa.

11A

ARG 5/6/93



# Franschhoek mayor and deputy sign up for the ANC

South 516-916193

By Christelle Terreblanche

**S**OUTH Africa's first black mayor of a previously white group area has made history again — he is the first mayor in the country to join the ANC.

Mr Frank Arendse, who became Franschhoek's mayor last year when the management committee and the town council amalgamated, is not apologetic.

"In my heart I have always been ANC and everybody knew it," Arendse told SOUTH in his Cape Dutch-style gabled house overlooking the Le Provance Estate he built two years ago.

As a clerk at Victor Verster prison in the Franschhoek Valley during the late seventies and early eighties, he met ANC people — "people who were jailed for fighting for their rights".

"It is my democratic right to join the party I think could lead South Africa to peace and prosperity"

Arendse became mayor after the efforts of the previous mayor, Mr Arthur McWilliams-Smith, to join all interest groups in the valley in a negotiating forum.

McWilliams-Smith is now deputy mayor and reluctantly confirmed that he too joined the ANC last week.

However, he emphasised: "In no way is my joining the ANC a reflection on what local politics should be. Politics should stay out of a small town like this."

Arendse, who became chairperson of the local management committee in 1988, agreed their political views would not influence their management of the Boland town.

"This does not make us politicians with a political agenda."

There can be no doubt the culture of Franschhoek has become distinct from neighbouring towns like Stellenbosch, where the mayor and a government minister joined a local high school last Friday in elaborate Republic Day celebrations.

Arendse, who turned 39 this week — making him the youngest mayor in South Africa — confirms that his eight months as mayor have been "difficult".

"But I have had incredible support from the council and the residents. Now it is going better."

As far as local politics are con-

cerned, Arendse has one conviction — that not only property owners should have the vote, but everybody over 18.

He sees local management as a tool in the upliftment of disadvantaged people.

The council is in the process of getting a non-racial town development proclaimed, to accommodate both the town's black squatters and poor whites.

Arendse, a third-generation Franschhoek resident, says he is consulted widely by other towns about his model council.

"People say this is a safer place than other tourist destinations, because we have no racial strife. We have seen tremendous benefits — workers' salaries are increasing and relations between farmers and workers have improved.

"I expect criticism about joining the ANC. Maybe they won't elect me again," he laughs.

But he believes the ANC has won major support in the area recently, even among the conservative Christian settlements of Pniel and Johannesdal.

"It is not seen as a terrorist organisation here anymore."



**COMRADE MAYOR FRANK:** The youngest and first black mayor in South Africa, Franschhoek's Frank Arendse, has now also become the first to join the ANC

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

M A R T E L L

# 'Winnie vindicated'

South 516 - 9/16/93

## — Peter Mokaba

By Quentin Wilson

A CLEARLY relieved Mr Peter Mokaba, ANC Youth League president, said Ms Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, was "vindicated" in the Appeal Court this week.

On Wednesday the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein set aside Mandela's five year prison sentence for her role in the kidnapping of four youths in December 1988, and slapped her with a R15 000 fine instead.

While the Appeal court ruled Mandela had kidnapped the youths, she was found not guilty of being an accomplice to assaults on them.

One of them, teenage activist Stompie Sepei, was found dead in January 1989.

The Rand Supreme Court sentenced Mandela to a five-year jail term in May 1991 for kidnapping and one year's imprisonment for being an accessory to assault.

Soon after the Appeal Court announced their judgement, Mokaba, a close friend of Mandela, said the decision would go a long way towards clearing her name.

Said Mokaba: "In the first place I am happy she has been vindicated along with all of us who have been on her side through this whole thing.

"Her name has been cleared. She is not a murderer, she was not

involved in the assaults and now it is up to those people who have been campaigning for her isolation to publicly apologise."

Mokaba said did not believe the Appeal Court was justified in slapping a R15 000 fine on Mandela.

"She did not do anything her enemies have said. There should be no fine."

Mr Nelson Mandela said on Wednesday morning that he was pleased his "estranged wife will not be going to prison" but would not comment further until he had seen the full court order.



Winnie Mandela

# 'Coloureds not a homogeneous group'

With an election imminent, researchers are churning out profiles of previously disenfranchised voter communities. The potential voting behaviour of the "coloured community" is still one of the most difficult to predict. Who is this community and how does it view itself? *South 516-91693*

**CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE** reports on some surprising new research data. *(11A)*

**I**S THE coloured community a separate ethnic group? This question has been hotly debated for decades.

Many parties, not least the National Party (NP), have targeted this group as possibly holding balance of power after an election. But so far nobody has provided an in-depth breakdown of the coloured voting population.

Now the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) has released a paper entitled "Ethnic Consciousness and Potential Voting Behaviour in the Coloured Community", based on a benchmark survey conducted last year by Ms Cheryl Hendricks of UWC's Political Studies Department.

"The dilemma facing political organisations is how best to mobilise the coloured community," writes Hendricks. "Do they recognise themselves as a separate minority grouping or should they be viewed as part and parcel of their broadly aspired non-racial constituency?"

In their quest to determine what coloured people think and what their possible future voting patterns might be, the researchers began with certain assumptions:

"That the coloured population is

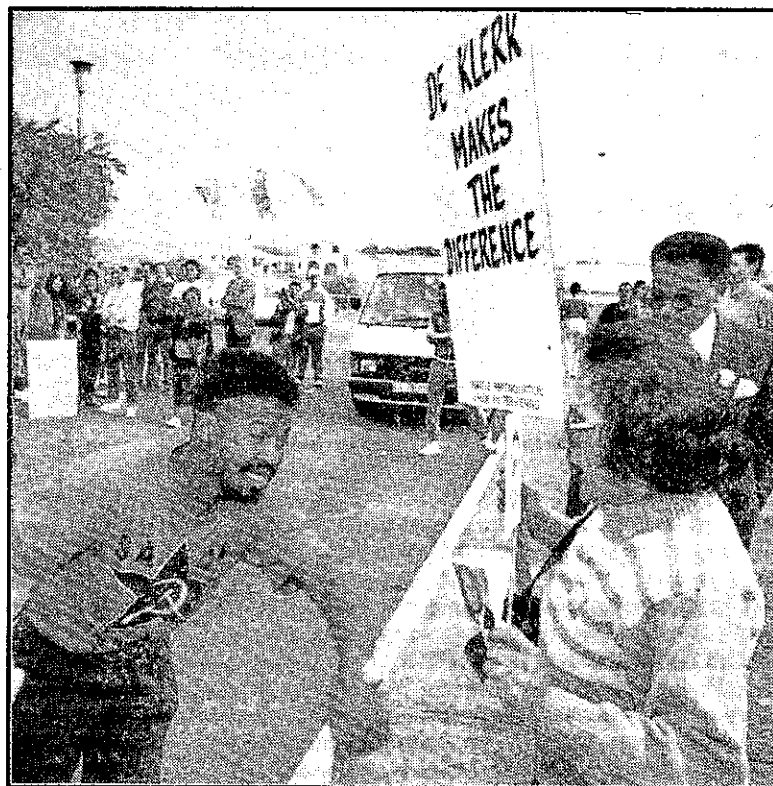
not an homogeneous grouping and therefore the different classes will have differing interests and anxieties"; "that important differences exist between rural and urban communities in terms of their participation in politics"; and that "the media plays an important role in shaping political behaviour".

Among the 1440 respondents representative of the four provinces (84 percent from the Cape Province) the largest group (59 percent) was between 21 and 40 years old, and 56 percent women: very close to the demographic distribution.

One of the major findings of the survey were that the majority of respondents (67,2 percent) viewed themselves as part of a specific population group, 62 percent of whom thought this was "the coloured population group".

Hendricks explains that this identity is not "derived from a predominantly racial and ethnic basis, but from the social conditions which the historical policies of the South African government has imposed".

A total of 25 percent, however, saw themselves first and foremost as South Africans. Less than seven percent believe in non-racialism and hence do not identify themselves as



**NOT ON THE SAME SIDE: An SACP and an NP supporter in Mitchells Plain in heated argument shortly before the arrival of president FW de Klerk last year**

coloured.

Most of those who saw themselves as "coloureds" (44,3 percent) alluded to social factors, like living in the same neighbourhood or growing up together. Language, physical attributes, culture and religion were minor reasons.

Hendricks concludes: "If ethnicity is based on discernable cultural traits, per definition, the coloured community cannot be viewed as an ethnic group. They are an anomalous, marginalised group of the South African population.

"The only conclusion one can draw from this study is that there is a strong presence of a coloured consciousness. A consciousness that is

rooted in predominantly material factors and one that has been shaped by years of social engineering."

The "coloured community" displayed a remarkably high tolerance of other groups, although the respondents, markedly those of lower income, were reserved about their acceptance of an African president or boss.

"Ethnic groups tend to want to remain cohesive and exclusive," writes Hendricks. "This sample indicates that those classified coloured do not display this tendency."

She also emphasised that there is a definite correlation between educational qualifications and accep-

*'Ethnic groups tend to want to remain cohesive and exclusive ... those classified coloured do not display this tendency'*

tance of different groups a neighbour: better-educated people are the more acceptable. Surprisingly, the middle income earners showed more tolerance towards Africans as neighbours.

Yet, the survey also found that 84 percent of the respondents have not matriculated, while 6,9 percent have no formal education. Unlike most other communities, more women held higher education certificates. For example, among people with matric and a diploma, 37 percent were men, and almost 63 percent women.

Other findings include that the coloured community shows a low level of organisational affiliation and appears to be "politically marginalised" and that the majority of respondents did not know the difference between various economic systems. Of those who could, the majority opted for a mixed economic system.

The survey also found that there is a direct correlation between education, income and the voting trends of the community, the NP drawing its support primarily from the less educated sections of the community and from the lower-middle and upper-middle income earners.

# Rethink militancy, ANC urges youths

THE country's youth must reconsider its militancy, the head of the African National Congress's planning and national executive committee, Trevor Manuel, has said. *S. Times 6/6/93*

Addressing about 100 Cape Peninsula youth leaders at an ANC Youth League summit in Bellville yesterday, Mr Manuel said that in about 90 percent of violent incidents the culprits were aged between 15 and 28 years. *(C. M. M. Ho. 11A)*

Youths should ensure that the Western Cape did not become a war zone like Natal, he said.

He urged youth leaders to reach out to their peers in all levels of society and to become involved in bringing about peace and democracy. — Sapa

## 'Kill the Boer' song dropped

**Political Correspondent**

THE ANC has officially decided to drop its "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" song. **(11A)**

The decision to give the thumbs down to the favoured slogan of uMkhonto weSizwe cadres follows a meeting of the ANC's national executive committee.

ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, who has recently led crowds in chanting the slogan, was not available for comment yesterday. **CT 6/10/93**

# A FACELIFT TO CURB A FADE-OUT?

CIPress 6/6/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO

(118)

AS elections loom on the South African horizon, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has enlisted the services of a publicist with a rich electioneering experience to prop up his image for the forthcoming showdown.

Afrikaner Christa Claasen, 33, speaks three languages and was closely involved with the transition and election that ushered in a new democracy in Namibia.



**WANING . . . Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's public image was slipping.**

She speaks English and German and is working on her Zulu.

Her background and involvement on the side of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Namibia should be an asset to Buthelezi.

Already she has lectured KwaZulu chiefs about her experience in the Namibian election and their possible role in the SA election.

Claasen was an election consultant for the DTA for three months, charged with the task of dealing with the South African media – and particularly the SABC.

"They lost a lot of support – especially on the

SABC side. I was there to make sure there was a fair division of press coverage between Swapo and the DTA," she said.

With her connections at the SABC where she worked in publicity, she has arrived at the right time for Buthelezi, who feels his image is not being fairly portrayed by Auckland Park.

Claasen has also worked as a freelance journalist and marketing consultant for many companies, including Radio 702 and the SABC.

How did she end up in Ulundi? "The job sounded interesting to me and I wanted to go back to politics after my experience in Namibia. I also have a lot of respect for Buthelezi whom I find to be a very charismatic person," she said.

It took only one meeting to convince her that her decision was correct.

"For a split second I immediately felt that I could work for this man. I am sure he felt exactly the same," she said.

Asked what appealed to her about Buthelezi, she says: "He strikes me as a straight-forward man, honest and a man of vision. He is always very polite."

She dismissed outright the claims that Inkatha is associated with violence.

"I do not know about KwaZulu being involved in violence. It is pure speculation and it could be a set-up. I have been involved in media and marketing long enough to know that at times media had blown things out of proportion," said Claasen.

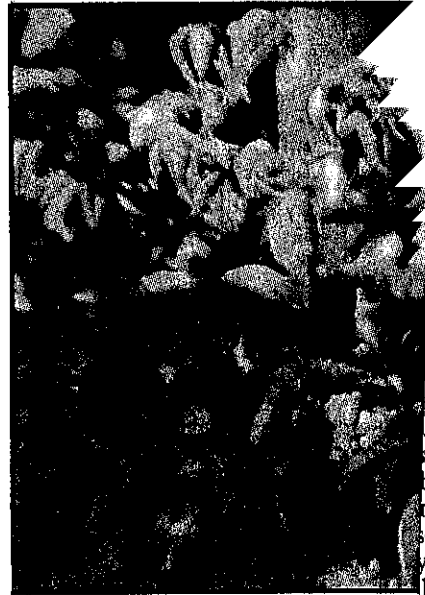
She said many people across the political spectrum have a lot of respect for Buthelezi. But, says Claasen, people felt "Buthelezi was losing a lot of ground by being not in the public eye".

"That is why I decided to project his image. I see this job as a great challenge. At this stage I want to get my feet on the ground and link my visionary approach to that of the Chief Minister."

Her job is indeed mammoth as she learned last week when she hosted a press conference for her Minister of Education and Culture, Lionel Mtshali.

After fielding a number of pointed questions from journalists on the education crisis in KwaZulu, Mtshali walked out of the interview after being angered by a photographer at work.

Trouble-shooter Claasen had to step in and reason with the abrasive Mtshali.



**BRUSHING UP . . . Christa Claasen**



**HONOURED ... Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, left, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at this week's function where Ramaphosa and Meyer shared the New Nation-Engen Man of the Year Award.**

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

## Ramaphosa, Meyer win top award

By ZB MOLEFE

ONLY hours after they had clinched a glimmer of hope for SA's first non-racial elections - provisionally set for April 27 next year - Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa received a wonderful send-off to the UN this week.

The two high-profile negotiators at the 26-party negotiating council in Kempton Park outside Johannesburg walked off with the inaugural 1993 New Nation-Engen Man of the Year Award.

In a black-tie ceremony at a swank Johannesburg hotel hun-

dreds of guests high-profile personalities gave Ramaphosa and Meyer a standing ovation when they were announced the winners.

To complete the night of achievement prominent businessman Mohale Mahanyele notched the Businessman of the Year Award and won high praise from guest of honour Nelson Mandela as having "put the issue of black economic empowerment very forcefully on the agenda in this country".

Even President FW de Klerk, who could not make it to the awards night because of work pressure, sent a congratulatory

note to Meyer, Ramaphosa and Mahanyele - citing their crucial contributions and achievements toward a better SA.

"This award is about faith and hope. Faith and hope can be realised through negotiations. Either we talk ourselves into a new SA or fight. If we win, we win collectively. If we lose, we lose everything," said an obviously tired Meyer in his brief acceptance speech.

"We stand at the gateway to democracy. Democracy so many of us worked and died for," said Ramaphosa as guests broke into spontaneous applause.

The guests rose to their feet

when a smiling and obviously proud ANC president Nelson Mandela led Ramaphosa and Meyer out of the massive ballroom to prepare for their flight to the UN.

New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu summed up the night's events after sketching the reasons for the awards when he said: "Our country needs reconciliation and we dare not fail ..."

It was close to the magic midnight hour when guests started streaming out of the ballroom while the strains of popular singer Sibongile Mngoma-Khumalo's "this is the night of achievement, we are building a nation," filled the air.

# Rethink militancy, ANC urges youths

THE country's youth must reconsider its militancy, the head of the African National Congress's planning and national executive committee, Trevor Manuel, has said. *STimes 6/6/93*

Addressing about 100 Cape Peninsula youth leaders at an ANC Youth League summit in Bellville yesterday, Mr Manuel said that in about 90 percent of violent incidents the culprits were aged between 15 and 28 years. *(Cimelho) (IA)*

Youths should ensure that the Western Cape did not become a war zone like Natal, he said.

He urged youth leaders to reach out to their peers in all levels of society and to become involved in bringing about peace and democracy. — Sapa

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6/6/93 C/Press 61

# CP's fear or

By MOSES MAMAILA

WHILE most delegates came out of the negotiation council relieved that a provisional agreement on the election date had been reached, the Friendly Parties Group led by the CP and Bop government described the agreement as "frustrating".

"After a protracted debate on the issue of the election date, the negotiation council agreed that April 27, 1994 — the recommended date for elections — be submitted to the next council meeting to be held on June 15.

Addressing journalists after the adoption of the provisional agreement in Kempton Park this week, Bop chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said: "What is important is not the date. We want sufficient progress on crucial issues like the determination of boundaries of regions to be made before the date is agreed upon."

## Moment of truth: election date set

The CP announced it vehemently opposed the setting of the election date. It said it deplored the procedures followed

in the Thursday deliberations aimed at forcing delegates to agree to an election date.

Joe Slovo, speaking as a member of the ANC delegation to the multiparty talks, said yesterday that the resolution for the election date was "total" and for the good of the country.

He said 18 of the 26 parties were in agreement and those who were not would not be allowed to scuttle the agreement.

The FPG includes Inkatha, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ximoko Progressive Party, Dikwankwetla, Avstig, and the Ciskei and KwaZulu governments.

Delegates from the organisations advocating setting of an election date maintained the moment of truth had arrived and that those who were hiding behind minority rule had realised they could only maintain their positions by delaying elections.

However, FGP members argued they were not afraid of majority rule saying there had not been binding agreements on any of the major issues.

Motivating the setting of the election date immediately, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the date would give people hope and assurance that steps were being taken to resolve the political crisis in the country.

Ramaphosa's proposal, which was later adopted as a resolution, suggested that the council accept April 27 as an election date provided the matter would still be discussed and the final ruling be made by June 15.

6/93  
**frustration?**

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

## ANC needs youth for democracy

THE ANC and its allies cannot afford to be drawn into battle by forces which rejected political engagement, ANC head of economic planning Trevor Mpanze said yesterday.

"We need to be very careful and understand the traps that lie ahead," he told about 80 delegates at an ANC Youth League summit at the Peninsula Technikon in Cape Town.

He said an urgent effort was needed to recruit youth organisations as they were the ones who "would create the conditions in which democracy would either flourish or founder". - Sapa



**CRYING FOUL . . .** "All I want is another chance to tell the truth . . . I'm innocent," said Xoliswa Falati this week. ■ **PHOTO: ANDRIES MCINEKA**



# Confession not true — returnee

By ZANELE VUTELA

THE ANC produced a video at the Motsuenyane Commission this week in which a former exile confesses to have been part of the 1982 SADF Maseru raid on ANC targets.

Forty-two ANC members were killed in the raid that unleashed an international outcry.

Patrick Hlongwane, chairman of the Returned Exiles' Committee, alleged he was ill-treated by the ANC while in exile. He was suspected of being an SAP spy sent to infiltrate the movement.

He said he spent eight years in ANC detention camps in Africa and claimed he was tortured and severely beaten by the ANC.

The ANC submitted the video as evidence to prove that Hlongwane had been a police spy and would therefore deliberately mislead the commis-

sion.

Hlongwane said he made up the whole confession on the ANC video to save his life because "if you tell a communist a nice story your punishment will be right . . . and the blood-thirsty ANC vampires would have killed me".

In his affidavit Hlongwane claimed that on his arrival in Lusaka in 1986, he had been asked by the ANC's Jackie Mabuza to write his autobiography. After he had finished Mabuza told him that it was a lot of nonsense.

"He slapped me in the face . . . and alleged that I was a police spy."

Hlongwane said he was tortured for about two months.

"The torture consisted of assaults with sticks and with sjamboks. I was also stabbed with a bayonet stuck at the end of an AK-

■ **To Page 4**

## 'Video story on raid untrue

■ **From Page 1**

47. As a result I made the confession under duress. I believe that if I had not made this confession I would have died," he said.

The ANC denied his claims and produced the video and a confession in Hlongwane's own handwriting.

In the tape Hlongwane said he was arrested with other students in 1977 during a school boycott. While in custody he told the police who the ring leaders of the boycott were and they were subsequently arrested and jailed.

He said that in 1980, after he had joined the Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation, he was arrested again with two others, Mzwabantu and Mzamo, for possession of an explosive device.

His evidence resulted in Mzwabantu being sentenced to 15 years and Mzamo to 11 years.

According to Hlongwane, in 1980 he became a policeman, "not just an informer".

He also said on the video that in an attack on an ANC house in Maseru in September 1982: "I was given an R1 rifle and told to shoot the people inside. I shot them and one comrade fought back and I had to shoot him nine times".

After that he and the other attackers went to Chris Hani's house where they used a loudhailer to call him to come out.

They then started shooting and throwing grenades.

CIPress 6/6/93

CIPress 6/6/93

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IF BREAD and circuses are enough to keep the citizenry quiet, as a cynical old Roman observed about 1900 years ago, then South Africans should be *tjoepstil* after this week's talks at the World Trade Centre.

They got both *panem et circenses* — all the Big Top hoopla of an election date and rather more than the crumbs of progress that have dribbled from the Negotiating Council before.

What the 104 negotiators delivered are the first fragile shoots of a new constitution as this society begins to redefine itself in brave but sometimes silly terms; movement in the inexorable herding of smaller parties towards meeting the ANC's bottom line on how we get there from here; and suggestions on how to end violence, hailed as "historic" by the ANC and Inkatha. And, of course, agreement on an election date, or the illusion thereof.

What they did not deliver, according to many, was the eagerly sought "break-through". A document asking for further recommendations on constitutional issues was interpreted by some as binding the council to having accepted a two-phase process, one of the many sticking points between the negotiators.

Not so, said many parties, from the PAC to the Afrikaner Volksunie.

What they were referring to was moving to a democratic South Africa via a transitional phase, with the eventual constitution being decided on by an elected constituent assembly — the two-phase process — rather than writing the new constitution in the Negotiating Council, where precious few were elected and everyone with a fax machine and a power suit gets to have his or her say — the single phase.

All we agreed to, they said, was to brief a technical committee to report on the powers of the future regions.

The ensuing report from the committee itself could have been controversial this week if it had not been shelved for later discussion. Inkatha delegates said privately the report from the technical committee "made our hair stand on end".

The party disagrees with the committee's interpretation of its brief — that what is being drafted is a transitional constitution, and that the rights granted to regions are transitory.

Nonetheless, the party accepts that informal bilateral talks between the ANC and IFP must be "formalised soon" so the two parties can begin to move toward one another — Inkatha seeking to gain ground on regional guarantees while being prepared to concede some of the writing of the national constitution to an elected body.

A similarly conflicting interpretation of another council document nearly kept the crucial election date debate from happening. It all hinged on a declaration of intent adopted in the early days.

The smaller parties, fearful of an election which would finally show their true support, said they interpreted the declaration to mean that an election date would be decided on once "enough progress" had been made. Nowhere near that point had been reached, they said.

The big chaps, slaving to go to the polls, reminded the others that the country was expecting to hear the date on Thursday, and to not meet this expectation was to court "unpredictable" reaction.

Who created the expectation? Why, the big parties did. And who created the illusion that the expectation had been met?

After almost three hours, when it was clear the anti-date debate parties would not budge, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa came up with a compromise.

What the council opted for was to decide on a date that day, re-open the debate in 10 days and decide again.

Shazam! With the aid of mirrors and a puff of smoke, a date was set.

But, if the ANC alliance seeks to create the illusion of movement, both in the debate and outside (when spin-doctor supreme Ramaphosa gives his version of what took place) the parties to his right will always return to the written version of exactly what the council decided.

This will not help their cause much. There must be movement, and the ANC alliance, making concessions to an undemocratic council for the sake of progress, will force through vital issues for the same reason.

Beginning to draft the constitution did not take much forcing.

As usual, the council took a long time to decide how to debate the matter, whipping itself into a frenzy of protocol and points of order just as a group message on pagers in the press gallery set the gadgets pinging and bleeping like a chorus of amorous tree-frogs.

Chaos threatened, but lunch restored good humour and for the next few hours 14 constitutional clauses were adopted or referred for amendment with (relatively speaking) the speed of light.

Democracy, universal suffrage, equality — all the cherished (and barely controversial) concepts were there, along with some sensitive to this country's needs — the amelioration of the lot of the disadvantaged and the "appropriate" recognition of the role of traditional leaders.

The right-wing white parties spoke on almost every clause, with the CP, visions of a homeland dancing in its head, seeking time and again to change "constitution" to the plural — in vain.

The debate produced one startling proposal — that religion, language and culture be subject to laws guaranteeing equality of the sexes.

The clause was referred to a panel of experts, and we will know next week whether we may one day have the odd distinction of being the first country to sue the Catholic church or the local Imam for their treatment of women.

Nothing was decided on violence — but when both Inkatha and the ANC can indulge in mutual back-patting when faced with a document that recommends the phasing out of armed formations, there is hope for rather more substance than circus in coming weeks.

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON

# How magic and mirrors conjured up a poll date

S Times 6/1/93

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SCPA

# PAC won't quit talks

Political Reporter

THE PAC would not quit the negotiating forum and fall into a government "trap" to knock itself out of elections, PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday. 6/6/93

Mrs de Lille, a PAC NEC member, said the bitter row between the government and the PAC over the operations of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had escalated.

This had happened in spite of a PAC offer to discuss a "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the government. (IA) (S)



# What a pity Mr de Klerk didn't turn up for dinner

SI Times 6/6/93

**P**RESIDENT DE KLERK, having accepted an invitation to attend a New SA banquet at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel on Thursday night with Mr Nelson Mandela, pulled out with only hours to spare, pleading that the pressure of events had thrown his schedule into disarray.

It was a pity. He missed that moment of history when Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, with a happy Mr Roelf Meyer beside him, announced that a date had been set, more or less, for South Africa's first democratic election.

Like the state president, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer were under pressure. They raced to the banquet from the World Trade Centre to receive a joint award from New Nation and Engen as "men of the year", holding up the aircraft that was to take them both to the United States to receive further joint honours.

Mr Mandela, who makes a point of disproving the "African time" stereotype by always turning up, and turning up on time, watched benignly from the main table (where the empty space, one imagined, was Mr de Klerk's), while the country's chief negotiators beamed happily at the crowd, at each other, and at the future. They have grown so close, they could wear each other's smiles.

The editor of New Nation, Zwelakhe Sisulu, and his deputy, Gabu Tugwana (whom I have known since they were both reporters at the Rand Daily Mail), had planned the occasion, with Engen, as a signal: the days of protest and destruction are over — it is time to build a nation. If President de Klerk let them down, Mr Meyer saved the day. They were content.

Three points arise: firstly, the pressure on Mr de Klerk is frightening. I did not expect to see the day when he, the master-politician, would make so amateurish a mistake as to name Dr Van Zyl Slabbert to the chairmanship of the SABC board without first speaking to him.

His Cabinet is now so weak and divided that his government generates a circus a week: the huffing and puffing over the examination fees, and the back-down; the Wild West roundup of PAC leaders, and the tame release of

most of them; and the woefully mismanaged appointment of a new SABC board.

All of this is damaging to Mr de Klerk's personal stature, and even to his credibility. How, for example, can anybody justify kicking out Dr William Rowland, who is, despite his blindness, an extraordinary force in South African philanthropy, and who might have a great deal to contribute to radio? The pretence that his expulsion has something to do with "political imbalance" is simply to add insult to injury.

The impression one gets — and I am not alone in this — is of a head of government who is overworked, harassed, isolated, and often misinformed. Yet he remains the only person in this country who can preside over a peaceful transition to democracy. Without him, the transition would proceed to its fore-ordained conclusion — majority rule — but it might take a terrible course.

**T**HIS leads to the second point: the naming of an election date was contrived, even bulldozed. It was hedged about with qualifications.

The work required to fix the date, finally and with certainty, has simply not been done. The dissident parties, who insist that the multi-party talks must take whatever time they need to thrash out the constitutional questions before they fix the election date, have persuasive arguments.

Indeed, there was a time when I held similar views: the making of a constitution is a once-in-a-century chance to lay down the foundations of a democracy, and we should get it right. That is why I objected at the start to a process that tied the interests of the government, and, as it has turned out, its fate, to the negotiating process.

Towards the end of last year, however, I was persuaded that time had run out, and that the need to find national stability had begun to outweigh the need to craft the perfect constitution. In my view, the National Party's constitutional ideas are deplorable; those of the ANC are hardly better; the Democratic Party's bill of rights has been a bitter

disappointment. But the country is disintegrating.

The government's lack of legitimacy hampers or stymies economic policy, international relations, education, housing, health reform, crime control, the administration of justice, tax collection, and even such relatively minor matters as the appointment of a board for the SABC. We cannot go on like this.

Right-wingers think they could do better by *kragdadigheid*; they delude themselves. It was *kragdadigheid* that ruined the economy, corrupted the civil service and brought the Nationalists to their knees. Not long ago the police were complaining that too many officers were suffering nervous breakdowns from their experiences in the townships; the army was running out of conscripts. To think they can reimpose their will is fantasy.

To repair anything in this country, to restore order, to end recession, to control crime, to open schools or even to make appointments without controversy, requires a legitimate government. Such a government can only come from elections, and it had better come soon.

**T**HIS brings me to the final point.

Some parties, knowing they will lose heavily in free elections, are spinning out the negotiations as long as they can; the ANC, on the other hand, expects to govern, and it is becoming increasingly anxious to limit the damage, to bury the past and to heal the nation.

That is why it took over the task of damage control after Chris Hani's assassination, and that is why Zwelakhe Sisulu, who spent more than three years in prison without trial, pays homage to Roelf Meyer, a member of the government which inflicted that injustice on him. Mr Meyer, who seems much more at home in the new South Africa than the old, eagerly grasped the hand of friendship that was proffered.

It's a pity President de Klerk was not there to see it happen. The sight would have lifted his spirits, and filled him with hope.

**KEN OWEN**

# Vow by ANC and IFP chiefs turns war zone into a haven of peace

ST Times 6/6/93

IIA IFP

By RYAN CRESSWELL

A LONG-STANDING pact between an African National Congress chief and an Inkatha Freedom Party chief has brought peace and rising prosperity to 70 000 people in a battle-scarred area of Natal.

When ANC regional executive member Chief Zibuse Mlaba, 37, of Ximba, and Kwazulu Legislative Member Chief Bangubukhosi Mdlubi, 59, of Manyavu, got together in February 1991 to talk peace, the event went almost unnoticed.



PEACE ... Chief Bangubukhosi Mdlubi (IFP) and Chief Zibuse Mlaba (ANC) shake hands in friendship

## Notorious

But it was the start of one of the first and most amazing peace initiatives in South Africa because it turned around the desperate lives of their people and offered them a future.

The two beautiful rural Kwazulu areas ruled by the chiefs are part of the Mpu-

mulanga area in the notorious Table Mountain region of the Natal Midlands.

Late in 1989 a war between ANC youths in Ximba and IFP men in Manyavu broke out and quickly escalated.

By the time the two chiefs made their peace pledge more than a year later, hundreds of people had been killed and thou-

sands of refugees had fled the area.

In one battle alone, at the height of the trouble early in 1991, the ANC lost 50 men and the IFP lost dozens of its fighters on an open killing field.

Last Sunday that same battlefield was used by members from both areas to celebrate the completion of the first phase of a R10,5-million water project being constructed by Umgeni Water, and a community centre that will serve thousands of people.

The development project was funded by the Port Natal Joint Services Board.

Eskom has also moved into the area and electricity has been installed in hundreds of small huts.

After peace broke out the two chiefs went to industrialists in the area and got back jobs for scores of men who had been unable to go to work for months because they were too scared to cross into enemy territory.

## Gunmen

A school for 1 000 students was recently built by the Independent Development Trust in Ximba.

Chief Masinga Mlaba is the brother of the Natal secretary of the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), who was assassinated by gunmen in 1988.

Chief Mlaba said: "Nobody is forced to join any particular political party. We haven't had fighting here for years and the crime rate is right down."

"The building projects in the area have helped keep the peace because we often talk to each other about the projects and they create jobs and a bit of prosperity."

Chief Mdlubi, who had his tribal court and the shop in his area burnt down during the fighting, said people who had fled to other areas were "flocking" back.

# Secret document used by Inkatha a fake — SACP

S1 Times 6/16/93

Sunday Times Reporter

A DOCUMENT being used by Inkatha to claim collusion between the National Intelligence Service and the ANC and its allies is a fake, according to the SA Communist Party. (S) (117)

Inkatha has obtained a document which purports to be an internal SACP memorandum. The writer alludes to a political settlement having already been concluded between the ANC alliance and elements within the government.

The writer says these elements, including the National Intelligence Service, have been responsible for disruptive actions aimed at Inkatha, the Conservative Party and elements within the military.

However, SACP spokesman Jeremy

Cronin said the document was a skilful fake written by someone who was obviously familiar with debates taking place inside the party.

The document had as its target not so much the SACP, but State President FW de Klerk, the intelligence service and National Party negotiators.

"It appears to be an attempt to curry favour for military intelligence and the SADF in right-wing and Inkatha circles, and would suggest a serious split in Mr de Klerk's intelligence community," Mr Cronin said. (S) (117)

The document was first published in the right-wing Aida Parker Newsletter, he added.

● See Page 20



# An unhealthy alliance

SI Times 6/19/93

**BEN NGUBANE** says members of the National Intelligence Service are acting in cahoots with the ANC

THOUGH this week saw signs of constitutional progress, it would be a mistake to assume that everything is now smooth sailing. Violence in particular remains a critical problem, and the IFP insists that this be tackled now if constitutional consensus is to be transformed into concrete, institutional progress.

At the multi-party forum on April 26, the IFP demanded an end to ANC violence against the IFP (over 285 of whose leaders have been assassinated) and government connivance in the marginalisation of the IFP. Dr Frank Mdlalose made the following charges:

"But even more disturbing than the ANC's campaign of violence against the IFP is the fact that there is collusion at the most senior levels of government ... we find it totally incomprehensible of the government that:

- It has seemingly failed to establish who is behind these serial killings of our leaders;

- Via the fiscus, it helps fund MK's training in Transkei;

- It has long tolerated the deployment from Transkei of trained MK assassins;

- It was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of cadres being deployed against us;

- It signed an agreement blaming the IFP for political violence while exonerating our attackers; (IIA)

- It agreed to the banning of traditional accoutrements while legitimising others' military training; (IIB)

- It helps others distance themselves from gun running and suppresses disclosure of information on hit squads;

- It threatens one course of action with the PAC but continues to negotiate with the ANC whose military wing has been proven to be involved in violence; and

- Its intelligence agencies are involved in providing support to those seeking our demise."

As serious as they are, these charges are merely the reflection of a more deep-seated problem. In essence, dominant sections of the regime and ANC have reached a mutual "accommodation" on key aspects of the transition, which nothing and no one is to be permitted to derail.

One of the government's major concerns is thus to help secure the image of a moder-

ate ANC as a responsible partner in government.

This accounts for the government's preparedness to help the ANC out of tight spots, its playing to the gallery over Apla, and its deathly silence over MK's activities against the IFP. (IIA)

However, even more sinister in pointing to what is going on behind the public facade of "open" negotiations, is the fact that important elements within the state are actively working to marginalise the IFP — a charge corroborated by an SACP "not for circulation" document in November 1992.

The document refers to the "mutual recognition" between "advanced elements" in the regime and the ANC.

Significantly, the document refers first to the marginalisation of internal threats (within the state) "through a large number of surgical tactical blows by this 'most advanced' section"; and second, to actions against other organisations, especially the IFP:

"These actions on the part of elements within the regime extend, for example, to the continuing disruptive actions aimed by the re-

gime's National Intelligence Service against ... Inkatha."

The document itemises NIS support for pro-ANC newspapers; its liaison with certain journalists; its role in building the anti-IFP Contralesa in Natal; and its responsibility for Inkathagate.

Indeed, the SACP explicitly acknowledges that "the implications of such actions have been made to us by some of these regime elements".

This kind of duplicity is deeply disturbing, not only for its impact on present violence and present negotiations, but also for the future. What strategies are being jointly pursued by NIS and the ANC's intelligence service? What kind of democracy are we bringing into being? What plans are being hatched to deal with opponents in the future?

The IFP says enough is enough. As our massive protest marches on May 15 amply demonstrate, we are sickened by the conniving, by the collusion against us, and by the implications for the future. We do not accept this agenda and we will not permit it to be implemented.

□ Dr Ben Ngubane is an executive member of the IFP central committee.

# Tutu arranges watershed talks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu has brokered a long-awaited meeting between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Archbishop Tutu said he hoped the meeting would take place within weeks.

He said and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba would chair the talks.

The leaders would meet at his official residence, Bishops-court, in Cape Town.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos and ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus could not contact their leaders last night to confirm the agreement to meet.

Ms Vos said should a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

Ms Val Pauquet, spokesman for the National Peace Accord, said the accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

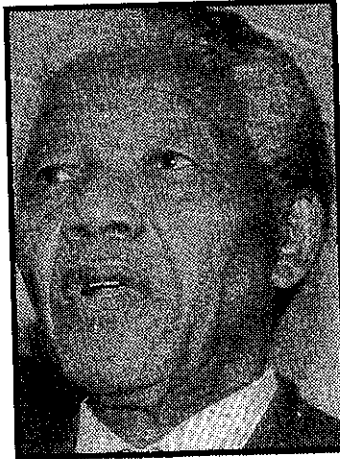
National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said Archbishop Tutu's "excellent" news enhanced the prospects of peace significantly.

"It will help a lot for the cause of peace in South Africa. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations."

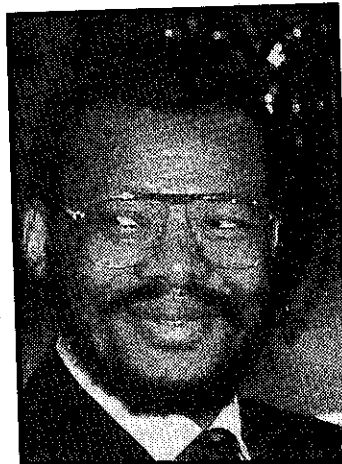
Archbishop Tutu said Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttall would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mr Mandela, Dr Buthelezi and Dr Mogoba.

Although he was leaving today for an extended overseas visit, he would drop everything and return for the meeting, Archbishop Tutu said.

"I met Chief Buthelezi at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand, in Pietermar-



Mr Mandela



Dr Buthelezi

itzburg. I then met Mr Mandela at the celebrations in Pietermaritzburg organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee.

"I followed up discussions at those two meetings with telephone consultations later."

He said both leaders had agreed to the meeting.

The Archbishop originally planned to be overseas for six weeks, but would interrupt his visit if a meeting between the two leaders was set up before his return, said press officer Mr John Allen.

Archbishop Tutu will be in Britain until June 18.

"He then planned a three-week holiday in Norway, followed by a working week in the United States before returning to South Africa," Mr Allen said.

# Negotiate, don't fight, Manuel tells ANC youth

11A CT 7/16/93

THE ANC and its allies could not afford to be drawn into battle by forces which rejected political engagement, ANC head of economic planning Mr Trevor Manuel said on Saturday.

After Mr Manuel's keynote address at an ANC Youth League summit at the Peninsula Technikon, about 100 delegates from over 20 different youth organisations agreed to create a development forum to address issues such as job creation and skills

training among Western Cape youth.

Mr Manuel said negotiations were the clear route which had to be followed if the ANC wanted a society marked by rights for all people, and where people were respected.

Warning against being drawn into battle by "those who do not want to engage us politically", Mr Manuel said this option should not be taken up, "no matter how good we feel about the Makarov (pistol) tucked in our trousers, or the petrol bomb in our hands".

Sarajevo was not the example sought by the ANC.

He said youths should not view stoning motorists on the N2 as heroic revolutionary behaviour but rather seek to advance the development of youth and to transform South Africa into a caring society.

● No incidents of stone-throwing were reported along the N2 highway over the weekend after soldiers were issued with shot-guns and empowered to shoot to protect life and property. — Sapa, Staff Reporter

# ANC seeks 'massive' US aid

NEW YORK. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will ask President Bill Clinton for "massive measures of assistance" once free elections are held in South Africa next year, Time magazine reports. **30 (11A) CT 7/6/93**

In an interview with the magazine to be published today, Mr Mandela compared the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid to Europe after World War II and compared ex-

pected Western response to the post-war Marshall Plan.

"What we expect — and this is a matter which I'm going to raise with President Clinton — is that the Western world, led by the US, should ensure that massive measures of assistance are given to the people of South Africa so we can address their expectations," Mr Mandela said.

The ANC leader also said the ANC was on the verge of calling off sanctions.

In a separate interview with the magazine, President FW de Klerk denied he favoured a permanent power-sharing arrangement at the executive level for his National Party in the country's constitution.

"But we need more than five years to ensure that the various components of our community will all feel secure and that they need not fear suppression or the misuse of power." — Sapa-Reuter

# 5 more members of PAC face charges

111  
27/8/93  
JOHANNESBURG. — Police said yesterday five more members of the Pan-Africanist Congress will appear in court today to face criminal charges following investigations into activities of the organisation and its military wing.

Colonel Johan Mostert, who headed the investigations, said in a statement 10 people had already appeared in court and were charged with various offences including murder, unlawful possession of explosives and possession of unlicensed arms.

The investigations came in the wake of the police swoop on PAC offices and homes of its members last month in which more than 70 people were arrested and questioned.

Colonel Mostert announced the completion of the operation yesterday, saying 15 people would face charges. — Sapa

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Page 1

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# 'Let peace prevail'

Sowetan 7/6/93

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday called for signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet urgently to strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

He also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27 1994 election date to begin the healing process in violence-torn South Africa.

**Gandhi**



Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the Maritzburg City Hall before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi.

He said despite the shortcomings of the National Peace Accord, the document had assisted in quelling violence.

## ■ Strengthen and rally around Peace Accord, says Mandela:

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the Peace Accord to strengthen it and revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum."

Solutions to the current violence could only be found through collective efforts by all political leaders, he added.

The ANC president welcomed recent reports around the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces, adding that this could be an important subject to be addressed by a meeting of Peace Accord signatories. — *Sapa*.

**NEWS** Death toll of unrej**news in brief**

Sowetan 7/6/93

**ANC slates State's refusal**

THE ANC has accused the SAP of "ridiculous adherence" to apartheid laws by refusing a firearm licence to SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

Police have refused to give Slovo a firearm licence, citing pending criminal charges against the formerly exiled anti-apartheid leader.

They said Slovo could still be prosecuted if permanent indemnity is not granted. "The SAP cannot grant a licence to possess a firearm to Mr Slovo or any other member of the ANC who is in the same position."

The ANC said Slovo was guilty of offences for which he has not been tried (IA) ~~(SAP)~~

# How deadlock at Codesa saved the ANC

Star 7/6/93.

119

Leadership

**T**HE deadlock at Codesa last year and the breakdown in negotiations saved South Africa from a disastrous development: the rejection of the ANC by its own followers for betraying "the people".

Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley, a husband-and-wife academic team, propound that thesis in their thought-provoking study of contemporary South Africa.

One of the worst scenarios is one where negotiated settlement is clinched but at the cost of the ANC leaders being perceived as sell-outs and Nelson Mandela as a co-opted stooge, Adam and Moodley say.

## Credibility

Rejection of an "accommodationist" ANC, and the sidelining of Mandela as a local Muzorewa, would have meant repudiation of the settlement and renewed strife, the authors assert.

But, they add, the deadlock at Codesa saved South Africa from that fate by enabling an "elitist ANC leadership", which had moved too far, too fast in its quest

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**BOOK OF THE WEEK**  
**Negotiated Revolution: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa** by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. (Jonathan Ball R59,95)  
Reviewed by  
**PATRICK LAURENCE**

---

for a negotiated settlement, to reaffirm its credibility with its followers.

Adam and Moodley focus on — and offer an explanation for — an apparent paradox in the ANC: the three minority groups — white, coloured and Indian — are well if not over-represented on the ANC national executive.

They recall that of the 50 directly elected ordinary members of the ANC national executive, 21 are non-blacks, consisting of seven whites, seven coloureds and seven Indians.

Yet support for the ANC in these communities is low. Their conspicuous presence on the ANC executive apparently does little to

commend the ANC to the ordinary folk.

The answer, Adam and Moodley argue, is that whites, coloureds and Indians on the ANC executive are seen by their racial kinsmen as dissenters rather than representatives.

They write of the Indians: "They do not represent the Indian community; they are not active in the ANC as Indians but as marginalised dissidents from the Indian community."

A similar statement is made about whites; they are described as "self-confessed members of the SACP" who fought long and bitterly against the attitudes of the white community.

"While the sophisticated tolerance of an Albie Sachs attracts admiration among liberal whites, the actions of someone like Ronnie Kasrils — his unconventional behaviour, the manipulative games he plays — serve to deter other whites from supporting the ANC."

Downplaying the significance of the defection to the ANC by five white Democratic Party MPs, the authors focus on the failure of lib-

eral whites to win election to the ANC national executive at the organisation's 1991 conference.

"The ANC made no efforts to woo into its ranks some of its potential high-profile supporters, people like F van Zyl Slabbert, Alex Boraine and Wynand Malan.

"The SACP faction, which in the past exercised the power of vetoing which whites were allowed to join the ANC, does not wish to share its monopoly with strategists of a different outlook."

These two statements lead to another theme in the study: an analysis of the role of the SACP in the ANC and an assessment of its value to the ANC-led alliance.

## Socialist

The authors believe that the SACP is a powerful but not benign force within the ANC; it is one which is trying to "piggyback" its socialist vision on to the populist ANC.

They identify the ANC's alliance with the SACP as "the single most important reason why so few whites, coloureds and Indians have formally joined the ANC"

and dismiss the view that "communists are only loyal members of the liberation movement from which they take their orders."

The authors are critical of the SACP's failure to speak out against the tyranny of Stalinism and its slavish obedience to the Kremlin for decades.

"The party that in 1929 was told by the Kremlin to campaign for a black republic in South Africa subsequently supported the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan.

"Long after Arthur Koestler's seminal account of show trials in *Darkness at Noon* (1945), long after most European intellectuals on the Left had grown disillusioned with the Soviet Union, long after Eurocommunism and Solzhenitsyn, the SACP's solidarity with the Soviet Union remained unshaken."

They accuse the SACP leadership of political myopia, noting that in 1989, on the eve of the dramatic collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the party spoke glowingly of socialist countries as "a powerful interna-

tional force" leading the way to a new life where "there are neither oppressors nor oppressed".

Even after the fall of communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe and shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the SACP appeared incapable of adjusting to the new reality, the authors contend.

They quote an editorial in a 1990 edition of the African Communist, which declared: "Nothing that has happened in Eastern Europe or elsewhere makes us believe that (Marxism-Leninism) needs to be altered."

The attempt by Joe Slovo, SACP national chairman, to grapple with the problem is recognised and labelled "laudatory" but found wanting; it relies too much on "metaphor and euphemism" and does not really examine the causes of "Stalinist tyranny".

Adam and Moodley have written a thoughtful book with interesting chapters on several pivotally important themes, including the white right wing and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It is analytical rather than reverential and deserves to be widely read. □



Mandela, Buthelezi to meet

# Tutu opens the door to peace

Star 7/6/93

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

## Staff Reporters

In what could be a major boost for peace, Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night that he had brokered a long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Tutu hoped the meeting would take place within weeks at his official residence, Bishopscourt in Cape Town.

He said in a statement he and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, would chair the talks.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos and African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehaus last night could not contact their respective leaders to confirm the agreement.

Vos said should such a meeting take place it would signal movement towards a



Nelson Mandela



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories.

National Peace Accord media liaison officer Val Pauquet said the Peace Accord had been trying for months to organise a meeting of its signatories. The difficulty in getting Mandela and Buthelezi together had been a major obstacle.

National Peace Secretari-

at chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said last night that Tutu's "excellent" news significantly enhanced the prospects of peace.

"It will help a lot for the cause of peace. It will send a message of peace from the very top leadership of two most important organisations," he said.

Tutu said the Anglican Dean and Bishop of Natal Michael Nuttal would arrange the date of the meeting in discussion with Mandela, Buthelezi and Mogoba.

Tutu leaves today for an overseas visit, but he said he would drop everything to return for the meeting.

"I met Chief Buthelezi on Saturday at the consecration of Bishop Peter Harker, the new Anglican Bishop of Zululand. I then met Mr Mandela yesterday at celebrations organised by the Gandhi Memorial Committee.

"I afterwards followed up discussions at those two meetings in Maritzburg with telephone consultations."

# Winnie gets Sanco chair

(11A) CJ 7/6/93

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been appointed chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco).

She was appointed by delegates to the region's council meeting here at the weekend, and Sanco southern Transvaal president Mr Kgabisi Mosunkutu said she had accepted.

In another development, the

organisation's general council resolved to push for the restructuring of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber. Mr Mosunkutu said his organisation would look into how the number of the chamber's committees could be reduced. He said Sanco would also push for the co-chairmanship. It's at present chaired by Mr Van Zyl Slabbert.

According to Mr Mosunkutu, the chairmen should be drawn from the statutory bodies, such as

the TPA, and non-statutory bodies, such as Sanco. This, he said, would speed up negotiations on local government.

He added that the organisation would march on the TPA offices next month to demand the dissolution of local authorities. He said Sanco wanted the installation of interim local government structures appointed by both the civic organisations and the government.

# NP blow as deputy minister quits

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A FRUSTRATED Mr Johan Scheepers yesterday delivered a damaging blow to a troubled National Party when he confirmed that he was resigning both as a deputy minister and as an MP.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer and the Inkatha Freedom Party's parliamentary leader, Mr Jurie Mentz,

CT 7/6/93  
said Mr Scheepers' shock decision to quit at this stage in South Africa's history demonstrated the extent of tensions within the NP caucus.

Mr Mentz predicted there would be further splintering from the NP after the parliamentary session and that at least 10 NP MPs would soon join the IFP.

Dr De Beer said Mr

Scheepers had been frequently blocked by the "toroises" in the civil services clinging to white supremacy.

But Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers moved yesterday to smother suspicions that the resignation of the deputy Land Affairs Minister indicated disenchantment within the party.

He said Mr Scheepers was

resigning to pursue a legal career.

A successor will be named in few months.

In a statement yesterday Mr Scheepers cited a return to legal practice as his "main" reason for resigning.

But his frustrations with slow-moving civil service and the inability or unwillingness of some his NP colleagues to

move more decisively is no secret in political circles.

Mr Scheepers has been an enthusiastic supporter of NP reform, promoting unity in local government, reform in the police and changes in land policy.

National Party spokesman Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday there were no divisions in the National Party caucus.

# Bishopscourt summit plan

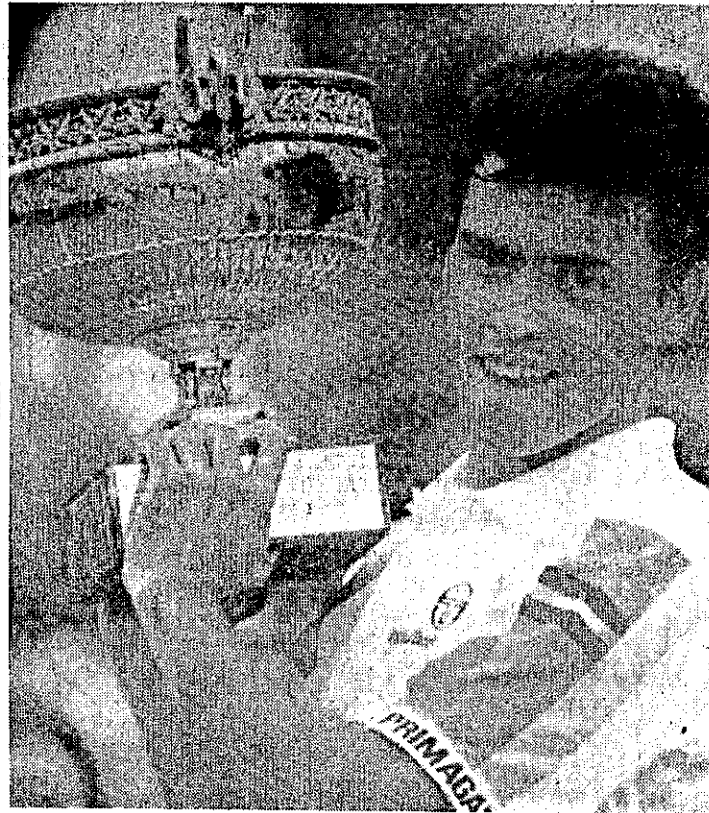
CT 7/6/93  
INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks", Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night.

He said in a statement that the meeting, to be held at his official residence, Bishopscourt, would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said he followed up his discussions at those meetings with telephone consultations later yesterday; both leaders had accepted an invitation to meet at Bishopscourt.

"The date and time of the meeting are still being discussed. I would like it to take place as soon as possible. I certainly hope it will happen within the next couple of weeks," he said. He is due to leave for London today on an overseas visit but would cancel whatever engagements were necessary to return for the meeting. — Sapa



UPSET ...  
Spain's Sergi Bruguera lofts the French Open trophy after winning the final against defending champion Jim Courier in Paris yesterday. Bruguera showed majestic form, proving that earlier rounds had been no fluke, by beating Courier 6-4, 2-6, 6-2, 3-6, 6-3.

● Report  
Back Page

Picture: AP

# Teenagers raped in city hostel

Staff Reporter

TWO teenage girls were raped in a Peninsula hostel early yesterday by a lone intruder, who also attempted to rape a third girl.

Police spokesman Captain John Sterrenberg said the rapes occurred about 2am.

An intruder had broken into the hostel, entered a bedroom and raped a 15-year-old girl.

In another bedroom he had raped a 16-year-old girl and had been about to rape a third girl when the alarm was sounded.

The man managed to escape and no arrests have been made.

The location of the hostel has been withheld to protect the identity of the victims.

# Perceptive analysis of present day SA

**THE NEGOTIATED REVOLUTION — Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa, by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley (Jonathan Ball, R59,95)**

ADAM and Moodley have been among the most perceptive analysts of SA politics since the early '70s when Adam's Modernising Racial Domination came to grips with the reformist path the NP had begun to follow.

Political analysis in the fast-evolving SA has become an even more challenging task. Although this book was completed only five months ago, some of the writers' theses have already been tested.

Unusually and commendably, they state their leanings up front: "We write as social democrats who identify with the underdog but lack the enviable certainty of orthodox Marxists or liberal moralists about the best solution."

And unlike the "Marxists and liberal moralists" they can look towards an outcome which fits both political reality and their preferences: "The multiparty negotiations . . . will neither leave the status quo intact, as the reformers had hoped, nor utterly reverse all power relations, as revolutionaries had expected. Instead, the negotiations will

grant all major forces a stake in an historic compromise."

The book analyses, essentially, the factors that led to the 1990 unbannings, the factors pushing SA, often reluctantly, towards that compromise, and also those which may prevent the compromise transpiring or being workable; they prophetically warn of the possible effects of a high-profile assassination.

The authors undertake fairly detailed analyses of most main players, with chapters devoted to the ANC-SACP alliance, the PAC-Black Consciousness axis, Inkatha and the right wing. Curiously, there is no similar examination of the NP. Although they may argue that the NP is not overlooked insofar as its relationship with other parties is examined, it is the most obvious shortcoming of a generally high-quality work.

One of the most striking features is the authors' devastating assessment of the SACP's Stalinist past and the total inadequacy of the apologies made for it, such as by Joe Slovo in *Has Socialism Failed?* And they then witheringly examine the ANC's indirect association with the crimes of communism.

But what makes this assessment particularly valuable is that it is not made from the perspective of Cold War paranoia — still the most common perspective from which anti-

SACP attacks come. It is carried out from a principled human rights perspective. And Adam and Moodley are sufficiently clear-sighted to recognise that changes in SA and the world are forcing the SACP off its Stalinist path and that today's paranoid attitudes are inappropriate.

Less clear-sightedly, the authors perpetuate a fond myth — that the collapse of communism in late 1989 was the main factor which persuaded government to unban the ANC and other parties. This leads them to underestimate the contribution of internal resistance.

While, by February 2 1990, that was a useful explanation for De Klerk to insert in his speech so as to pacify the right, not to mention members of his own caucus, it was really a case of smoke and mirrors. De Klerk knew by the time of his election the previous September that he would unban the ANC (although he may have had some final misgivings about the SACP). By mid-October Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and several others were already free. It was not until the following month that the Berlin Wall came down to signal the end of the communist bloc, and even later before the hardest cases like Romania's Ceausescu were ousted.

The book identifies a problem only

recently accepted by the ANC — that "social forces are so diverse and multifaceted that political legitimacy and economic stability cannot be reached by a coercive alignment, even one acceptable to a numerical majority". Where the white right is concerned, "the best that can be hoped for is that the ANC can engage the moral ideologues of Afrikaner self-determination (that is, the more moderate Afrikaner Volksunie and others) who still form the majority in the right-wing camp.

It also examines the dangers of an elite deal where "business, state bureaucrats and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance reach an unwritten contract at the expense of the unorganised and weaker sections of the population". But the authors are not sufficiently sensitive to the awareness of these dangers on the part of, especially, the alliance.

Finally, they enter the increasingly popular scenario arena — comparing possibilities for SA with events in Zimbabwe, Yugoslavia and Germany.

A last complaint, already made by other reviewers, is that economics is not the authors' strong point. But that should not discourage a reading of one of the better political analyses of present day SA.

ALAN FINE

# Winnie Mandela accepts Sanco post

Buss. Day 7/16/93

WILSON ZWANE

WINNIE Mandela has been appointed chairman of the southern Transvaal region of the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

Mandela was appointed by delegates to the region's council meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Sanco southern Transvaal president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said yesterday Mandela enjoyed wide support among township residents and her appointment would enhance the civic organisation's appeal at grassroots level.

Mosunkutu said Mandela had accepted the appointment.

Last week the Appeal Court upheld Mandela's conviction on kidnapping charges,

but reduced her jail sentence to a fine and suspended sentence.

In another development, Sanco's general council resolved to push for the restructuring of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

Mosunkutu said his organisation would look into how the number of chamber committees could be reduced.

The organisation would seek ways to make the committees more focused, he said. Sanco would also push for co-chairmanship of the chamber presently chaired by Van Zyl Slabbert.

To Page 2

## Sanco

Buss. Day 7/16/93

From Page 1

Mosunkutu said chairmen should be drawn from statutory bodies, such as the TPA, and non-statutory bodies, such as Sanco. This would speed up negotiations on local government, he said.

He said Sanco would march on TPA offices next month to demand dissolution of local authorities.

It wanted the installation of interim local government structures appointed by civic organisations and government.

Should interim local government structures not be installed by end-July, the organisation would have no choice but to

intensify protest action, he said.

Sanco southern Transvaal general secretary Dan Mofokeng took a swipe at Slabbert, newly appointed as SABC board chairman, saying Slabbert's announcement that he would stay on as chairman of the new SABC board for two months was an act of hypocrisy.

Mofokeng said his organisation had welcomed Slabbert's initial statement that he could not take up the position.

The organisation would mount a campaign "to rid ourselves of the undesired members (of the SABC board)", he said.

# ANC to put pressure on govt over gun licences

~~Business Day~~ 716193  
RAY HARTLEY

POLITICAL pressure would be exerted on government to allow firearm licences to be issued to ANC members who still faced charges because they refused to apply for indemnity, SACP chairman Joe Slovo said yesterday.

Police said at the weekend that they could not grant Slovo a firearm licence because he still faced charges of "murder, sabotage and terrorism".

Police said Slovo had been granted temporary indemnity in respect of the charges, but had yet to apply for permanent indemnification. "Legally he can still be tried on these charges if permanent indemnity is not granted."

Slovo said the ANC had rejected the Indemnity Act because it empowered President F W de Klerk to decide on indemnification "in secret".

"I don't accept the police rationalisation; I believe it to be purely political discrimination. If I were to be assassinated, Hertzog Kriel would have blood on his hands."

Slovo said government was using its refusal to grant firearm licences to ANC leaders as a device to force the organisation into accepting the Indemnity Act.

It was ironic that the man who allegedly shot and killed an ANC member in events surrounding the Chris Hani funeral, had reportedly had two of his four firearms returned to him for self-defence purposes, Slovo said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus described the police position as "shocking". He said Slovo's life was clearly in danger following the exposure of an assassination plot.

There were ANC fears that government might act against those who had temporary indemnity if negotiations and elections did not go their way, Niehaus said.

Police said in terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act, "any person found guilty of an offence involving the use of a firearm, is regarded as unfit to possess a firearm".

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# Nelson Mandela calls for mass movement for peace

Buss. Day 7/6/93

MARITZBURG — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has called for signatories of the national peace accord to meet urgently to strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

The ANC president also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27 election date, to begin the healing process in violence-torn SA.

Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the Maritzburg City Hall yesterday before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, who, almost 100 years ago, was evicted from a train reserved for whites at Maritzburg Station.

Mandela said in spite of the peace accord's shortcomings, the document had assisted in quelling violence.

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the peace accord, to strengthen it and revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum."

Solutions to the current violence could only be found through collective efforts by all political leaders, Mandela said.

"We need to unleash a mass movement for peace..." We can't delay a meeting of signatories of the peace accord."

The ANC president welcomed recent reports about the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces, saying this could be an important subject to be addressed by signatories.

The ANC welcomed all peace initiatives, said Mandela.

He commended a recent peace plan by the ANC southern Natal region and also by the group of con-

cerned Zulus who had both called for urgent meetings between the ANC president and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Referring to the election date, Mandela said he was aware some people had reservations on the issue.

"We urge them all to look to the future and consider their reservations so that this momentous event becomes a unifying occasion in our strife-torn country," said Mandela.

Never before had there been such a moment in SA's history as the forthcoming election, Mandela said, urging South Africans to ensure it marked a time of healing, he said.

Earlier, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu reiterated the call for all armed formations in the country to come together in a joint peacekeeping force controlled by the international community. — Sapa.

See Page 6.

## Row over witness's indemnity

Buss. Day 7/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT yesterday denied that a key witness in the investigation into the death of eastern Cape activist Matthew Goniwe had been given insufficient indemnity to allow him to testify freely.

President F W de Klerk earlier granted SADF Col Lourens du Plessis indemnity for his role in transmitting a signal from Eastern Province Command to the State Security Council in June 1985, which is alleged to have led to Goniwe's assassination, but refused him indemnity for his role in "Operation Katzen".

Du Plessis' lawyer Wayne Gray said in a statement he was concerned that efforts to delve into Operation Katzen — allegedly a plan to destabilise the eastern Cape in the 1980s — were being resisted.

"Du Plessis has already signed an affidavit stating that the Goniwe signal amounted to a "death warrant".

A government spokesman said De Klerk

had granted Du Plessis indemnity with regard to the signal against the advice of the board established in terms of the Further Indemnity Act.

"There are no reasonable grounds for the inference that the indemnity granted to Du Plessis is insufficient to ensure his giving evidence on any matter in an uninhibited manner," the spokesman said.

"Indemnity was not granted relating to Operation Katzen because there was insufficient material available indicating that any offence had been committed. Nor is Operation Katzen the subject of any current judicial proceeding."

Sapa reports the partial indemnity was described as a "travesty" which demonstrated that the Further Indemnity Act was a licence for murderers, DP Youth spokesman Colin Douglas said.

## Taxi group lobbies for control board

THEO RAWANA

INDISCRIMINATE issuing of permits is the major cause of taxi wars, and only a taxi control board will curb it, says the SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta).

Ten minibuses were gutted at Baragwanath taxi rank, Diepkloof and Orlando East on Thursday.

Mike Ntlatleng, public affairs director of Fabcos (mother body of Sabta), said that since government decided on deregulating the taxi industry, the Transportation Board had been issuing permits without first checking passenger volumes or ranking facilities.

"There is no liaison even between the board and the local authorities, and this results in taxis choking up space and fighting over limited ranking facilities.

"Through a taxi control board, with which every taxi would need to register, input would be available to councils and the board and, since all members would have to follow a code of conduct, situations such as those experienced at present would be avoided." Ntlatleng said.

Ntlatleng said taxi industry leaders were talking to the Transport Ministry to have taxis subsidised.

Taxis, he said, carried 1,6-million passengers a day and buses and trains only 600 000.

"A technical committee is working on how government should subsidise the industry," Ntlatleng said.



# Kappa

Newspaper reports carrying news of the COSATU boycott of the Pepcor Group give the misleading impression that KAPPA as a brandname is being included in the boycott.

KAPPA HOLDINGS LIMITED, the exclusive licence holders of all KAPPA products in Southern Africa, has no dispute whatsoever with COSATU or any of its affiliated organisations.

KAPPA and KAPPA FOOTBALL MERCHANDISE products are found in several hundred independent stockists which are not associated in any way with the current dispute.

Enquiries: 337-6452

Star 7/6/93

## Mandela to seek US aid

ANC leader Nelson Mandela will ask US President Bill Clinton for help once free elections are held in South Africa next year, Time magazine reports.

In an interview with the magazine published today, Mandela said: "We expect the Western world to ensure that massive measures of assistance are given to South Africans so that we can address their expectations." ~~(S)~~ (IA)

In a separate interview with the magazine, President de Klerk denied he favoured a permanent power-sharing arrangement at the executive level for the National Party.

"What I am pleading for is that we must move away from the winner-takes-all system.

"It is not the right system for a country with many regional interests and cultural groups."

— Sapa-Reuter.



# Proposed election date meaningless, says PAC

Star 7/16/93

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

IIA  
~~IIA~~

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander yesterday warned of the dangers of setting a tentative date for the country's first democratic elections.

The Negotiating Council has set April 27 next year as the proposed date — to be ratified at a meeting of the council on June 25.

Alexander said there was "little reason for optimism" about the election date.

"The date is meaningless if it

is not linked to immediate voter registration and the setting up of an internationally supervised electoral commission. We do not want a repeat of the Angola elections problem caused by lack of foresight."

This week seven technical committees are to meet at the World Trade Centre behind closed doors. Their reports will be discussed at the Negotiating Council next week.

● The ANC national executive committee will meet for four days this week to discuss its negotiating strategy and election campaign.

**SADF, MK talk**  
~~Star~~ 7/16/93  
**about new force**

Senior Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers met for the third time in a month last week to discuss a future defence force.

The delegations, led by SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg and MK chief Joe Modise, met in Pretoria on Thursday and Friday. ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~

They are due to meet again after an ANC national executive committee meeting this week. ~~(S)~~


Sources on both sides remained tightlipped yesterday about the talks. ~~(S)~~

It is understood, however, that considerable progress is being made on the issue of a new defence force.  
— Political Correspondent.

Star 7/6/93

# Rousing ovation for Roelf, Cyril

By Peter Fabricius  
Washington Bureau

 BOSTON — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa received an unprecedented standing ovation in Boston on Saturday when they stood together to receive honorary law degrees from the University of Massachusetts for their contribution to realising democracy in South Africa.

It was the first time a South African Cabinet Minister and a leader of the ANC had together been honoured in this way.

The large crowd of students, professors and Boston community leaders in America's premier education city abandoned academic decorum and rose to

their feet to acclaim the two key negotiators, who were the undisputed stars of the event.

The ceremony symbolised the international community's recognition of the convergence of views which resulted in last week's announcement of April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic election.

Resplendent in red and blue academic gowns, hoods and black mortar boards, the negotiating pair stood together on the podium shaking each other's hands and basking in America's approbation.

They were told afterwards that not even popular actor Robert Redford — who recently received an honorary degree from the same university for environmental contributions —

had been given a standing ovation on graduation day.

Reading the citation to the South Africans, University of Massachusetts chancellor Sherry Penny called Ramaphosa an "able negotiator, masterful organiser and pivotal force within the ANC".

She called Meyer a "shining emblem" of a country which was struggling to achieve democracy and praised him for his tenacity and vision in leading the Government's negotiating team.

Meyer and Ramaphosa were both honoured in particular for their vital role in keeping the democratisation process alive by maintaining personal contact when formal negotiations broke off last year.

# Buthelezi-Mandela talks date expected this week

(11A) (S) 48/6/93  
Political Correspondent

A DATE for the long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could be announced later this week.

Following consultations with the two political leaders, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Stanley Mogaba said in a joint statement yesterday that they expected to announce a date for the encounter in the next few days.

The ANC welcomed the initiative taken by Archbishop Tutu to arrange the meeting but insisted that the organisation "doesn't want a meeting for the sake of a meeting".

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**ENTERTAINMENT** *Betty Shabazz picks up where Malcolm*

**D** DR BETTY Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, is coming to South Africa on a visit from Sunday (13).

An educator and trained nurse, Shabazz will be here to speak at an educational and cultural conference organised by an international hair products company based in Johannesburg.

Shabazz comes here while the story of her husband's life and struggles is still fresh in the minds of most South Africans who have seen the Spike Lee movie, *Malcolm X*, currently on circuit.

While her husband challenged the status quo and crystallised the conscience of black America during the civil rights struggle, Shabazz became his assistant, supporter, sounding board as well as his solace and friend.

When Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965, Shabazz courageously assumed the burden of continuing his work while at the same time raising their six children.

Today she is the director of communications and public relations at Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York.

Shabazz will speak at two annual educational and cultural events hosted by the Soft Sheen International Foundation in Johannesburg.

The events are a fundraising effort by the company.

All proceeds from the events, which promise to be highly prestigious, will go to bursaries, education and training for black South Africans.

"Our research shows that television and film personalities have the greatest impact on the youth we need to educate and train," says Soft Sheen International Director, Ms Annette Hutchins.

# Malcolm X's widow visits

**FUND RAISING** *Proceeds from speaking*

*engagements will go to bursaries:*

"The *Malcolm X* film has made an impact on this target population and for this reason we have invited Dr Shabazz to come here.

"In spite of her celebrity status, she has maintained a warm and caring spirit and an unshakeable commitment to the education of young people," Hutchins said.

Shabazz has also undertaken and completed extensive research in Africa, the Carib-

bean and Europe on such topics as the sociological and economic conditions of minorities.

She holds a variety of positions in

both public and private organisations and participates regularly on commissions and task forces at all levels of government.



**Dr Betty Shabazz ... continuing Malcolm X's work.**

*South Africa* 101 8/6/93  
 (11A) (223)

# focus on elections

If a general election were held now, who would win? Few people would dispute that the single largest share of votes would go to the ANC.

But would it win an absolute majority? And, if not, would the National Party be able to put together a coalition to beat the ANC in Parliament?

Two years ago, a scenario which had the NP forming a majority coalition might have been plausible. In the aftermath of FW de Klerk's early reforms, support for the man and his party was fairly high.

Nowadays the chances of the NP forming a majority coalition are slim.

Support for the NP was never very strong among blacks. But the drop reflected in these polls is as steep as one is likely to see in polling. Among blacks, the NP has lost about 75 percent of its support. Even among whites, the decline in support for the NP is major.

From a high of 67 percent in a May 1992 Markinor poll, support for the NP has dropped to about 30 percent in the most recent poll conducted by Research Surveys in March 1993. The plunge in NP support is so serious that the party might no longer even be the second most popular political organisation after the ANC.

How has the ANC fared? Relatively well, compared to the NP. ANC support among black South Africans has dropped during the past year from about 75 percent (Markinor, May 1992) to 65 percent (Research Surveys, March 1993).

Support for the ANC among other South Africans has always been — and remains — relatively low.

But if the "main players" are losing support, where is it draining to? The main beneficiary is the "don't know" or "none of the above" vote. In other words, an increasing number of people have become confused or have begun to think that there may be no party that deserves their support.

The violence of the past year may also have encouraged people to duck political questions in surveys. A variety of smaller parties are gaining from the ANC and NP losses.

## Important change

The most important change over the past year has been the rise in support for the Pan Africanist Congress among blacks. Although the PAC still lags far behind the ANC, it is now the second most popular party. To what extent do the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army affect PAC support?

The answer is probably that Apla activities have helped enhance the PAC's image as a party that has black interests at heart.

However, it also puts a firm ceiling on PAC support since the number of black South Afri-

Who is likely to come out tops in South Africa's first nonracial poll? Leading research analyst **Jan Hofmeyr**, writing in *Work in Progress*, guides us through the campaign jungle: *Sowetan 8/6/93*



ANC leader Nelson Mandela



NP leader F W de Klerk

cans who believe in the sort of strategy pursued by Apla is very small.

The Inkatha Freedom Party continues to register little support, even in Natal. It cannot be classed as "one of the big three" in any popular sense. As time wears on, the IFP is likely to become even less significant among black voters; the basis of its appeal is mainly ethnic and therefore strictly limited. Gradually, black voters are likely to decide that the broader appeal of the PAC is a better electoral platform than Inkatha's limited ethnic appeal. In short, the

latest polls suggest the following trends:

● The NP has very nearly blown its chances of creating a broadly based "anti-ANC" alliance.

● The electorate is generally traumatised by the political process and many people can find no party to support.

● The PAC is poised to emerge as the single most powerful electoral force beside the ANC, even though it will be exclusively black.

● The basis of the PAC's appeal is likely to remain narrow since a "nonracial" position has more support among blacks.

# ANC detainee claims he is 'not bitter'

A FORMER policeman who joined the ANC and was later detained for five years by the organisation, yesterday claimed he harboured no ill thoughts.

Saying that he was now "a mental wreck", Jamiez Tombisa told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC detention camps that he would only claim compensation — totalling R300 000 — from the organisation.

During cross-examination, Tombisa said during his detention he was often

## ■ Former cop says Hani ordered shooting of detainee:

sick, had a dislocated shoulder and a constantly bleeding nose and ears. He received no medical treatment until after he was released.

His detention followed the death of a Tanzanian citizen, a "comrade Savage".

Counsel for the ANC, Brian Koopedi, suggested that Tombisa was detained as he was implicated in the death of Savage and that he had tried to run away.

"This is not true. The main reason I

was locked up was because I was a former member of the SAP and was regarded as an enemy agent."

Tombisa also stated that:

● A prisoner who was held in the same camp was raped on consecutive nights by ANC commissars; and

● Chris Hani ordered the shooting of one Bongani who later received treatment in a hospital in Tanzania. — Own Correspondent.

Sowetan 8/6/93

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# Mandela-Buthelezi talks 'positive'

Political Staff

~~11A~~ 11A ARG 8/16/93

A MEETING between African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be "positive", President De Klerk said today.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Stanley Mogoba of the Methodist Church are to host a meeting in Bishopscourt, Cape Town, between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.



## NEWS Mandela and Buthelezi agree to a date ● Trial

# ANC, IFP heads to meet

Sowetan 816193

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

■ Summit brokered by Tutu, Mogoba accepted willingly:

(IFP) (IFP)

A FINAL date for a summit between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be announced this week — pending the two leaders' approval.

The date was proposed to Mandela and Buthelezi yesterday during separate meetings between them and the conveners, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba.

In a joint statement from Cape Town yesterday Tutu and Mogoba said they had proposed a date to the two at a meeting yesterday.

"We are now negotiating with the two leaders on its acceptability.

"We believe we will be able to announce a date for the meeting later this week," the conveners said.

The summit is expected to be held next week at Tutu's official residence, Bishops court in Cape Town, and would be chaired jointly by Mogoba and Tutu.

### Couple of weeks

Tutu, who brokered the meeting, announced on Sunday night that Mandela and Buthelezi agreed to the summit "within a couple of weeks". He met Buthelezi first on Saturday and Mandela on Sunday.

In an earlier statement Mogoba, who is also vice chairman of the National Peace Accord, said he was delighted at the news of the intended meeting.

He described it as a breakthrough in relations between the ANC and IFP.

"We are hoping there will be a positive spin-off in the work of the committee and secretariat of the National Peace Accord, as well as that of the Goldstone Commission," Mogoba said.

The ANC yesterday said it welcomed the initiative by Tutu.

In his statement Buthelezi said he agreed to the meeting but objected to an ANC statement which he said wanted to put preconditions to the summit.

# Torture not policy — ANC camp chief

**The Argus Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The first commander of the ANC's Quattro camp in Angola said today torture was not the organisation's method of extracting information from prisoners.

Gabriel Mthunzi Mthembu, whose camp name was Sizwe Mkhondo, told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps that there were strict rules prohibiting the torture of prisoners. It was only in very extreme circumstances "that third-degree methods were used".

Mr Mthembu, who was 19 at the time he was appointed camp commander in 1979, quoted in-

stances in which he intervened when prisoners were assaulted. He even demoted his junior when he did not comply with the rules.

Referring to allegations about Quattro which have come up before the commission, he said that these came from people who were "aiming to besmirch the image of the movement and some of them are still serving the interests of the system. We have incontrovertible evidence that some of them still get support from the system".

Reacting to allegations made yesterday that he ordered Jamiez Tombisa to be tortured and assaulted he said it was "a total fabrication".

The hearing continues.

# Rape accused denies charges

**The Argus Correspondent**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The alleged "Norwood rapist" pleaded not guilty in the Rand Supreme Court today to 15 charges, including five of murder and three of rape.

Mr Jacobus Petrus Geldenhuys, 26, of Benoni, said in a plea explanation he had not acted in his full senses.

But in a statement to a magistrate that was handed in as an exhibit, Geldenhuys described his attacks and acknowledged he had acted intentionally.

Mr Geldenhuys pleaded not guilty to five counts of murder, three of rape, one of attempted rape, one of aggravated robbery, four of theft and one of using a car without consent.

The trial continues.

## INVESTMENT INDICATORS

June 7 — June 13

From Peter George



### PROSPECTS FOR A RENEWED CUT IN RATES

- ★ Money supply growth zero.
- ★ CPI way below expectations at 11%.
- ★ Money Market shortage eases.
- ★ Fin Rand continues to strengthen.
- ★ Election date set.
- ★ Reserves improve.
- ★ World deflation continues.

**COMMENT:** Fears of a final jump in rates are fading. Those who wait may miss the bus. Do not be surprised if rates fall 100 points near terms to re-test last year lows of 13,74%. If this is a bull market expect these levels to be broken. Buy signals have been given. A break below 14,74% for the R150 will signal the end of the eight month correction and cause the down move to accelerate. Call Options should be locked in place before this happens.

### HOW OPTIONS WORK

All options we quote are on R1-million nominal value of R150 stock. Latest yields are found in "Guide to Gilts" in Cape Times or Business Day under heading RSA 12.00% — 2004/06.

As rates fall, Bond prices rise. The longer the bond the bigger the rise. Although the "yield to maturity", of say 15% at the time one buys a bond, fixes the income for the life of the bond, the market price of the bond fluctuates from day to day with every change in rates. The bonds are actively bought and sold — up to hundreds of millions of rands per day.

If Long Term rates halve in the next twelve to eighteen months, to repeat the world-wide trend, market values of R150 bonds will rise by 60 percent. That is why 12 month options which pick up only a third of the above profit, can generate R180 000 for an outlay of only R14 500. One can buy options expiring in August and November 1993 or out to February and May 1994. Cost increases with time. If the option is taken out below the ruling rate in the market, the cost of the option falls. This rate is called the "strike price". Naturally profit will also fall as strike price is lowered but cost of the option falls more rapidly. Therefore it pays to purchase lots of time but not too high a strike if a major fall in rates is on the cards.

All quotes given below are based on a strike of 14% and are subject to change as rates fluctuate. NB: If rates do not fall, one cannot lose more than the cost of the option. Keep purchases modest in the relation to your capital. Unless you have a debt problem — then an option can help you clear the debt.

Current rates are 14,78% (R150) and 14,94% (R153).

### RISK:

- R3 000 with the chance of making R50 000 Aug expiry
- R7 500 with the chance of making R90 000 Nov expiry
- R12 500 with the chance of making R180 000 Feb expiry
- R14 500 with the chance of making R180 000 May expiry

To find out how this can be done, telephone for an appointment:  
Peter George BA (Hons) Oxon (PPE)  
MBA (UCT)

**CONSULTING ECONOMIST**  
at (021) 761 4911

## FW: SA on the threshold of big breakthrough

Political Staff

ARG 8/6/93

JOHANNESBURG. — South African negotiators stood at the threshold of a major breakthrough and would soon be able to present their achievements to all South Africans, President De Klerk said today.

Opening the annual general meeting of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg, President De Klerk said he strongly believed that success and "binding agreements" in multiparty negotiations would go a long way towards dealing with the violence which was undermining investor confidence.

He said South Africa had lived through "three tumultuous years of socio-political change", and that it was a matter of "considerable regret" that hopes of a flying start to a democratic future had been deferred continuously by outbreaks of violence.

Investor confidence had to be restored if South Africa were to "optimise its ample resources and fulfil its potential as the economic and industrial giant of sub-Saharan Africa". To this end, he said, it was vital that violence had to end and negotiations speeded up.

"I am convinced that we will succeed to create an environment conducive to investor confidence and economic growth within the near future.

"I am equally convinced that the mining industry is eminently equipped and ready to make a major contribution to the economic prosperity and success of the new South Africa, as it has done throughout our history," President De Klerk said.

There was anxiety about the present and uncertainty about the future and this could be addressed by reaching "binding agreements" in negotiations.

President De Klerk said now was the time "to stand firm and say we will not settle for a second-rate or second-degree constitution". South Africa had the potential to become an economic world player.

The president also commended the mining industry for its contribution of between 10 and 15 percent to the country's gross domestic product.

# Appointment criticised (11A)

## Political Staff

THE appointment of Mrs Winnie Mandela to the SA National Civic Organisation chair in the southern Transvaal undermined its bargaining position as a representative of civic society, the DP said in a statement yesterday. CT 8/6/92

Her appointment gave the lie to Sanco's non-political status.

The NP said the strategy of Mrs Mandela and ANC radical groupings was clear — this was only an effort to give her political credibility.

Star 8/16/93  
**IFP-ANC meeting on track**

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

(IA)  
(MB)

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to meet in two weeks' time in Cape Town for the first time since 1991.

Methodist Church presiding bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, who will be a chairman at the meeting, confirmed yesterday that a specific date had been proposed but no agreement had yet been reached.

Mogoba and his co-chairman, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said they expected to announce the date this week.

The ANC has indicated it wants the agenda to include

free political activity throughout the country, including Natal and KwaZulu; public display of weapons; fencing of hostels; and the IFP's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded.

Buthelezi said he would meet Mandela at Tutu's home without any preconditions.

He stated: "I assumed that our agenda for the meeting would be mutually determined between Mr Mandela and myself and would revolve around the main issue, which is stopping the violence.

"I find these unilateral demands of what the agenda for the meeting should be once again puzzling and I do not understand if this means that I should agree to the listed issues beforehand," he said.

Star 8/6/93  
**Winnie 'seeking credibility'**

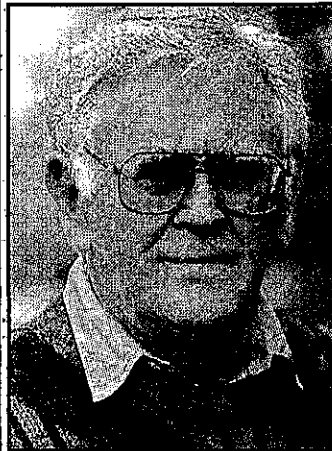
The appointment of Winnie Mandela as a regional chairman of the SA National Civic Organisation is an attempt to give her the political credibility she desperately craves, NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday. "The strategy of Mrs Mandela and the radical grouping in the ANC is quite clear. This is only an effort to give her the credibility that she so desperately needs in a bid for more influential positions in the ANC," he said. — Sapa (11A)

# ANC gun permit anomalies probed

Star 8/6/93

11A

~~11A~~



Slovo . . . refused a licence, but colleagues got theirs.

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Serious anomalies have been disclosed in the SAP's policy on which ANC executive committee members should be allowed to carry a gun, and which should not.

The inconsistency came to light when South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo was refused a licence last week — on the same day Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Nhlanhla and Alfred Nzo were granted the right to carry licensed firearms.

An investigation into the granting of licences to other ANC national executive com-

mittee members is expected. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday: "The alleged issuing of licences is being investigated and, once the facts have been established, a statement will be issued."

He said Slovo was refused a licence because he was granted temporary indemnity and was being linked to violent crimes. However, the Government also granted only temporary indemnity to Kasrils, Nhlanhla and Nzo.

Police sources said the granting of licences to the three ANC NEC members was "apparently the result of gross negligence and incompetence in certain

quarters. An investigation is being conducted, and steps will be taken against those found to have been negligent and incompetent."

Slovo said he was given no reasons for the refusal of a licence, but he had been advised that he would be granted a licence if he applied for permanent indemnity.

He accused the police of using the granting of licences as "a device to force the ANC into accepting the Indemnity Act". The ANC last year rejected the Act due to the secrecy involved in the granting of indemnity.

Kasrils said: "They are victimising Slovo in the worst possible way. It cannot be accepted."

# 'Mental wreck' tells of ANC detention

By Mokone Moleté

A former policeman, who joined the ANC and was later detained by the movement for five years, yesterday claimed he harboured no ill feelings against the ANC.

Jamiez Tombisa told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged human rights abuses in ANC detention camps that he would, however, claim compensation of R300 000 from the ANC.

He was a "mental wreck" after his detention. (IA)

During cross-examination, Tombisa said that while detained he was often sick and had a dislocated shoulder, a constantly bleeding nose and bleeding ears. He received no medical treatment until

after he was released.

His detention followed the death of a Tanzanian citizen, a "comrade Savage".

Counsel for the ANC, Brian Koopedi, suggested that Tombisa was detained because he had been implicated in Savage's death.

Tombisa replied: "This is not true. The main reason I was locked up was because I was a former member of the SAP and was regarded as an enemy agent." (IA)

In answer to further questions, he stated that a prisoner who was held in the same camp was raped by ANC commissars; and that Chris Hani ordered the shooting of one Bongani who later received treatment in a hospital in Tanzania.

## Camp torture charges 'fabrications'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Allegations of torture at ANC camps were "fabrications" aimed at discrediting the organisation, a former commander of Quatro camp in Angola has told an inquiry into alleged ANC human rights abuses. ARG 9/16/93

Gabriel Mthunzi Mthembu, the camp's first commander, told the Motsuenyane Commission that regulations governed the treatment of ANC prisoners.

11A

Mr Mthembu, who was known as Sizwe Mkhondo, said the people who alleged abuses intended to "besmirch" the image of the ANC.

"We have incontrovertible evidence that some of them still work for the system (SA government)," he said.

Appointed first commander of Quatro in 1979 when he was 19 years old, Mthembu quoted incidences where he intervened when prisoners were abused.



# Transitional process 'not for elite'

Sowetan 9/6/93

11A

## Sowetan & Radio Metro **Talkback**



with **Tim Modise**

By **Mzimasi Ngudle**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions was aiming at galvanising people into playing a decisive role in the political process, Cosatu publicity officer Mr Neil Coleman told the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Coleman said Cosatu's initiative was aimed at involving ordinary citizens in the transitional process and also after the first democratic elections had been held.

He said Cosatu and civil society would have to put pressure on political players when they started dragging their feet.

"Civil organisations and movements should tell the political parties at World Trade Centre that the transitional proc-

ess is not for the elite few but for the people of South Africa," Coleman said.

The movement, he said, would ensure that any future government would not be fettered by powerful cliques bent on perpetuating the status quo.

In its initiative, Coleman said, Cosatu would:

- Organise non-political organisations into mass based movements of civil society so they could have a say in matters affecting them;
- Mobilise its members around issues affecting them;
- Push forward its programme of reconstruction to ensure substantive changes in the individual's quality of life;

● Strive for accountability in a post-apartheid South Africa;

● Urge ordinary people and workers to get involved in bread and butter issues, such as housing, crime, education, unemployment and so on.

Coleman said key areas around which Cosatu would galvanise support for the initiative were:

- A rapid movement towards democratic elections, including voter education;
- A free and fair climate for political activity;
- The immediate control of security forces by a transitional authority;

● Bringing the media under impartial control.

Coleman said Cosatu would kick off its drive by approaching different organisations and ask them to encourage their members to take an active part in reconstruction programmes.

One caller applauded the initiative while another said he was concerned that Cosatu leaders might fail to discipline their followers.

**"It's a good move. I'd like to see this movement of civil society very soon."**

**Mapepe, Pretoria**

1 again • ANC considers new strategies

# Soweto's rent boycott could end

*Sowetan 9/6/93*

By Isaac Moledi

**A**N ANNOUNCEMENT that could bring the seven-year-old Soweto rent boycott to an end is expected tonight. The announcement will be made after a meeting of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

Soweto administrator Mr Zakkie Lombard said yesterday that if things went according to plan at the CWMC meeting regarding Greater Soweto, the rent boycott, which began in 1986, could come to an end.

■ **NEW PLAN** Announcement ex-

pected after meeting of Chamber:

Meanwhile, a ~~Sowetan~~ correspondent reports that all residents in the area will soon be paying normal metered tariffs for electricity.

At present only half of the residents are paying the flat rate of R33,80 while Eskom "normalises" provision and maintenance of the services.

"This is now coming to an end and we are entering a phase when normal maintenance can take place," Eskom

sales and customer service manager Mr Paul Mare said last week.

The giant electricity supplier took over from the Soweto Council in March last year.

As an interim measure, it was agreed that consumers would pay a flat rate of R33,80 while Eskom fixed vandalised installations.

Mare assured Soweto residents that there would no longer be bulk cut-offs.

# ANC meeting to focus on elections, strategies

*Sowetan 9/6/93*

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

THE leadership of the ANC began a three-day meeting behind closed doors in Johannesburg yesterday.

The national executive committee meeting takes place following the setting of a tentative date for elections by negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

■ **Executive committee meets behind closed doors:**

It is expected the ANC NEC will focus on the forthcoming meeting of negotiators next Tuesday when the election date will be finalised.

The ANC will also focus on its campaign to develop new strategies.

An announcement of the date for the long-awaited meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela

and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected this week from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba.

The Tutu-brokered meeting aimed at putting an end to violence is expected to top the agenda of the meeting.

# Quattro 'had strictest rules'

*Sowetan 9/6/93*

## ■ Torture not the usual way:

THE first commander of the ANC's Quattro camp in Angola said yesterday torture was not the organisation's method of extracting information from prisoners.

Mr Gabriel Mthunzi Mthembu, whose camp name was Sizwe Mkhonto, told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps that there were strict rules prohibiting the torture of prisoners. It was only in "very extreme circumstances that third degree methods were used".

Referring to allegations about Quattro which have come up before the commission, he said that these came from people who are "aiming to besmirch the image of the movement". (Proceeding)

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# Election campaign should stem power drain

Star 9/6/93

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Allister Sparks

the radical extremes of both the white Right and the black Left are growing in strength and menace.

New opinion polls show that the National Party's support has slumped to 25 percent of the white population and De Klerk's personal popularity rating to the lowest of any premier or president for the last 15 years.

This haemorrhage has alarmed the Government into reverting to its traditional tactic of *kragdadigheid* to reassure its followers that it hasn't really gone soft — hence the swoop on the Pan Africanist Congress two weeks ago, De Klerk's failure to act against the security forces which took that unilateral action, and his crass intervention to veto the appointment of a black man as chairman of the new SABC board and nearly a third of the other selected members.

But it is a Catch-22 situation. While such strong-arm action may shore up the Government's support base, it impacts badly on the ANC's constituency. There impatience is growing at the slow pace of the negotiations and their failure to produce any tangible improvement in the quality of life for the majority of blacks.

Things may be improving for the political elite and the emerging middle class, but that only increases resentment and suspicions among the masses who still live in grinding poverty, with 43 percent unemployment.

As the Government's sudden displays of intransigence sent disillusionment soaring, the ANC felt an urgent need for a strong message to stabilise its flaking position. And there can be nothing more potent in this apartheid society than the date for that long-dreamed-of, democratic election.

As the prospect of an announcement loomed during the week, then faded as some of the smaller negotiating parties resisted it, the danger of even greater disenchantment sharpened the ANC's sense of alarm.

Joe Slovo warned of "unpredict-

able consequences" if the date was delayed any longer. In the end, the target date was provisionally accepted, to be confirmed at another meeting of the Negotiating Council on June 15.

If that happens, the setting of a firm time-frame for the transition will also provide Mandela with the political justification he needs to call for an end to sanctions.

The ANC has become sharply aware of the need for this if our depressed economy is to stand a chance of recovering by the time it comes to power as the major partner in a "government of national unity and reconstruction".

As this column has noted before, the inherent difficulty facing both De Klerk and Mandela is that they are locked into a hybrid exercise of negotiating and electioneering simultaneously — and the two activities are incompatible.

Negotiating requires parties to reach understandings and make compromises, while electioneering requires them to engage in combat. The one requires them to be sensitive to each other's constituency problems; the other to exploit those problems.

As the negotiations have

dragged on, party followers on both sides have seen their leaders increasingly as sellouts conceding cherished positions to the enemy. The opinion polls show that the Government is no longer seen as the patron and protector of the white population, but as a craven appeaser of ANC demands.

ANC officials report the same on their side. But it is De Klerk who has the greater problem. His inability to stop the violence, which is impacting increasingly on whites instead of being confined to the black townships as it was in the past, adds to his image of impotence.

And as the whites look for alternative protectors, they are turning to the far-rightist movements whose attraction has been enhanced by the appearance of the Afrikaner Volksfront with its four ex-generals in command.

Nor is that the only point of defection. More and more conservative whites, realising the political future lies with the black majority, are turning to the Inkatha Freedom Party as their best hope of a stop-ANC movement.

As Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi suffers his own haemorrhage of

Zulu support to the ANC, this raises the paradoxical prospect of Inkatha ending up with more white votes than black.

It is crucial, if South Africa's transition is to succeed, that this erosion of the major constituency must stop. De Klerk and Mandela must both be able to deliver the bulk of their followers into the new South Africa, otherwise there will be chaos.

The hope must now be that the announcement of an election date will symbolically signal that the first phase of the negotiations is drawing to a close and that the election campaign proper is about to begin. There is nothing quite like an election campaign for rallying the troops and consolidating constituencies.

If the election date is confirmed, a transitional executive council could take office within a month. Everything will then focus on preparations for the election, and only after that has taken place will the constitutional negotiations resume next year in the elected constituent assembly. The two incompatible activities will have been at least partially separated. □

# CP publishes proposals for the new constitution

Buss. Day 9/6/93

CAPE TOWN — The CP published yesterday its constitutional proposals, which insist on Afrikaner self-determination under a confederal constitution in a territory to be negotiated.

The proposals, submitted to the negotiations technical committee on constitutional affairs, do not specify the territory the CP suggested should be set aside as an Afrikaner state.

Nor do the proposals indicate specifically whether it will be possible for people in the territory who are not white to have the vote.

The document argues, however, that in terms of international law, states are not obliged to grant the vote to non-citizens.

Only Afrikaners would qualify for full citizenship in the state. Afrikaners were defined as people who were "descendants of the Afrikaner nation and those patriots who share

TIM COHEN

the same destiny".

CP MP Corne Mulder declined to say specifically whether this definition would exclude people who were not white, saying only that the definition was self-explanatory.

Non-citizens within the Afrikaner state would not have the vote, would not be able to stand for Parliament, would not be able to lay claim to immovable property, but would have other private law rights.

On the territory, the CP document proposes that a process of negotiations should result in a legitimate set of boundaries "as opposed to mere, unilaterally proposed instant maps".

The CP would present its proposals to the commission on the delimitation of states, regions and provinces, declining to release details of its proposals until they had been considered by the commission.

In contrast to parties that proposed a unitary state or a unitary state with regional powers, the CP was proposing self-determination for those who desired it, and any other dispensation for the rest.

These states — there would be at least two, the Afrikaner state and the New SA — would be bound together "for the benefit of all in a confederation of mutual acceptance and co-operation".

The confederal state would co-operate economically, in a way similar to the EC, and would share scientific and technical progress.

The document concluded that if all parties to the negotiations were serious and accepted the realities, it would be possible to resolve SA's complex problems.

"This may be our last opportunity to resolve our constitutional problems in a peaceful manner," the document said.

## PAC rejects nationalisation

TIM MARSLAND

THE PAC would not nationalise industry if it came to power, PAC secretary for economic affairs Sipho Shabalala said yesterday.

Addressing a conference on commercialisation and corporatisation at Midrand yesterday, he said the PAC did not have nationalisation on its agenda.

"I want to set the record straight. We will never nationalise buildings and so on. We are not fanatics," he said.

However, the PAC would like to see blacks on the boards of companies so that the workers "have a sense of ownership ... We want all people to have access to wealth," he said.

PAC economist Mosebajane Malatsi, who is also senior policy analyst at the Development Bank, said the organisation's focus would be on black empowerment through education.

There were too few blacks with the know-how to handle the running of businesses. Therefore, the organisation would make education a key priority, he said.

## DP MP attacks liquor Bill

CAPE TOWN — Rather than stimulating competition, the Liquor Amendment Bill would protect certain players in the liquor industry, Geoff Engel (DP Bezuidehout) told Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the measure, he said the DP would vote against the Bill because the state's deregulation was unsound and licences and conditions of operation made such business inaccessible to local communities.

Central government should not determine trading hours.

"Due to the strong emotive, moral and religious issues at stake here, we believe the desired level (for setting hours and conditions) is third-tier government structures, namely local authorities, where each community can decide its wishes."

While the NP supported regionalism and devolution of power, it still demonstrated how selective its principles really were.

The DP knew there were many opponents of the Bill who did not want any deregulation.

However, experience in other countries had shown that deregulation did not necessarily increase alcohol consumption, and in some instances had actually decreased

consumption and abuse.

Government had not been even-handed in its deregulation programme, which continued to discriminate against beer sales in supermarkets or other retail outlets where wine sales were permitted.

This was unjustified state interference originally prompted by the wine co-operatives against English business, he said.

Earlier, Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff said the implementation of the Liquor Act was a dynamic process that depended on the perceptions of the society it served. But all the problems would not be solved by the amendment.

However, the industry had come a long way on the path of deregulation. He had no doubt that Parliament might find it necessary to pass further deregulation measures in future.

DGH Nolte (CP Delmas) said the CP would oppose the measure because it extended liquor trading hours, and the CP was against trading on a Sunday.

At a time of increasing murders, robbery and death, lengthening selling hours would contribute only to more violence and unrest, he said. — Sapa.

## Analysts warn of SA election chaos

PRETORIA — Political analysts disagreed yesterday on the readiness of political parties, particularly the ANC, to meet the formidable challenges in the "brief" 10 month run-up to an election.

Willem Kleynhans said the country was totally unprepared for an election within a year and an attempt to hold one would end in chaos and a badly flawed result.

Of the country's 22-million eligible voters, 17-million would be Third World political illiterates.

It would take a year or more of intensive education programmes to equip them properly to take part in a democratic election.

He said there were massive "no

go" areas where parties would be unable to hold meetings without provoking violence and disruption.

For the ANC, these areas included Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Kwa-Zulu, while NP recruiting efforts would not be tolerated in townships. The DP would not fare much better.

Kleynhans said farmers were unlikely to allow the ANC to campaign on farms for the votes of the 500 000 enfranchised farm workers.

He claimed the ANC had almost no election infrastructure and had put out the "begging bowl" in an effort to scrape together the R200m it claimed it needed to fight an election.

However, Wits University political science associate professor Tom Lodge said an election in 10 months' time was feasible, with much hard work, and "certainly desirable".

He claimed the ANC was as well prepared as any other party at this stage but much remained to be done in registering and educating voters.

In certain areas the ANC's organisation was "creaky" but then so was the NP's.

Lodge said a delay in the election could lead to fragmentation of ANC support to the right.

An early election had the support of the business community, which believed it would lead to greater business and consumer confidence and stimulate investment.

rechecked headings

11A



The commission on the demarcation of regional boundaries met for the first time in Kempton Park yesterday. Commission co-chairman Bax Nomvete and organiser Theuns Eloff addressed the media afterwards. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

### Stop homelands building — ANC

*Buss Day*  
WILSON ZWANE  
THE ANC yesterday called for a moratorium on the building of new government buildings by homelands. ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the construction of such buildings on the eve of a new constitutional dispensation was a "total waste" of resources, which should be reserved for a common parliament.

Mamoepa's statement followed disclosures that the KwaNdebele government had recently built new government buildings in Kwa-Mhlanga. *9/16/93*

A source close to the homeland said yesterday it spent about R30m on the buildings, which were completed some months ago.

He would not give reasons for the building of the complex, referring inquiries to the homeland's chief minister's office. *(11A)*

Attempts to get comment from the office proved fruitless yesterday.

The source also confirmed that about R5m had been earmarked for the building of a police station in the area. *(11A)*

Mamoepa said the ANC would consult KwaNdebele's ruling Intando Ye Sizwe Party about the circumstances surrounding the construction of the buildings.

Only after consultations would the ANC be able to make an informed comment on the matter.

# Demarcation of new boundaries begins

*Buss Day 9/16/93*

WILSON ZWANE

THE process of demarcating new regional boundaries began in earnest yesterday when a 15-member commission asked interested parties to make submissions on the issue.

The commission, appointed by the multiparty negotiating council on May 28, met for the first time yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Commission co-chairman Bax Nomvete told a media briefing the meeting looked into the organisation's terms of reference and time frames within which to accomplish its task. *(11A)*

The commission would meet again on Saturday to consider criteria it would use to demarcate regional boundaries. *(11A)*

Nomvete, a University of Cape Town academic, stressed that the commission would not be investigating the structures, powers and functions of regions because that was not its brief.

He said since the regional question was important for SA's future economic, political and social prospects, the commission would ensure that submissions on the matter were received from all interested parties.

Commission member Chief Ncamashe-Burns said no submissions would be rejected because they emanated from certain political organisations. He said the commission would, if necessary, consider regional boundaries from the colonial days.

Co-chairman and Pretoria University academic Prof Flip Smit said the commission would use internationally accepted criteria when considering the submissions.

Ncamashe-Burns said the commission would also inquire into whether the demarcation of regions was possible before certain laws were repealed.

Also on the commission are the Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein and the Independent Development Trust's Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu.

KwaZulu government negotiator Ben Ngubane said the commission had "enough credibility" to make proposals which the negotiating council could not reject.

The commission will make its recommendations to the council within six weeks.

Nkuhlu said the recommendations would not undermine the rights of people who had been deprived of their land to seek restitution.

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# Govt denies Slovo's claim over gun permit appeal

Buss Day 9/16/93  
LLOYD COUTTS

GOVERNMENT yesterday denied that it had refused SACP chairman Joe Slovo a firearm permit to force him into applying for permanent indemnity.

"That is simply not true at all," Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday.

He also confirmed that the issuing of licences to ANC NEC members Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Nhlanhla and Alfred Nzo last week was being investigated.

Slovo — the subject of several assassination plots — was refused a permit last week and said he had been told he would be granted one if he applied for permanent indemnity. He has accused government of at-

tempting to put pressure on the ANC into accepting the Indemnity Act, which the organisation has rejected.

Police said last week that Slovo had been denied a permit because he only had temporary indemnity and was linked to investigations into violent crimes.

Kasrils, Nhlanhla and Nzo all have only temporary indemnity from prosecution.

Kotze said the issuing of firearm licences was a policing matter. "Government did not refuse the firearm licence nor grant them to Kasrils and others. The police did, in the normal course of their duties.

Obviously, the guiding principle is that each individual has certain rights and the police have the responsibility of ensuring the policy is carried out equitably.

"In the present situation it is alleged the police broke their own policy by granting firearm licences. An alleged inconsistency in that policy is now being investigated, and it's got nothing to do with government," Kotze said.

A spokesman for SAP headquarters in Pretoria confirmed yesterday that the incident was being investigated by SAP commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe.

She said the investigation would last a few days.

# Inkatha calls for probe into 'assassination plot'

Buss Day 9/16/93

DURBAN — Inkatha has called on the Goldstone commission to investigate the "serial assassination" of its leadership following the killing of three IFP leaders at the weekend, reports Sapa.

An Inkatha statement yesterday said the partially burnt body of Inkatha Youth Brigade chairman of the Ipelegeng branch in the western Transvaal, Paul Dintoe, 17, had been found by police near an old Schweizer-Reneke mine on Sunday.

He had been abducted from his home on Saturday night and his body had multiple stab wounds, the statement said.

Mkhombiseni Buthelezi, 48, branch chairman at Ekusayeni ward, Kwamletwa, near Empangeni in Natal, was shot dead on Sunday, and the third killing was of an Inkatha organiser in Ozwathini's Emathulini ward, Inkatha said.

The total number of Inkatha office bearers killed since 1985 was now 295.

"The targeting of Inkatha's lower level leadership for assassination is symptomatic of a politically inspired strategy to emasculate Inkatha prior to elections," the

statement said. Police have arrested three men in connection with the killing of five people in one of three attacks which claimed 11 lives last week in the Ntabamhlope area near Estcourt, in the Natal Midlands.

The suspects will appear in court today. Our Maritzburg correspondent reports that seven people have been arrested following a crackdown on illegal firearms and wanted criminals by Greytown police and the SADF in the Appelsbosch area early yesterday.

The ANC Natal Midlands slammed the raid as "a concerted attempt to destabilise the ANC in the Midlands in preparation for a major attack by Inkatha".

ANC deputy chairman Blade Nzimande condemned the use of white farmers in SADF operations and demanded that "the SADF stop allowing white farmers to perpetuate their violence by giving them army uniforms".

"We warn white farmers and the security forces that their brutalisation of ANC members will not be tolerated," he said.

# Fraud charge against Dali Mpofu withdrawn

Buss Day 9/16/93  
GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE fraud charge against the former deputy head of the ANC's social welfare department, Dali Mpofu, was withdrawn in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday.

Mpofu had been accused of misappropriating hundreds of thousands of rands from the department, which Winnie Mandela headed. The ANC had said more than R400 000 had disappeared while the two were in office. Mpofu had denied the allegations.

Mpofu was fired for financial mismanagement in May last year, and six months later threatened le-

gal action against the ANC. He said he would take the matter to the industrial court, claiming unfair dismissal. Although a conciliation board was set up and one meeting held, Mpofu did not take it any further, said an ANC source.

Mpofu claimed he and Mandela were victims of a smear campaign aimed at discrediting Mandela and anyone close to her, in an effort to take control of the ANC.

Yesterday an ANC spokesman declined to comment.

# Inquest is postponed

Buss Day 9/16/93

PORT ELIZABETH — The inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe and three other political activists was postponed to June 14 yesterday after a request by the SAP's legal counsel.

P J de Bruyn applied to Judge N Zietsman to postpone the case due to unforeseen circumstances. The application was made with a view to expediting the matter, he said.

Legal counsel for the families of the deceased George Bizos SC objected to the length.

Zietsman said the delay was regrettable but he would grant the postponement. — Sapa.



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# PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



11A

# Cape mayor, deputy join ANC

## Staff Reporter

FRANSCHHOEK has become the first town in South Africa to have a black mayor and a white deputy who have both joined the ANC.

Mr Frank Arendse became the first black mayor of a previously white group area last year when the Franschhoek management committee and the town council amalgamated.

Yesterday he said he joined the ANC

because it no longer subscribed to violence and it was his "democratic right" to join any political organisation.

In his heart he had always supported the ANC and he and deputy mayor Mr Arthur McWilliams-Smith's politics would not influence the running of the town council, he said.

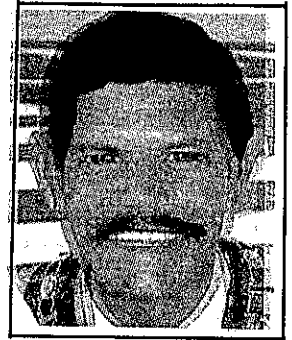
"Since the National Party was voted into power all blacks and coloureds have been treated like second-class citizens

with no voting rights and I am not prepared to accept this any longer."

Town clerk Mr Meyer Siebrits said Mr Arendse's decision to join the ANC would not affect the running of the town and would not bring politics into council affairs.

Mr McWilliams-Smith said he had joined the ANC because he was "disillusioned with the National Party" because of its ineptitude.

CT 9/6/93



**MAKING HISTORY ...**  
Mr Frank Arendse



# PAC halts talks with govt

27/6/73  
JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC said yesterday it was suspending bilateral talks with the government following a police swoop on its members, but would remain in multi-party talks.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander told a Spanish TV news agency the organisation's military wing would not abandon its armed struggle against white domination.

"We will carry on with the armed struggle. We will intensify it because

the regime is not complying with the negotiation council resolutions and is not interested in the mutual cessation of hostilities," he said. (11A)

Meanwhile, the PAC said yesterday reports of a deepening white public crisis of confidence in the National Party could lead to further clamp-downs on PAC members.

It said the government had not as yet returned the property of its members which was confiscated recently by the police. — Sapa

**M**ULTIPARTY negotiations have seen the tabling of widely disparate proposals for redefining SA's regions. The parties' motives differ markedly.

The NP's primary motive is to limit the powers of a majority government, and it has voiced a rather equivocal policy of "regionalism based on sound federal principles". The DP has traditionally been concerned with limiting the powers of the centre, and advocates an unqualified federalism. The ANC, while it has recently made important concessions, wishes to ensure that the centre retains its power over the regions, but concedes that a certain (and as yet undefined) degree of political power should be vested in regional authorities.

In stark but predictable contrast, the Inkatha Freedom Party tends towards a confederalist approach to promote the autonomy of Natal-KwaZulu. Finally, there is little doubt that the homeland administrations wish to retain their power bases intact, while the CP and others to the right are concerned with maintaining Afrikaner identity.

Given the divergence of motivations, the potential for regions to be delineated on the basis of short-term political goals seems high. A further worry is that, to break a possible constitutional deadlock, the negotiating parties might settle for compromises that give short shrift to rational economic planning.

**W**rongly and hastily planned regions could well be a recipe for disastrous and violent fission along ethnic, racial or party political lines. By contrast, many positive developments could flow from intelligently and sensitively constructed regions: the deepening and extension of democracy; the integration of regional sentiments into national politics; and the amelioration of regional economic imbalances.

Yet, an elaborate federal structure with well-entrenched regional autonomy may not be conducive to development. Economic reconstruction requires a strong central government with the power and compe-

# Regional policies must aid the cause of economic growth

B/Day 9/6/93

GAVIN MAASDORP

tence to implement national development strategies, to engage in appropriate fiscal planning and to promote regulatory harmony.

The delineation of regions depends on the purpose they are intended to serve. Will the dominant purpose be to take account of population composition, or historical experience, or functional economic flows, or a rationalisation of existing administrative jurisdiction?

If (as it should be) the major concern is for economic reconstruction, and the need for economic growth, then solid recommendations can be made about the nature and structure of a future constitutional system.

Legitimate government functions in an economy are limited to three areas: the allocation of resources for the provision of public goods; the stabilisation of the economic environment; and the correction of distribution of income and wealth society deems inequitable.

Economists agree that central government is the appropriate level for policy-making aimed at influencing the distribution of income and wealth. In the provision of services, however, other levels of government clearly have a role to play. The stabilisation function concerns fiscal and monetary policy. In both unitary and federal systems, it has to be

carried out at the central level.

Experts have recommended regional autonomy for regional development policies. But what powers are necessary? Should regions be free to diverge from national policy in promoting regional investment incentives for industries and tourism? The question of which level of government should be given the ability to declare export processing zones is a related concern. The same applies to devolution of control over airports and harbours.

**T**he fiscal relationship between the centre and regions is a crucial one. SA has an extremely centralised system of taxation with the central government raising about 93% of total taxes. However, regional and local authorities do need some degree of fiscal autonomy. Whatever jurisdictions are devolved to the regions, they require sufficient revenue to carry out their functions. But should limits be set on their expenditure levels and powers of taxation?

Provincial income tax was abolished in 1970, and the regional administrations have become more dependent on transfers from central government. These transfers need to

be equitable. Different regions have different needs stemming from such factor as population sizes, rates of urban growth, resource endowments and economic potential. It is desirable, to avoid disputes, that a simple, clearly defined formula for fiscal transfers from the centre should be evolved; these transfers should not be made ad hoc.

There are some interesting examples of fiscal transfer mechanisms in federations such as Malaysia and Australia, where central governments have the major taxing powers and then distribute funds to the regions. In Malaysia the distribution of funds is constitutionally guaranteed whereas in Australia the Commonwealth Grants Commission controls most of the grants given by the federal government to the states.

It appears that the Malaysian system has been more successful because the transfer of funds is tied, constitutionally, to a mechanistic formula. In Australia, by contrast, the federal government has been able to tie its levels of funding to a particular state's acceptance and implementation of federal policy — which has led to a controversial undermining of state autonomy.

Fiscal transfers are clearly important to minimise inter-regional income differentials. The aim should

be to mitigate the extent of inequality by financial transfers from the centre. Some regions are likely to continue to lose inhabitants to regions of greater economic opportunity. It is in the national interest that these people should have equal educational opportunities to enable them to compete from an equal position for jobs in the cities. Thus, it is important that social service standards be similar across regions.

An agreed formula for fiscal transfers would be critical: no central government should be able to penalise, or discriminate against, any region for political reasons.

Because SA is a nation of many peoples and cultures, the centre needs sufficient powers to hold the nation together and direct its economy through fiscal means.

On this basis, among the economic functions which it appears critical for the central government to retain are monetary policy, fiscal policy, foreign trade policy, regulation of financial institutions, transport and communications and the maintenance of national standards in terms of education, health and pensions.

The delineation of regions is likely to be based on an amalgam of homogeneity, functional economic flows and existing administrative criteria. SA has a plural society and regions should help, not hinder, the process of building, for the first time, a democratic society in the country.

**T**he number of regions should be minimised bearing in mind that the system is costly, especially if the regions are federal states.

In financial terms, a federal system is a costly form of government. Each state has its chief executive, ministers, legislatures and the "paraphernalia, pomp and pageantry that politicians love so much". While these costs might be offset by sociopolitical benefits, the general policy should be minimal government, and the policy of regionalism should be in line with this goal.

□ Prof Maasdorp is director of the Economic Research Unit, University of Natal, Durban. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of Optima.

SPOT DESK

# ANC Star 9/16/93 torture denied (11A)

By Mokone Molete

Allegations of torture at ANC camps were "fabrications" aimed at discrediting the organisation, a former commander of Quatro camp in Angola told an inquiry into alleged ANC human rights abuses yesterday.

Gabriel Mthunzi Mthembu, the camp's first commander, told the Motsuenyane Commission that rules and regulations governed the treatment of ANC prisoners.

Mthembu, who was known as Sizwe Mkhondo, said the people who alleged that abuses took place intended to "besmirch" the image of the ANC.

"We have incontrovertible evidence that some of them still work for the system (SA Government)," he said.

Appointed first commander of Quatro when he was 19 years old in 1979, Mthembu quoted incidences where he intervened when prisoners were abused.

Quatro has been mentioned in various statements before the commission and other commissions as the "torture centre" of ANC camps. Mthembu was its commander from 1979 until 1982.

The inquiry continues.

Star 9/6/93

## ANC ends 'boer' slogan

The African National Congress's National Executive Committee is to instruct its members to stop chanting the controversial slogan "Kill the farmer, kill the boer". (IIA)

ANC legal adviser Mathew Phosa said the decision was taken at a meeting of the committee yesterday.

The decision, he said, demonstrated how seriously the ANC objected to the killing of farmers.

The slogan was first heard in public soon after the assassination of Chris Hani in April.

It was subsequently used on a number of occasions by

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, unleashing a wave of white anger and protest throughout the country.

Reacting to the announcement, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the emphasis should now be on repairing the damage caused by such slogans.

This would entail closer co-operation with police, Kotze said.

He said the abandonment of such slogans by the ANC "opened the door for organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress to do the same". — Sapa.

# June 16

## rally blitz

Star 9/6/93  
lined up

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC Youth League's nationwide June 16 anniversary services next week, which will include "defiance rallies" in Bophuthatswana and rural areas of Natal, would serve as a dress rehearsal for the ANC's election campaign, ANCYL publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana announced yesterday.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg, Mankahlana said this year's June 16 commemoration services would be bigger than any other events organised "in the history of our struggle" since the 1976 killings of protesting Soweto students by police.

Mankahlana said 78 rallies had been organised throughout the country, with ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANCYL president Peter Mokaba scheduled to address a mammoth rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium.

ANC firebrand Harry Gwala will address a rally in the trouble-torn Vaal Triangle township of Sebokeng; ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale will speak at the Johannesburg City Hall; and ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa will be the main speaker at Botshabelo in the southern Free State.

## PAC to step up armed struggle

The PAC said yesterday it was suspending bilateral talks with the Government following a police swoop on its members, but would remain in multiparty democracy talks. ~~(S)~~ (WA)

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander told Spanish television news agency Televisa-Eco's Africa bureau that the organisation's military wing would not abandon its armed struggle against white domination: "We will carry on with the armed struggle. We will intensify it." — Sapa-Reuter ~~(S)~~

B10849/6/93

**Sanco defends Winnie**

SANCO reacted strongly yesterday to criticism of its appointment of Winnie Mandela as the organisation's southern Transvaal chairman.

Sanco said Mandela was not merely appointed as suggested, but was in fact elected democratically by its Vaal members.

~~(S)~~ (IA)

# ANC used third degree 'in extreme cases'

Buss. Day 9/16/93  
LLOYD COUTTS

THE "third degree" was applied only under extreme circumstances as a method of interrogation at the ANC's Quattro detention camp in Angola, the camp's first commander and ANC intelligence official Gabriel Mthembu said yesterday. (IA)

He did not elaborate on what he meant by the "third degree".

Testifying at the Motshenyane commission of inquiry into alleged torture in ANC camps, Mthembu denied torture had taken place at Camp 32 (Quattro), and said the "third degree" was employed only when people's lives were at stake.

Interrogation techniques were governed by strict regulations, and the use of "political persuasion" on enemy agents was preferred. Agents — many of whom were compelled by circumstances to work for the SA regime — were told what the ANC stood for, and this proved successful.

Mthembu, trained in East Germany and the Soviet Union and appointed to head Quattro in 1979 when he was only 19 — said he had never personally resorted to the "third degree". He said there had been

instances of abuse by camp personnel, but that those responsible had been reprimanded and, in some cases, demoted.

Mthembu said the ANC had been forced to create a detention camp when its operations and equipment in Angola were sabotaged, and when it became clear it had been infiltrated by agents.

"(It is) regrettable, some of us having to be brought here as if we have committed bad acts. My contention is that the people spreading such lies are people who are aiming to besmirch the image of the movement," he told the commission.



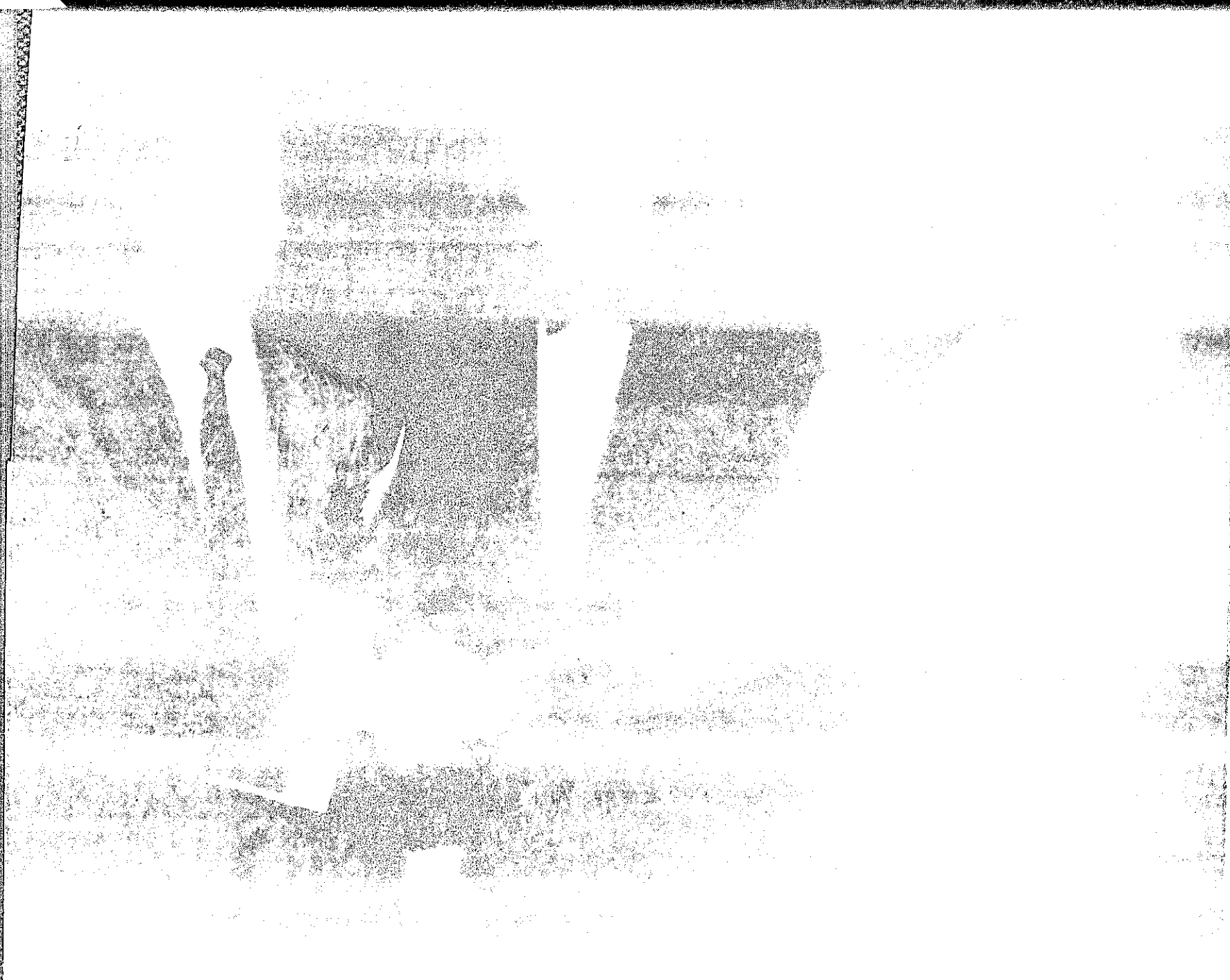
## Slogan ban a PR stunt

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has dismissed as a public relations stunt efforts by the ANC to abandon the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogan.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa said the ANC's national executive committee had instructed its members not to chant the slogan.

In response yesterday, NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said the NP welcomed the ANC's decision. (11A)

"It is, however, a decision without teeth. One cannot but have the impression that it is nothing more than a cynical public relations effort... a leadership decision without the will to enforce it." — Political Staff (11A)



**HONOURED ... Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, left, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at this week's function where Ramaphosa and Meyer shared the New Nation-Engen Man of the Year Award.**

■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

## Ramaphosa, Meyer win top award

By ZB MOLEFE

ONLY hours after they had clinched a glimmer of hope for SA's first non-racial elections – provisionally set for April 27 next year – Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa received a wonderful send-off to the UN this week.

The two high-profile negotiators at the 26-party negotiating council in Kempton Park outside Johannesburg walked off with the inaugural 1993 New Nation-Engen Man of the Year Award.

In a black-tie ceremony at a swank Johannesburg hotel hun-

dreds of guests high-profile personalities gave Ramaphosa and Meyer a standing ovation when they were announced the winners.

To complete the night of achievement prominent businessman Mohale Mahanyele notched the Businessman of the Year Award and won high praise from guest of honour Nelson Mandela as having "put the issue of black economic empowerment very forcefully on the agenda in this country".

Even President FW de Klerk, who could not make it to the awards night because of work pressure, sent a congratulatory

note to Meyer, Ramaphosa and Mahanyele – citing their crucial contributions and achievements toward a better SA.

"This award is about faith and hope. Faith and hope can be realised through negotiations. Either we talk ourselves into a new SA or fight. If we win, we win collectively. If we lose, we lose everything," said an obviously tired Meyer in his brief acceptance speech.

"We stand at the gateway to democracy. Democracy so many of us worked and died for," said Ramaphosa as guests broke into spontaneous applause.

The guests rose to their feet

when a smiling and obviously proud ANC president Nelson Mandela led Ramaphosa and Meyer out of the massive ballroom to prepare for their flight to the UN.

*New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu summed up the night's events after sketching the reasons for the awards when he said: "Our country needs reconciliation and we dare not fail ..."

It was close to the magic midnight hour when guests started streaming out of the ballroom while the strains of popular singer Sibongile Mngoma-Khumalo's "this is the night of achievement, we are building a nation," filled the air.

# ANC didn't gag me *star 10/6/93* (11/11) says Stompie's mother

Joyce Seipei, mother of murdered teenage activist Stompie Seipei, yesterday emphatically denied claims that the ANC had prohibited her from speaking to the press.

Seipei said yesterday that she wanted to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela and his estranged wife Winnie before speaking to the media. The Star attempted to interview Seipei after the Appellate Division reduced Winnie Mandela's six-year prison sentence to a R15 000 fine on appeal. Mandela was convicted of kidnapping Seipei and three others.

The Star team accompanied Seipei to the local ANC office but their officials said The Star could not speak to her.

In an interview with Sapa at ANC headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday, Seipei would not say what she wished to discuss with the Mandelas. She said she had lived in constant fear for her life because of Stompie's activities.

She spoke animatedly of the child she lost in an incident which was reported around the world.

Seipei said she was reminded of Stompie whenever she saw children his age dancing and toyi-toying. She recalled how Stompie wrote to former President P W Botha asking whether he could visit Nelson Mandela on Robben Island.

Seipei, who lives in Tumahole, outside Parys, returned home yesterday afternoon. — Sapa.

Sowetan 10/16/93

## ANC stops singing of chant

THE ANC has taken a policy decision to tell members not to chant "Kill the farmer, kill the Boer".

The policy decision was announced by ANC legal adviser Mr. Mathew Phosa on Tuesday to discuss the role of the security forces during transition.

The meeting was called by Idasa and was attended by MPs and General Tienie Groenewald of the Afrikaner Volksfront. — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.*

(11A)

# focus on Elections

**U**nless South Africa sees the establishment of a Transitional Executive Authority within the month and an election shortly thereafter, the country faces a steady decay, Professor Mervyn Frost told the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa on Tuesday.

Frost, head of the political science department at the University of Natal, said much pressure was being put on African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and State President F W de Klerk to prevent their support and power bases from waning.

In fact, Frost said, the two leaders needed to drive or co-drive a "re-legitimised" State machine.

"De Klerk and the reformers, if they are to continue to be powerful, have to maintain some grip on the State machine. In short, power sharing is a life or death imperative," he said in an analysis of the National Party.

Of the ANC, he said: "There is only one way the ANC can hope to meet the aspirations of its followers. It must become the government of the day, or at least a part of it. For only when this happens can it start redirecting resources to those who have been so grossly disadvantaged by the apartheid system."

In his analysis of the short-term political scenario for the country, Frost said the current political scene included an ongoing breakdown in law and order, a government without legitimacy, political parties and liberation movements which do not have control over their followers and an economy which is not showing signs of a quick recovery;

It also included the emergence of fanatical politics at both ends of the political spectrum, an education system in chronic turmoil, and micro disputes in the form of boycotts and low level faction fighting across the country.

"A precondition for an end to all this is the establishment of a new constitutional order which is seen as legitimate by most people."

Frost said hopes that the new order could be held in place until a switch to a new dispensation had been dashed by the crumbling of the old order.

In looking at South Africa's short-term political scenario, Frost examined the power bases of the key actors — Mandela and De Klerk.

He said the National Party, which once had a superb State machine, had lost its cohesion.

De Klerk's support, he said, was not organised by any party political machine but his very position as executive head of the State "helped by Saatchi and Saatchi and the SABC".

"Ultimately though, De Klerk, the Government and the NP depend on the machinery of the

Both Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk are under extreme pressure to proceed urgently towards a Transitional Executive Authority and an elected constitution-making body. This report from Sowetan Correspondent

**Vasantha Angamuthu.**

Sowetan 10/6/93



FW de Klerk ... has taken a hard line.

(11A)

~~(11A)~~

State. In order to stay powerful they must continue to control the greater civil service, the police and the army."

Frost said De Klerk's recent hardline approach on security matters must be seen not as an attempt to woo back the rightwing voters but as an attempt to keep the State machine together.

He said the ANC would have to become the government or part of the Government to keep its power base.

"Briefly stated, the ANC leadership has to placate its followers or face the prospect of losing them to other more radical groupings such as the PAC and Apla."

Of the other smaller parties, including those of the tricameral Parliament, the far left and the rightwing parties, Frost said they were likely to be very active in the run-up to an election but that their power was short-lived.



Nelson Mandela ... under pressure

"These parties have power at the moment which is greatly disproportionate to their portion of national support.

"What gives them power disproportionate to their insignificant military muscle is their ability to disrupt the talks.

"Once the talks have achieved a result their significance will wane. They will be reduced to illegitimate extra-systemic actors who might legitimately be crushed by the armed might of the established State."

Frost said the Inkatha Freedom Party, like the smaller parties, was expected to play a most vigorous political campaign in the short term with its aim the establishment of a federation.

"If a constitution were adopted against regionally strong parties, as a unitary constitution would do, it stands to lose a lot of influence," he said.

*Sowetan 10/6/93*  
**PAC No to lifting sanctions**

COMMONWEALTH countries should wait another 11 months before lifting sanctions against South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress said yesterday. The PAC in part blamed the Commonwealth for the failure of the forerunner of multiparty talks, Codesa, saying it had lifted "people-to-people" sanctions too soon. (11A) (~~330~~)

# ANC tells of Forsyth detention

(11A) et 10/6/93  
JOHANNESBURG. — Intelligence agent Ms Olivia Forsyth had been imprisoned in the ANC's Quattro detention camp in Angola after ANC officials stopped believing her claim to be acting as a counter agent for the organisation.

Former Quattro chief recording officer Mr Dexter Mbona was giving evidence to the Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged abuses in ANC camps.

The ANC had been alerted that Ms For-

syth was a South African agent before she tried to infiltrate their Lusaka headquarters in the mid-80s, he said.

After joining the ANC she had been "turned" and sent back to South Africa as a counter agent.

However, the ANC became suspicious of her and sent her to Quattro.

Mr Mbona denied she had been sexually assaulted there and claimed she had "fallen in love with" a security depart-

ment official, Mr Rafiloe Mayile. Mr Mayile was expelled from the department because of this affair, he said. Mr Mbona denied previous allegations that he beat inmates.

Another witness gave the commission the names of two prisoners he said were killed for crimes against the ANC.

Mr Gabriel Mthembu, a former commander at Quattro, named the men only as Piper and Mahamba. — Sapa

# Orange teachers boycott classes

■ Angry staff demand three months arrears pay:

By Bongani Mavuso

ANGRY teachers at Voice Education Centre at Orange Farm are boycotting classes after the owner, Mr MA Khumalo, allegedly failed to pay their salaries for three months.

Teachers said yesterday pupils were becoming "restless and violent because they want to return to class".

The centre is registered as a private school with the Department of Education and Training, DET Orange Vaal region spokesman Mr W Gravett confirmed on Tuesday.

It comprises a pre-school, four primary schools and two secondary schools. Annual fees are R30 for the primary schools, R35 for higher primary and R40 for the secondary schools.

Teacher Mr Albert Sibanda yesterday

alleged that Khumalo told them there was no money to pay their salaries "because the Government was refusing to release the money".

However, DET spokeswoman in Pretoria Miss Kim McEvelly dismissed this, saying: "The responsibility for paying the teachers' salaries lies with their employer".

Attempts to contact Khumalo, a businessman, yesterday and on Tuesday were unsuccessful. When *Sowetan* visited his office teachers said he had left early in the morning "to look for money". Several calls to his office went unanswered.

About 79 teachers are employed by the centre.

They said their salaries ranged between R300 and R1 200 a month and claimed Khumalo spent about R50 000 for the official opening of the centre in March.

## ANC 3

## slain at Quattro

■ Commander admits death penalty was exercised:

THREE ANC prisoners who were killed for crimes allegedly committed against the organisation were yesterday named at the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged human rights abuses at ANC camps in exile.

The men, their names given as Piper, Mahamba and David Dumela, were executed by the ANC, the commission was told by Mr Gabriel Mthembu, a former camp commander at Quattro camp in Angola. Asked by commission chairman Mr Sam Motsuenyane what had happened to Mahamba, Mthembu replied: "I think he was part of those that were given capital punishment by the movement".

Motsuenyane: "Does that mean executed?" Mthembu: "Yes."

Asked for reasons for Mahamba's execution, Mthembu said he had committed crimes "deemed serious" by the movement.

*Sowetan 10/6/93*

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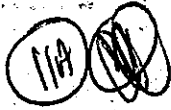




NEWS FEATURE *Mandela co-accused prepares for jail* ● *Doctors want equal treatment*

# Falati's last day of freedom

Sowetan 10/6/93



By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

## ■ SOUR FRIENDSHIP *Activist was kicked*

*out of mentor Winnie Mandela's Soweto home:*

**Y**ESTERDAY began as usual for Xoliswa Falati who at 7am was already up and about, cleaning the huge house which faces the old Mandela matchbox in Orlando West, Soweto.

The house the 39-year-old mother of two was cleaning has the words *Umuzi wa Bantu* — The People's Home — written on the front wall. It is where she took refuge after her mentor and former heroine, Winnie Mandela, chased her out of the Mandela backyard room when their friendship turned sour in March last year.

To Falati, so it seemed, yesterday was the dawn of just another day.

But at 4.30pm she would report at the Orlando police station to begin a two-year prison term for kidnapping and assault.

"I feel pity for Winnie Mandela," she says, "because one day the truth will surface. You know, when we say 'the people shall govern' we mean we, the underdogs, will tell the truth, for we know what we want."

If it was just a brave face she was putting on, it was indeed the determination in her voice which underscored the intensity of her words.

"I have been calling for a retrial, but I am an

underdog." And she adds: "But I am not going to be bullied by the rich and the bosses and I am not begging for Winnie's mercy or support."

With a tinge of bitterness to her voice, she says: "I was warned against this woman — by churchmen, community leaders, everybody.

### Dehumanised

"That woman has dehumanised me. She is a good actress rather than a politician. Ask why people walk out when she enters a branch meeting. All this noise about her having a huge following is stage-managed. She has no support.

"My God is king and I believe the truth will surface."

Falati says very little about her future in prison. "I am not bothered by that because my strength lies in the conviction that I am genuine. It is not my hands that are full of blood."

Regarding her predicament Falati says that, in fact, certain key people she did not name in the South African Council of Churches know the truth about what happened.

"There are tapes and several community leaders have them."

She insists that Katiza Cebekhulu, a youth who disappeared before he could testify in the Winnie Mandela trial, knows what happened to murdered teenager Stompie Seipei and three youths on December 29 1988. Stompie was found dead in a field on January 6 1989.

Says Falati: "He is still in Zambia and he would get himself killed if he returned because of what he knows."

● In May 1991 Falati was sentenced to six years' jail for the kidnapping of Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Mono, Gabriel Mekgwe and Stompie, and for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm. On June 2 her term was reduced to four years, of which two were suspended.

● In the same trial Winnie Mandela was sentenced to five years for kidnapping and to one year for being an accessory after the fact of assault.

Her sentence was reduced to one year or a R15 000 fine, with a further two years' imprisonment suspended for five years. She was ordered to pay compensation of R15 000 to Kgase, Mekgwe and Mono.



ONE DAY THE TRUTH WILL SURFACE ... Xoliswa Falati ponders her future.



Political Correspondent Esther Waugh  
on achievements at the negotiations

# Softly softly, Star 10/6/93 opponents agree

**O**F LATE, it has not been unusual for the Government and the ANC to find common ground on key issues in the transition process. Much more unusual are meetings of minds between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — and this is what was quietly achieved at the World Trade Centre last week.

The seeds of the compromises go to the heart of remaining obstacles in negotiations, and could begin to bridge the chasm between the two parties. The issues on which the progress was made were those of the future of the security forces, and the thorny question of future regional powers.

They embody the new spirit of "finding one another" and — significantly — they were thrashed out in smaller technical committees rather than in the more cumbersome negotiating structures.

It is important to note that although the reports of the technical committees on the security forces and regions have been tabled at the talks, the proposals have still to be discussed in the Negotiating Council. However, ANC and IFP negotiators have indicated that they are prepared to soften their positions on these vital issues in the cause of progress.

The report of the constitutional matters committee, widely commended at Thursday's Negotiating Council meeting, makes bold proposals which go much further than the ANC's existing regional proposals.

A new, direct link between extended regional powers and elections for a constitution-making body could ensure a "win-win" agreement, thus marrying the IFP's demand for strong regional government and the ANC's demand for an elected body to draft a new constitution.

The report proposes fiscal powers for the regions, interim regional governments, and each level of government having "concurrent and exclusive powers". These recommendations are not

part of the ANC's policy on regions.

In its submissions, the IFP said it would support a two-phased transition — which included elections for a constitution-making body — if the following conditions were met: an interim constitution; a set of constitutional principles which would be binding on a constitution-making body; final and entrenched boundaries and powers of regions; and the form of the State.

The second potential breakthrough is contained in the report of the technical committee on violence.

It proposes that police forces and armies be dealt with in terms of separate multiparty "agencies". This means that the KwaZulu Police and other homeland police forces would be handled along with the SAP in terms of one agency, while Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and the SADF would be dealt with in terms of another.

If this proposal is agreed to in the Negotiating Council, it will effectively end calls for the disbandment of the KwaZulu Police and MK by the two organisations, and sharply reduce a main source of tension between the IFP and ANC.

The IFP has consistently called for the disbandment of all armed formations while the ANC has proposed a phased progression, involving the South African security forces, KwaZulu Police, MK and other armed formations, towards a new defence force.

These compromise proposals on constitutional issues and violence were not discussed last week because of the delays caused by the debate on the police raids on the PAC. But they will certainly be discussed at next week's Negotiating Council sessions which will be meeting on an almost continuous basis for four days.

These deliberations will be the test of whether the quiet, less publicised achievements are keeping pace with the rhetoric. □

# Falati enters jail 'with no blood on my hands'

By Montshiwa Moroke

Xoliswa "Ncane" Falati, Winnie Mandela's co-accused in the marathon Stompie Seipei trial, yesterday went to jail saying "I don't have blood on my hands".

The Appeal Court last week set aside Mandela's six-year jail sentence for kidnapping and assault. She was given a R15 000 fine and a suspended sentence on the kidnapping charge.

The court confirmed Falati's conviction, although her sentence was reduced from six to two years.

Dressed in the colours of the ANC, with a brooch bearing the SA Communist Party emblem, Falati said she

was a staunch member of the ANC and believed in its Freedom Charter.

A bitter Falati told a press conference in the Johannesburg offices of the SA Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights that she had lied in court to protect the Mandela name.

"I met Stompie's mother at Shell House today and told her that the truth would be told one day. I told her we were being exploited because we are poor.

"I lied in court to protect Mrs Mandela. Mrs Mandela has money like dust; that is why she is not going to jail.

"My hands are clean. I don't have blood on my hands. Everybody knows I'm innocent," Falati said.

# Alleged Apla members arrested

ARG 10/6/93 IIA

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The police say they have arrested seven alleged Apla members in connection with several attacks and a foiled assassination plot and have detailed plans of two police stations and a military installation allegedly confiscated from PAC headquarters.

The police displayed plans of the security installations at a press conference yesterday.

They said they were seized during raids on the PAC last month — a claim vigorously denied by PAC leadership.

PAC publicity and information director Waters Toboti said the plans had been fabricated. If the police had found the plans in the PAC office, they would have confronted the PAC earlier.

Police said the seven were arrested on Monday and Tuesday in connection with attacks on security forces, robberies and an alleged plot to assassinate a homeland cabinet minister.

Police would not give the minister's identity, but he is believed to be from Venda.

Those arrested are being held in terms of Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Major-General Leon Mellet, head of the police public relations division, and Colonel Johan Mostert, chief of police media liaison, told a press conference in Pretoria that accurate sets of maps and plans had been confiscated from PAC headquarters after the arrests of members of the PAC and its military wing on May 25.

The maps were of the Seisoville (Kroonstad) and Winburg police stations, both in the Free State, and an unidentified army base in the northern Transvaal.

Mr Toboti said the police could have planted the documents at PAC headquarters when they staged the raid two weeks ago, because no PAC official was present when the organisation's head office was raided.

Star 10/6/93  
**ANC walkout threat**

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Carletonville ANC members have vowed to hand back their membership cards unless the organisation's head office disbands the executive committee of the Carletonville branch — whose members are allegedly responsible for murder, arson, assault and intimidation.

A group of ANC members from Khutsong township, near Carletonville, arrived at the liberation movement's Johannesburg headquarters yesterday to hand a memorandum to three representatives of the peace desk.

They charged that the ANC's Khutsong leadership had orchestrated violent crime in the township, "attacking and killing members of Cosas, members of the

ANC Youth League, members of the ANC Women's League and the entire membership of the ANC".

The deputation included local-level leaders of these ANC-linked structures, who said they had been forced into action by community pressure. At least eight people had been killed since the violence started, they said. The most recent victim, Abel Ngame Motswaesane (18), was buried at the weekend.

Residents alleged that members of the branch committee were also involved in:

- Night patrols which resulted in the burning of houses.
- Conducting a kangaroo court. According to statements collected by the Independent Board of Inquiry (IBI), numerous people have

● To Page 3

Star 10/6/93  
**Slogan ban  
'a PR stunt'**

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has dismissed as a public relations stunt efforts by the ANC to abandon the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogan.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa said the ANC's national executive committee had instructed its members not to chant the slogan.

In response yesterday, NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said the NP welcomed the ANC's decision. (1A)

"It is, however, a decision without teeth. One cannot but have the impression that it is nothing more than a cynical public relations effort... a leadership decision without the will to enforce it." — Political Staff

New police swoop on Apla

# Murder plan foiled - SAP

Star 10/6/93

Staff Reporters

Police announced yesterday they had arrested seven alleged Apla members in connection with several attacks and a foiled assassination plot.

They also confiscated detailed plans of two police stations and a military installation from PAC headquarters.

The SAP displayed plans of the security installations at a press conference yesterday, saying they were seized during raids on the PAC last month - a claim vigorously denied by PAC leadership.

Police said the seven were arrested on Monday and Tuesday in connection with attacks on security forces, robberies and an alleged plot to assassinate a homeland Cabinet Minister whom they did not name but who is believed to be from Venda.

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The maps were of the Selsoville (Kroonstad) and Winburg police stations, both in the Free State, and an unidentified army base in the northern Transvaal.

The plans included details of roads and buildings and drawings of office layouts, as well as "very sensitive" plans of the army base.

However, PAC information director Waters Toboti said yesterday the police could have fabricated and then planted the documents at PAC headquarters when they staged the raid two weeks ago. No PAC official was present at the time.

The PAC's negotiating team will meet in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss its continued participation in negotiations.

PAC national executive council (NEC) members yesterday stressed that no decision had been taken to suspend talks with the Government, as was announced by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemedzivanani said Alexander's statement was his personal view.

Nemedzivanani added that the PAC had cordial relations with all "bantustans, including Venda", and he found it unbelievable that Apla could have targeted a Cabinet Minister in Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana's administration.

Charges of murder and attempted murder were yesterday withdrawn by a Johannesburg magistrate against Louis Moosa (31) of Soweto due to insufficient evidence. He is one of four Apla members held in connection with a foiled attempt to bomb Rockerfella's restaurant in Bellevue.



The brown bomber . . . Chapman takes owner Magda Human for a run in a Boksburg

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

## Dog beats world record

The fastest greyhound in the world is brown, lives in Boksburg and carbo-loads on spaghetti before a big race.

At a meeting far from the high-flying world of overseas dog racing, Chapman (19 months) clocked 74 km/h on a dirt track near Newcastle, Natal, at the weekend, leaving the old world record of 73.14 km/h in tatters.

If Magda and Danie Hu-

man would let him out of his kennel at their Boksburg North home, Chapman would be the only dog in the neighbourhood who could catch the cars he chased.

It is difficult to work out whether Chapman is the official world champion as the sport has been illegal in South Africa since 1949.

He was clocked with a

speed trap-type radar and representatives of the Guinness Book of World Records will visit him this week.

Chapman usually eats meat and pap, but scoffs spaghetti the day before a race.

He goes for a walk with the Humans every day. Twice a week he has a gentle run, with a short sprint only every two weeks.

## ANC walkout threat

By Jo-Anne Collings

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"It is, however, a decision without teeth. One cannot but have the impression that it is nothing more than a cynical public relations effort . . . a leadership decision without the will to enforce it" - Political Staff

Star 10/6/93

# Falati lashes out at Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — A bitter Xoliswa Falati, convicted for her role in the kidnapping and assault of four Soweto youths claimed yesterday that her former co-accused, Winnie Mandela was involved in the incident.

"My hands are clean", she said at a news conference.

Falati, who began a two-year jail term yesterday at Diepkloof

prison, said Mandela was the "most feared woman in South Africa . . . capable of doing anything".

Falati and Mandela were charged with kidnapping and assaulting murdered teenage activist Stompie Seipei and three others.

Falati's conviction for kidnapping and assault was upheld by

the Appeal Court last week. She was sentenced to four years' imprisonment, two years suspended.

The court also upheld a kidnapping conviction against Mandela, but set aside her five-year sentence and fined her R15 000.

Stompie's mother, Mrs Seipei said yesterday that she was "relieved" the case was over. — Sapa

(11A) OCT 10/6/93



# Seven Apla members held

CT10/6/93  
By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

POLICE arrested seven Apla members yesterday and said it had seized plans for attacks on an army base and two police stations — Wynberg and Kroonstad — during the May 25 crackdown on PAC members.

Police liaison officer Mr Johan Mostert declined to reveal the identity of the army base but said the detailed plans of the police stations were "100% sufficient" for attacks and escapes.

Police linked Apla members arrested yesterday with a number of crimes — including the killing of security force mem-

bers and a foiled attack on an unidentified cabinet minister, believed to be from Venda.

Yesterday the PAC summarily suspended bilateral talks with the government in the wake of the May 25 raids on PAC offices which led to the arrests of 77 members and the confiscation of large quantities of PAC documentation.

## Court

It is understood the PAC is considering referring the row to the 26-member negotiating council in the belief that the ANC dare not side with the government against the PAC.

The government yesterday responded to the PAC's decision to break off bilateral talks, stressing that it could not enter into agreements with the PAC while it adhered to its policy of political violence.

The National Party said the arrest of seven more Apla members was further evidence of the PAC's "double agenda to both talk and shoot".

● Two men, believed to be members of Apla, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with an alleged attempt to plant a bomb at a Rocky Street restaurant.

They were not asked to plead and will appear in court again on June 29.



## ANC bans its provocative chants

THE ANC's NEC would today issue a formal statement banning the chanting of provocative slogans such as "kill the farmer", ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Niehaus said it was likely to include a ban on similar slogans.

ANC legal adviser Mathew Phosa said the decision was taken on Tuesday.

The decision, he said, demonstrated how seriously the ANC objected to killing of farmers.

The slogan was first heard in public

shortly after the assassination of Chris Hani in April. It was subsequently used by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, unleashing a wave of disapproval throughout the country.

Reacting to the announcement, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the emphasis should now focus on repairing the damage caused by such slogans.

The NP welcomed the ANC call to its members not to use the slogan, NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said in Cape Town yesterday. — Sapa.

## AIDS risk ignored by many — survey

HIGH-risk groups such as truck drivers and prostitutes are ignoring the dangers of contracting HIV, the virus which leads to AIDS.

This is one of the findings of a comprehensive National Health and Population Department survey released in Pretoria yesterday.

The study was carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council, and would be used to establish a national AIDS database.

The study showed that high-risk people were aware of the disease, and also that it was fatal. However, long-distance truck drivers regarded AIDS as "faceless", as none of those interviewed had seen a person die of the disease. Most still engaged in unprotected sex with prostitutes.

Prostitutes and their clients, generally believed to be high-frequency transmitters of sexual diseases, had less understanding of the disease. The study said that several thousand prostitutes worked in Johannesburg and Durban. It found that only a few of them knew what it meant to become infected with HIV.

Intravenous drug users had a general awareness of AIDS, but often lacked the ability to make rational decisions about protecting themselves.

The survey recommended urgent programmes to assist people with drug and alcohol problems.

A further study of homosexual and bisexual behaviour will be released at the end of the month.

The study found a perception of AIDS had not been well established among poorly educated people. Socioeconomic needs were seen as more urgent and threatening.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A process to make people feel a more realistic concern was needed.

About 450 000 people were infected with the HIV in SA, according to departmental estimates released last month. The figure doubled every 12 months.

Information from the study will be used to set up a directory of people involved with AIDS education and research to promote co-ordination and to monitor the effectiveness of AIDS initiatives.

Projects have also been set up to monitor groups such as squatters, hostel dwellers, street children, pregnant women, homosexuals and people with sexually transmitted diseases.

Sapa reports that the department commissioned 15 projects to various researchers, who focused on a variety of target groups, for the study.

"These studies will provide the key that allows AIDS workers to communicate with those normally beyond the reach of the health care community," the department said in a statement.

The projects concentrate on attitudes, behaviour, knowledge, and perception.

"With this research it is envisaged to address the issue of influencing attitudes and changing behaviour on long-term basis, especially with regard to appropriate intervention programmes.

"With this vast project the department not only aspired to create a database with regard to AIDS information, but to create an atmosphere of co-operativeness between all parties who work together in the fight against AIDS," the statement said.

# ANC to act on 'corrupt' telephone deregulation

Biday 10/6/93

(SST) (IA)

Reports by  
**MELANIE SERGEANT**

THE ANC will not take the current deregulation of SA's telecommunications industry lying down, and it could put the cat among the pigeons with regard to the new cellular phone networks which are being introduced.

The organisation believes that the way in which cellular services are being introduced is "corrupt", and is illegal in that legislation is not in place to allow government to grant licences to network operators.

Telkom, Vodaphone and Rembrandt plan to operate one network, while a second network operator will be decided by tender. Tenders must be handed in by month-end.

A senior ANC source says that to ensure an affordable service, "which is unlikely to be the case with the corrupt way in which the new cellular services are being introduced, is that when it comes to power, it will open up the market to further competition".

He says that a licence for a third operator could be introduced, and a system of rebates could be allowed to encourage this third operator to provide the service at a minimum laid down cost.

This would allow a wider pene-

tration of the service, because poorer people would be able to afford a cellular phone — the original intention of government when it announced that two network operators would be allowed in the market.

ANC head of information services, Andile Ngcaba, says there are already problems with the high cost of existing fixed wire phone services. He fears that the cost of services offered by Telkom's consortium company Vodacom, and the second network operator, will be unaffordable.

"While we want overseas investment, and we are definitely in favour of digitalisation and cellular telephony because it brings SA into the First World and provides a quick solution to the shortage of phone services in SA, we cannot accept an investment which is being introduced in a corrupt way. The way the new services are being introduced is not being done in a legal way, and we cannot accept this," he says.

Meanwhile, to counter pressure from the ANC and other bodies who believe advocate Ters Oosthuizen was appointed into a newly created regulatory position for which there is no statutory backing, Oosthuizen is to

be promoted to postmaster-general. The appointment was announced by the Posts & Telecommunications Ministry yesterday.

This position has the regulator's functions built into it so it is the most obvious way of conferring Oosthuizen with legal powers beyond the discretionary ones given to him by the minister.

This would give him the necessary statutory powers to put into place the necessary legislative processes which will promote the changes taking place in the telecommunications industry.

When he was appointed in April, Oosthuizen's first task was cited as being that of issuing SA's two new cellular phone licenses. The tender is expected to be adjudicated by August.

The Posts & Telecommunications Department has been handling regulatory matters since the split of Telkom and the Post Office in October 1991, but sources believe new legislation should be tabled in Parliament's second sitting which will make provision for a new telecommunications commission, as proposed in a report on the industry last year by consultants Coopers & Lybrand — and accepted at Codesa 2.

Star 10/6/93

# ANC walkout threat

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Carletonville ANC members have vowed to hand back their membership cards unless the organisation's head office disbands the executive committee of the Carletonville branch — whose members are allegedly responsible for murder, arson, assault and intimidation.

A group of ANC members from Khutsong township, near Carletonville, arrived at the liberation movement's Johannesburg headquarters yesterday to hand a memorandum to three representatives of the peace desk.

They charged that the ANC's Khutsong leadership had orchestrated violent crime in the township, "attacking and killing members of Cosas, members of the

ANC Youth League, members of the ANC Women's League and the entire membership of the ANC".

The deputation included local-level leaders of these ANC-linked structures, who said they had been forced into action by community pressure. At least eight people had been killed since the violence started, they said. The most recent victim, Abel Ngame Motswaesane (18), was buried at the weekend.

Residents alleged that members of the branch committee were also involved in:

- Night patrols which resulted in the burning of houses.
- Conducting a kangaroo court. According to statements collected by the Independent Board of Inquiry (IBI), numerous people have

● To Page 3

Star 10/6/93

# Walkout threat over violence

● From Page 1

been assaulted during "court" proceedings.

● Levying a R5-a-month fee for muti "to strengthen their group".

● Coercing people to attend meetings and take part in marches (11A)

The memorandum accused the ANC's PWV region of failing to take effective action to check the violence.

The conflict between supporters and the committee dates back to an alleged "take-over" of the branch at the annual general meeting in January. Longstanding members abandoned the meeting, and signed-up members recently set in place a totally new committee.

The delegation demanded the disbanding of the branch committee and the institution of an independent inquiry into the conduct of its members.

"If the abovementioned demands are not satisfactorily met by the end of June 1993," the memorandum warned, "the people of the Carletonville ANC branch intend returning their membership cards and to take matters into their own hands."

ANC PWV publicity secretary Obed Bapela denied that the Khutsong issue had been ignored. He said organisers had been sent to investigate some weeks back and matters appeared to have cooled a little.

He said now that violence had flared again, the regional executive committee would be asked to get involved.

IBI field worker Sally Sealey said the board had taken detailed statements from many people who still bore visible injuries. At least 25 complaints had been made to the Khutsong police, and charges ranging from murder and attempted murder, to arson, theft and assault were being investigated.

Contacted for comment yesterday, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation's head office would investigate the issue and take it up with the PWV region.

# Witness tells <sup>Star 10/6/92</sup> of executed prisoners

By Mokone Moete

A witness yesterday gave the Motsuenyane commission the names of two ANC prisoners who were allegedly killed for "crimes against the organisation".

Gabriel Mthembu, a former commander at Quattro camp in Angola, named the men only as Piper and Mahamba.

The commission is investigating alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps in exile.

Earlier in his evidence, he said a certain David Dumela had also been executed. He later retracted the name, stating that he had made a mistake.

Asked by commission chairman Sam Motsuenyane what had happened to Mahamba, Mthembu said: "I think he was part of those who were given capital punishment."

Motsuenyane: "Does that mean executed?"

Mthembu: "Yes."

He told the commission that ANC leader Jacob Zuma would later deal in evidence concerning people who went missing in ANC camps.

Another witness, Dexter Mbona, who is based in Lusaka and was flown in to testify at the hearings, denied previous allegations that he took part in the beating of inmates.

He was a recording officer at Quattro between 1984 and 1985.

The hearing continues.

# Probe on abuses at ANC camps told of Olivia Forsyth's

detention

SA INTELLIGENCE agent Olivia Forsyth had been imprisoned in the ANC's Quattro detention camp in Angola after officials stopped believing her claim to be acting as a counter agent for the ANC.

Former Quattro chief recording officer Dexter Mbona yesterday gave details of Forsyth's espionage work to the Motsuenyane commission of inquiry into alleged abuses in ANC camps.

Mbona said that before Forsyth tried to infiltrate the organisation's Lusaka headquarters in the mid-'80s, the ANC had been alerted to her being an agent by a former

fellow student.

After joining the ANC, she had been "turned" and sent back to SA as a counter agent, returning to Lusaka later to supply the ANC with information about the impending state of emergency, he said.

She had also told the ANC of a government plan to arrest the leadership of the mass democratic movement, destabilise its activities in exile and "release Nelson Mandela in a vacuum", he said.

He said the ANC had already known most of that information. However, by then it was suspicious of Forsyth and subse-

B/Say 10/6/93  
RAY HARTLEY

quently imprisoned her in Quattro.

Mbona denied that she had been sexually assaulted there and claimed that after being moved to Luanda, she had subsequently "fallen in love with" security department official Rafiloe Mayile.

He was expelled from the security department because of this affair.

Quattro camp commander Mountain Kepadise testified that the ANC had banned hunger strikes by inmates at the camp because it regarded people who wan-

ted to commit suicide as cowards.

He said there were no adequate medical facilities at the camp to cope with a hunger strike and camp officials feared that hunger strikers would die of starvation.

Architectural plans had been drafted for a prison to replace Quattro, which was too small and lacked basic prison facilities, Kepadise said.

The planned prison, which was to be built east of the Ugandan capital Kampala with the consent of the Ugandan government, would have included "a tennis court, a football field and a volleyball court" in

keeping with modern prison standards.

Kepadise said he had received reports that Quattro inmate Brendon Sampson had been beaten up for killing six pigs and had earned the nickname "porko", or pig, as a result.

The guards had subsequently been punished for breaching camp rules by assaulting Sampson, he said.

Mbona testified that about half those at the ANC's Pango camp, also in Angola, had been found to be involved in "illicit dealings", including in drugs. A similar situation existed at other ANC camps, he said.

# Tight security plan for Hani murder trial

TRANSVAAL Judge President C F Eloff has issued a list of strict arrangements to be applied in the Rand Supreme Court building in Johannesburg when the trial of Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye and Janusz Walus begins later this month.

The three face murder and other related charges in connection with SACP chief Chris Hani's death in April. ~~(SACP)~~

Eloff said yesterday the apparently widespread national and international interest in the trial, set down for June 23, had come to his attention.

He said searches would be conducted for

SUSAN RUSSELL

weapons and no crowds would be allowed in the corridors after the hearing began. People who were not seated would be asked to leave the court building. Admission to the court would be controlled.

About two-thirds of the seats would be made available to the family of the accused, the complainants and members of the public. The remainder would be reserved for members of the media.

Only legal representatives would be admitted into the well of the court.

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"Although it is the right of every individual to attend a court hearing, it is necessary to make these arrangements in the light of limited seating space to ensure good order in court and in the court building," he said.

(11A)  
No photographic or television equipment or other electronic recording or broadcasting devices, including portable telephones, would be allowed into the court building. The SA Communications Service had also been asked to arrange for media pool coverage and journalists would have to have special accreditation.

# PAC rejects claims by Alexander

By Käizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The Pan Africanist Congress has not suspended bilateral talks with the Government, PAC publicity and information director Waters "Bishop" Toboti said yesterday. (11A)

In a statement sent to PAC regional publicity officers, Toboti repudiated two statements made by secretary-general Benny Alexander this week, and called on the organisation's members to ignore them.

He said Alexander's statement that the PAC had broken off bilateral talks with the "regime" was incorrect.

Although the talks had run into "serious problems", the PAC's national executive council was still waiting for a report-back from its negotiating team. Only after receiving that report would the council decide what to do, Toboti said.

Alexander was this week reported to have told a Spanish television news agency the PAC had suspended meetings with the Government and would not suspend its armed struggle.

Speaking on Radio 702 yesterday morning, Alexander said Government negotiators had told the PAC they were not prepared to discuss "a mutual cessation of hostilities".

In his letter to PAC regions, Toboti also took issue with Alexander's statement on Tuesday that the PAC was to decide whether to press charges against Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok for the death in detention of a PAC member last week.

He said the NEC had not discussed such a possibility.

Bilday 11/6/93

## ANC worried that farmers want to quit

(11A) ~~SECRET~~  
Business Day Reporter

THE ANC yesterday expressed concern at reports that thousands of farmers wanted to give up farming.

It was concerned that some who were economically sound and used progressive farming methods were giving up farming because of security problems.

While it condemned brutal attacks on farmers and supported their right to self-protection, it opposed

the proposed use of former Koevoet and 32 Battalion members by some farmers.

Free State Agricultural Union president Pieter Gous told a meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront in Vryheid that farmers and the public were being made aware of security measures such as the incorporation of former members of Koe-

voet and 32 Battalion into farm security units.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that the SA Agricultural Union said government's R50m allocation to boost farm security in identified "red spots" was inadequate.

The union would submit a proposal next week to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel for a one-off subsidy payment.



# Scrambling for air time

By BAFANA KHUMALO

11/6-17/6/93  
w/m aul  
WITH the first non-racial election looming in 10 months' time, none of the major players has as yet a firm policy on how equal access to the electronic media will be guaranteed to all contenders.

For the African National Congress, the responsibility of ensuring equal access lies with an independent transitional media commission. "Within the ANC this is an issue which is still under discussion. We are still deciding in what manner equal time is going to be distributed on television," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said this week. "The main duty of the commission will be to ensure that there is free and fair coverage for all parties."

11/6-17/6/93  
The Inkatha Freedom Party, in contrast, feels this responsibility lies with the newly appointed board of the SABC. "In terms of programming policy, it is imperative that the new SABC board ensures equal access to all political organisations," said IFP spokesman Ed Tillett, adding: "We do not see the board intervening in terms of political advertising."

Various parties still have to negotiate how equal access will be ensured. "There should be consensus over this; after all, the SABC is a public utility," Tillett said.

The Pan Africanist Congress has no specific policy related to electioneering. The organisation's publicity and information director, Waters Tomboti, said equal access should not be restricted to elections but should be guaranteed at all times. "The electronic media should realise that their services are not for the ruling party only," he said.

The Democratic Party is opposed to any political advertising on the electronic media, according to DP media spokesman Peter Soal, although "there should be political broadcasts, as is the case in the United Kingdom — particularly in this election".

According to National Party media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk, political advertising is currently not allowed on television. As the tentative date for elections has been set for April 27 next year, more and more parties will be clamouring for air time — and some may feel that they are not being given the crucial sound-bites.

11/6-17/6/93  
11/6  
To avoid this, the NP proposes a formula according to which air time will be allocated. "It is not that easy to say all parties will get equal time," said Van Schalkwyk. "Should the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging get the same time as the ANC and the NP? The AWB might have less support than those two organisations."

This kind of arrangement would be similar to that in Germany, where, although there is no special legislation regarding access to the media, the government grants funds to political parties in proportion to the support they have. These funds can then be used to buy air time on private electronic media.

This funding is given only to those parties which get five percent of parliamentary seats. The cut-off, said the press attaché at the German embassy, Michael Schmunk, "is to avoid an inflation of parties, some of whom do not have a chance of winning, who might run for election just to make money out of it".

Funding is given to parties, said Schmunk, because of the recognition in the country's constitution that political parties "are doing something for the general good".

This liberal attitude in ensuring access to television for all parties is reflected in law in the United States, where the Federal Communications Act requires a broadcaster or cablecaster which sells time to a candidate to give equal opportunities to opposing candidates — including minor party and independent candidates. Broadcasters are exempted from the equal-opportunity rule only with regard to regularly scheduled newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries and on-the-spot coverage of news events.

A model of an equal-opportunity doctrine that local political parties might find agreeable would be one similar to that governing broadcasts in the United Kingdom.

Each year the British Broadcasting Corporation offers limited broadcasting time to political parties. This allocation is agreed upon annually by representatives of political parties, the BBC and private broadcasters.

The number of broadcasts each party gets is based on the number of votes cast for each party at the previous general election, but with the convention that the government and official opposition have the same number of broadcasts.

# 'Not ready for the elections'

"WHAT really worries me is that the ANC is over-confident. They don't seem to realise what is involved in a general election or what is at stake."

The concerns are those of Johann du Preez, a veteran of National Party and Democratic Party election campaigns who has been recruited by the ANC to help it fight the election for a constituent assembly. He is setting up the ANC's election campaign in Warmbaths.

Du Preez first ran an election campaign when he was asked by the NP to act as campaign manager for its candidate in Joubert Park during the October 1988 municipal election, Desiree Simpson. He believes Simpson's campaign went so well it was clear she was going to win before the end of the election. *Winnit 11/6-17/6/93*

The NP, under pressure in Hillbrow, where little campaigning had been done for their candidate, Rupert Korb, moved Du Preez to the area to boost Korb's campaign. In the short time left, the election race was swung around and Korb won his seat on the city council.

After the election, Du Preez attended a three-day NP *bosberaad*, where the future direction of the party was discussed, as chairman of the Hillbrow branch. "When I first heard official NP policy and what they wanted to do with the country, I decided this is not for me and I resigned," said Du Preez.

His decision to leave the NP set off a furious round of bidding for his services, with even the Conservative Party offering him a position. However, Du Preez signed-up with the DP and was elected the Johannesburg secretary of the party.

During the general election of November 1989 he was part of Lester Fuchs' election team when he contested the Hillbrow parliamentary seat. Fuchs won the seat.

After the general election, he approached the ANC to promote contact between the organisation and the DP. During these meeting, he was drawn to the organisation and especially ANC president Nelson Mandela.

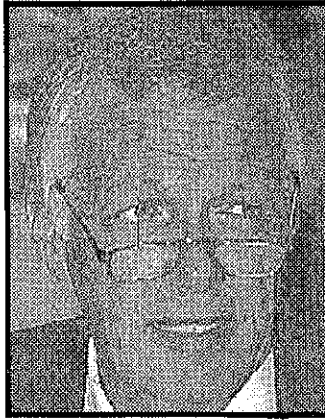
When the ANC suggested to Du Preez that he give seminars on voter education in the organisation's constitutional department, he agreed. He later joined the ANC. "I just thought the ANC was the right organisation to back, I'm still on good terms with the DP," he said.

After a spell in the ANC's constitutional department, Du Preez moved to intelligence before settling in the organisation's elections commission.

Although he is certain the ANC will be the next government, Du Preez is cautious in his assessment of how the organisation will perform in the elections for a constituent assembly.

"The ANC has no clear policy or manifesto at the moment. To my mind, the party which comes with a credible economic policy addressing housing, education and unemployment, is the party people will vote for — even if that party is the NP," he warns.

Between registering voters and setting-up the ANC's election machinery, Du Preez is writing a booklet aimed at his new constituency. Its title: *The People's Guide to a New Constitution — The Book to Read Before You Vote.*



Mr Jan van Eck

## Van Eck <sup>(11A)</sup> steps down

ARC 11/16/93  
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

POLITICAL stress has forced independent member of parliament Mr Jan van Eck to resign from the African National Congress regional executive committee.

Mr Van Eck said today he had cut down his workload but would remain in politics and continue as MP for Claremont.

"I'm a casualty of the political stress rampant in public life in South Africa. It would probably be correct to say I'm suffering from burnout."

Mr Van Eck said his doctor had given him no choice but to decrease his workload.

"I was hospitalised for a week. Afterwards my doctor told me I had to slow down. I could not take a long break ... I had to resign."

He said his role as a regional ANC executive member had not been a passive one.

"The responsibilities were big, given the fact that we have South Africa's first general election on the cards."



# ANC's new weapon: An AWB spy

w/m aul 11/6-17/6/93.

An Afrikaans antique dealer, who worked for the National Party and then the Democratic Party, spied for the African National Congress and is helping them run their election campaign. By **PAUL STOBER**

**A** WARMBATHS Afrikaner this week described how he succeeded in infiltrating the ranks of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as an African National Congress spy.

Much of the information Johann du Preez gathered also found its way to the government at a time when it appeared helpless against increased rightwing militancy.

When he polishes his glasses, Du Preez looks like the successful antique dealer he is, but his straightforward manner of speaking and ruddy features confirm he is an Afrikaner brought up on a farm near Ficksburg in the Free State.

He now lives in Warmbaths, where he works with the ANC's election's commission and is running the organisation's campaign in the town.

"I had narrow escapes from the AWB while I was working with ANC intelligence," he said without bravado, "but I don't get scared easily."

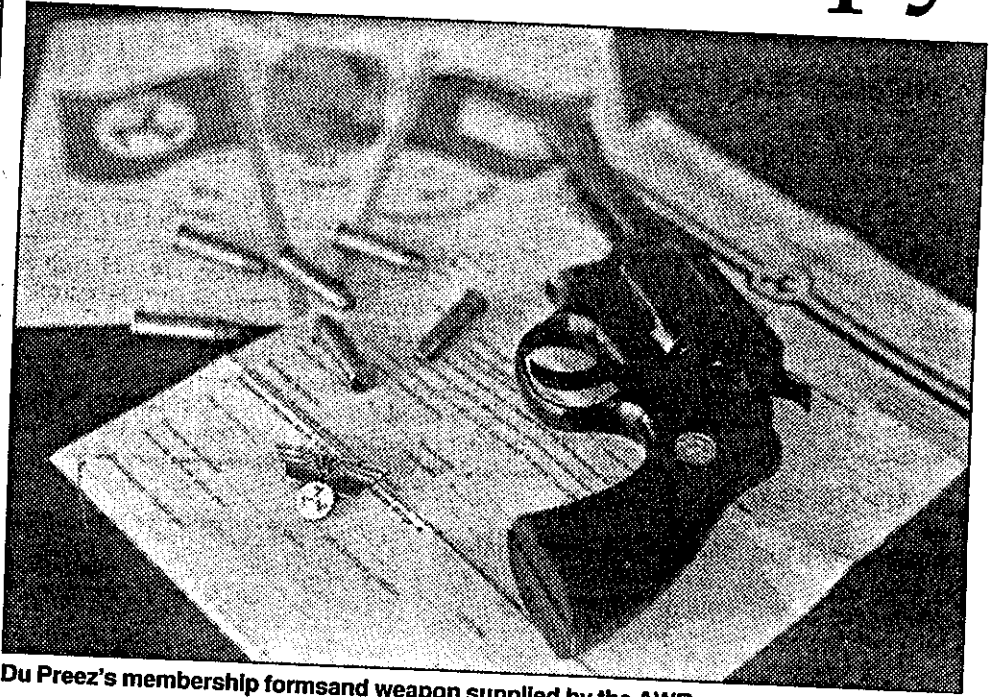
Du Preez, a former member of the National Party and the Democratic Party, was recruited by the ANC's intelligence department in December 1991. He had just moved from the DP to the ANC and was giving seminars on voter education to the ANC's constitutional department, when he was asked by the then head of the organisation's intelligence department, Patrick "Terror" Lekoto, to investigate reports that the AWB's Ystergarde had established military training camps on farms in the eastern Free State.

In early January 1992 Du Preez was sent to Ficksburg where inquiries among old friends revealed a training camp had been held on the farm of an AWB commandant in the district.

The commandant was an old school friend of Du Preez and he had no problem arranging to meet him on his farm. Equipped with a microphone hidden in his belt, Du Preez managed to get the commandant to confirm a training camp had been



Johann du Preez Photo: PAUL STOBER



Du Preez's membership forms and weapon supplied by the AWB Photo: GUY ADAMS

held on the farm although it had since moved. Later the two were joined by another AWB member, who bragged about buying AK-47s in Lesotho for R50, for the movement.

After the meeting, Du Preez went to a nearby farm, where he recruited somebody to regularly report to him on AWB activities in the district.

Two weeks later, after a series of rightwing bombings in the eastern and northern Transvaal, Du Preez was sent to Tzaneen to investigate reports that the AWB was mobilising farmers. He met an AWB member who said training camps were being held near Gravelotte, Louis Trichardt and Messina. The AWB member also boasted about "arms caches in the northern Transvaal".

Du Preez applied to become a member of the Randburg AWB branch and, although his membership card never arrived, he was often told of elaborate rightwing plans to attack targets in Johannesburg. None of the attacks ever happened.

An ex-colleague from the NP hierarchy discovered Du Preez was keeping his eye on the AWB for the ANC. He suggested Du Preez report his

observations to him so he could hand them on to the government who was concerned about rightwing militancy. Du Preez agreed to do this.

Later that month, disguised in full AWB get-up, Du Preez interviewed AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in his headquarters in Ventersdorp. The ANC was eager to know how Terre'Blanche was going to react to the defeat of the rightwing in the March 1992 referendum.

Du Preez became much less worried about Terre'Blanche's threat that the AWB would "start oiling their rifles" when investigations in Ventersdorp bars revealed that most of the locals regarded the rightwing leader as a bit of a joke.

Du Preez continued to monitor the rightwing for the ANC, but by June 1992 he began to wind up his operations. "At the time it was clear the AWB was the riff-raff of the Afrikaners on the east and west Rand."

Now, his assessment of the AWB is more cautious. The emergence of Constand Viljoen as a possible leader of the right worries him. "With a credible leader they can be dangerous."

# Whites threaten Boer war

Guardian/W in w/mal 11/6-17/6/93.

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE gradual outflanking of the white right in South Africa's constitutional negotiations was graphically illustrated last week when the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) issued an ultimatum to participants: Concede a sovereign "Boer state" or face "war".

About 100 armed and uniformed AWB members held a demonstration outside the Johannesburg venue of the multi-party talks, which smacked more of an exercise in buffoonery than a portent of war.

A delegation was admitted to deliver the ultimatum from their "leader", Eugene Terreblanche, giving the negotiators six months to concede Boer sovereignty — failing which, he said, the AWB would regard it as a "declaration of war".

Inside, an explanation for the sabre-rattling was apparent as the AWB's closest allies, the rightwing Conservative Party, fought what appeared to be an increasingly hopeless battle to stall the relentless, if slow progress towards a settlement.

The negotiators spent much of the day thrashing out compromises on a set of constitutional "principles" to guide the talks, the Conservatives doggedly objecting to almost every item, but earning little more than irritation among other delegates.

Although the slow pace of the proceedings is proving a headache, the multi-party planning committee made "sufficient progress" to propose holding the country's first non-racial general election on April 27, 1994. The 10-member committee presented a draft resolution proposing the date to the 104-member negotiating council which will debate the issue.

But setting the date is seen as little more than a palliative to public



All smiles: Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi embrace on hearing that the South African appeal court had decided Mrs Mandela would not have to spend five years in jail for kidnapping. Her sentence was reduced to a fine of R15,000 (£3,200) and a two-year suspended sentence.

PHOTOGRAPH: WALTER DHLADHLA

perceptions that nothing is being achieved. Some respected commentators believe there is little chance of such an election being held before September 1994.

Meanwhile South African police said on Friday that they were investigating charges of murder, sabotage and terrorism against the Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, citing it as grounds for refusing him a gun to protect himself.

The row over lack of police co-operation in protecting Mr Slovo has arisen after a series of death threats

against him. Mr Slovo — a key figure in the current constitutional negotiations — is seen as one of the most likely targets for assassination following the murder of the Communist Party general secretary, Chris Hani.

The African National Congress has described the police refusal to grant Mr Slovo a gun licence as "extraordinary". But the police said that Mr Slovo was considered "unfit" to carry a gun because of criminal charges outstanding against him.

# Quattro not 'as harsh as they claim'

Weekly Mail Reporter  
MEMBERS of the African National Congress' controversial security department mounted a counter-offensive at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry this week, disputing charges of human rights abuses and torture in ANC prisons — and, in particular, the Quattro camp in Angola.

One such member was Mthunzi Mthembu, the first commander of Quattro, currently a member of the ANC's intelligence directorate and one of the most highly trained staffers in the organisation. He denied physical punishment had been used in Quattro and claimed to know of only one execution — that of Kenneth Mahamba, a camp commander in Kibashi who was "instrumental in poisonings in the camps and who later confessed he was a government agent".

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* after he had given evidence at the inquiry, Mthembu said the key reason for the establishment of the camp was the need to crack down on infiltration by South African government agents. The poisoning of ANC members and the precise bombing of camps suggested that the government was getting information from within the ranks of the organisation.

Mthembu said the government also used agents to provide free dagga to soldiers, so as to create a "dependency syndrome" which would make them disobey orders and regulations.

The assassination of ANC leaders was the immediate spark for the creation of the prisons, he added. After a joint meeting of the ANC's national executive committee, military leadership and intelligence department, Quattro was established in the late 1970s. The main purpose was to re-educate informers and to help them to be accepted by other members of the ANC.

Mthembu said camp inmates had been subjected to "third degree" interrogation, which made use of psychological pressure. Subjects were intensively questioned and deprived of rest. Smokers were denied cigarettes. But, he insisted, "no physical punishment was ever used to get information. In a military sense a wise general would not kill a soldier."

Conditions in Quattro, he said, were not ideal, but were not as harsh as the state witnesses contended.

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# Angry callers quiz black NP man

Sowetan & Radio Metro

## Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mizimasi Ngudle

A SOWETO man last night defended his membership of the National Party when he said it was the only political party that had the capacity to deliver the goods.

Speaking during the *Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show*, Mr David Chaunyane, an election co-ordinator for the NP in Johannesburg and Greater Soweto, denied that the party was a political wing of the Broederbond.

He said, however, that he could not speak on behalf of individual NP members who were members of the Broederbond.

Chaunyane, who spoke indistinctly and often did not elaborate, said he was once a member of the Pan Africanist Congress. He said he left the organisa-

tion because its leadership had failed to give direction.

"I felt that it would be better to change the National Party from inside than from outside," he said.

He refused to answer a question from an angry caller on why State President FW de Klerk had dropped Professor Njabulo Ndebele from the chairmanship of the new SABC board.

It is widely believed that Ndebele was stripped of the chairmanship because he was black.

Chaunyane failed to divulge how many black people had joined the NP, saying the figures ran into several thousands.

He told studio host Tim Modise that he

*Sowetan 11/6/93*  
would support apartheid if it was a workable system.

"How does he (Chaunyane) expect to change a monolith structure like the, NP with its established interests? How does he reconcile the NP's opening of membership to blacks with its apartheid constitution?"

Hope, Berea

"It does not make sense. Why did he join NP?"

Mangaliso, Bellevue

"Is there something they dangled to entice you to join and woo blacks?"

Manduleli Yeki, Tsakane

"You are a black white like Gatsha Buthelezi. How can you join people who have been oppressing us for such a long time?"

Boysie, Turfloop

"You have been offered many things. It's all garbage you are telling us."

Lesiba, Moloto



officers at Motsuenyane Commission

# Not ANC policy to assault prisoners — commissar

*Sowetan 11/6/93*  
**Sowetan Correspondent** ■ **Camp chief denies suspects were beaten:**

A FORMER camp commissar in one of the ANC detention camps in Angola yesterday told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged human rights abuses in exile that it was not policy to assault prisoners. ~~(S)~~

This included those who had even attempted to kill the organisations' leaders. ~~(S)~~ (IA) ~~(S)~~

Mr Mountain Kepadise, who was commissar at Quattro between 1983 and 1985 denied that F1 Siphumzi (codename), who had allegedly attempted to assassinate Mr Chris Hani and Mr Joe Modise, was ever assaulted.

Siphumzi had allegedly tried to detonate a handgrenade in the presence of the

two ANC leaders.

Kepadise denied allegations of assault made against him and also rejected claims that ANC prisoners at a camp in Uganda were fed dogfood.

In earlier evidence, an ANC security chief, Mr Dexter Mbona, gave an insight into the life in Lusaka of the alleged double agent, Miss Olivia Forsyth.

He told the commission that before Forsyth tried to infiltrate the ANC's Lusaka headquarters in the mid-80s, the organisation had been alerted to her being an agent by a former colleague at Rhodes University.



# No trace of Apla target

Sowetan 11/6/93

By Themba Molefe and  
Mathatha Tsedu

WHO IS the homeland Cabinet Minister saved by police from an alleged assassination plot by the Azanian People's Liberation Army?

The mystery of the identity deepened yesterday as all six homelands denied any knowledge of the alleged plot, announced by the South African Police on Wednesday.

Police said that seven Apla members had been arrested in connection with an assassination plot against a Cabinet Minister of a "self-governing State". They refused to identify him or his homeland.

Sowetan yesterday phoned the six self-governing States of KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu and QwaQwa. They all said no member of their cabinets had been threatened.

None of them had been informed of the plot before it was revealed by the SAP to the media.

By defining the homeland as a "self-governing State", police meant that Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, as "independent States" were not affected in the plot.

Venda, which was identified in reports yesterday as the area where the Minister was supposed to be based, also denied any knowledge of the plot.

Confronted with this information late yesterday, SAP spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg said the police would not identify the homeland or Minister concerned.

He said police stood by their earlier information that Apla members arrested this week had been planning an assassination.

When told that all homelands had denied any

knowledge of the plot, Bloomberg said: "Our information is that the person concerned was informed. Who did you speak to—a junior clerk? We are not prepared to say anything on this matter."

Sowetan spoke to Chief Ministers' offices and where this was not possible, Commissioners of Police were contacted.

The assassination allegation was yesterday dismissed by the Pan Africanist Congress as a smokescreen by the police to launch raids on its members.

First deputy chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo also questioned the authenticity of documents—alleged to have been found at PAC offices—displayed by police at the Press conference.

The documents, sketches of police stations and military installations, were said by police to be proof of impending Apla attacks.

The organisation said police were "clutching at straws in their attempts to pin Apla and the PAC to some imaginary attacks after failing to prove anything with the first swoop".

● The PAC yesterday issued a circular to its regional headquarters countrywide in which it disputes statements made by its general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, that the organisation had broken off bilateral talks with the "regime" over Apla activities.

Issued by information and publicity director Mr Waters Toboti, the statement said: "The national executive council is still waiting for a report-back from the PAC negotiating team ... before a decision can be taken."

Alexander told a Spanish television channel and local radio stations that the PAC would no longer hold bilateral talks with the Government but would remain at the multiparty talks.

## Apla journal 'distributed'

Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of copies of Apla's publication "Azania Commando" were strewn from a moving combi as it cruised past the Khayelitsha police station yesterday.

A supplement of Azania Combat, the 12-page photostat magazine with articles written by their "editorial combatants" emphasises "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun".

The magazine pictures show an array of the PAC's armed wing

CT 11/6/93



# denies 'kill the boer' banned

Staff Reporters  
THE African National Congress yesterday denied any decision had been taken to ban the controversial slogan "Kill the boer. Kill the farmer".

Earlier reports quoted ANC legal adviser Mr. Matthew Phosa saying the ANC had decided to abandon the slogan.

ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Niehaus said yesterday: "No decision was taken at any time by the national executive committee (NEC). The question whether or not to ban the slogan or not was merely discussed," he said.

The ANC Youth League's (ANCYL) national body in Johannesburg said yesterday it would respond when it received official notice of any NEC decision to ban the slogan.

However, the ANCYL's Western Cape committee said it would not advise members to stop using the slogan.

## Wrong

The committee said they were "quite surprised" any decision had been taken as there had been no consultation.

Regional president Mr. Mcebisi Skwatsha said he saw nothing wrong with the slogan, which had an historical background and should be seen in the correct context of a "battle cry".

He said that when a NEC decision was taken that regional branches still had the right to argue their case.

He was reluctant to commit himself to whether the ANCYL would defy the NEC should such a decision be taken.

The NEC meeting which began on Tuesday is expected to end today and a full statement on all resolutions passed will be issued.

● Read their lips — Page 4

# Kasrils denies abuses at ANC exile camp

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC and SA Communist Party leader Mr Ronnie Kasrils made an unscheduled appearance at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry yesterday, saying he wanted to clear his name.

Mr Kasrils was not on the list of people due to testify at the commission, set up to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in

ANC camps in exile.

He said he wanted to clear his name following the findings of the Douglas Commission, appointed by the US-based International Freedom Foundation, as well as an editorial that appeared in the Sunday Times.

The Douglas Commission had found that Mr Kasrils had taken

part in the detention of 14 uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members who were held in a basement detention centre in Kibashe, Angola, in 1978. The commission said the 14's basement cell was flooded with noxious diesel fumes.

Mr Kasrils said he had nothing to do with the 14. He produced affidavits from four of the former in-

mates who cleared him of any involvement in their incarceration.

Mr Kasrils told the commission that Mr Douglas, in his findings, had "accepted defamatory allegations against me (in a manner) unbecomingly his profession".

He added that Mr Douglas's judgment was impaired by his dislike of the ANC and his "anti-communist

phobia".

Referring to an editorial in the Sunday Times and a column written by its editor, Mr Ken Owen, Mr Kasrils said Mr Owen was guilty of similar fears.

He had complained to the Media Council, which forced the newspaper to publish a letter he had written to Mr Owen.

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# PAC still prepared to talk

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday left the door open for further bilateral meetings with the government after reports of a PAC announcement earlier in the week that it was suspending talks with Pretoria.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander yesterday confirmed the PAC was remaining

in multi-party negotiations, but blamed the government for the suspension of bilateral talks.

Mr Alexander said the government had at the negotiating council meeting last Thursday "informed the council that the bilateral talks had now reached full circle, that they were referring the matter back to the council and that they were no longer talking to the PAC" (117)

CT 11/6/93  
The PAC would not be averse to further bilateral talks.

The PAC, whose slogan is "one settler, one bullet", also said yesterday it regretted that white people were leaving the country.

"It worries us that people are leaving," said Mr Alexander on a radio talk show, referring to the exodus of whites worried about violence. — Sapa-Reuter

On a typical Namaqualand day, with not a cloud in sight, one can see the Eskom powerlines 20km away from dominee Farao's house in Kuboes, one of the small settlements of the Richtersveld near the Orange River.

Many years have passed since the first time the Nama inhabitants of the town applied for electricity. But still they have to read their Bibles by candlelight at night or — for those who can afford it — switch on the petrol-driven power generators in their backyards.

The 300 families of Kuboes can only look on while tarred roads are built from one white village and mining town to another. And they can only wonder when an extension from the Eskom line will eventually reach their houses and *algemene handelaars* (general dealers).

While they follow news events on battery-powered TV sets, they are acutely aware of how isolated they are here in South Africa's remote north-west. "To make things worse, we don't even know who represents our interests at the negotiations in Kempton Park," says Kiewit Cloete, Kuboes's self-proclaimed "one-man resistance movement".

To compound matters, the slightly more than 3 000 adults of the Richtersveld constitute less than 0,1 percent of the western Cape's electorate of more than three million, rendering them almost irrelevant as a voting force for a proportionally elected government.

But last week the new South Africa finally reached the Richtersveld, when a small Democratic Party convoy led by Green Point MP Hennie Bester trekked up the West Coast to spread the message that there is a third force between the African National Congress and the National Party.

It was from Farao's house that the call came for the DP in Cape Town "to please come and help us with our problems". The man who made the call was Petrus Alley, headmaster of the local school and originally from Steinkopf, a small village north of the mining town of Springbok.

That was in November last year. In February the DP's regional director for the western Cape, Stuart McLoughlin, drove the 1 000km from Cape Town and immediately signed up 308 new members for his party in Kuboes alone.

Not that it was easy. The MP for the area, Abraham Balie, recently defected from the Labour Party to join the NP. His management councils in the area are virulently opposed to political ideas that challenge their own — to the extent that five councillors locked themselves into the community hall and refused entrance to those gathered outside during McLoughlin's visit.

Alley, a smallish, wiry man in his mid-thirties, insists that the tricameral councils must make way for democratically elected bodies to represent the communities of Namaqualand.

"Up to now we have been cheated by the Nats," he says. "Bodies created for us, like the Coloured Representative Council and the tricameral parliament, were a joke. Now, for the first time, we will be able to vote for a party that will enjoy real power."

Bester, at 30 the youngest MP in parliament and because of his Afrikaans farming background well suited for the role, was given the task of explaining the DP's policies to the Namaqualanders. His first destination was Eksteensfontein, a small settlement close to Vioolsdrif on the Namibian border and just north of the town of Lekkering. Eksteensfontein today is home to an Afrikaans-speaking coloured community forcibly moved there in the 1960s.

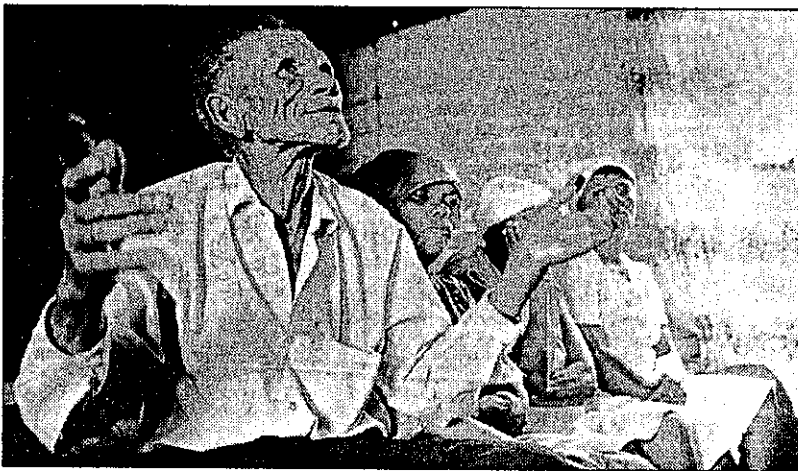
The best rains of the past two decades have turned Namaqualand's moon landscapes into green hills and valleys. It has also turned the normally dangerous gravel road between Kuboes and Eksteensfontein into a nightmare.

On a full moon-lit night last weekend I was a passenger in the back of a four-wheel drive bakkie with six others, five of them chain-smoking, dignified Nama-speaking coloured people from Kuboes. The bumpy 80km drive through the stony hills of the Richtersveld was quickly turned into a political meeting of sorts, with all the passengers insisting on a *sprekbeurt* (turn to speak), their distinctive Namaqualand Afrikaans spiced with clicking yet sonorous Nama sounds.

Cloete, the most eloquent of the five, obvi-

# Eiland sonder 'n Heiland

*The people of the Richtersveld comprise only a tiny proportion of the voting population of the western Cape. Cut off from the cities, these hardy communities have been ignored or ill-treated by successive South African governments. CHRIS LOUW went along on a Democratic Party electioneering visit to the far north west of the country*



When we see, we will believe ... The people of the Richtersveld have lost faith in the government

Photo: PAUL GRENDON, Southlight

ously spoke on behalf of the others when he stated with conviction that he would never vote for the NP, which he sees as responsible for systematically robbing the Namas of their ancestral land.

"The little Union Jack in the national flag — that mark is for me," he says repeatedly. "Our land was given to us by Queen Victoria in 1854, and then the NP and the mines stole it."

Simon-Petrus Fredericks, clad in a red waistcoat and with a worn-out frontiers-hat on the head, agrees. Namaqualand with its minerals and diamonds, he says, is the richest area in the country, yet its people are among the poorest. "The mine bosses take all the money ... They've seen to it that we don't have mineral rights on land where we've lived for centuries."

Problems there are plenty, solutions few, and assistance none.

Some two years ago the Parks Board reached an agreement with the local communities that they would jointly manage an area which would be set aside for conservation. Now many people feel that the Namas on the committee have been co-opted by the board.

"Where are the advantages for us?" asks Cloete. "They said we'd get another stretch of land in return. Now they say we can't get it because the Department of Community Affairs hasn't yet transferred the land to the Parks Board."

The talk turns to party politics — and even this is seen in terms of the diamond industry: "The NP made us suffer for 45 years," says one of the faces in the dark. "We're looking for an alternative. We can't vote for the ANC, because where there is a black man, there you find smuggling."

"Yes," says Cloete, "and the DP is the alternative." Turning to McLoughlin, he adds: "Here in the Richtersveld you have a golden goose, but you must treat this goose with care."

The bakkie stops. The driver, Mr Joseph, opens the back flap, saying, "Dis tyd vir die *manne om hulle se water weg te gooi* (It's time for the men to throw their water out)." We duly throw our water out on the spooky landscape.

About 40 people turn up for the meeting in Eksteensfontein. Dirkie Uys, diamond prospector and community leader, is the chairman. The sound of the power generator makes it difficult

to hear people speak. An old man opens the meeting with prayer, asking God "dat ons almal sal verstaan wat vanaand hier aangaan (that we all understand what happens here tonight)".

After the prayer, Bester explains what the DP is, what it stands for, how it has opposed apartheid for decades. "More than anything else, we are the party for humanitarianism."

Question time, and soon it is clear that the people of Eksteensfontein, though interested in the DP's visions, actually want a party that can solve local problems. "Dis u wat die party maak, maar dis ons wat hom smaak (It is you who make the party, but it is us who taste/like it)," says Cloete, with the Namaqualander's expressiveness.

And on a more serious note: "Ons Namakwalanders is 'n eiland sonder 'n Heiland. Niemand sien om na ons nie. (We Namaqualanders are an island without a Saviour. Nobody looks after us)."

Others mention more specific problems: the lack of tarred roads, electricity, telephones, building material, jobs...

A teenage boy with a white complexion and a shock of yellow hair gets up. A woman lets slip a protracted "oe-oe" in expectation of trouble. His voice is shrill with anger.

"Why during all these years didn't the DP ever come to the platteland? Now you need our votes, now you are here. We made a mistake to trust the white man. We cannot make that mistake again. We cannot vote for the white man. It's time that we give the black man a chance. This time we have to vote for the ANC."

The normally placid Bester also gets angry. "The DP is not a white party. Don't ever come with that nonsense again. At our youth congress near Pretoria last year, 60 percent of delegates were black."

Uys agrees. "Joe Slovo is also a white man. And just look where he sits. We have to remove our colour glasses."

The recurring issue is land, which always used to be farmed communally. We hear the same arguments at the other meetings, in Sanddrift and in Steinkopf. In Steinkopf an oom of 81, wiping his eyes, tells Bester: "Sir, I don't mind about democracy, we only want our land back."

And like a refrain: "How will Law No 9 of 1987 affect us when there is a new government?"

In the Richtersveld, everyone knows about Law No 9. It is the law that determines that the government holds in trust all the land set aside for the Nama communities.

Bester — a lawyer by profession — scrupulously takes notes. He will help where he can. But he warns: "You, the people of the Richtersveld, are the DP. No-one else is going to help you. You must organise yourself. The party can only be a walking stick, but you will have to do the walking."

The next morning in Sanddrift, situated among man-made hills where the mining companies have tried to rehabilitate the results of its hungry search for riches, Alley acts as chairman. "You from the city," he says, "see the wonderful nature of our area when you are here. But we who live here are only aware of the harshness of our world."

At the meeting Alley is determined that the days of political apathy are over: "We have to change our attitude towards the institutions that serve us."

Again, Law No 9 of 1987 haunts the meeting. "We are worried," says Alley, "that if the law expires and the land are sold by public tender, we will not have the means to buy our own property. We have been neglected for years. We are afraid of being thrown aside again."

An old man gets up. "During the years, all political parties have come with beautiful promises. But I am still here with my tears. What makes the DP different?"

Alley explains: "All previous parties were babies conceived by the NP. The leaders we elected were all puppets. Now it is going to be completely different."

Another old man gets up. "I used to be a member of the management council. But then I saw that I couldn't work for my people. I just had to follow instructions. The government told me: 'Here is an axe for you, go and chop off the heads of your people.'"

Fredericks is also present. He has prepared a speech: "I have to get all these things off my chest."

"Where is David Curry now?" he asks in his sonorous voice. It was Curry who introduced the notion of private property when he was still a LP minister in the House of Representatives. Now he has joined the DP.

"I have many questions that I want to ask him. If he were here today, I would have greeted him civilly, and then I would have confronted him directly, even though he belongs to our party."

Alley turns to Bester: "You will have to pardon us. We have been hurt too often. We here in the Richtersveld have become doubting Thomases. We believe in the religion of seeing: Once we see, we will start believing."

Only 12 people turn up for the meeting in Steinkopf, just north of Nababeep, close to Bulletrap. They are mostly old men in suits, with hats and walking sticks.

One dignified gentleman tells the story of his people. "Our land that has been taken away from us, was given down from generation to generation. *Ons het dit ge-erf van ons grootjies*. (We inherited it from our forefathers.) We were already here in 1793. Our church was built in 1849"

Another octogenarian bends forward, his knotty hands resting on the equally knotty klerie. "I don't believe apartheid will ever go away," he says, his eyes watery. "I was born in apartheid and I will die in apartheid. I am sorry, but I don't believe anything anymore. All I ask, is: Give back my land. *Ek is so geverniet, ek weet nie meer nie* (I have been destroyed so much, I don't know anymore)."

It is quiet in the car on the N7 back to Cape Town, past Kammiesskroon, Karkams, across the Spoegrivier towards Garies. "We Namas are proud people," one of the men had said in the back of the bakkie on the road to Eksteensfontein.

And indeed they are. It shows in their bearing. It shows in the confidence with which they stand up and speak during meetings. It even shows in the way they drive their four-wheel drive bakkies, like people who possess the land.

But with the metropole, home to 80 percent of the western Cape's voters, drawing closer, one cannot help but remember that the people of the Richtersveld constitute only 0,1 percent of the total voting population of the region.

Not much, as far as political parties are concerned.

# The push-me pull-you of PAC arrests

W/maail 1116-17/6/93  
Weekly Mail Reporters  
DESPITE few cases being brought to court, the South African Police have hauled in another seven suspected members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

To date the police have arrested 88 people since their nationwide May 25 swoop on Pan Africanist Congress and Apla members allegedly involved in terror attacks.

Of these, 62 have been released without being charged and 19 charged with offences ranging from murder to illegal possession of ammunition. Seven are still being held.

Police announced the latest arrests at a media conference on Wednesday, when they released details of an alleged Apla plot to assassinate a senior government official. Police refused to identify the official on security grounds although it is understood the target is a member of the Venda military council.

Commissioner of the Venda Police, General Mulder van Uyk said: "I find it strange the PAC would target one of our councillors. We work together at the multi-party forum."

The Venda police will not be investigating what they call a "rumour".

Accurate hand drawn plans, detailing the layout and security measures of two Free State police stations and a military base, which the police refused to identify, were also shown to the media.

SAP media liaison chief Colonel Johan Mostert said: "Should one have attempted to attack, these plans would have told you what to expect and where to go."

The police said the documents were confiscated during their raid on the PAC's offices two weeks ago.

PAC publicity and information director Waters Toboti denied the PAC had any knowledge of the plans and accused the police of trying to justify their raid on the organisation's offices.

A PAC national executive member, commenting on the PAC's policy on homeland leaders, added: "If it was Apla's policy to kill homeland leaders it would have wiped them out. You cannot kill them, they will merely be replaced."



## Cut and thrust

There was really only one question in the mind of everyone at the negotiating council debate last Thursday: would it set a general election date?

This was the day, appointed four weeks earlier, by which the "exact date" for SA's historic one-man, one-vote election would be fixed, in terms of the council's declaration of intent. It didn't seem likely. There was a 50/50 chance, an ANC negotiator told an international news network that morning; but the network decided it couldn't rely on the system of nods and winks at Kempton Park, so it would wait for the official word.

A local journalist had earlier taken a bet with a government adviser that the council would fail to set a date because, he reckoned, the condition of sufficient progress having been made on constitutional matters would not possibly be met in time; if nothing else, those in the Cosag group would see to it that the ANC was denied this prize.

And for most of the day, which saw the equivalent of fine filibustering by members of the group with parliamentary experience, it looked as though the journalist might win his bottle of whisky — until at about 8.30 pm.

This was when the ever-smiling government adviser lifted his finger in the direction of the press box as if to say to the journalist: "You see!" For 17 of the 26 parties (65%) had indicated support for the compromise resolution put up by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, which "recommends to the negotiating forum of June 25 that the date of the election shall be April 27 1994." However, "with a view to maximising consensus" the council would "finalise this matter on June 15."

Apart from providing an idea of how things will go in an elected constitution-making body (to which less than half the

parties at Kempton Park are expected to be elected), the way in which those opposed to setting the date were outmanoeuvred and the date rammed through was fascinating in itself, a departure from the cosy lull that normally attends proceedings.

Everyone knew that the ANC simply had to emerge from that session clutching some kind of agreed date, despite the fact that the scheduled meeting of the negotiating forum — which officially has to announce it — had been put off until June 25. But valuable negotiating time had been lost in the wake of the sloop on the PAC. And there was still the week's brace of technical committee reports to get through before "election date" appeared on the agenda.

It was 4.45 pm when the council broke for tea, having reached sufficient consensus on binding constitutional principles. The role of traditional leaders had taken up most of the time, and the complex issue of collective self-determination was skipped over as suggested by the CP's Fanie Jacobs. On the day he bettered even the talent for interjection normally associated with Amichand Rajbansi (who had left by then, convinced that a date would not get passed).

When delegates returned, planning committee member Zam Titus (Transkei) put forward the committee's suggestion that consideration of the principles dealing with regional powers be deferred, and that outstanding issues be merely noted.

"You can't do that," retorted Jacobs. "We can if this council so decides," said the chairman, Llewellyn Landers of the Labour Party, which is solidly in the ANC camp.

"We've made wonderful progress on constitutional principles," said Ramaphosa, "I suggest we move on to other matters."

It was nearly 6 pm. Landers said the council clearly wouldn't finish its agenda that day and asked which items needed to be discussed in the time remaining. Titus's suggestion — violence, independent election commission and election date — was carried.

The important question of violence can't be skimmed over, warned Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, backed up by Inkatha's Walter Felgate. However, everyone was pleased with the report on violence (see next report) and adopted a resolution largely based on it.

"Time to adjourn," said Jacobs with a touch of glee at 6 pm, the normal time to wrap up. "We oppose that," said Ramaphosa, adding that there were other matters, including the election date, to be addressed before adjourning. Felgate felt that an election date was no more important than resolving the question of violence and if debate on it stopped the rest might stop as well.

On the contrary, said the NIC's Ela Gandhi (a granddaughter of the Mahatma), barely audible, the violence report states that an election date is important to stem the violence. An election, not the date, countered Felgate. Sharp as ever, Gandhi's colleague Praveen Gordhan pointed to the relevant section.

Meanwhile, a draft resolution naming the

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day had already been circulated and the SACP's Joe Slovo was itching to move its adoption.

The AVU's Mrs J Gouws, however, just wanted to know from him whether or not the setting of a date was made subject to two conditions in the May 7 declaration. "The declaration is being incorrectly interpreted," Ramaphosa asserted. "It says we've got to set an exact date and that the election shall be subject to those conditions, and you, sir, (referring to the chairman) are bound to do so."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer, as though on cue, backed Ramaphosa, suggesting the council should note the outstanding matters to be discussed as a priority next time. More argument ensued. Gordhan said the agenda agreed to after tea must be stuck to and suggested relieving the technical committee "of the agony of witnessing this dogfight." It is not a dogfight, countered Felgate, the future of SA was being discussed. Gordhan withdrew the word dogfight.

Gordhan, gifted at crystallising things, formally proposed simply noting the other issues and moving on to the date. There was sufficient consensus to do so, said Landers. "We are not going to stand this manipulation," said the IFP's Ben Ngubane. Rosemary Mangope (Bophuthatswana) observed that this was a typical example of a draft resolution becoming available before being discussed in council. Slovo wanted to get on with it. Jacobs, indefatigable, proposed a commission to look into the leaking of the date.

7.20 pm. Seizing the historic moment Slovo duly moved the resolution saying there was no doubt things had moved significantly forward and the basis for a constitutional settlement had been laid. Failure to set an election date could trigger "unpredictable responses, even a feeling of betrayal."

"Ladies and gentlemen, it's decision time," said Landers rubbing his hands. "It's irregular for the chairman to ask delegates where they stand without having debated the matter," said Jacobs, backed up by Cronje. Slovo was precipitating the failure of these negotiations, warned Ngubane. "As far as we're concerned there's no agreement on binding principles, sufficient progress or anything else," he added. N J Mahlangu (Intando ye Sizwe) saw no point in postponing a decision on a date. Felgate warned that "the whole process is in jeopardy at this point ... we must find each other but it cannot happen tonight". Others, including the DP — and, interestingly, the IFP grudgingly, registered their support of the resolution.

KwaZulu's Dennis Madide said everyone already knew the election would be held by April, so why the fuss about pinpointing it? Roelf Meyer then said that in his "very considered opinion" the council should recommend setting the date to the forum and that his earlier compromise proposal was made in order "to accommodate people like Dr Madide."

Not to be outdone, the PAC's Benny Alexander said he had no problem in setting the date "here and now," except that the words "for a constituent assembly" should be inserted after "election" and that in view of the weather, perhaps the end of March would make a better date.

KwaZulu's Chief Gumede was not amused.

**Electing solutions**

**The PAC's** decision on whether or not to abandon or suspend political violence should be known after its Tuesday meeting with government. Signs are positive. For the rest, parties at negotiations on June 3, led by Inkatha and the ANC, were full of praise for the "historic" and "very constructive" fourth report of the technical committee on violence. If its basic recommendations are implemented and adhered to, chances of next year's general election being free and fair will be immeasurably improved.

The thrust of the whole report, says the committee, is to identify conditions necessary to eliminate violence so that the election can go off freely, "without intimidation, obstruction or the fear of being killed."

Opposing the view that violence must first be ended if there is to be an election at all, the committee states: "An election is the most important moment in the democratic process and its role in eliminating the conditions causing violence cannot be overestimated."

Regarding armed formations, the committee says all proposals should be considered in the light of a single, overriding objective "to establish impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA." It proposes that parties adopt a series of "phased confidence-building measures" to achieve this in terms of the May 7 declaration of intent to level the playing field for the election. This was welcomed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, though he felt the committee could have done more on the question of creating a climate for free political activity.

The steps are proposed in three broad phases. Immediately, all parties with arms or armed formations must establish proper control over these, conduct an audit of all weapons and personnel and establish mechanisms for bringing them under the supervision of a joint multiparty agency. At the same time parties should take every step to ensure that members and supporters do not use weapons "for any unlawful purpose."

In phase two the proposed agency should formulate policy and oversee all armed formations. It will need to make a distinction between statutory and nonstatutory armies on the one hand and police forces (which will be required to continue fulfilling law-and-order functions during the election) on the other. This is especially welcomed by In-

katha and KwaZulu whose controversial KwaZulu Police is seen by the ANC as a private army. For its part, the PAC says it has problems with homeland-controlled police forces.

In the third phase it will be the responsibility of an elected government to integrate, disband and rationalise the various armed formations and integrate personnel into society. Weapons not under the control of any private army, or used contrary to agreements, should be dealt with by the ordinary criminal process.

A dissenting view by one member of the committee (thought to be the Inkatha representative) makes the point that there is no justification for the existence of private armies during this period of talks. But, since they're there, it is recommended that they be phased out in stages related to the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council, that unlicensed AK47 rifles in possession of such armies should immediately be placed under credible impartial control, and that transgressors be dealt with in terms of the law and not be eligible for indemnity.

The committee has also proposed the establishment of an "independent peace-keeping force with a multiparty composition to function as the primary peace-keeping force for the election." It should be specially trained, have legitimacy across the political spectrum and be controlled by either the independent electoral commission or a multiparty executive.

Among the proposals parties have made to deal with breaches of the National Peace Accord are: the public repudiation, suspension or expulsion of anyone in breach, ordering apologies to the aggrieved party, and prohibiting those found guilty from appearing on public platforms.

Based on the committee's 13 concrete proposals the negotiating council resolved that:

- The National Peace Committee (NPC) urgently finalise proposed amendments, to strengthen the peace accord and increase its effectiveness;
- Accord signatories meet as a matter of urgency to reaffirm their commitment to the accord and approve amendments to it;
- Nonsignatories (such as the PAC and CP) sign the accord immediately (the ANC suggested a deadline be set and the DP wants ways found to get youth organisations to sign as well);
- Appropriate compulsory sanctions be developed by the technical committee of the independent electoral commission for dealing with parties which transgress the accord's code of conduct for political parties but refuse to sign the accord;
- Any party organising a public demonstration or any other form of mass action must comply with the guidelines in the report;
- The NPC urgently submit proposed amendments to the Regulation of Gatherings Bill;
- A series of phased confidence-building measures be adopted leading to the creation of impartial, legitimate and effective secur-

ity forces. A distinction be drawn between statutory and non-statutory armies on the one hand and police forces on the other and that the technical committee on the TEC and its subcouncils propose the precise mechanisms to be adopted;

Parties among which there is conflict and which have contributed to violence should meet bilaterally to seek joint solutions;

An independent peace-keeping force with a multiparty composition be established and placed under the control of the independent electoral commission or under multiparty executive control;

Every party commit itself without reservation to the holding of a free and fair election and do everything possible to ensure that the electorate and leaders and candidates of parties are able to conduct their election campaigns freely and without intimidation; and

The committee prepare detailed proposals on the desirability, financing, establishment and composition of a peace/youth services corps.

colourful in the DF's case) looking for a new political home.

ANC/INKATHA

Making a date

11A (11A) (11B)  
FM  
11/6/93

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has either played a diplomatic masterstroke or boomed in announcing that a Mandela/Buthelezi meeting is to take place within a fortnight.

Within hours of Sunday night's dramatic

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

announcement — that he would chair the meeting jointly with the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Stanley Mogoba, at Bishops court in Cape Town — it became clear that the endorsement of the meeting was less than universal. Even the setting of a date won't guarantee the meeting against political one-upmanship in the form of a last-minute withdrawal by one of them.

However, John Allen from the archbishop's office is confident that the meeting will proceed. He says Tutu is in no doubt that the ANC and Inkatha presidents agreed to the summit after separate discussions and follow-up phone calls at the weekend. "They even agreed to the archbishop announcing the meeting on Sunday night and are happy with the way it was done," he maintains.

But Monday saw the first signs of scepticism. While welcoming Tutu's initiative, an ANC information department statement warns that a meeting will be pointless unless certain differences are resolved. These included long-standing disputes over freedom of political association in Natal/KwaZulu, the public display of weapons, fencing of hostels and the IFP's insistence that MK should be dissolved.

These are the same issues which for months have stymied the chances of a get-together by the two leaders, in spite of the efforts to pave the way by a combined ANC/IFP task force. Known as the Preparatory Committee, its sole function is to iron out the differences and set a date for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit.

The ANC statement prompted a swift response from Buthelezi. He pointed out that though he'd agreed to the meeting, it was on the basis that there were no preconditions. This is confirmed by Allen, who says there are none. "The archbishop proposed that both leaders should submit lists of everything they want discussed. On that basis everything which concerns and worries them will form the basis for the agenda."

Wits University political studies head Alf Stadler says: "My initial reaction on hearing about the meeting was that if I were a gambling man I wouldn't put too much money on it taking place. This is partly because of the history of breakdowns in the intentions to meet, plus the fact it seems one of the two, possibly both, actually don't want to meet.

Mandela is acutely conscious that a meeting puts them on a level which might appeal to Buthelezi. However, the danger for the IFP leader is that, though shrewd, he could be upstaged by Mandela."

The problems are deeper than these official divides. There are other underlying factors mitigating against a meeting, not least of which is continued grassroots opposition in Natal, though this is generally denied.

The Human Sciences Research Council's head of conflict analysis, Tony Minnaar, explains: "Even if Buthelezi and Mandela may be keen to meet, the ANC regions are dead set against anything which might enhance the IFP or its leader's credibility — unless the IFP pays the price in terms of

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major concessions." From an ANC national perspective, Minnaar adds, anything reasonable which could reduce violence and speed up the transition process is desirable.

"Violence has hampered this process, but the ANC is under pressure to show results and stem the growing membership flow, particularly of the youth to the PAC ranks," claims Minnaar. "Nevertheless, I will only believe that the meeting will take place when the two leaders actually sit down together."

Even if they do, Minnaar questions whether they can stop the violence. "There are on both sides too many little power bases and loose guns with a vested interest in violence. They do little more than pay lip service to the political parties and are therefore not amenable to any kind of discipline."

# Kasrils in <sup>Star 1116/95</sup> bid to clear his name

By Mokone Molete

ANC and SACP leader Ronald "Ronnie" Kasrils yesterday made an unscheduled appearance at the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry — his second — saying he wanted to clear his name. (S) (U)

Kasrils, who was not on the list of people who were due to testify at the commission set up to investigate allegations of human rights abuses in ANC camps, said he wanted to clear his name following the findings of the Douglas Commission as well as an editorial which appeared in the Sunday Times.

The Douglas Commission had found that Kasrils had taken part in the detention of 14 MK cadres who were held in a basement detention centre in Kibashe, Angola, in 1978.

Kasrils said he had had nothing to do with the 14. He produced affidavits from four of the former inmates — Ben Lelakala, Mandla Daka, Meshack Phewa and Victor Ngwenya — clearing him of any involvement in their incarceration. (S) (U)

Kasrils said Douglas's judgment had been impaired by his dislike for the ANC and his "anti-communist phobia".

Referring to an editorial in the Sunday Times and a column written by its editor, Ken Owen, Kasrils said Owen was guilty of similar fears.

He had complained to the Media Council, which had obliged the newspaper to publish a letter he had written to Owen. The letter had been published earlier in an abridged form.

### ANC investigates Khutsong leaders

LLOYD COUTTS

A DELEGATION from the ANC's PWV regional executive committee is to visit Carletonville after calls by members in Khutsong for the local leadership structure to be disbanded. Khutsong branch members marched on ANC headquarters in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

The marchers then presented ANC officials with a memorandum claiming that members of their branch executive committee had been involved in violence, murder and intimidation.

The demonstrators threatened to return their ANC membership cards unless the organisation disbanded the committee.

A brief statement by the ANC PWV region said its regional executive committee would investigate the allegations contained in the memorandum "with a view to taking necessary steps to address the problems".

It said the memorandum was still being studied by the PWV committee.

"A delegation of the regional executive committee will also visit the area to receive first-hand information about the related problems in the area," the statement said.

# Rape accused helped in search

BIDAY 11/6/93

SUSAN RUSSELL

FORMER policeman Jacobus Geldenhuys, accused of murder and rape in Norwood, Johannesburg, and in Benoni, had on one occasion helped search for a suspect in the case.

The court also heard yesterday that investigators suspected at the time of the incidents that a policeman was the rapist.

Det-Sgt John Miles told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday he had met Geldenhuys at Norwood police station once during the seven-month investigation.

Miles said he was on his way to follow up information he had received about a suspect living in a compound at Houghton golf course when Geldenhuys asked him for a lift to the internal stability unit at Kew.

Geldenhuys lived in the police single quarters in Norwood at that stage, but was based at Kew.

Miles agreed to give him a lift, but first went to the compound accompanied by Geldenhuys.

At the compound Miles asked Geldenhuys to keep watch and see that no one escaped through the windows while he went inside.

The detective said it was suspected at the time that a policeman was the rapist because of the close proximity of the SAP living quarters to the victims' homes.

Policemen took part in the identity parades held after the initial two rapes, but Geldenhuys did not participate in either.

Miles said it had also been a well-known fact among police personnel stationed at Norwood that an intensive investigation was in progress.

Asked by State counsel B Ferreira SC to describe how people in Norwood had felt at the time, Miles said that a type of hysteria had prevailed. "People I spoke to were very nervous," he said. "Some indicated to me that they were leaving the area because they didn't feel safe."

The trial continues today.

## Squatting a long-term problem, says Shill

BIDAY 11/6/93

CAPE TOWN — Squatting would be a reality for a long time and would have to be carefully managed, National Housing Minister Louis Shill said yesterday.

"If we are going to deal with squatting, we will have to manage it in a way that is not detrimental to the long-term needs of those subjected to squatting," he said.

There would have to be co-operation with local authorities to ensure

that squatting development took place within reasonable proximity to towns, to ensure easy job access.

Referring to the controversial proposed Du Noon development by the Milnerton municipality, Shill said this was not an ideal site for housing. "It is, however, an attempt to gradually upgrade people who are living in totally unhygienic conditions.

"Unnatural security circumstances" would have to be dealt with to prevent a situation similar to that

at Khayelitsha, on the N2.

State spending should be a small portion of housing funds, with the overwhelming majority coming from the private sector, he said.

"However, nothing will happen when people do not undertake reciprocal obligations. As long as there is an irresponsible attitude towards repaying service costs, we cannot expect money to come from the private sector." — Sapa.

# Transitional council: govt airs new plan

B/Dav 11/6/93

~~2011A~~ (11A)

CAPE TOWN — Government yesterday proposed measures that would speed up the establishment of the transitional executive council — the only remaining trigger for the lifting of residual sanctions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the council, intended to assist in "levelling the playing fields" before elections, could be installed without legislation.

Speaking in Parliament, Meyer indicated that this would obviate the need to wait for another parliamentary session before the body and its proposed sub-councils could be established.

Legislation on the transitional executive council would have to be put to Parliament at some point, but Meyer said the passage of legislation should not delay the council's implementation.

Although parties to the negotiations process would have to agree to this measure, Meyer said there was no reason to believe that the body would lack credibility as all participants in the process would be party to its decisions.

Hence, there was no need for a special sitting of Parliament in July to handle legislation dealing with the council, he said.

A government spokesman said the suggestion that the council could be established without legislation was not the consequence of an agreement with the ANC.

The ANC's initial reaction to the proposal was suspicion, with a spokesman saying the organisation was concerned there would be no guarantee that the council would be vested with executive powers.

TIM COHEN and BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC, however, reserved judgment. The ANC's fundamental demand on the transitional executive council is that it be vested with executive powers so that it can "effectively control" — at a political level — decision-making in five areas of government, namely local government; law and order, stability and security; defence; finance; and foreign affairs.

The rationale for its stand is that the ANC does not want to take responsibility for government's actions without having the authority to influence its decisions directly.

Last year government structured a special session of Parliament because it believed it would be able to put through legislation for the establishment of the council. When it became clear that this would not be possible, government went ahead with the session which dealt with minor as well as controversial legislation.

Meyer said a plethora of other laws connected with the transition would be put before Parliament over the next few months.

The legislation could not be debated during the current session because it had to be the product of consensus at negotiations.

The proposed legislation would include an interim constitution which would deal with fundamental human rights for this period and provisions regarding the electoral commission and media commission.

Provisions would also have to be made for the powers of central and regional government.

□ To Page 2

## Council

B/Dav 11/6/93

□ From Page 1

Meyer said the suggestion of an April 27 1994 election date, provisionally accepted last Thursday, had come from government and no one else. ~~2011A~~

A final decision on the proposed date was left until Tuesday's meeting of the negotiating council, after a number of parties had expressed reservations and the desire to consult their principals. (11A)

A government spokesman said it was hoped that an agreement on the creation of a council could be achieved by the time the negotiation forum met on June 25.

If that was the case, and agreement was also reached on an election date, then the

ANC's preconditions for the lifting of sanctions would be met.

□ ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Pretoria has been earmarked as the official city of residence for the transitional executive council. Government had already drawn up a short list of possible buildings — all privately owned — to be used by the council, and also an administrative blueprint, reports said.

A government spokesman said no leasing or property contracts would be signed for any building until the negotiating forum had agreed on the council's creation.

● See Page 6

# ANC concern over farm raids

Star 11/10/93

~~Star~~ (11A)

By Philip Zoio

The ANC last night strongly condemned recent "brutal attacks" on members of a farming community, saying it was concerned that productive farmers were giving up their land because of the danger of violence.

It was the second ANC statement made this week in an effort to placate the anger of white farmers, who in recent months have been subjected to a wave of attacks.

On Tuesday, the ANC urged its supporters to stop chanting the slogan "kill the Boer, kill the farmer".

However, the ANC Youth League's western Cape region said it would not ask members to stop using the chant.

The ANC's call came as embattled farmers sought ways to prevent increasing attacks on farmsteads.

Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gous yesterday briefed farmers at a meeting in Vryheid on security measures that could be implemented, including the de-

ployment of former Koevoet and 32 Battalion soldiers.

Responding to a statement by farmers that one more murder should be seen as a declaration of war, Gous said violence should be used only as a last resort.

The ANC, while sympathising with the right of farmers to self-protection, made clear its opposition to the proposed deployment of former Koevoet and 32 Battalion soldiers.

"Desperate acts of leaving productive farms or deploying the murderers of 32 Battalion and Koevoet, who visited untold suffering on the people of Namibia and were involved in raping and murdering Phola Park residents last year, is not the answer," the ANC said.

The ANC urged farmers to work for a negotiated settlement "that will ensure a prosperous and democratic society".

The ANC said it was primarily the duty of the police to offer farmers security against violence, and called for investigations into farm killings to be intensified.

## Kasrils claims no part in 'torture'

RAY HARTLEY

ANC national executive committee official Ronnie Kasrils yesterday denied allegations that he had pumped diesel fumes into a detention cell holding 14 people in the ANC's Quibaxe camp in Angola.

Testifying before the Motsuenyane commission into alleged abuses in ANC camps, Kasrils said he had played no part in the sentencing or detention of the 14 as he was sent to the camp to "give political lessons to the comrades there". *B/Day 11/6/93*

He told the commission, sitting in Johannesburg, that the diesel engine, from which he was alleged by the Douglas commission to have pumped fumes into the cell, was in fact located about 60m away from the cell.

The Douglas commission, which released its report early this year, was appointed by the International Freedom Foundation to examine alleged abuses in ANC camps. *(11A) (SPP) (SSE)*

He said he had received affidavits from four of the 14 inmates and the chairman of the tribunal which sentenced them, attesting to his innocence of any abuse. Three of the affidavits were formally lodged with the commission.

He accused the Douglas commission of making several untrue statements about him. It was incorrectly stated that he had headed up MK special operations.

He said Sunday Times editor Ken Owen had subsequently accused him of imprisoning the 14 detainees in "the black hole of

□ To Page 2

## Kasrils

*B/Day 11/6/93*

□ From Page 1

Calcutta" and had described him as the "groot krokodil" of Quibaxe. This had created the incorrect impression that he was "some kind of authoritarian bully boy" in the mould of former President P W Botha, he said. *(SPP) (11A)*

The judgment of the Douglas commission had been clouded by "anti-communist phobia", he said. *(SPP)*

Earlier, former Quatro staff commander Golden Rahube said he had witnessed several beatings of inmates, including torture using the "pompa" method, which led to complaints from inmates of damaged eardrums. Guards had been forced to do "fatigues" as punishment for abusing prisoners, he said. The punishment involved strenuous military exercises. Guards had been given "a constant mes-

sage that you are here to guard, not to become sadists", Rahube testified. He had once been called in by the camp's administration after hitting two friends out of frustration when they fell foul of the ANC.

He said late ANC chairman Oliver Tambo had been misquoted as describing Quatro as "one camp we can do without" during a 1987 tour of the camp.

Rahube, who had also served at Viana camp in Angola, said two metal containers, each with five small windows, had been used at Viana as detention barracks for those connected to offences such as dagga abuse, theft and rape. A man had died in one of the containers while about 250 soldiers mutinied in the camp.

● Picture: Page 3



## Date for ANC,

## IFP talks soon

Political Staff

A DATE will be announced soon for a meeting between KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, a spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu said last night.

He said a date will be set as soon as agreement had been reached on the agenda for the talks.

# Van Eck quits ANC executive

By Quentin Wilson



MR JAN van Eck, MP for Claremont, has resigned from the ANC's regional executive committee for health reasons. (IA)

In a letter to ANC Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak, Van Eck said he was resigning after being warned by his doctor of an "extraordinarily high stress level".

Van Eck explained: "When I was elected onto the ANC's regional executive council (REC) last year, I was hit by an avalanche of work.

"I was already involved in countless other spheres of work which I could not walk away from.

"I have tried to cope with the extra workload, but there was just no way I could. The only thing for me to do was to leave the REC — my most stressful area of work."

Van Eck spent a week in hospital last month because of "burn-out".

He stressed his resignation from the REC was in no way connected to tensions or divisions on the REC and says his commitment to the ANC "remains unchanged".

"I have been active in politics for 22 years," said Van Eck. "In any political party or organisation there will always be tensions and divisions.

"Everyone knows that I have survived political in-fighting for years."

Van Eck said he would continue his parliamentary work until he "felt restored".

ANC spokesperson Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the organisation "was very sad that Van Eck had resigned".

The REC has yet to decide how to replace him.

# CROSSTALK

In the coming weeks Crosstalk will be debating what powers should be granted to regional government under a new constitution. This week, ANC officials kick off the debate.

## Regional govt yes, South 1216-161693 disintegration no IIP

Regionally-based authorities are necessary to help democratic participation, but the post-apartheid reconstruction of South Africa will need to be co-ordinated by a strong government, argues ANC constitutional expert

### KADER ASMAL

**W**HEN the Codesa 2 proceedings were aborted in May last year, one of the agreements which was ignored by the press was a consensus on regions.

Not only did the parties agree that government would be structured at national, regional and local levels as a principle of the new constitution, but there was also agreement that the powers of the regions should be "entrenched".

This was a far-reaching proposition. It meant that no future government would be able to abolish regions, as the apartheid regime so frivolously did in relation to the provincial councils in 1986.

The debate should then have moved on to a discussion about what powers the regions and the centre should have and what the purpose of devolution should be.

Instead, the language of debate degenerated, and coded words which obscured the real significance of the issues at stake began to be used. Lawyers and the newly-entrapped supporters of the most extreme forms of federalism became supporters of "local participation" and "local democracy".

But these buzz-words in the mouths of previous upholders of a highly centralised and bureaucratic state, whose concept of "self-determination" was the illicit homelands policy, left a bitter taste.

In a large country such as ours, there is a strong case for a multiplicity of authorities, exercising legislative and executive authority and ensuring that millions of people previously deprived of participation in government are able to participate in government at the level where they are affected most intimately.

But we must guard against proposals which will emasculate the centre of significant authority. This is not an abstract commitment to state power or worship of the centre.

The reality of South Africa is that the vast task of reconstruction and development will require national tasks to be carried out by a national parliament and a central executive.

The building of homes, schools, hospitals, the implementation of welfare policies, the reorganisation of the armed forces and the civil service and the implementation of positions and remedial policies in land redistribu-



KADER ASMAL

tion require that power and wealth are not locked into separate and discrete regions run by political warlords.

In South Africa, we need the principle of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic governance to permeate all levels of our society.

There must therefore be equal provision of services and treatment of our citizens, regardless of whether they live in the impoverished regions of the Northern Cape, the Northern Transvaal or the Kei, or in the TBVC states.

Regionalism must not become an excuse for the maintenance of present structures bequeathed to us by apartheid.

The agreement by the multi-party negotiation process to set up a Council for Regions must therefore be seen in this context.

This Council will draw up the boundaries for the election to the Constituent Assembly and will also take evidence about the powers and functions of the regions.

If the Inkatha proposals are accepted, we shall have a confederation, a group of states where each "region" will effectively be independent.

The National Party has suddenly adopted the principle of "subsidiarity". They are very coy about what this means but they are clear that "each level of government shall have appropriate and adequate (sic) legislative executive and fiscal powers which should be entrenched in the constitution."

Their original proposals of August last

year would have denuded the centre of all power, leaving only defence, foreign affairs and constitutional affairs to the centre! Imagine having 10 regional police forces in South Africa.

The ANC's view is that the Constituent Assembly still remains the proper instrument for determining the ultimate form of government.

However, in order to ensure that progress takes place, it is necessary to discuss what kinds of powers regions should have.

This issue, ultimately, is not for experts to decide on but for all of us. Powers cannot be allocated in abstract, but must meet the needs of the society which has to live with a constitution.

There are many needs which can best be met locally; others require a national policy and a national implementation programme.

Many proposals on the table will create a paradise for lawyers who will have a field day deciding which organ of government should have jurisdiction. Battles of this kind will bring the constitution into disrepute.

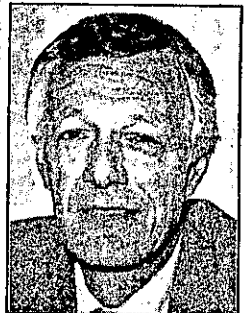
The debate should therefore be about what powers should be allocated to the regions and what to the centre, and about the capacity of the centre to have ultimate authority in order to identify and implement national policies.

Kader Asmal is a member of the national executive committee of the African National Congress.

## SA needs to be unified — South 1216-161693 Van Eck

By Edwina Booysen

MR JAN van Eck (right), ANC MP for Claremont, says the concepts of regionalism and federalism are being used by a South African minority to escape from "the reality of a future ANC government".



He says "reactionary forces" are trying to convince South Africans that a safe future lies in dividing the country and its people into powerful separate regions, federal or even confederal states.

At an ANC public meeting at Groot Brak River earlier this year, Van Eck said it should be clear to anybody that the country and its people need to be unified in order to overcome the deep divisions created by apartheid.

"Over all those years, our people were torn apart into white, coloured, African and Indian group areas while Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Vendas, Tswanas and others were dragged into separate ethnic homelands. All this was an attempt to divide those South Africans who were not white and so ensure white minority rule."

Van Eck said those who agitate for dividing the country into strongly independent regions have nothing to do with a true belief in regionalism and federalism.

The enthusiasts include the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Afrikaner-Volksunie (AVU) and "a legion of other conservative white and black political groupings".

Their enthusiasm is "a desperate attempt to ensure some kind of hold on power by the minority who have been in power for so long that they cannot accept that in the new South Africa they will be out of power".

"In view of our past experience, surely it should be clear by now that we cannot yet again adopt constitutional models that have nothing to do with the individual merits of these models, but are based on and motivated by nothing other than fear. Fear of the reality of South Africa."

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 encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.**

# The battle for the Western Cape

South 1216 - 161693

**P**OLITICAL parties and organisations all agree that the Western Cape will be among the most hotly contested regions in next year's elections. Three parties are already predicting they will win easily.

Polls show that more than 30 percent of people in the Western Cape are still undecided about political affiliation, or completely apolitical. Several parties have set out to win them over.

"The Western Cape will be the toughest election in the country, because it is the only place the National Party (NP) has a realistic chance of winning," says Mr Willie Hofmeyr, assistant secretary of the ANC Western Cape region.

The NP is making no bones about its plans to capture the coloured vote, estimated at just over half of all voters in the region.

But indications are that the NP's growth, mostly based on FW de Klerk's popularity, is dwindling.

The Democratic Party (DP), which has made inroads in black areas, has become confident that it too can win the majority of Western Cape votes. "We are going for majority control," says Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg.

Yet, recent unpublished surveys suggest the ANC has won significant support in the coloured community in the past three months.

"The ANC could win, because it has the largest organised membership amongst coloured people as a result of previous activist infrastructures," says Hofmeyr.

"Because we draw bigger support at our public meetings than other parties, we are also sure we can reach people."

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) feels that it too is making advances, especially in African areas. "A lot of water will pass under the bridge before the election and we are confident of a growing support base," says Ms Patricia de Lille of the Western Cape PAC.

The Labour Party (LP) is waiting to see if an election alliance with the ANC will be realised before embarking on an election drive.

### ● Election issues

Most parties agree that the election issues here will differ from the rest of the country.

Many parties believe that the NP will push De Klerk as its major election strength in the area, and that they will to a large extent be campaigning against the man rather

than against the party. The NP itself seems set on making the issue of violence its main theme. "We are one of the parties which, if elected, could help to limit violence," says Olaus van Zyl, of the NP federal council.

On a national level the ANC will focus on liberation from apartheid, but in the Western Cape it will concentrate on local issues such as housing, education and unemployment.

The DP echoes this, while the PAC also talks of "local socio-economic issues".

National matters that will impact on Western Cape party prospects include identity documents, voter education, money and media.

With the announcement of April 27 1994 as provisional election date, South Africa has swung into election mode. But loose ends need to be tied up before a national democratic election becomes a reality, reports **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE**

(11A)



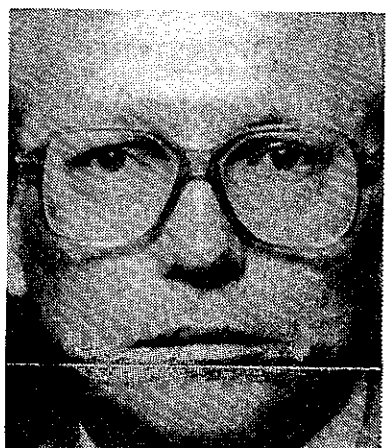
Patricia de Lille



Dene Smuts



Willie Hofmeyr



Olaus van Zyl

cation going on is neutral," says Van Zyl. "The independent election commission would be asked to put up a neutral body managing voter education, ensuring that it is non-partisan."

The PAC supports this view, adding that voter education should be funded by the state as well as foreign countries.

The ANC and DP, on the other hand, believe it will inevitably be every party's own responsibility to conduct voter education and are concerned about the time constraints in which to do this.

### ● Money

The ANC is set to have the biggest budget, anticipating that it will need up to R200 million. De Lille says the PAC needs at least R30 million.

Both parties feel that they are at a disadvantage as they do not have either the political or the election infrastructure of the NP and DP.

The DP contests this, saying its political infrastructure is limited in comparison to the NP's, while the ANC can secure major foreign and even local corporate funding.

"We are worried about the effect of buying votes which could impact on the process of pluralism and proportional representation," says Ms Dene Smuts, DP MP for Groote Schuur. "We would argue for direct public funding which occurs in many other countries."

The NP believes it will spend more than ever on this election as it is different from previous polls.

"Previously we campaigned through newspapers, TV, pamphlets and brochures," says Van Zyl. "Now we are dealing with a large number of illiterate people. Many are without access to television."

### ● Media

All parties believe equal air-time on radio, as well as bought time, will be the major means of carrying over their message. In addition, most are planning extensive door-to-door campaigning and mass rallies.

In order to effect this, all of them are holding election management workshops, setting up new branches, discussing strategy and deploying as many fieldworkers as possible, both paid and voluntary.

Another concern voiced by all parties is that of intimidation and free access to voters. The NP and DP are worried about limits on their access in the townships, while the liberation movements are most concerned about their inability to get access to farmworkers.

## Counting down to April 27

D-DAY for the confirmation of the provisional election date is next Tuesday, when the Negotiating Council meets to ratify it.

The only real obstacle is the conservative Concerned South African Group (Cosag) parties including Inkatha, who are unhappy at the "haste" with which April 27 was set as a provisional election date. The Negotiating Forum will meet on June 25 to finally approve the date. The forum will also decide on the principles to be incorporated in the transitional constitution.

This constitution will lay down the rules for power-sharing in a government of national unity for five years after the election.

The next step will be to set up the transitional executive council (TEC) and the sub-councils which will attend to issues like the integration of the armed forces during the pre-election period.

The TEC's main function is to ensure the "levelling of the playing fields" for free and fair elections.

The most urgent task will be the setting up of an independent electoral commission before the end of July, to give the parties nine months to prepare for the elections.

The commission's main function will be to supervise all aspects of the election, including the issuing of identity documents to all South Africans.

Other outstanding issues include the report of the commission on regionalism's on how the country and the independent homelands should be divided for the purposes of federalism and regionalism. This report is due in July.

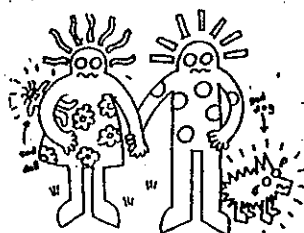
The possible non-co-operation of the four 'independent' bantustans is seen as a major stumbling block, along with the perception that violence can disrupt the process.

With these obstacles out of the way, parties will be able to start campaigning in full force.

They will probably produce their national and regional lists for proportional representation in parliament about two months before the election date.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE

## CHILDREN!

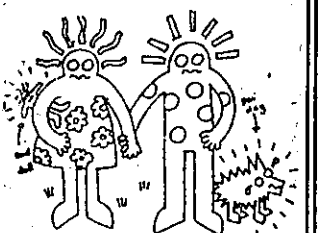


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## South Comment

### Spending the Next decade With the Nats



EVERYONE thought FW had conceded power when he agreed to a transparent selection process for the SABC board.

His political intervention came as a rude reminder: for the Nats, sharing power does NOT mean relinquishing power.

They intend to keep as much as they can.

Already, if the ANC wins the coming election, it will be constitutionally bound to have other parties in the cabinet — according to their electoral strengths in parliament.

That will be in terms of the interim constitution put together at the World Trade Centre.

For five years after next April's elections, the ANC will be tied into sharing power with the Nats — at least until elections under a second, final, constitution take place.

Evidently, this massive concession is not enough.

De Klerk is now saying that power-sharing must continue beyond the five years already agreed to by the ANC.

He's not necessarily seeking to prolong guaranteed cabinet representation in that later phase.

But he says it won't be enough for him if there is proportional representation and a shifting of power from central government to the regions.

The Nats want more.

Could be that FW wants the senate to get a veto. Or maybe a 70 percent consensus for parliamentary and cabinet decisions.

Having got his way for the next five years, De Klerk is now plotting the power dynamics in the period after that.

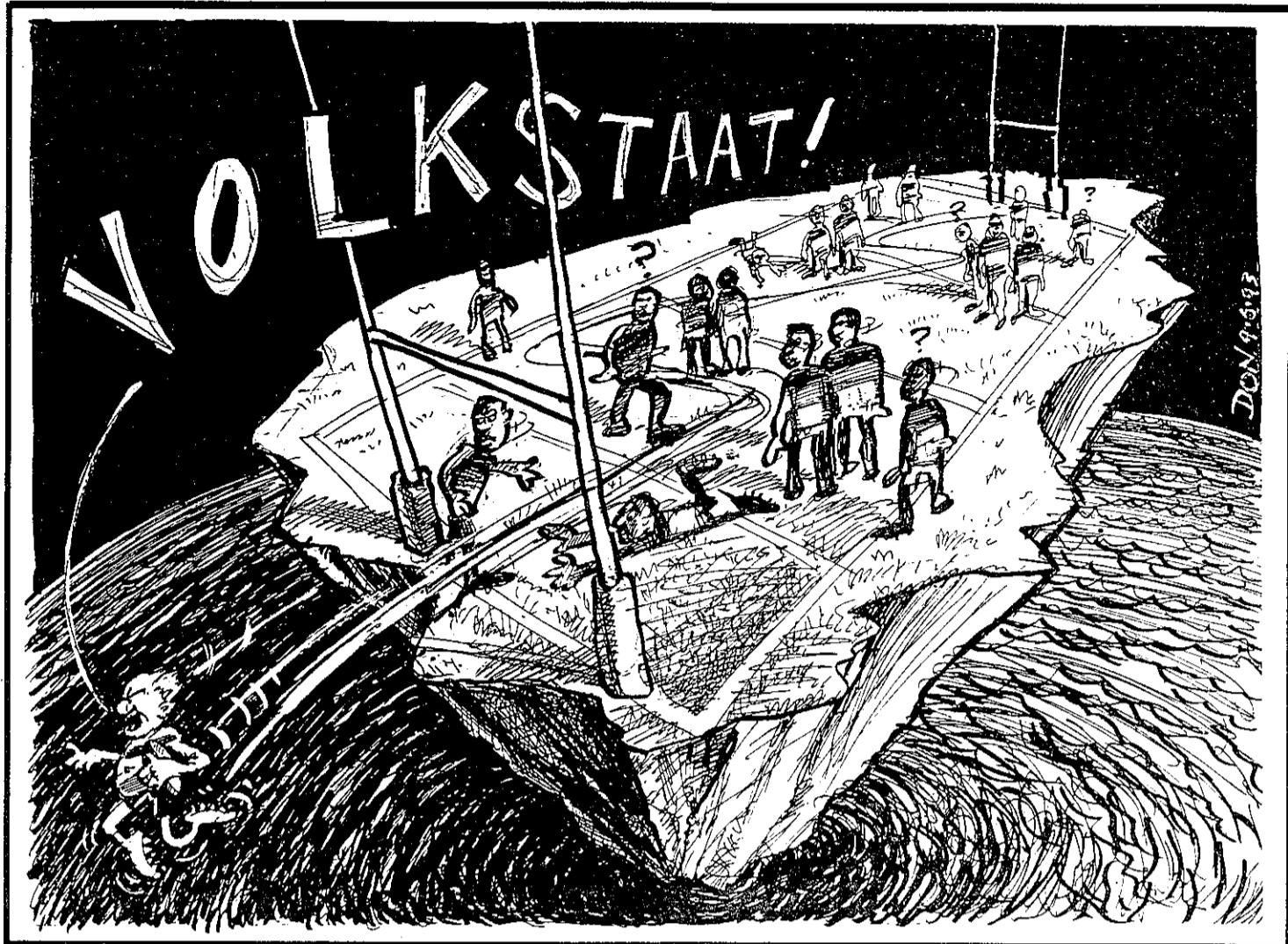
Two years ago, he and his party met in Bloemfontein to proclaim their aim of 10 years of a power-sharing deal.

They were serious — deadly serious.

At the time, many didn't believe them. Maybe we should think again.

The light at the end of the tunnel keeps receding.

Guy Berger, editor



## YOUR VIEW

Letters to the Editor SOUTH, 6 Russell Street, Woodstock, Cape Town, 7925

WITH reference to the article "Hawkers are a Nuisance" (SOUTH June 5), the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) would like to comment as follows:

The claim of the Cape Town City Council that they cannot do anything about overcrowding of hawkers in Mitchells Plain deserves further comment.

The Regulations Relating to Street Vendors, published in the Provincial Gazette of 28 August 1992 are quite clear on the requirements street vendors have to meet:

- street vendors shall not take up a position or place property on a sidewalk in such a manner that pedestrian traffic is prevented from passing;
- street vendors shall not obstruct free access to any entrance or exit from a building;
- street vendors shall not carry on business in a manner that creates a nuisance;
- street vendors shall not create a traffic hazard;
- street vendors shall not carry on their business in such a way as to be a danger or threat to public health or public safety;
- goods may be removed or impounded if they obstruct pedestrian or vehicular traffic, or are in front of an entrance or exit of a building;
- any vendor who contravenes the above shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of up to R1 000 or imprisonment of three months.

In addition, as with St Georges Mall, the Administrator of the Cape Province may declare demarcated areas as prohibited areas for hawking, with the exclusion of certain identified sites for trading purposes. (In the St Georges Mall 60 sites were allowed).

### Council responsible for Plain hawkers

It is therefore not clear what further powers the City Council wants, and on what basis they argue that they cannot do anything about the situation.

Surely it is opportune for the Council to bring together all the parties to the dispute (street traders, concerned residents, shopkeepers) and resolve the matter in accordance with the above provisions.

Johan Naudé  
SBDC  
Cape Town

### SABC Board shuns disabled

DISABLED People of South Africa, which is the democratic national assembly of disabled people in this country, wishes to place on record its disappointment at the removal of Dr William Rowland's name from the list of nominees by the selection panel to the SABC board.

The SABC, as the dominant force in the broadcasting industry and a critical vehicle of public information and opinion, has a unique role to play in the quest for a better life for disabled South Africans.

We have noted press speculation to the effect that the appointment of Dr Gertina Cilliers, as a social worker, would serve "to represent the disabled". We of course have no way of confirm-

ing that this was indeed a view held by the state president or the selection panel. While we intend no disrespect for Dr Cilliers (we do not know her), this principle is totally unacceptable to disabled people. If our interests are to be represented at all, this can only be achieved by the appointment of a suitably qualified and appropriately mandated disabled person.

Dr Rowland is the only person who meets these criteria at the present time.

Mike du Toit  
Secretary General DPSA  
East London

### Don't belittle June 16

DUNCAN Crowie's column, "Within striking distance" (SOUTH June 5) is unfortunate.

Surely a national player of his stature could avoid commenting on June 16 and Ascension Day.

Mr Crowie could make his point about his grievances on the postponement of league games without questioning the importance of June 16.

To some of us who are Christians, Ascension Day is about Jesus Christ ascending to Heaven. Jesus Christ's ascension was about people, and the commemoration of the racist murder of close to a thousand school pupils is just as important.

It is still fresh in the memory of the nation, and hence a sensitive issue worth respecting.

I am a regular reader of SOUTH, and never miss reading Duncan Crowie's columns. They make very interesting reading and I also think Crowie is one of South Africa's best strikers. Viva Lightbodies Santos!

Themba Zulu  
Mowbray

### Free Cape Movement aren't Capies

I WAS not surprised to read that Mr Christopher Hill, the leader of the so-called Free Cape Movement, is not a Capetonian at all, but a Scotsman who lived in the former Rhodesia (SOUTH May 29).

The man probably does not even speak Afrikaans and Xhosa, let alone the "Kaapse taal" which is a unique part of our cultural heritage.

It is difficult to imagine a real Capetonian expressing the sinister right-wing sentiments voiced so clearly by Mr Hill in the interview in SOUTH.

The man completely ignores the proud socialist traditions that form such a large part of the political character of the Cape, and which are still manifested in the uncompromising stance taken by the regional ANC leadership while our people are being sold down the river by Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa and the other traitors at the World Trade Centre.

Mohamed Moosa  
Woodstock  
Cape Town

# Police file on Winnie

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, may soon make another appearance in court — this time in connection with the disappearance of two youths in 1988.

Witwatersrand attorney-general Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau confirmed yesterday he had received a police file alleging involvement by Mrs Mandela, recently convicted on

kidnapping charges, in the disappearance of Lolo Sono and a youth named Tshabalala.

He said, however, he had not yet taken a decision.

Mrs Mandela was fined R15 000 in the Bloemfontein Appeal Court last week when she was found guilty on four kidnap charges. She was originally sentenced to five years' imprisonment on the charges. — Sapa

CT 12/6/93

(11A) (S)





# 'Charges' ruled out Slovo licence

PRETORIA. — SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo had been refused a firearm licence because several charges of murder, sabotage and terrorism were pending against him, police said yesterday.

However, he had been granted temporary indemnity from the charges.

The South African Police pub-

lic relations directorate said in a statement it was necessary to "clarify the matter" in view of "unfortunate and continued public debate" on the refusal.

Other prominent ANC and SACP members had been granted licences since they had received permanent indemnity.

An "administrative oversight" had meant that Mr Ronnie Kas-

rels had received a gun licence even though he had not been granted permanent indemnity for all the crimes he was allegedly implicated in. This matter was being investigated.

● Over 1 200 applications for gun licences are being received daily, with police working overtime to process the backlog. — Sapa

CT 12/6/93

# Farmers 'share blame' for 'kill Boer' slogan

CT 12/16/93  
By CELEAN JACOBSON

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan last night defended the "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan, saying farmers were not "completely blameless".

Speaking on SATV news Dr Jordan said that while farmers needed to "clean up their act" the ANC had not called for them to be killed.

Dr Jordan noted reports that some Philippi farmers flogged workers, a

practice he likened to slavery.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said last night that certain practices by some farmers were "repugnant" to the ANC and that Dr Jordan had been "quite correct in his criticism".

Mr Niehaus said the ANC executive wanted to scrap the slogan.

● ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck told Parliament the slogan only represented some individual views in the ANC.







□ **BUSY:** Mr Nelson Mandela is to make time.

# ANC/Zulu talks soon?

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**  
Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

**TOP-LEVEL** discussions were still being held yesterday about an agenda for an historic summit meeting between African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expected to be held in Cape Town soon.

The long-awaited summit, which could be a major boost for peace, is being brokered by leaders of the Anglican and Methodist churches, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Stanley Mogoba,

presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa; and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

A date for the meeting will be announced as soon as agreement on the agenda is reached, says a statement issued yesterday by Bishop Mogoba and Bishop Nuttall.

The statement said: "The two leaders are both in favour of the meeting and we are satisfied that their parties are committed to giving top priority to reaching agreement on the agenda."

Earlier this week, Archbishop Tutu and Bishop Mogoba said in a statement they expected to announce a date for the meeting by the end of this week.

■ **Hopes are high that a date is about to be announced for an historic summit meeting in Cape Town between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.**

Archbishop Tutu is on an overseas trip and is scheduled to remain in Britain until June 18.

However, his Press officer, Mr John Allen, has said the Archbishop would interrupt his visit if a meeting between the two leaders was set up before his return.

Archbishop Tutu said earlier he hoped the meeting would take place "within weeks" at his official residence, Bishops-court, in Cape Town.

His statement was hailed as

In recent months, pressures mounted on the two leaders to settle their differences once and for all and to get together to ensure a peaceful political settlement and an end to violence.

As long ago as February this year, new moves were afoot to bring the two leaders together. At that stage, the target date for the peace summit was about mid-March, but the time came and went, and there was no summit.

The proposed summit meeting between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi has been on the cards for years — ever since Mr Mandela was released from prison in 1990.

At times, serious tensions arose between the two leaders, making the chances of a meeting seem increasingly remote.

views and feelings of people at grassroots level.

About that time, Chief Buthelezi confirmed in the KwaZulu legislative assembly in Ulundi that he was prepared to meet Mr Mandela "anytime without preconditions".

The KwaZulu leader was responding to an earlier announcement by Mr Mandela that he would meet Buthelezi only on condition he was certain such a meeting would be fruitful.

Mr Mandela had said on the last day of a three-day Natal Midlands tour that such a meeting would be possible if there was an agreement on the banning of "weapons of death", the fencing of hostels and free political activity in KwaZulu.



□ **READY:** Chief Buthelezi is prepared for talks.

C



ROELF MEYER: Remarks cause confusion.

# Meyer's remarks on TEC rattle politicians

Star 12/16/93

CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

THE ANC has welcomed Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's announcement that a multiparty Transitional Executive Council could be installed without legislation. (11A)

However, his comments in Parliament earlier this week have given rise to confusion and criticism. (11A)

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew argued yesterday that the council "will have to be empowered by legislation if it is to function effectively. If Meyer is suggesting that the council

● See Editorial — Page 10

could function indefinitely without legislation, he is undermining the authority that the council will need and flying in the face of the letter and spirit of previous agreements." If the council was not established by statute, it can hardly be considered to be the first phase of interim government — something which is essential for the lifting of sanctions.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Prosa said Parliament's sanction was unnecessary.

"Our position is that once there is agreement between parties (in the TEC and its sub-coun-

● TO PAGE 2.



m's arrival at Jan Smuts  
aph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Saturday Star June 12 1993

## Meyer

Star 12/16/93

● FROM PAGE 1.

cils) there is no reason as to why this should not be implemented immediately," he said. Waiting for another session of Parliament to give effect to these agreements would be futile.

In Government ranks there was confusion on the issue. (11A)

Some sources believed Meyer meant that the council could function until its demise — at the time of an election — without empowering legislation being passed in Parliament. However, others said the Government believed that the council should function initially without the necessary legislation but that it would have to be passed at a later stage.

Andrew said: "There is no reason why Parliament should not be recalled to pass this legislation in July or early August."

The TEC was intend-

ed as a multiparty body that would be charged with ensuring that no party won unfair advantage in the run-up to elections. (11A)

Its powers would have to be negotiated.

There appears to be general consensus that its decisions should be binding on the Government in several areas.

In terms of timetables set by the Government and the ANC, the council should be established by next month. However, the timing of its installation depends on progress in Negotiating Council meetings during the next two weeks. The issue should come before the council during the next few days.

The debate likely to draw most interest in next week's negotiations will be that on an election date. The Negotiating Forum's meeting on Tuesday is expected to finalise a date — tentatively agreed as April 27 next year — to be ratified at the forum's June 25 meeting.



# PAC kicks Benny off talks team

*SI Times 13/6/93*

(11A)

**THE PAC has axed secretary-general Benny Alexander as leader of its negotiations team at the World Trade Centre.**

This means the talkative politician will be absent from his bench when crucial decisions affecting the PAC's future political role will be discussed.

Mr Alexander will be replaced by the PAC's secretary for Relief and Aid, Miss Patricia de Lille of Cape Town, who has been part of the PAC negotiations squad from the outset.

The vacancy caused by Mr Alexander's absence from the team will be filled by another Capetonian, Mr Kwedi Mkhali, a PAC NEC member without a portfolio.

Mr Alexander's axing from the team is believed to be connected to, among other things, his sometimes brash public support for the Azanian People's Liberation Army's "armed struggle".

Sources say these "blusterings" have embarrassed the PAC at a sensitive stage during on-off bilateral talks with the government and while several PAC/Apla members are still in police custody.

Sources also cited "personal family problems".

By **NORMAN WEST**  
Political Reporter

The PAC also thought it was not appropriate for him to serve in a high-profile position at the multi-party forum while he was involved in a court case.

Mr Alexander appeared in the Johannesburg magistrate's court on Wednesday in connection with forgery and fraud. He has denied charges that he tampered with an identity document.

The trial was postponed to June 24, a day before a full multi-party forum meeting where the final date for next year's elections is expected to be finalised.

Minutes after the postponement of the case on Wednesday, Mr Alexander was served with a warrant for his arrest for traffic offences committed by people driving vehicles registered to the PAC.

The PAC was fined R30 on each offence and R50 on each count arising from the non-appearance in court of the accused.

● A spokesman said president Clarence Makwetu cut short his visit to the Transkei on Friday after receiving a message calling him back to the Transvaal. He refused to elaborate.

**OUT ... sources say Benny Alexander's 'blusterings' embarrassed the PAC**

## The 'last' June 16? *Citress 12/6/93*

MORE than 75 rallies will be held countrywide on June 16 to commemorate the 1976 uprising.

At a news conference in Johannesburg on Tuesday the ANC Youth League said the campaign for the 17th anniversary of the events – dubbed Youth Action for Democratic Education and Elections – would mark “the last June 16 under apartheid rule”.

(11A)

CIPRESS  
**Benny** 12/6/93  
**axed**

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander has been dropped as leader of the PAC negotiations team. (IA)

His leading place on the team will be taken by foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille.

Another PAC NEC member, Kwedi Mkhali, joins the negotiating team.

It claimed that Alexander's "blusterings" and "personal family problems" led to the action. Alexander retains his position as secretary-general.

# Looking back at June '76, how do you picture the future?

June 16, 1976. A cold winter's morning.  
Thousands of school children take to the streets in protest against the racist policy of apartheid education.

Soweto explodes.

In one day alone 15 children are killed by security forces. Hundreds more are wounded and maimed. And many thousands flee the country.

What is most remarkable about June 16 is the fact that it was children who led the way.

Not adults or soldiers, but children who stood up against the might of a state.

Children who sacrificed their lives for the most basic of human rights: the right to a proper and decent education.

Today, some 17 years later, the crisis in black education continues.

Apartheid is not yet over.

Consider that for every rand spent on educating a white child, a mere 20 cents is spent on educating a child in a DET school.

Where white schools average 18 children



STUDENT POSTER, JUNE 1976

per teacher, black children are forced to share with as many as 70 classmates.

For no plausible reason there continues to be a shortage of the most basic tools of learning. Including textbooks and desks. Not to mention electricity and lighting.

The right to education is not something children should have to fight for. And most certainly not something they should have to die for.

It should be what any just and moral society gives willingly.

Which is why the ANC insists on an education policy that will remove the obstacles and give all our children the chance to reach their full potential.

We owe it to those who died for this struggle to acknowledge that children are a nation's most valuable asset - and education its most important investment.

This is the true picture.  
And the only way forward  
to a much brighter future.



THE FUTURE. HOW DO YOU SEE IT?

NOW IS THE TIME FOR AN EDUCATION POLICY THAT WORKS

TIN 50000

*Cipress 13/6/93*  
**Mandela to talk in Gazankulu**

ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly and later an ANC rally at Giyani stadium tomorrow.

ANC spokesman Richard Baloyi said homeland chief minister Samuel Nxumalo was also expected to address the rally as well as other Gazankulu leaders. (11A) (115)





LONG GOODBYE . . . Xoliswa Falati leaving for prison on Wednesday.

■ Pic: THULANI SITHOLE

## Phumi offers to do time for mom

By **MONWABISI NOMADOLO**

**NOMPUMELELO** Falati has offered her mother the supreme sacrifice — to serve her two-year prison sentence on her behalf.

Nompumelelo, 20, is the daughter of Xoliswa Falati, who on Wednesday began serving her effective two-year imprisonment sentence for kidnapping and assault after her convictions were upheld by the appeal court.

In an exclusive inter-

view with City Press, Phumi, as she is affectionately known, expressed bitterness and exasperation.

Even after the country's highest court reaffirmed Falati's conviction, her daughter stands by her "innocence".

She said she could not stand by and let her mother suffer for "something she did not do".

She confirmed her mother's claim that she had lied in court to pro-

tect Winnie Mandela, her co-accused in the trail related to the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei.

Phumi was originally charged with murder in the same case and later released after spending almost nine months in detention at John Vorster Square's juvenile section.

Charges against her were later withdrawn while she was out on R500 bail.

She was 16 years old

when the four youths were removed from the Methodist Church manse in December 1988.

"I still cannot understand why Winnie was fined and my mother sent to prison. My mother was a scapegoat," she said in a quiet voice.

At a press conference shortly before she presented herself at Orlando Police Station on Wednesday, where she was taken in by Maj FH Dempsey of the Soweto

Murder and Robbery unit, Falati described her relationship to Winnie as that of a "slave".

"I'm not afraid, comrade," she hugged and whispered in the ear of long time friend, Phumzile Nzimande of Orlando East.

There was toyi-toying and chanting before she finally got into a red police Jetta that took her to "Sun City".

City Press 13/6/93



# 'ANC security chief blocked my probe'

Cifress 13/6/93

By ZANELE VUTELA

ANC justice officer Zola Skweyiya this week told the Motsuenyane Commission probing irregularities in ANC detention camps that his efforts to check whether the ANC was holding prisoners there had been repeatedly frustrated by the ANC's former security department head. (11A) (S)

However, senior ANC security officer Golden Ruhabe told the commission Skweyiya was using personal differences with individuals to discredit the security department.

Skweyiya, appointed in 1985 to check that no person in ANC custody was "treated in a cruel, inhu-

man or degrading way", said he needed permission from the security department to visit Angola.

He had approached the head of security in 1986, who told him he would "get no co-operation". He was even threatened with arrest. (S)

Between 1985 and 1987 he had, among others, been asked by Chris Hani to set up tribunals to ensure that people arrested or detained were charged as soon as possible.

He eventually managed to visit Angola in 1987 when the security department had new leadership. He only spoke to a few people who had been arrested at Vianna, near Luanda. He first heard

the name "Quattro" when he read about it in the papers after 1990.

Ruhabe, former commander of Quattro, said that by 1987, after ascertaining that some of the mutineers held since 1984 were not enemy agents, he had made a formal recommendation that they be released.

During Tambo's visit to Quattro in 1987 he had requested that a tribunal be set up as soon as possible. In 1988 he motivated this to the ANC's NEC. The first tribunal sat in April 1988.

Another former Camp 32 commander, Mountain Kepadise, testified that he went to Lusaka several times to request that a tribunal be set up, but was told that the legal department was busy.

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

by ... 201a ... tions forced on us, said ... in mid-July. ... cloud their judgment.

# Kids who went to war in '76

**KHOTO SEATLHOLO:** Was among those who led the first march on June 16. He later helped plan the escape of firebrand student leader Tsietzi Mashinini after police put a price on his head.

Mashinini led the revolt against Afrikaans being used as a medium of instruction in black schools. He died in exile and was buried in South Africa in 1990.

Seatlholo recalls: "We held a meeting on Sunday, June 13 where the June 16 march was planned and Mashinini was elected president.

"On June 16, we marched from Naledi High to other schools. As we approached Orlando West we noticed a large police contingent.

"By that time, the first shots had

Wednesday is the 17th anniversary of the 1976 riots. **EZRA MANTINI** speaks to four activists who were at the forefront of the June 16 1976 student revolt

been fired by the police." **IIA**  
Today he is a financial manager of Finco — a subsidiary of the Independent Development Trust.

**MURPHY MOROBE:** Only one white policeman was among those who fired the shots that killed 12-year-old Hector Peterson, according to former student activist and UDF leader Murphy Morobe.

"We left Morris Isaacson School and marched to Orlando West.

"It was only after the shootings in Orlando West that students became aggressive. It was there that police confronted students.

"If I remember correctly, there was only one white policeman. The rest were blacks. The police let a dog loose which was killed by the students. The police saw red.

"As we retreated, Hector Peterson was fatally shot. Then everything broke into disorder."

Today Murphy Morobe is manager for social investments at PG Bison.

**DAN MONTSITSI:** Now a national co-ordinator with Matla Trust, he became a student activist in 1971.

"I felt the struggle should not be carried by students alone, but by our parents as well. I interwove our actions with parent groups. We called for their support and started the rent boycott."

**LYBON MABASA:** In June 1976 he was a teacher at Meadowlands High school and had been active in the South African Students' Organisation.

He said: "I attended the June 13 meeting. We, as teachers, decided to pretend to know nothing.

"It was only after we heard on the radio that some students had been shot that we went to the scene. By that time there was trouble all over.

"We were impressed because the students insisted there should be a return to school, no matter what happened.

"They also insisted on wearing their uniforms."

## Elite SADF training base set to take on MK soldiers

By **SIPKE de VRIES**

**THE** elite Army Infantry School at Oudtshoorn is "ready for MK", the school's officer commanding, Colonel Koos Liebenberg, said this week.

Colonel Liebenberg, a veteran of the Angolan war and the conflict in Namibia, was not talking war. He was referring to the integration of MK soldiers into the South African army.

The move comes in response to numerous calls for a joint and integrated defence force in South Africa, as well as joint control of the SADF by a military council.

He said he had no problem with an integrated army infantry as long as accepted military standards were maintained, and that "we serve the government of the day".

"It is now for the politicians to decide

on what, and when," he added.

The school, which for the past two decades has trained thousands of infantrymen, is gearing up for the inclusion of MK soldiers for 12 months' infantry training for junior leaders up to corporal and second lieutenant.

On a more advanced level, permanent and part-time soldiers may undergo infantry training up to the rank of major.

Colonel Liebenberg emphasised that there would be no compromising or lowering of standards of training and expertise.

Currently, about 60 percent of the army's personnel consists of black, coloured or Indian members.

The school also trains "foreign" soldiers for the defence forces of Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and other self-governing territories. — Sapa

# Parties move into gear for election

SI Times [C Metro] 13/6/93

(11A)

By NAZEEM HOWA

WITH a date for South Africa's first democratic elections all but finalised, political parties in the Western Cape are gearing up for a tough campaign.

The issues may still be unclear, but political parties across the spectrum are not wasting any time in preparing strategies for the run-up to the election.

And with regional support expected to take on more importance under the new dispensation, the Western Cape's 50 percent coloured population is expected to receive special attention during the coming months from several of the major political organisations.

Considered to have minimal support in coloured areas, the ANC is expected to advertise the position of campaigns officer shortly. It is understood the appointee will have as a priority the building of

support in coloured community.

The ANC has organised a general council meeting at the Manenberg Peoples' Centre for today at which electioneering is expected to dominate discussions. The issue of the "coloured" vote is also expected to generate heated debate.

The National Party, on the other hand, is presently involved in in-depth strategic planning exercises and is expected to implement its strategy from August, according to the MP for Ceres, Mr Melt Hamman, who heads the party's regional strategic planning committee.

"We are also in the process of recruiting organisers who will have the task of training canvassers," he said.

Mr Hamman was reluctant to release re-

gional membership figures as they are presently in the process of being updated.

However, he expects the NP's coloured membership in the rural areas to virtually equal its white membership.

"It may differ substantially in the urban areas," he said.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party claims to be gaining more than 500 new members each week.

While DP regulations forbid releasing to the media details of exact membership figures, Hennie Bester says the number of active branches has increased from 14 to 58.

"Some of our bigger branches in coloured areas are in Colorado Park, Mitchells Plain, Manenberg and Belhar. We expect branches at Steenberg, Heideveld and Atlantis to show tremendous growth in the coming months," he said.

## Resources

Mr Bester said a major problem facing the DP was its lack of resources.

"Unlike the National Party and the ANC we are not in a position to employ several organisers. Instead, we have to rely on volunteers who are working their butts off."

The present DP membership in the Western Cape totals 17 000.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, on the other hand, is finding a lot more support in white areas, ac-



HENNIE BESTER

ording to Mr Jurie Mentz.

"Most of our new members come from the ranks of the NP and the DP. There's been a tremendous response from Montagu, Stellenbosch,

Fish Hoek and several West Coast areas," he said.

The party's membership figures for the Western Cape stand at between 7 000 and 8 000.



Reports by CLAIRE ROBERTSON

"ALL RISE," the Harvard Law graduate intoned at the start of Thursday's session of the Motsuenyane commission into allegations of torture and beatings at ANC prison camps.

"All lies," whispered an ANC Security Department official from the gallery. This was the atmosphere this week when the children of Quatro came forward for the first time to answer three weeks of allegations that for more than a decade inmates of their dreaded prison camp were beaten, ill-fed and subjected to sadistically inventive torture.

Camp commanders, commissars and senior officials refused to take the rap. Although many were specifically named by former Quatro inmates as having interrogated, beaten or tortured them, not one of the men who ran the camp admitted to having laid a hand on a prisoner.

All said, however, that they received reports "from time to time" of abuses and reprimanded the guards involved as it was "strictly forbidden to lay a hand on prisoners".

The abuses they admitted to knowing about ranged from the dreaded Pompa torture — bursting the eardrums by slapping the victim's inflated cheeks — to using impolite language to an elderly inmate.

They denied knowing about most of the other torture methods, and accused the former inmates of having fabricated these.

One man mentioned time and again by former inmates as having had a particularly childish imaginative line in torture — "Griffiths" — and whose name featured in the testimony of the camp officials, will not be testifying.

He is busy with exams at Kampala University in Uganda.

### Vampires

Griffiths was accused by, among others, Mncedisi Hlongwane, head of the Returned Exiles' Committee and the man spearheading the campaign to have the ANC held accountable for the alleged abuses.

In his testimony, Mr Hlongwane — who invariably refers to the "blood-sucking vampires of the ANC" and who accused Mr Nelson Mandela of being a "psychopathic liar" — described the following encounter with Griffiths:

"He forced me to take off all my clothes... then he poured fish oil all over my body. Then he spread red ants over my head."

Under cross-examination, Mr Hlongwane was grilled by Cape Town human rights advocate Siraj

Desai about a minutely detailed account of the whereabouts, habits and offices of Port Elizabeth security policemen that he had written out for his Quatro interrogators, who believed him to be a police spy. (11A)  
"It was very difficult for young children to look after enemy agents like these," Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise told the commission. Prominent businessman Sam Mtsuenyane chairs the commission. The two other members are Zimbabwean barrister David Zimchiya and retired Boston Judge Margaret Burnham, who this week put in a nutshell the task of the commission — "Something fell through the cracks and it's our job to find out". The "something" is the allegedly brutal treatment

meted out to inmates of Quatro and other camps, and the fact that about a dozen people at least were held for four years without trial or tribunal.  
The cracks were in the ANC structure as Quatro was virtually ignored by the exiled leadership in Lusaka for more than a decade until horror stories of torture, death and misery began to filter out and the hunt was on for who was responsible. Candidates include the Security Department which established Quatro as an emergency measure to cope with growing infiltration of ANC ranks by SA agents; Umkhonto we Sizwe, the department's parent division; or, favoured candidate of the army, the Justice Department, which did not carry out its duties in regard to

the camps. Several of the men who testified before the commission this week were teenagers when they took command of the camp. Quatro was hot, riddled with disease and death — both from malaria and Unita attacks in the area — and always short of food and water. The nearest hospital was 100km away.  
**Requisitions**  
"From time to time we would make food requisitions. It was explained to us that we were a liberation movement — we don't have all the resources," said Pro Mahope, 32, camp commander from 1985 — when he was 24 — to 1987.  
"We wrote reports pointing out that we must transfer or upgrade. At Quatro

the roofs were too low, the ventilation inadequate," he said.  
When plans to upgrade were accepted, these were hampered by lack of money and machinery.  
Mr Modise was "busy at the front" and anyway, he pointed out, the camp was not set up by him, nor did he appoint the commanders. Quatro had been established by then head of security Mzwandile Pillso — one of the more prominent ANC members charged with responsibility for the camp abuses.  
For four years a group of men and women, alleged mutineers, were held in Quatro without trial or tribunal. According to testimony before the commission, they were subject to almost daily beatings and torture.  
Other prisoners com-

## Gasmasks, napalm and beatings

THESE are the seven torture methods alleged to have been most popular at Quatro camp:  
● **POMPA:** Forcing a victim to puff out his cheeks, then beating him until his eardrums burst;  
● **GASMASK:** Forcing half a paw-paw on to the face of the victim, blocking nose and mouth;  
● **BEIRUT:** Beating with sticks;

● **NAPALM:** Rubbing the leaves of toxic plants into the skin to cause itching;  
● **SLAUGHTER:** Placing the victim in a deep hole and bombarding him with stones as he tried to clamber out;  
● **GUAVA JUICE:** Beating with branches of a guava tree;  
● **COFFEE:** Beating with branches of a coffee tree.

# Broken children of Camp Quatro

S/Times 13/6/93



JACOB ZUMA



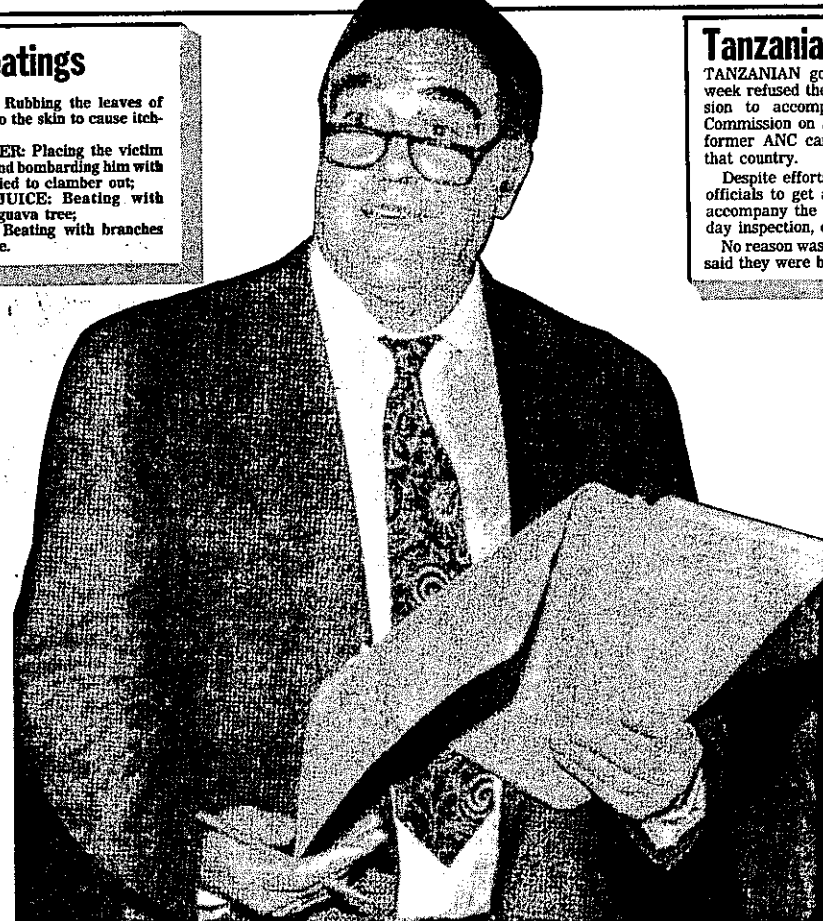
JOE MODISE



PILISO MZWAI



ZOLA SKWEIYIA



REFUTING ALLEGATIONS ... Ronnie Kasrils at the commission hearing this week

Picture: JOHN HOGG

prised suspected "enemy agents" and cadres guilty of other crimes such as dealing in dagga, theft or rape.  
One man could have ameliorated conditions and brought the mutineers to trial — but he never visited Quatro.  
He is Zola Skweyiya, then so-called chief justice of the ANC. Mr Skweyiya gave the commission several reasons for this:  
His visit would have been regarded as interfer-

ence by some ANC officials; there was a lack of money — and it was dangerous to visit the war-torn area.  
Outside the commission hearings, ANC security officials contemptuously accused him of having been "too scared".  
Mr Modise pointed out that members of non-military departments managed to visit Quatro, and that although Angola was a country at war, other departments — such as the Publicity Department — still managed to operate in the country.  
There was never a point at which the situation in the country changed to the extent that other departments were unable to visit the camp, he said.  
"I do not know why it was so difficult for Comrade Skweyiya to get to the camps," he said.  
"Some of the evidence given by comrade Zola

Skweyiya is not true. He had personal reasons for this," said Mr Rahope.  
"We had always known there was an office of justice in Lusaka — but we never saw them," the commission heard from Bob Setumasa, recording officer at Quatro in 1987 and '88, then aged 26.

### Abuses

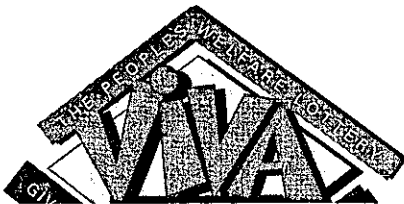
One of the abuses Mr Skweyiya would have learned of, had he visited, was that former inmates had been made to pull a 1 000-litre water tank from a river to the camp — while being beaten.  
Commanders and commissars concurred that inmates had to pull the water tank after a tractor supplied for the purpose broke down.  
"This was not a measure of barbarism — it was conditions forced on us," said

Mr Rahope.  
It was the practice at Quatro to give inmates ugly nicknames when they arrived. For many this would be their third name — after the one their parents gave them, and their MK *noms de guerre*. These nicknames included Pig and Tita.

But this was merely in the "tradition of a dry sense of humour," said Sizwe Umkhonto, also known as Gabriel Mthembi, 33, first commander of Quatro from 1979 to 1982. He was 19 when he took charge.

This week deputy secretary general of the ANC Jacob Zuma will testify on the so-called "missing inmates" who have yet to be accounted for.

The commission is expected to sit for the next two weeks, and present its findings in mid-July.



# Alexander Star 14/6/93 not axed, says PAC

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The PAC denied yesterday that its secretary-general, Benny Alexander, had been "kicked out" of its negotiating team, saying he had asked to be excused from the PAC's team of negotiators to attend to "personal family matters".

In separate statements yesterday, Alexander and PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willy Seriti — who is the official leader of the organisation's negotiating team — denounced "the malicious reporting of the media" and said Alexander remained a member of the negotiating team. (IHA)

The statements followed reports in newspapers yesterday that Alexander had been "axed" as leader of the PAC's delegation in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre because of his "sometimes brash public support for the Azanian People's Liberation Army".

The decision, according to the reports, was taken at a meeting of the PAC's negotiating team in Johannesburg on Saturday.

The reports said Cape Town-based relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille would take over from Alexander.

In an unprecedented move last week, PAC publicity and information director Waters "Bishop" Toboti publicly repudiated two statements made by Alexander and called on members to ignore them.

These statements were that the PAC had suspended bilateral talks with the Government following Pretoria's refusal to discuss "a mutual cessation of hostilities", and that the PAC was contemplating laying charges against Ministers Hernus Kriel and Adriaan Vlok for the death of a PAC member two weeks ago.

Toboti said neither the PAC national executive council nor its national working committee had discussed either issue.

Dé Lille said she would formally take over from Alexander "from next week".

Seriti, who accused the media of "pandering to the Military Intelligence campaign to discredit the PAC", said the negotiating team, as a collective, operated on a rotational basis.

**PAC** (11A)  
CT 14/6/93

# denies axing leader

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
Political Correspondent

THE PAC yesterday denied reports that its secretary-general, Mr Benny Alexander, had been axed from its negotiating team.

PAC secretary for relief and aid, Ms Patricia de Lille — named in reports as the new head of the PAC's talks team — said the PAC was "shocked" by the reports in two Sunday newspapers.

Mr Alexander would be taking his seat as leader of the PAC delegation when the negotiating council reconvenes.

His generally pragmatic attitude has raised concern among more militant elements of the PAC that he is being too accommodating at the talks.

## Armed struggle

But since the government crackdown on PAC members last month he has been involved in acrimonious exchanges with government negotiators.

His support for armed struggle and remarks about farmers being legitimate targets have angered a number of parties.

Reports yesterday claimed elements in the PAC felt it appropriate for him to serve in a high-profile position while involved in a court case.

Mr Alexander, who appeared in court last week, denied tampering with an identity document.

# 'Kiss Boer' was joke — Yengeni

Staff Reporter

ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday his call to alter the controversial slogan "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" to "Kiss the Boer" for the forthcoming election campaign was just a joke.

Mr Yengeni made the call for the new slogan to hundreds of ANC members at a UWC election workshop over the weekend and said it would be used in election campaigns.

His call was reported in the weekend press.

But yesterday Mr Yengeni chuckled at the publicity his remarks had generated and said he suggested the "Kiss the Boer" version to pull the political legs of people and had not suggested it would be the new policy of the organisation.

"I started the whole thing as a joke, just to make people aware that the slogan (Kill the Boer, kill the farmer) had to be discussed at the regional general council today," said Mr Yengeni.

He added that in an informal and relaxed manner he spoke about the slogan to see how the election workshop at UWC and the media would react to it.

Last week the ANC denied reports that the organisation's National Executive Committee had called for the slogan to be banned.

(11A) CT 14/5/93

# 'ANC won't take W Cape for granted'

Staff Reporter

(11A)

CF 14/6/93

THE Western Cape chairman of the ANC, Dr Allan Boesak, said yesterday that the ANC would not be taking its constituency for granted because it faced serious challenges from the National Party and the Democratic Party in the region.

Speaking at the Western Cape regional general council of the ANC in Manenberg, Dr Boesak warned members that

everything the ANC did from now on would be judged within the framework of the election provisionally pegged for April.

He said the ANC would be addressing the educational crisis with teacher organisations because "rationalisation" was continuing.

"The government is reneging on agreements and continuing with retrenchments and abolishing posts, especially in the

Department of Education and Culture (in the House of Representatives)," he said.

ANC Southern Natal regional chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said that while political intolerance and inter-organisational violence were not common in the Western Cape, this did not mean that the ANC in the Western Cape should not work as hard for peace as other areas.

"The question of peace is

very dear in the minds of our people everywhere and should be used in this area where there was never inter-organisational violence," he said.

Mr Radebe, who has been trying to broker peace in Natal, said the attainment of democracy would be a major step to achieving peace and called for transparency in all local peace structure "so that all stumbling blocks may be known".



# Alexander will attend talks

Sowetan 14/6/93

■ **'MALICIOUS REPORTS'** PAC denies he has been dismissed from negotiating team:

By **Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

(11A)

(SOPA)

**P**AN AFRICANIST CONGRESS secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander will be in his seat when multiparty negotiations resume at the World Trade Centre today, the organisation said yesterday.

Reacting to weekend reports that it had dismissed Alexander as leader of the PAC's negotiating team, the organisation yesterday expressed "grave concern about the malicious reporting of the media...which has consistently misrepresented and under-reported the PAC".

The PAC said Alexander would attend the multiparty negotiations planning committee of 10 meeting today and also of the 26-party negotiating council throughout the week.

The organisation's legal and constitutional

affairs secretary, Mr Willie Seriti, said the PAC denied "in the strongest terms possible the alleged axing of Alexander".

Press reports said Alexander was dismissed because of "blustering statements" in support of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and armed struggle.

The PAC statement said that Seriti was the leader of the negotiating team - not Alexander. This team operated collectively and leadership at the negotiating table was on a rotating basis.

"Those alleged fraud charges which are pending and which the illegitimate regime has preferred against our secretary-general will not have in any way influenced us against him," the PAC said.

Seriti confirmed Alexander had asked for leave to attend to personal matters and would be relieved of his tasks temporarily at the end of the meeting of the negotiating council on Friday.

Star 14/6/93

# Talks move into new gear

By Esther Waugh

Constitutional talks move into a new gear this week when the 26-party Negotiating Council meets almost continuously.

Key agreements, including on a transitional executive council (TEC) and an election date, need to be reached within the next five days for the Government and ANC to keep to their timetables for the transition.

Decisions reached at the Negotiating Council will be passed on as recommendations to the Negotiating Forum which meets on June 25. (11A)

The Government, ANC and their allies — which constitute the majority of parties in negotiations — want a TEC to be installed by next month and elections for an interim government to be held by April next year.

The process moved into an invisible phase last week with

seven negotiations technical committees preparing reports for consideration by the Negotiating Council this week.

These reports will first be discussed today by the 10-member planning committee. These discussions are expected to focus on how these reports can structure debate in the Negotiating Council.

Vital issues expected to feature this week are a TEC, the constitutional principles, which will be binding on a new constitution, the scenario for the transition, violence and regionalism.

Compromises seem likely on two major obstacles — regionalism and violence. (11A)

The last report of the technical committee on constitutional matters recommended far-reaching proposals on regionalism, including fiscal powers for the regions and interim regional governments.

ANC negotiators have indicated that they are willing to accept these recommendations should the IFP agree to a two-phased transition which means agreement on elections for an interim government.

IFP negotiators, on the other hand, have said they will agree to elections for an interim government, but only under certain conditions.

The last report by the technical committee on violence contained another major compromise between the ANC and IFP. The report recommended that armed formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and police forces, including the KwaZulu Police, be dealt with in terms of separate multiparty "agencies".

The IFP has until now demanded the disbandment of MK.

Star 14/6/93

## MK chief 'saved man's life'

By Mokone Molete

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise saved the life of a would-be assassin when an attempt on his life and that of Chris Hani failed, the Motuenyane Commission heard on Friday.

Giving evidence before the commission, which is investigating alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps, Modise said another would-be assassin was immediately shot by his bodyguards. ~~(SFA)~~ (IA)

He told the commission: "I immediately stopped the young people, MK soldiers (from man-

handling the other would-be assassin). I told them the only way to deal with the matter was to set up a proper tribunal where the suspect would be tried."

The event took place in 1984.

Referring to a mutiny in two ANC camps that year, Modise said a tribunal was set up to try the mutineers. As this did not form part of his responsibilities, he could not explain why they were never tried. ~~(SFA)~~

He denied earlier evidence before the commission that he sent cadres into South Africa to buy him expensive shoes.

● The commission went to Tanzania at the weekend.

# ANC calls for June 16 stayaway

Staff Reporters

THE ANC is to call for a stayaway in the Western Cape on Wednesday, the anniversary of the Soweto school uprising on June 16, 1976.

Calls for the stayaway were made at a regional general council meeting in Manenberg yesterday. ARG 146/93

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said: "There was a strong call that we regard June 16 as a public holiday. It means there will be a stayaway."

He said most South Africans regarded June 16, the day Soweto pupils began protesting against being forced to take lessons in Afrikaans, as a public holiday.

# Soweto Day: Millions expected to stay home

CT 14/6/93

Own Correspondent

(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Millions of South Africans are expected to stay away from work on Wednesday, the 17th anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said yesterday the organisation, representing 1,2 million workers, expected a full stayaway by members.

Sacob labour affairs director Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout warned that where no other arrangements had been made the policy of "no work, no pay" might be followed. — Sapa (16)



## '13 000 MK soldiers to join SADF'

WINDHOEK — The ANC would contribute more than 13 000 trained personnel to a future South African defence force, the chief of staff of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), said in Windhoek yesterday.

Siphiwe Nyanda rejected the SADF view that MK recruits would be integrated into the SADF only if they met certain standards, saying a new army would be a joint venture between various forces with jointly established standards.

"The SADF must overcome their notion that they have a monopoly on standards. We want people in a future army who can defend democracy. We cannot rely on elements who have defended apartheid in the past."

Nyanda arrived in Windhoek yesterday to attend a regional defence and security meeting attended by delegates from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana and Angola. — Sapa.

# Too many permits for taxis

By Abdul Milazi

The indiscriminate issuing of taxi permits by traffic authorities has turned the burgeoning taxi industry into a hotbed of violence and there was no sign of peace in sight, claim taxi organisations.

Because of the lack of substantially enhanced regulation of the industry, operators were killing each other in gangster-like fights to control the increasing number of taxis, they said.

More than 200 people were killed and about 13 taxis have been burnt in the continuing

taxi violence since the beginning of this year.

South African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) principal chairman Joe Mabaso said the root cause of the violence was the economic situation.

Violence in May was marked by the killing of five taxi operators in Brits, and an on-going dispute between Natal bus and taxi drivers.

The recession and unemployment had led to a dramatic fall in passenger volumes and competition was becoming increasingly fierce.

South African Taxi Drivers' Union (Satdu) spokesman Mphikeleli Sibanyoni said there were suspicions that the recent killings were an at-

tempt by some drivers or owners to "cull" the increasing number of taxis to maintain profitability.

Particularly affected were those routes considered to be lucrative as they still provided a fair volume of business.

To address the diminishing profitability in the industry, Sabta was negotiating with the Government to have taxis subsidised.

It was also negotiating to buy directly from vehicle and spares manufacturers.

Taxi bodies claim the crisis committee convened by the city council's traffic department after the February taxi blockade in Johannesburg had failed to address the

problems of the industry.

The committee of representatives of the drivers' union, taxi associations, National Peace Secretariat and traffic authorities has held a number of meetings but with no substantial results.

Both Sabta and Satdu agreed the violence could be curbed if there was some form of control in the issuing of permits.

The traffic department said it was doing all in its power to address the situation.

Negotiations on the involvement of taxi organisations on the issuing of permits were under way.

## ANC leader held over grenade blast

Own Correspondent

KIMBERLEY — An ANC Youth League regional leader has been arrested in connection with a recent hand grenade attack in the city.

ANC zonal committee spokesman Junior Nkabo said Siphon Mxaba was arrested on Wednesday. This was confirmed by the SAP.

Nkabo could not explain

why their own members were now being arrested when the ANC had accused the SAP of the grenade attack.

Ezekial Mokone (19) was killed in the blast, which injured more than 50 people. The Russian F1 grenade was thrown into the middle of an ANC Youth League protest outside the Bophuthatswana consulate in Kimberley on May 25.

## Chess player's 'first' for SA

Top Johannesburg chess player David Gluckman has won Africa's Zone 4.3 championships with a clean score.

In round 5 on Saturday afternoon, Gluckman defeated SA champion Charles de Villiers to end on 5/5.

Gluckman, a 27-year-old actuary, will represent South Africa in the Interzonal Tournament in Switzerland next month.

This is the first time South Africa will be represented at this advanced stage of eliminations for the world title.

In the women's zone contest, Caroline Bijoux of Johannesburg won with a clean score of 3/3, one point clear of closest rival Yvette Erwee of Johannesburg. She will represent South Africa in the women's Interzonal. — Sapa.

'We cannot have a president without teeth'

# ANC rejects FW's plan

Star 14/6/93

plan

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC will reject President de Klerk's proposals that severe restrictions be placed on the powers of the president after South Africa's first all-inclusive election next year, sources in the organisation said yesterday.

The sources said the proposals, made by De Klerk in an interview with the Sunday Times, were another version of the National Party's earlier proposals of a rotating presidency, and warned that they would reduce the new president to a mere ceremonial figure.

The ANC yesterday officially said it had taken note of De Klerk's remarks, and would give "a considered response" today.

According to the report De Klerk said:

● After the country's watershed election — tentatively scheduled for April 27 — an "inner Cabinet" of leaders of all major parties would agree on a "Magna Carta" setting down principles which would guide all decisions to be taken by the government of national unity during its five-year rule.

● The "inner Cabinet" would have to agree on a five-year policy plan for the country.

● The policy plan would have to cover all fundamental issues such as the economy, health and education, and the "inner Cabinet" — which would manage the multiparty Cabinet — would have to agree on the Budget.

Commenting on the proposals, ANC national executive member and SACP chairman Joe Slovo bluntly said it was not for De Klerk to decide how the country was going to be run for the first five years.

"The suggestion is that he (De Klerk) wants a majority president to be without teeth or, at best, to have false teeth. While we accept that for a period there will be a government of national unity, we cannot accept De Klerk's new version of a rotating presidency.

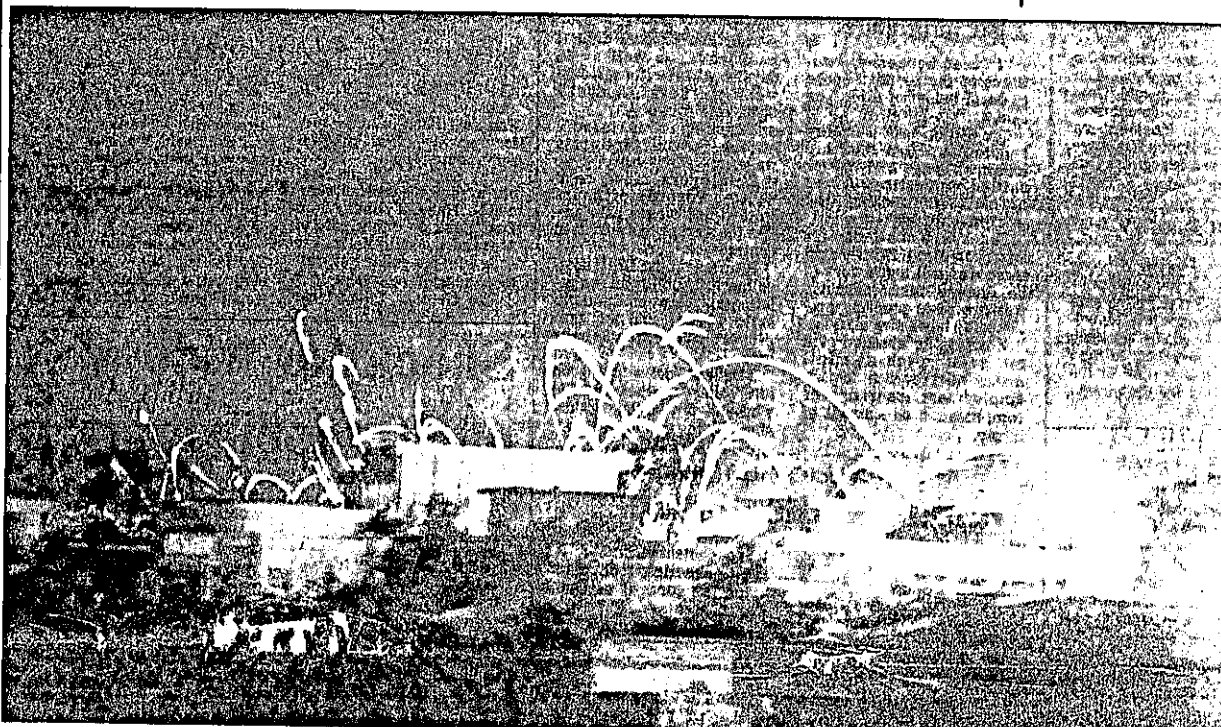
"To suggest that a new government should be hamstrung by the need for consensus is expecting too much, and the movement cannot agree to that."

Slovo said the majority party after the election would have to be "at the helm of the State".

However, Slovo admitted that at its three-day meeting last week, the ANC NEC had discussed the possibility of giving the country's vice-presidency to the leader of the second biggest party.

Slovo also expressed optimism that tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting will see the formal adoption of April 27 as the election date.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he had "considerable sympathy" with De Klerk's proposals.



Hitting back . . . United States gunship rained rockets and cannon fire on targets in southern Mogadishu early today, in the third night of gun rule in the Somali capital. Most of the fire appeared concentrated on an area controlled by Somalia's main warlord, Mohamed Farah

## Six die in E Rand crash

By Anna Louw  
East Rand Bureau

Six people, including a three-year-old boy and a fireman, died when a rescue vehicle and a car were involved in a smash between Devon and Nigel late yesterday.

A Nigel fire department spokesman said five occupants including the child died in a Volkswagen Golf.

The driver of the rescue vehicle died on impact and two other firemen were taken to 1 Military Hospital

with injuries.

The firemen were returning to Devon after fighting a grass fire when the accident happened at an intersection at 5 pm.

Bystanders told paramedics they heard the occupants in the car screaming for help but were unable to reach them because of the mangled wreckage.

Rescue workers used hydraulic jaws to extricate the victims. "It's frightening to think a fireman is sent out to fight a grass fire and he

doesn't come back," said one rescue worker.

The police have not yet released the names of the victims and are investigating.

● A truck caught fire on the Geidenhuys interchange on the N3 causing a traffic snarl-up during peak hour this morning.

A Bedfordview traffic spokesman said no injuries were reported but traffic officers had their hands full trying to cope with the congestion.

## Police seize SAM-7 missiles

Star 14/6/93

Crime Reporter

Police confiscated four SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles and four stick grenades early yesterday when they intercepted a group of Mozambicans who entered the Transvaal through the Lebombo border post near Komati-poort.

Eastern Transvaal SAP spokesman Warrant-Officer Izak van Zyl said two Frelimo security force members and one former Frelimo member were arrested in connection with the haul.

The arrests came before today's meeting in Cape Town between Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Mozambican Internal Affairs Minister Manuel Jose Antonio to discuss the

smuggling of weapons into South Africa.

Van Zyl said the men were arrested at a roadblock and that most of the arms confiscated in the eastern Transvaal were smuggled through the Mozambican and Swaziland borders.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said talks between Kriel and Antonio would focus on the smuggling of arms, especially AK-47 rifles, into the country.

The spokesman said Kriel would urge Antonio to implement stricter controls on weapons — like the AK-47 which sold for about R500 in South Africa — in the Mozambican army.

Van Zyl said the arrested men were expected to appear in court tomorrow.



Kriel . . . likely to urge stricter weapons controls.

ALSO IN 30'S

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DOUBLEMINT

## Sacking report shocks PAC's Alexander

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander says he has yet to learn if he has been axed from the organisation's negotiating team, adding he was still awaiting a response to his request to be temporarily excused for personal reasons. *Biday 14/6/93*

But if he had been sacked, he would abide by the decision, he said in reaction to Sunday newspaper reports that he was dismissed because of his embarrassing statements supporting the organisation's armed wing Apla. *(11A)*

"I wrote a letter to the leader of the PAC negotiating team ... Willy Seriti requesting that I be excused from the team for a while to attend to personal family matters," Alexander said.

"I made it clear that I would take up my post at negotiations again once I had attended to the said personal matters. I am still awaiting a response ... and I am shocked

with disbelief to learn through the media that I have been kicked out and axed."

Alexander said if he had been sacked by an appropriate organ with due authority he would abide by its decision.

He denied he had embarrassed the PAC over his support for Apla.

"I wish to restate the official party policy: that the armed struggle will only come to an end through a mutual cessation of hostilities."

The PAC later issued a statement denying "in the strongest possible terms" that Alexander had been dismissed, saying that he would be present at a meeting today of the organisation's planning committee.

The statement said that Seriti was the PAC negotiating team's leader and not Alexander as claimed in Sunday's reports, and that the team operated "as a collective on a rotating basis". — Sapa.

## Dutch economic affairs minister visiting SA

DUTCH Economic Affairs Minister Koos Andriessen arrived in SA yesterday to meet political, business and labour leaders. *(11A)*

During his five-day official visit, Andriessen is expected to hold talks with President F W de Klerk and ministers Derek Keys, Pik Botha and Piet Welgemoed;

ANC president Nelson Mandela and head of economic planning Trevor Manuel; Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Cosatu representatives.

He is also due to meet officials from the Reserve Bank, Portnet, Eskom, Nedcor Bank, Investec Bank and Idasa. *(11A)*

Andriessen is being accompanied by a delegation of Dutch businessmen who are keen to familiarise themselves with economic developments in SA.

The Netherlands imposed comprehensive economic sanctions against SA in the '80s but has since lifted some trade and investment embargoes. — Sapa.

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Cracks appear in Cosag

# CP on verge of quitting negotiations

Biday 14/6/93

THE CP could soon walk out of the negotiating process without the backing of its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), political observers said at the weekend.

Strains within the loose alliance of parties opposed to government and ANC transition proposals are surfacing, with the CP increasingly standing on its own in demanding a confederation of states.

There is also pressure from within the Volksfront — of which the CP is a key member — for the party to adopt a stronger stance against the way multiparty talks are going and what is seen as a consequent breakdown in law and order.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday his executive was reassessing its position at the multiparty talks on a daily basis. But the party would remain in the talks as long as there was the possibility of attaining the goal of a separate Afrikaner homeland.

Hartzenberg warned that if the negotiating forum, which meets on June 25, fixed an election date the CP might find it impossible to continue in the talks.

"The setting of an election date is not just an election date. It is elections for a constituent assembly in a unitary state and if it is phrased in such a way as to exclude the possibility of self-determination then we will have to walk out," he said.

Hartzenberg was part of a Volksfront delegation which met government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer on Friday to voice objections to an election date being set before a final form of state had been agreed upon.

After the discussions, Volksfront leader

BILLY PADDOCK and DIRK VAN EEDEN

Constand Viljoen said little purpose would be served by right-wing representatives staying in negotiations if the polling date was set on June 25.

Hartzenberg added that an election announcement this month would mean government and the ANC had made a final, bilateral decision on a unitary state — which would lead to an ANC-communist government and loss of any possibility of Afrikaner self-determination (IA)

"We cannot stay at negotiations if by doing so we legitimise a plan to bring a communist government to power," said Hartzenberg.

He added that the groundswell of support for the Volksfront had brought home the message that people on the ground were "fed up" with violence and crime, which were being seen as a result of the way negotiations were being handled.

A Volksfront statement issued after the Meyer talks said the brutal intimidation of various sectors of the population had brought the country to a state of anarchy, which contrasted with propagandist slogans such as "democratisation" and "breakthroughs" dominating media coverage of negotiations.

The Volksfront is due to launch a programme of mass action from June 26 to emphasise its demands on self-determination and a security crackdown. Right-wing sources have said this could include a refusal to pay taxes.

Yesterday, Hartzenberg said this com-

□ To Page 2

## Negotiations

Biday 14/6/93

□ From Page 1

ing week would be a difficult one for negotiations as the parties were discussing issues like the form of state, constitutional principles and violence.

The negotiating council meets tomorrow to debate the date of an election, provisionally set for April 27 1994. The council will also concentrate on constitutional principles and the powers, functions and structures of regions.

Hartzenberg said he did not want to close the door on talks — and there is speculation that the other Cosag members are trying to convince the CP that a federal option with strong original powers can grant the party essentially what it wants. A Cosag source said that if the CP walked out at this point it would have to go on its own. (IA)

He said the majority of the Cosag parties were in favour of a federal-type option and would not support the CP's demand for a

separate Afrikaner homeland, which was in essence a racist notion.

Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said that it would be regrettable if the CP quit the talks because it was important that the process be as inclusive as possible.

It is also understood that the ANC, at its strategy planning meeting last week, discussed the possibility of regions being able to draft their own constitutions within strong limits posed by a national constitution.

This would have the effect of allowing constitutional asymmetry, a key demand from Inkatha, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

Other negotiators said this would be a concession that would effectively remove all opposition to agreement on establishing a transitional executive council — the first phase of multiparty rule in SA.

# 'Total' stayaway expected

MILLIONS of South Africans are expected to stay away from work on Wednesday to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. *8 Day 14/6/93*

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said yesterday the organisation, representing 1,2-million workers, expected a full stayaway by members. *(152)*

He said most companies already recognised June 16 as a paid holiday, and warned that Cosatu would act against companies which refused to recognise this.

Sacob labour affairs director Gerrie Bezuidenhout said most companies had agreements to pay workers absent on June 16. But he warned that where no arrangements had been made for staff to stay away the policy of "no work, no pay" might be followed.

DIRK VAN EEDEN

No directives had been issued by Sacob and it was left to individual companies to decide on policy.

The ANC said it considered June 16 a solemn day and believed it would be an official holiday in future. *(11A)*

The ANC Youth League has organised 78 rallies around the country for Wednesday.

Putco MD Jack Visser said the bus company expected a full stayaway and no services would be provided on the day, although the Johannesburg City Council said it would run as full a service as possible.

A Johannesburg municipality spokesman said residents who usually had garbage collected on Wednesdays should keep their refuse until next week, when a "double-up" collection would take place.

## FW accused of 'threatening talks'

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was threatening the negotiating process by voicing his view of how the transitional process would be conducted, ANC sources said yesterday.

ANC alliance negotiator Pravin Gordhan said De Klerk was "abusing his position in government and trying to dictate the process." (11A)

And another ANC negotiator said it was time De Klerk realised he was just the leader of another party and not the person controlling the negotiations process.

They were responding to an interview with De Klerk in the Sunday Times, in which he was reported to have said that the next head of state would have limited powers and would be able to operate only on consensus with the leaders of the major parties serving in an "inner Cabinet".

"After the elections next year the leaders of all major parties would agree on a Magna Carta laying down priorities," the report quoted De Klerk as saying.

In reaction, a senior ANC member said yesterday his organisation had been "very flexible" with regard to a government of national unity, taking the concerns and fears of minorities into account.

"De Klerk must not now try to swindle a minority veto into our broad understanding. It just will not fly," he said.

Gordhan said all the major parties in a multiparty government, just like any government, would have to work out some

To Page 2

## FW

B/Say 14/6/93

From Page 1

form of policy. But to assume this would then be carried out with the minor parties in the government exercising any form of brake or veto was fallacious.

"De Klerk is once again operating out of line. Instead of putting his proposals on the negotiating table he tries to act as player and referee at the same time. While he has a right to express his concerns and those of his party it is dangerous to couch these so that a perception develops that these are ultimatums," said Gordhan.

De Klerk's proposals were merely another form of introducing a minority veto and if he was insisting on this it could also threaten the process. (11A)

The other ANC source said the organisation had made major concessions in discussions with government on the establishment of a government of national unity for five years, and also on a government of national unity and reconstruction after that period. (SAY)

He said the ANC had taken into account the need to keep minority groups feeling safe and involved in government, stabilise the public service and show the organisation's willingness to put SA's interests first.

"To insist on consensus within an 'inner

cabinet' and emasculate the president is tantamount to demanding a white minority veto right," he said.

DP negotiator and constitutional expert Colin Eglin said it was obvious that the major parties had to reach broad agreement on policy for the government of national unity otherwise "multiparty government becomes impossible".

"They have to reach agreement on areas like socio-economic reconstruction and other development priorities, including the efficiency of the public service, otherwise there will be constant dispute within the highest level of government, making it unworkable," he said.

He said government and the ANC had to clarify their agreement on a unity government. "De Klerk wants a majority government with minority groups exercising restraint and a near veto over the majority, while ANC president Nelson Mandela wants majority rule with consultation of minorities."

An effective multiparty system could only evolve out of good faith and could not be a contractual arrangement. Once there was joint responsibility there could be broad agreement on goals and policy.

# PAC cannot fight and talk, charges Minister

Star 15/6/93

CAPE TOWN — The multiparty Negotiating Council would have to act against the PAC for flaunting the council's resolution on violence, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman yesterday told a media briefing. (SAP)

In terms of the council's resolution the PAC could not be permitted to continue its armed struggle and negotiations at the same time, he said. (IA)

The council would today have

to debate a motion about this by Government chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Since the police raid on the PAC, the Government had met the council's demands that the Minister of Law and Order explain his actions, that those detained be charged or released, and that the Government meet the PAC to discuss and resolve their differences.

The PAC now had to fulfil its part in terms of the resolution.

# Haste on Star 15/6/93 health Bill

## indecent, says ANC

By David Robbins  
Health Writer



The ANC has slammed the Government's unilateral action in health policy matters and has called for the establishment of a national health forum.

The ANC is also demanding the suspension of new legislation on academic hospitals.

The call for a forum follows recent State actions, including the tabling of the Academic Health Centres Bill, which had its second reading in Parliament on Friday.

"We reject the Bill," a spokesman for the ANC's health department said yesterday.

The Bill's main objective is to provide more administrative and financial autonomy for South Africa's seven academic hospitals. But the ANC warned that the most advanced hospitals could be privatised under the Bill.

### Steamrollered

"The problem is that the most valuable part of our public health system, which trains our doctors and most other categories of health workers and which currently consumes 43 percent of the public health budget, can suddenly be made completely autonomous," the ANC spokesman said.

The ANC objected to the way the Bill was being "steamrollered through Parliament with no public debate".

The ANC had been assured by the Department of National Health on May 19 that the Bill would not be enacted this session, the spokesman added.

"What actually happened was that it was discussed only twice in committee (on June 2 and 9), given a second reading last Friday (on June 11) and is apparently now due for a final third reading on June 16."

The Bill could become law before month-end.

"Such indecent haste," the ANC declared, "stinks of ulterior motives and/or of very powerful vested interests."

Star 15/6/93

### 'Freedom in Mandela's time'

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba yesterday announced a new slogan to replace the controversial "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" chant. The new slogan for ANCYL supporters is "Freedom in Mandela's time". — Sapa.

(11A)

# Benny puts Star 15/16/93 down foot to put feet up

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander will attend this week's Negotiating Council meetings. (11A)

But he confirmed yesterday that he would take a three-week holiday starting at the weekend.

Alexander said he had not had any leave for the past four years. "There is a lot of pressure in the party against me taking leave but I am going to put my foot down," he said.

He denied suggestions that he was forced to take leave because of his support for Apla.

However, he believed that a mutual cessation of hostilities should be discussed with the Government so that elections for a constituent assembly could take place under conditions of peace and stability.

He is expected to propose to the 10-member planning committee that PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille take his place for three weeks.

But, Alexander said, a precedent for substitution existed. Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Joe Matthews was replaced earlier in the process by the party's national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

in axed

Sowetan 15/6/93  
**Mokaba on  
new slogan**

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba yesterday announced a new slogan to replace the controversial "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant.

The new slogan is: "Freedom in Mandela's time."

Addressing thousands of people at the Giyani Stadium in Gazankulu, Mokaba said the ANC was fighting to unite all South Africans. He said ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was internationally recognised as a symbol of justice, hence the new slogan.

Earlier, Mandela told the homeland's Legislative Assembly that local chiefs should follow in the footsteps of Gazankulu's leader, Chief Samuel Nxumalo. "Chief Nxumalo has embraced the ANC because the National Party has no political future." — *Sapa*.



# Services to mark June 16

Sowetan 15/6/93

## ■ Commemoration service venues:

THESE are the venues for the June 16 commemoration services to be hosted by the ANC, PAC and Azapo countrywide tomorrow:

(11A)

### African National Congress:

Transvaal College of Education in Soshanguve, Ratanda Stadium, Vosloorus Stadium, Daveyton Stadium, Tembisa Stadium, all on East Rand.

Wadley Stadium in Maritzburg, Ndoleni Sports Ground in Richmond, Newcastle, Dundee, Nkelabantwana Sports Ground in Bulwer, Taylors Sports Ground in Vulindlela.

East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Keiskammahoek, Middledrift, Alice and Fort Beaufort.

Shayandima, Ngove, Taaibosch, Driekop, Mmapela, Namakgale, Dennilton and Bakkenburg.

Mbalenhle Stadium in Secunda, Lynnville Stadium in Witbank, Leslie Stadium in Leandra, Mhluzi Stadium in Middelburg, Community Stadium in Piet Retief, Community Hall in Matsula, Lekazi Stadium at Kanyamazane, Nsikazi Stadium at Nsikazi, Sidlamafa Hall, Sidlamafa, Mapulaneng Technical Stadium in Acornhoek and local church hall at Mkhuhlu.

Northern Free State: Zamdela, Odendaalsrus and in Qwaqwa.

Northern Natal: Nongoma, Esikhawini Stadium, Eshowe.

Eastern Cape: Dan Qeque Stadium in Port Elizabeth, Community Hall in Steytlerville, Community Hall in Cradock, JD Dlepu Stadium in Grahamstown, Community Hall in Bedford, Addo Community Hall, Community Hall in Somerset East, Phiri Stadium in Middelburg, Town Hall in Hanover, Community Hall in Alicedale, W Mathews Stadium in Port Alfred.

### Azanian Peoples Organisation:

Azapo and BCMA will also hold international rallies in Paris, Harare, Toronto, Washington DC, New York, Amsterdam, Tokyo and in Trinidad. Mdantsane Community Hall in the Border region at noon. Hammarsdale Lutheran Church, next to Mpumalanga Stadium, at noon. Paul Nel Hall in Bekkersdal at noon. RC Elliot Hall in Kimberley at 10am. Gugulethu in the Western Cape at 10am. Tonga Village in Komatipoort at noon. Dennilton Community Hall at noon. Hlabane Community Hall at noon. Lebowakgomo Community Hall at noon. Mzinoni Grounds in Bethal.

### Pan Africanist Congress:

Rotary Hall in Umtata, Butterworth Hall in southern Transkei, Welkom Goldfields, Nelspruit, Fort Beaufort, Bushbuck Ridge.



# Mandela

## offers

Sowetou 15/6/93  
friendship

■ Gazankulu Assembly addressed:

By Don Seokane

(1A)

(1B)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday extended the hand of friendship to Gazankulu but warned that agreements at a higher level would be insignificant without the support of the people.

During his first-ever address of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly session, Mandela also adopted a conciliatory approach towards the white community, particularly the farmers. "Let us forget the past and its criminal actions. Now is the time for us to work together."

While the ANC viewed the homeland's parliament as "highly illegitimate", the ANC leader had accepted the invitation to address the assembly without hesitation. Mandela, however, warned that while high-level agreement was central to the pursuit of peace and tolerance, they would amount to nothing if those who live together did not co-operate.

"In our view," Mandela said, "co-operation should address the rights of workers, including civil servants, teachers and nurses."

Thanking Mandela for his visit and address, Gazankulu Chief Minister Mr Samuel Nxumalo said the visit was a specific arrangement of the late Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi.

# Police bullets shattered dreams

Sowetan 15/6/93

By Bongani Mavuso

MOSES Zwane of Phiri has never attended school. He was 16 years old when he was paralysed after being shot by police in Senaone, Soweto, on June 16 1976 when pupils protested against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at black schools.

Seventeen years later, Zwane, now 32 and married with three children, still does not know why he was shot on that fateful winter afternoon.

"I heard pupils shouting 'black power' and thought their school soccer team had won a game. Suddenly, there were sounds of gunfire. I was shot below the kidneys and lost consciousness. When I regained consciousness, I was on a hospital bed," he said.

"It was my wish to get a job and educate myself because my parents could not afford to take me to school. My dream was to become a social worker. I still cherish that

■ Paralysed after being shot when pupils protested on June 16:

dream but my disability and lack of funds restrain me. My disability has put me through a lot of suffering," said Zwane who is employed as a wheelchair repairman at the Independent Living Centre in Mofolo.

"I would have been a medical doctor. I knew I would make it," said Shap Centre PRO Sipho Makhubela who was 16 years old and a Standard 9 pupil at the Lamula Secondary School at Meadowlands in 1976.

Police shot him in the back while he was visiting a relative in Zone 5, Meadowlands. "My dreams of becoming a doctor were shattered. Although I have accepted it, I never thought that 17 years later I would be sitting in a wheelchair," he says.

Ms Poppy Buthelezi's childhood dream was to become a lawyer. She was doing Standard 7 at Senaone Secondary when she was shot in the back a short distance from her

home.

"I feel very bitter when I think of June 16," she said. Buthelezi, who is paralysed, is a transport manager at the Shap Centre in Mofolo and has a three-year-old daughter.

"I could not understand what police and soldiers were doing in Pimville," said Amelia Molapo (28), who was a Standard One pupil at the Roma Primary School in Pimville in 1976.

"I was walking home from school with my friends. We saw an army truck and fled. We were scared.

"While fleeing, I was shot in the spine and was paralysed," she said.

Her dreams of becoming a nurse were shattered.

The 20-year-old mother of one child manufactures uniforms for traffic officers and mine workers at the Shap Centre.

**FOCUS** Anniversary of schoolchildren's revolt comes eight days before

# Triumph of the schoolboy martyrs

**T**HE 17th anniversary tomorrow of the June 16 1976 black pupil uprising comes eight days before the last formal session of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa.

June 16 is a reminder of a day almost two decades ago when Hector Pieterse became a child martyr and Tsietse Mashimani a juvenile hero of the black liberation struggle.

Hector was a 13-year-old boy in his black shorts and white shirt when the first South African Police bullet, of a dozen volleys and more fired at thousands of protesting schoolchildren, killed him.

Tsietse, a Form Five pupil at Soweto's legendary Morris Isaacson High School, died a lonely death in exile in Conakry in 1990. He had escaped a police dragnet in 1976 and took refuge in Guinea, where he married a beauty queen.

He was the first chairman of the Soweto Students Representative Council, a group of high school pupil leaders who championed the ongoing battle.

On that cold winter's day in 1976, the fear of the gun was overcome in Soweto; the National Party Government faced the inevitable — confrontation.

The combined political underground mobilisation inspired by Mr Zephania Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress and the black consciousness movement had laid the foundation for the final countdown to apartheid's demise.

● 1976: Thousands of pupils demonstrate against enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction by then Minister of Bantu Education the late Dr Andries Treurnicht. Hundreds of youths flee into exile in the ensuing Government crackdown.

Unrest spreads throughout the country as demands become more all-embracing with black political groups agitating that Bantu Education be abolished.

● 1977: The first anniversary of June 16 sees heightened Government crackdown. More youths flee into exile. The student revolt continues. Hundreds of black teachers resign in protest against Bantu Education. The Government capitulates to pressure and introduces the Education and Training Act, saying Bantu Education is dead.

Mr Steve Biko dies in detention. Cabinet

*Sowetan 15/6/93*  
focus on **June 16**

On a cold winter's day in 1976, the fear of the gun was overcome. Political Reporter **Themba Molefe** relates how schoolchildren laid the foundation for the final countdown to apartheid's demise.



Minister Mr Jimmy Kruger bans 13 black consciousness organisations as well as the *World* and *Weekend World* newspapers.

Under Dan Montisi the SSRC focuses on government institutions. He leads a march on a meeting of urban bantu councillors, including businessman Mr Richard Maphonya, frog-marches them out of the Urban Bantu Council chambers in Jabulani and warns them never to return there. Mass resignation of councillors countrywide.

## Blueprint

The Committee of 10 under Dr Nthato Motlana draws up a blueprint for the running of Soweto and other townships.

The civic association movement is born but is suppressed by the Government, which introduces the Community Councils Act.

Mr George Phabe becomes first "mayor" in Sharpeville in terms of this Act.

● 1980-1982: Youths who fled the country post-1976 return as trained guerrillas of the African National Congress military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. Armed incursions increase.

● 1982: The Black Local Authorities Act is introduced to replace the Community Councils Act. Resistance grows.

● 1983: The United Democratic Front of organisations subscribing to the Freedom Charter is formed and becomes internal wing of the ANC. The Mass Democratic

Movement, as it becomes known, grows.

● 1984: Vaal Triangle townships explode as residents rise against rent increases. The rent boycott spreads to Uitenhage, Mamelodi and Soweto.

● 1986: Influx Control Act and the Pass laws are scrapped. Blacks are no longer required to carry "dompasse". In terms of the Identification Act 72 of 1986 blacks may obtain same identity documents as whites.

● 1989: Mr F.W. de Klerk comes to power as new NP leader and State President.

● 1990: De Klerk makes his historic speech and unbans liberation movements, the ANC and PAC, on February 2.

On February 11 Mr Nelson Mandela is released after 27 years' imprisonment.

● 1991: The Land Acts of 1912 and 1936, the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act are scrapped.

● 1992: Face-to-face meetings between the ANC and Government give rise to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Negotiations for a new democratic dispensation begin...

So, on June 24 the tricameral Parliament rises in terms of the Republic of South Africa Act in what is believed to be the last sitting of the apartheid government.

And it is against this background that the commemoration of the day the children took to the streets will take place — for the last time under apartheid rule.

NEWS President's speech draws sharp criticism • Sowetan-Pick 'n Pay workshop held

# News in brief

## Sowetan 15/6/93 Benny takes leave

THE controversy surrounding Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Mr Benny Alexander took another turn yesterday when he renewed his commitment to Apla and announced he would take three weeks' leave.

His announcement of leave follows reports that he had been axed from the organisation's negotiating team because of his support for the PAC's military wing. (11A)

Alexander, however, said he would represent the PAC in the negotiating council until Friday and then return to his seat after his vacation. - Sapa.

## Sowetan 15/6/93 White homeland

THE Government is to propose a separate geographical region within a single South African state where self-determination can be addressed.

A senior Government source last night said the proposal still had to be fleshed out, but he expected it would be tabled at multiparty negotiations in about a week's time. (11A)

The Government was planning several steps to address the image of legitimacy of the negotiations proc-

## Sowetan 15/6/93

ess, particularly in the eyes of the white rightwingers, the source said.

In the first instance the Government planned to propose that inputs to the 26-party negotiating council could be made even after next Friday's meeting. (11A)

## Great show tonight

A Sowetan/Caltex Massed Choir Festival rehearsal for participating Pretoria choirs will be held at the St Albans Cathedral tonight at 6pm.

Some of the choirs, to be led during the rehearsal by Professor Mzilikazi Khumalo and Mr Richard Cock, are the Garankuwa Community Choir, Mabopane Adult Choir, Pretoria Adult Choir and the Bernard Mizeki Martyr.

## Le Grange apology

IN yesterday's Sowetan on page 8 a picture was incorrectly captioned. The man identified as Mr Gus Warwick was in fact Mr André le Grange, chief executive of the Development Bank of South Africa. We apologise for any inconvenience caused Mr Le Grange.

# Sowetan 15/6/93 FW clings to power

THE African National Congress portrayed State President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday as a desperate man trying to cling to power as his party collapses around him.

The ANC was commenting on a weekend proposal by De Klerk to limit the power of the country's next president, widely expected to be ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus described De Klerk as a "desperate man trying to cling to power as his (ruling National) party is falling apart".

De Klerk said in an interview at the weekend that he was optimistic democracy negotiators would soon agree on guidelines for governing the country after the first nonracial elections provisionally planned for April 27 next year.

## ANC DISTURBED De Klerk's

11A ~~SOWETAN~~  
remarks on presidency evoke response:

He said one of the most important proposals was that the new president should not be able to make fundamental decisions without the agreement of the "inner cabinet".

"An executive committee will manage the cabinet and will on the basis of consensus, agree on the joint policies of the government of national unity which will then be accepted by the cabinet," De Klerk said.

"They must agree on a programme of action for five years which will become a sort of Magna Carta of the government

of national unity, and against which all other decisions will be tested."

Niehaus said: "These are the actions of a desperate person whose party is losing support and who is trying to cling to power at all costs.

"He will be an executive president, not a ceremonial president. Exactly how decisions are going to be taken is still a to be debated. But the ANC abides by the democratic principle that decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority. Proposals of an inner cabinet are out of this world," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Sowetan 15/6/93 Natal 'won't be ruled by Umtata'

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party intends winning elections in the Natal/KwaZulu region and will demand autonomy in certain areas of government in a future federal state. (11A)

Addressing a public meeting at the

Durban City Hall last night, the IFP president also predicted that his party would become the single largest party in South Africa. (11A)

"When the election comes, you must know that, as far as this region is concerned, we intend being the next gov-

ernment. We already govern and do so very successfully... Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata," he said.

He said the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force in the country". - Sapa.

*the end of last white Parliament ● Many still suffer the results of events 17 years ago*



Gugu Tsubella ... was two months old on June 16 1976.

# It's still a burning issue

*Sowetan 15/6/93*

By Pearl Majola

**P**ETUNIA THABEDE of Orlando in Soweto was just a day old when Soweto erupted on June 16 1976 as pupils rebelled against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction.

Born on June 15 1976, she has only heard about the uprising but its significance is clear in her mind.

"I find Afrikaans difficult," says the Standard 9 pupil at the Alterm High School in Orlando.

"I can cope with it as a subject at school but I am glad that we don't have to be taught everything in

## ■ EDUCATION CRISIS Uprising of June 1976

haunts schoolgoing generation of today:

the language," she adds. The issues have now changed to dissatisfaction with salary increases for teachers and lack of facilities for pupils. But the uprising did set the crisis in education which still haunts the schoolgoing generation of today.

"The most important thing for me is an education because without it I cannot be what I want to be or do things I like."

For a girl of the same age attending school in town the circumstances are different. Gugu Tsubella was two months old when the riots began.

She survived and today is a Standard 10 pupil at the Omega Educational Institute in Johannesburg.

Next year, the ambitious, bright girl from Vosloorus wants to do a pre-university course in chemistry and mathematics in preparation for a study in chemical engineering.

Although not much affected by the crisis in township schools, Gugu still has to grapple with problems of her own.

"I live far from school and travelling is costly, takes a lot of time and is exhausting," she says.



# June 16 scars will remain forever

Soweto 15/6/93

Phindi recalls sad events:

By Joe Mdhlela

*K* EVEN though they live, they are in many ways dead, their ambitions killed by the repressive system.

Their aspirations to become lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, and indeed, anything their abilities permit, all shattered.

Now they shuffle about, some with broken limbs, with very little hope of making meaningful contributions to society and the economy. At best they are content to just survive and see another day dawn.

These are the people Phindile Mavuso knows best; they are her comrades whom she saw being maimed either physically or emotionally when the great apocalypse of June 16 1976 befell South Africa.

Four months after the June 16 1976 Soweto uprisings in protest against Prime Minister John Vorster's unpopular "Bantu Education" policies, it became little Phindile's turn to be hit by the military might of the South African Government.

The bullet that sliced the air and lodged in her upper leg, ended her desire to become a lawyer.

## Lost battle

In the years that were to follow, Phindi, as she is affectionately called by friends, was to be confined to various hospitals which tried desperately to save her leg. She lost that battle. Eventually it had to be amputated.

Temporarily, her thirst for education seemed to have evaporated. "It was traumatic enough to lose a leg. That kills you, part of yourself is gone, gone forever," she said, referring to the impact the loss of a limb had on her life.

Yet Phindile knows that she is not alone in this suffering, though she concedes she is lucky to be still alive.

"Thousands of people who struggled against the unjust Bantu Education are dead. Some, like me, have been rendered physically disabled. Others were criminalised and had long stretches of imprisonment imposed on them for their political beliefs.

"Why do you think these people should not be bitter. They may say they are not but what does the violence in this country tell you? It says there are people who are angry and the Government retaliates by killing them."

She was a mere 14 years old when the security officer's bullet hit her. Seventeen years on, she is trying to make the best of her life.

She is currently burning the midnight oil in pursuit of a communication degree at the University of South Africa.

Realising that it would not be possible to earn education through a process of "osmosis", to quote a well-known medical doctor, Phindile has worked hard to earn a qualification in computer programming.

"These qualifications earn me a living but I am saddened that many of my comrades have not had the resources, and perhaps the will to do what I did."

Past vice president of the Azanian Youth organisation, Phindile heads the Azanian People's Organisation's disability unit.

Star 15/6/93

# Don't bring back hangman, urges ANC

The ANC has reiterated its opposition to the lifting of the moratorium on the death sentence, and has called on President F W de Klerk "to stop playing with the lives of black people by trying to curry favour with white voters".

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said the current attempts by De Klerk and his Government "to get the apartheid Parliament" to agree to the resumption of executions was

"absolutely unacceptable".

The organisation said that before the introduction of the moratorium on the death sentence in 1990, South Africa was known as the hanging capital of the world.

"The vast majority of people executed were black. It was indeed a white Government using apartheid laws to hang hundreds of black disenfranchised South Africans annually." Among those executed were lib-

eration fighters.

"Outstanding young men who could have made a significant contribution — such as Simon Mogoerane, Marcus Motaung and Jerry Mosololi — were executed 10 years ago. They would now have been released and reunited with their families as political prisoners.

"The terrible finality of the death penalty makes this impossible," the ANC said.

— Political Correspondent.



# ANC rejects NP's post-election plans

Star 15/6/93

(SOPA) (WA) (11A)

Political Correspondent

The ANC has rejected President F W de Klerk's view of how the country will be run after next year's nonracial election, with secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa advising De Klerk to refrain from making proposals he "may be forced to retract".

Ramaphosa said a government of national unity (GNU) was not "a device to be used by those who want to cling to power or undermine the will of the majority".

"President de Klerk would be well advised to refrain from putting forward unacceptable proposals which he may be forced to retract, as has happened so often in recent times," Ramaphosa said.

De Klerk was quoted in the Sunday Times as saying that an "inner Cabinet" of leaders of all major parties would have to agree on a "Magna Carta" laying down principles which would guide all decisions of the GNU, and agree on a five-year policy plan for the country.

He said the policy plan would have to cover fundamental issues such as the economy, health and education, and that



Ramaphosa . . . put SA above ambitions of politicians.

the "inner Cabinet" — which would manage the multiparty Cabinet — would have to agree on the Budget.

The proposals have been roundly condemned by organisations aligned to the ANC, with SACP chairman Joe Slovo labelling them "a new version of the NP's proposals of a rotating presidency".

Yesterday Ramaphosa called on all parties to approach the question of a GNU "in a constructive manner that puts South Africa and its people above the narrow ambitions of incumbent politicians".

The ANC's view, he said, was

that a GNU established as a product of the first democratic election was desirable in the interests of national unity and a smooth transition.

Ramaphosa said for the GNU to achieve its objectives, it would have to have the following characteristics:

- Each party with more than 5 percent of the vote should be represented in the Cabinet in proportion to the number of seats it occupies in the constituent assembly.

- The composition of the GNU would have to be decided at the polls and no party could be assured a place in the GNU before the election.

- The role of minority parties should not be such that these parties could paralyse the functioning of the government.

In other developments, the ANC yesterday accused the NP of using taxpayers' money for its own purposes following De Klerk's appointment of Chris Fischmer as his political assistant.

The ANC said Fischmer would be actively promoting the NP's interests in the run-up to the election, and said a code of conduct had to be determined for all political parties.

Star 15/6/93

# Mandela's arrival brings the house down, literally

By Dirk Nel  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

GIYANI — Yesterday's session of the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly got off to an unusual start when a security policeman fell through the ceiling just before Nelson Mandela arrived to address the gathering.

The unfortunate man, together with two large pieces of ceiling board, landed on top of two surprised MPs, amid loud laughter in the

House. (11A) (433)  
Nobody seemed to know why the policeman had climbed into the ceiling. He made a hasty getaway before anyone could ask him what had happened.

The only evidence of his mishap was a large hole which exposed rafters and electrical connections.

"Perhaps he was very keen to hear Nelson Mandela, but unable to secure a seat in the assembly chamber," a newsman speculated.

NEWS Leaders to address commemoration rallies • 'Kill the Boer' slogan

Sowetan 15/6/93

# Call for calm on June 16

By Themba Molefe and Ike Motsapi

TOMORROW'S 17th anniversary of the June 16 1976 student revolt will be the last to be commemorated under apartheid rule.

And political leaders have called on their followers to observe the day with "calm and dignity". Thousands of workers are expected to attend commemoration services to be held throughout the country.

This year, June 16 is observed at a time when the country prepares for transition to democracy, with most parties locked in constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — and a day after negotiators were poised to formally adopt April 27 1994 as election day.

## ■ The ANC dedicates the day to 'youth education'

Both the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions called on workers to take part in June 16 rallies.

Cosatu called on all young workers to take part in these rallies in a dignified way and to refrain from misusing or damaging public or private transport and property.

The two trade union federations have called on employers to treat June 16 as a paid holiday.

The South African Chamber of Business yesterday said it was up to various companies to make arrangements with employees for this day.

Sacob spokesman Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout said: "Several companies have already made arrangements with

workers and their trade unions regarding June 16. Sacob has no official stance on the issue."

A total of 575 people, mostly school-children, died during the June 1976 riots, which began when police fired at demonstrating pupils at Orlando West, Soweto.

## Black education

African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba will address a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto, at 10am.

Azanian People's Organisation president Professor Itumeleng Mosala will speak in London and Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Johnson

Mtambo in Fort Beaufort.

The Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade is to hold a rally at Vosloorus Community Centre.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation dedicated June 16 to "youth education and training" and that Mandela's speech would focus on the current crisis in black education.

He said a new government would decide on public holidays, but said June 16 was important in the calendar of the youth.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani, who is to speak at a rally at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre, said June 16 had a historical significance as a day when blacks realised their need to fight for their freedom. He said the day should become a public holiday.

● See also pages 6 and 7.

11A

11A

star 15/6/93  
**Mandela speaks  
in Gazankulu**

GIYANI — The country would be on an irreversible course to democracy only when an election date had been firmly set and a constitution-making body finalised, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly in Giyani yesterday. (1A)

He hinted that he expected these issues to be settled at the multiparty talks this month.

Mandela, referring to his historic speech to the homeland assembly — “one of those rare contradictory moments in the life of the ANC” — commended Chief Minister Samuel Nxumalo and his Cabinet for “striking out along a new road”. (1A)

“Here we are today, in an institution we consider highly illegitimate, sharing ideas about our common destiny,” Mandela told his audience. — Northern Transvaal Bureau.

# Rocky road will get smoother

Shubin

RECENT developments in Russia pose a lot of questions. Why did the self-proclaimed democrats soon start looking for dictatorial powers? What is the basis of the coalition between the supposedly "hard-line communists" and liberal nationalists? Why do so-called reforms cooked according to International Monetary Fund (IMF) recipes fail so miserably?

All these questions have direct relevance to South Africa as another country in transition. But today we shall look into a different matter: relations between Russia and South Africa.

History put Russia in a unique position vis a vis this country. The participation of Russian volunteers and medical personnel in the Anglo-Boer War is still in the memory of the Afrikaners. Later Russia and South Africa fought against the common enemy in the two world wars.

In the previous three decades, the USSR developed strong and versatile ties with the ANC and its allies. Hundreds of South Africans received their degrees in the Soviet Union and thousands — Chris Ni and Thabo Mbeki among them — passed shorter courses. These factors, important as

national experience, a lot can be done also beyond the present Russian borders, in the so-called newly independent states.

For example, the world's biggest producer of manganese ore is the Ukraine and stable marketing of South African ore is impossible

they are, are just the tip of the iceberg. Its solid base is the favourable conditions for the co-operation of two countries which are leading world producers and exporters of many minerals, from diamonds to rare metals, and which at the same time had limited access — though for different reasons and to a different degree — to international technology.

Is this potential being realised? On the surface, the relations between the two countries are quite good. Their intensive development in the last couple of years brought about the establishment of diplomatic relations and culminated in the official visit of President de Klerk to Moscow.

But let us look a bit deeper. Boris Yeltsin and his entourage are conducting relations with South Africa as if the present National Party Government will stay in power forever, or at least for decades.

In spite of talk of an equal attitude towards the Union Building in Pretoria and the ANC head office in Johannesburg, the relationship with the ANC has suffered.

Not only has financing of the ANC offices in Moscow been stopped and many ANC activists

without mutual understanding between the two countries.

When, in December, I visited Turkmenistan — a potentially very rich country in Central Asia, often called "a gas Kuwait" — high officials and academics expressed their interest in co-operation with South Africa in such

sent back — the MK cadres were in the vanguard — but the Russian position on South African issues in the United Nations has changed dramatically.

Yeltsin himself added insult to injury when he stated at his meeting with De Klerk that Nelson Mandela "would not be received as the ANC president, but would be visiting the Russian capital as an international figure and fighter for human rights". So no one should be surprised that Mandela is not in a rush to visit Moscow.

The same mistake is made by Pretoria, which also behaves as if the present Russian government is stable and viable.

Pik Botha wished Yeltsin "every success" when he tried in March to introduce rule by presidential decree — although he soon had to retreat when the move was declared unconstitutional in court. The results of the April 24 referendum in Russia have apparently encouraged Yeltsin's friends in South Africa. But, in fact, nobody emerged victorious.

True, Yeltsin's right to remain president was confirmed, but his subsequent attempt to declare himself "the only legitimate authority in Russia" and to change the constitution to bypass parlia-

fields as solar energy, arid-land agriculture, karakul sheep breeding and mining.

To paraphrase the words of a prominent, though highly controversial political figure of the past: "The rulers come and go but the peoples remain." The peoples of our two countries can and should

ment will no doubt result in further confrontation.

Rushing to make friends with Pretoria, Yeltsin — like Gorbachev in the last months of his rule — has looked for credits and loans. Such false expectations were encouraged by the South African Government through such actions as the visit of then-Minister of Trade Kent Durr to Moscow and promises (never fulfilled) to build three townships for Chernobyl disaster victims under very favourable conditions.

The same mood prevailed during De Klerk's visit when agreement on a R100 million revolving credit scheme was signed, only to remain on bureaucrats' desks for many months.

The hopes of South African businessmen to quickly penetrate a vast Russian market have been largely in vain, as well.

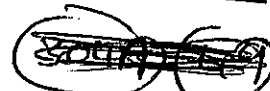
Sad as all these developments are, it would be very wrong to adopt a pessimistic attitude. First of all, political changes in both countries are imminent and the destroyed political bridges will be rebuilt. But the tendency to portray Russia as a backward beggar should be discouraged.

One of my colleagues recently wrote that the Soviet Union had

co-operate to their mutual benefit. □

● Dr Shubin is senior research Fellow at the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape. He was formerly head of the Africa section of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.

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11A

Alexander to take three weeks' leave

**Political Staff**

PAN Africanist Congress general-secretary Benny Alexander will attend this week's negotiating council meetings — but he will take a three-week holiday starting at the weekend.

Mr Alexander said yesterday he had not had any leave for the past four years.

He denied suggestions that he was forced to take leave because of his support for Apla.

# Boesak leads ID drive

**Political Staff**

WESTERN Cape African National Congress chairman Dr Allan Boesak and his regional executive committee colleagues will be out on Cape Town's streets tonight distributing pamphlets urging people to get identity documents so they can vote.

The "blitz" is part of an ANC national voter awareness campaign beginning today in Cape Town at 5.30pm on the Grand Parade, in the Mitchell's Plain town centre and at Site C,

**Khayelitsha**

Meanwhile, ANC sports spokesman Mr Steve Tswete will be speaking at a Soweto Day rally in Guguletu tomorrow, while Mr Benny Alexander of the Pan Africanist Congress will address a similar rally in Khayelitsha.

Western Cape Traders' Association chairman Mr Sharief Hassan called on the association's 2 500 members and other businesses to close between midday and 2pm tomorrow in memory of those who died on June 16, 1976.



Coleman said the proposals "contain certain

to treat June 16 as a de facto paid public holiday, Coleman said.

# New way to gauge social progress

B/Say 15/6/93  
LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — A set of indicators to measure SA's progress in improving the lot of all its citizens has been devised by the President's Council's social affairs committee.

Committee chairman Ben Piek said the proposals, released yesterday, constituted a major point of departure from existing methods of measuring the well-being of the population.

"The indicators are human-centred and are designed to be used by government in the shaping and allocation of resources," Piek said.

"The capacity of the government at various levels and of development agencies to recognise, by means of a 'red light' or 'warning light' indicators of instances where the state of well-being is of such a nature that it threatens to destabilise society in general or in specific areas, has been an important objective in developing this model."

The committee's report on the indicators stressed that individuals had two fundamental requirements — "self-actualisation" and survival. Both were essential for their well-being.

To survive, people needed protection, shelter and food. They also needed to experience self-actualisation, which required understanding, a sense of belonging and opportunities, all of which could be satisfied by education and training, communication and socialisation.

The committee said social mobility was an essential element of self-actualisation, which would be influenced by factors such as the availability of jobs, disposable income, freedom of association and the amount of leisure time available — all of which could be measured in terms of set criteria.

Education and training could be measured, for example, by the percentage of the population that could read, write and do arithmetic.

Communication could be measured by investigating the percentage of the population that read newspapers and magazines, listened to the radio, watched television, frequented a library, were multilingual and had telephones.

# Call to promote economic literacy

B/Say 15/6/93  
TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council has recommended a national campaign for the promotion of economic literacy which would inculcate a sense of national reconciliation and economic development.

In one of the body's final reports, the council's committee on economic affairs recommended that an "inspiring, widely accepted vision" was necessary to promote nation-building in a divided society.

Sensitive to the emerging new constitutional dispensation, it recommended that the whole planning process and its execution be conducted by a fully representative umbrella body.

The broad objectives of the co-ordinating body should be first to strive for a general convergence towards the notion that the economic efficiency of a nation was the route to long-term prosperity.

It said a fundamental work ethic was essential for such economic efficiency.

The body should also seek to instil a deep sense of understanding within individuals of their rights, responsibilities and rewards within the country's economic dispensation.

The programme should take into account the enormous disparities in SA society, encourage economic growth and development and foster a spirit of entrepreneurial expertise and enterprise.

Aspects of the forum's structure, such as its size, composition, functions, powers, funding and accountability, should be the result of consensus within the co-ordinating body.

# Council 'to act against PAC violations'

B/Say 15/6/93

CAPE TOWN — The multiparty negotiating council would have to act against the PAC which had flaunted the council resolution on violence, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday.

He told a media briefing that in terms of the council's resolution, the PAC could not continue its armed struggle and negotiations at the same time. The council would have to debate a motion about this today (IIA) (SFA)

Since the police swoop on the PAC, government had met the council's demands that the Law and Order Minister explain his actions, to charge or release those detained, and meet the PAC to discuss and resolve their differences.

"The PAC has supported all the resolutions of the council and has a responsibility to fulfil its part... The council must now put pressure on the only party which persists in this dual strategy of violence and negotiations." — Sapa.

IN November 1975, the Minister of the then Bantu Administration and Bantu Education, MC Botha, made an announcement with such impact that it would lead to a profound change in South Africa's politics.

Botha decreed that black pupils should be taught certain major subjects in Afrikaans.

The announcement sent shock waves through the classrooms and the black community at large because Afrikaans was considered the "language of the oppressor" and few blacks had any interest in it.

### Disaster

Suddenly pupils, many of them not proficient in Afrikaans, were expected to drop history for *geskiedenis* and geography for *aardrykskunde*. Physical science would become *wetenskap* and mathematics *wiskunde*, and so on.

Textbooks had to be translated into Afrikaans and thousands of teachers, the bulk of whom had themselves studied in English, were suddenly confronted with a serious problem.

Bantu Education Deputy Minister, the late Dr Andries Treunicht, insisted that the Government had the right to determine policy and curricula because it paid for the education of black pupils.

This plunged the country into a crisis when students took to the streets on June 16 1976 to protest against Bantu Education as a whole — rejected as "inferior" and "de-

# The class of '76 still locked in the grip of crisis

Star 15/6/93

11A

signed to perpetuate black oppression".

That the students' subsequent actions across the country contributed in a large part to the collapse of apartheid is beyond question.

Labour laws affecting Africans changed and, for the first time, the Government recognised black workers' right to collective bargaining and union membership.

The Government, hitherto preoccupied with developing bantustans, started to pay attention to the upgrading of township services and living conditions.

Massive electrification and sewerage schemes were undertaken by the Government and the private sector to improve conditions in black urban areas.

Today, 17 years after the student revolt, the country is about to witness the dawn of a new South Africa.

Student politics has undergone a metamorphosis since 1976.

The demands of the "class of 1976" were largely confined to educational matters,

Major political changes have taken place in South Africa as a result of struggles which have been waged by students since June 16 1976. But, ironically, the crisis gripping black education continues. PHIL MOLEFE looks at how student politics has developed since '76.

mainly the scrapping of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and free and compulsory education.

But this approach changed significantly in the years following 1976, largely because students realised they had the capacity to force the Government to make social and political changes.

Pupils' demands moved away from the classroom and focused on social, economic and political conditions.

Dan Sechaba Montsitsi, one of the leaders of the "class of

'76" and now a co-ordinator of Matla Trust, the voter education group, says it became clear that students' problems were not confined to Afrikaans and Bantu Education but had more to do with the system of apartheid.

At the time, large sections of Soweto were still without electricity and sewerage, and students began to address such basic living conditions.

"We identified the Urban Bantu Council (UBC) as an extension of apartheid, responsible for the appalling conditions in our townships — hence one of our first campaigns was to call for the dissolution of the council," Montsitsi recalls.

Dubbed the Useless Boys' Club, the UBC subsequently collapsed under pupil pressure.

In the eyes of the black community, the pupils had scored their first major political victory, and more followed.

In 1979 the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was formed. This resulted in a crystallisation of

the pupils' role in the broader political struggle.

Cosas was one of the first modern organisations to adopt the Freedom Charter as its guiding document.

The ideals embodied in the document were recited in the streets and classrooms by a growing number of black pupils who were disillusioned with the literature prescribed at school.

From free and compulsory education, pupils began to blend their education demands with calls for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations and the establishment of a democratic, nonracial and unitary state.

"The mid-'80s saw the emergence of structures of people's power such as parent-teacher-student associations and civic groups.

### Crushed

"In essence, the people began to govern themselves and for the first time started to get a feeling of what freedom looked like," Montsitsi explains.

But, he says, this victory was crushed when the Government started to unleash violence on the democratic forces.

"The Government was fierce on students, and testimony to this was the banning of Cosas in 1985.

"Student leaders were detained and many were forced to flee the country in what was a clear campaign by the Government to destroy organisations," Montsitsi says.

"The entire student leadership was wiped out and ordinary students with no political guidance and even thugs jumped on the bandwagon. The Government, through its own networks, started to infiltrate schools and student structures.

"The whole plan was to destabilise schools and students' organisations, hence the deepening crisis in education."

As the country braces itself for the first nonracial elections, the new government of national unity has a lot of work to do before black education can get back on track. □

## MADAM & EVE



## By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



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# Stayaway, rallies to mark June 16

Star 15/6/93

By Phil Molefe

11A

Thousands of workers are expected to stay at home tomorrow in what has become a de facto national holiday to mark the 17th anniversary of the June 16 student unrest.

It is believed the one-day stayaway will adversely affect the ailing economy but it is difficult to determine the extent because many companies have already made arrangements with their workers to work tomorrow.

South African Chamber of Business labour affairs director Gerrie Bezuidenhout said yesterday many companies had either negotiated with their employees to have June 16 as a paid holiday or made arrangements with their workers to swap the day for a leave day.

He said it would, however, be a holiday for most workers like May 1 or December 16.

Political organisations including the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the IFP have lined up commemoration services in major centres countrywide.

The Congress of South African Students will hold a commemoration service at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto today. ANC Natal leader Harry Gwala and Winnie Mandela will address the rally.

The ANC Youth League said its services for tomorrow in-

cluded "defiance rallies" in Bophuthatswana and rural areas of Natal where, it said, there was a lack of free political activity.

ANCYL publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana said 78 rallies had been organised countrywide. The main event would be a large rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium to be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANCYL leader Peter Mokaba.

PAC rallies in various parts of the country will be addressed by PAC national executive council members.

Azapo has lined up 13 rallies countrywide. Calling on blacks to engage in "brutal introspection", Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said that blacks would have to reflect "rationally (and) soberly on the legacy of those valiant sons and daughters of Azania" who had died in 1976.

The IFP will hold about 13 rallies, mostly in the PWV area.

● The expected stayaways tomorrow may disrupt refuse collection in several municipalities.

Johannesburg City Council will not provide collections tomorrow if a stayaway occurs. Residents are requested to keep refuse inside their properties until June 23.

Sandton and Randburg expect to provide regular collection services.

● The class of '76 still locked in the grip of crisis — Page 15

# Peace groups fear ANC, Inkatha clashes at rallies

B/Day 15/6/93

## WILSON ZWANE

PEACE organisations yesterday expressed concern that clashes could break out between Inkatha and ANC supporters when the two organisations commemorate the 17th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising at rallies in the East Rand township of Vosloorus tomorrow.

The ANC's rally will be addressed by the organisation's Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and the Inkatha gathering by Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza. (11A)

Neither organisation is holding rallies in surrounding townships and this could boost the numbers attending the Vosloorus rallies. (11B)

Inkatha senior official Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday that his organisation would not switch its rally from Vosloorus "just because the ANC will be holding a similar rally in the area".

And sources close to the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat said the organisation had been caught off guard by Inkatha's eleventh hour announcement that it would hold a rally in the township.

They said Inkatha had yet to furnish the secretariat with details of their rallies.

These details are essential if agreement is to be reached on issues such as policing and choice of routes.

Sources expressed concern that

violence could break out unless steps were taken to avert confrontation.

Ndlovu said the secretariat was "not God". He said Inkatha could not have provided the secretariat with details of its rally in Vosloorus without having first secured a venue. This was done only on Sunday.

The organisation was due to provide the secretariat with details of its rally yesterday.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa called on all people commemorating the day to do so "with the dignity it deserves".

Mamoepa also called for peace monitors to be out in full force to ensure that "peace reigns supreme" during the services.

He also urged police not to act in a manner which might ignite violence.

Mamoepa pointed out that the agreement which the ANC PWV region and Inkatha reached in March — on the eve of Sharpeville Day commemorations — should serve as a guide for tomorrow's activities.

In terms of the agreement — brokered by the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat — Inkatha and the ANC vowed to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner. The parties also agreed on routes their respective followers would use.

Ndlovu said it was about time that members of the ANC and Inkatha

held rallies in the same area without police having to keep them apart.

Hundreds of thousands of black workers are expected to stay away from work tomorrow, AP-DJ reports.

Cosatu said it expects all of its estimated 1.2-million members to stay away.

Cosatu threatened it would take industrial action against employers which did not recognise the day as a paid holiday.

Sacob estimates the stayaway will involve 80%-100% of workers across the country.

Labour consultants Andrew Levy & Associates predicts more than two thirds of the estimated 6-million black workers will stay away.

Sapa reports the Johannesburg City Council said yesterday officials anticipated a stayaway tomorrow and added the action may disrupt some services.

Council solid waste director Gys du Plessis requested Johannesburg householders who normally have their refuse collected on Wednesdays to keep their rubbish inside their properties until next Wednesday.

He added: "A June 16 stayaway may also disrupt other services such as clearing sewer blockages or repairing water leaks."

□ The ANC's western Cape region is to call for a stayaway tomorrow.

## The future of law to be debated

B/Day 15/6/93

### SUSAN RUSSELL

CHIEF Justice Michael Corbett and Judge Richard Goldstone will be two of the speakers at a one-day conference on the future of SA law in Johannesburg on Monday.

The conference, at the Standard Bank Arena, has been organised by law firm Webber Wentzel to celebrate its 125th anniversary and is co-sponsored by Standard Bank.

A senior ANC legal adviser will also take part in the conference, which will debate where SA law is heading and how it should be adapted to meet the needs of a changing SA.

Webber Wentzel senior partner Peter Reynolds said the conference would look critically but positively at SA's legal system. "We wish to anticipate, in a meaningful forum, what

will become of law in this country as we emerge from our troubled past into a new era. We want to play our part in guiding this country's legal system along what we believe to be the proper channels."

Reynolds said until now the debate on the future of law in SA had been confined largely to legal circles.

"The Webber Wentzel conference is open to the general public and will bring the debate into the public arena. All interested parties will be exposed to the views of respected and informed jurists, from the most senior of our judges to experienced practising attorneys facing clients on a day-to-day basis," Reynolds said.

## Nujoma off to US

B/Day 15/6/93

WINDHOEK — President Sam Nujoma left Windhoek yesterday for an official state visit to the US.

He is the first African president officially invited to the US by the Clinton administration.

Acting US ambassador to Namibia, Howard Jeter said the visit was tacit recognition by the US that Namibia had done "a very good job with democracy efforts" since independence.

Nujoma will spend 12 days in the US. Apart from meeting state officials, he will be interviewed on CNN, dine with the Congressional Black Caucus leadership and receive an honorary doctorate from Central State University in Ohio, before returning home via a human rights conference in Vienna. — Sapa.

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INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION  
WIAHSHI INTL JAP



Dr Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, and Soft Sheen director Annette Hutchins at the launch in Johannesburg yesterday of the SA Education and Training Centre. The Soft Sheen International Foundation will provide training at the centre. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Blacks told to run own lives

11  
BISA 15/6/93

THEO RAWANA

BLACKS should take responsibility for improving the quality of their own lives and not wait for someone to do things for them, Malcolm X's widow Betty Shabazz, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Let us get all the children to get an education and get them to believe in the work ethic. The future belongs to those who prepare for it today," she told a luncheon to launch the SA Education and Training Centre set up by the US-based Soft Sheen International Foundation.

Shabazz — who holds a nursing degree, a PhD in education and an MA in public health, education and administration — is director of communications and public relations at Madgar Evers College of the City University of New York.

She said when her husband was assassinated in the US in 1965, she was left with six children and no job.

But she spurned the cheques and big rented houses that sympathisers offered her and decided to "bring change" herself by studying.

"We must be vigilant and recruit children and inspire them to be upwardly mobile, so as to help themselves and their communities," she said. (11A) (3)

"Restraining forces" such as the lack of a vote and other disadvantages tended to keep people down, but blacks should get involved in the "driving forces" that would make them productive.

"If all development organisations get involved, we will make it. Change is coming, but if we sit on the roadside, we will miss out. We have to accept the responsibility to be free and improve the quality of our lives," she said.

Throughout the ages unfavourable conditions had always been there. But people had taken the responsibility to change them. The foundation, through centres in Johannesburg and Soweto, will train and educate black entrepreneurs in the ethnic hair care business.

## Support for single education system

BISA 15/6/93

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Nearly two-thirds of all South Africans believe a single education department and system

trative advantages of a single system had support among all population

39% uncertain, 26% saying it would make little difference and 20% saying standards would decline.



**FW's proposal  
to ensure  
white power**

**BILLY PADDOCK**

THE ANC's chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday rejected President F W de Klerk's "inner cabinet" plan as "a transparent attempt by the NP to have a veto power in any new dispensation".

He said the President's ideas were the antithesis of democracy and an attempt to ensure white power because the majority party would be outnumbered by the minority parties. *B/Dav 15/6/93*

The ANC believed a government of national unity was desirable for a smooth transition to democracy and it should have the following characteristics:

- Each party with more than 5% of the national vote should be represented in the cabinet; ~~(SOPA)~~ (IIA)
- The representation of each party should be in proportion to the number of seats it occupied in the constituent assembly;
- The composition of the government of national unity should be decided at the polls and no party should be assured of a place before elections;
- Minority parties should not be able to paralyse the functioning of government; and
- The government had to be able to embark upon a programme of national reconstruction and transformation.

"The government of national unity is not a device to be used by those who want to cling to power, nor is it to be used to undermine the majority," he said. There would be no point in democratic elections if the result made no difference to the status of the majority and minority parties in the government.

"President de Klerk would be well advised to refrain from putting forward unworkable and unacceptable proposals which he may be forced to retract," Ramaphosa said.

He was supported by DP negotiator Colin Eglin, who said De Klerk was "way out of court" if he was suggesting a subtle form of minority veto. There would have to be broad agreement on policy objectives between the members of the multiparty government of national unity. But this should

To Page 2

**FW's proposal** *B/Dav 15/6/93*  From Page 1

not be confused with a minority veto. Meanwhile, negotiators get down to a hard day of discussions today as they tackle the controversial issue of finalising an election date. Ten days ago the ANC and its allies bulldozed the negotiating council into provisionally setting April 27 1994 as the date for the first nonracial elections for an interim government. It is understood that the Concerned South Africans Group is set to contest that decision on the grounds that it was not carried with sufficient consensus. ~~(SOPA)~~ (IIA)

The council will also be debating constitutional principles, including violence, including a resolution on violence which calls for all armed formations to be brought under multiparty control by the time the interim government is established.

Government yesterday gave notice that it wanted the negotiating council to act against the PAC if the resolution on violence was passed. Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said that in terms of the council's resolution, the PAC could not be permitted to continue its armed struggle and negotiations at the same time.

An extract from the new book, *Editors Under Fire*, by Harvey Tyson, which has just been published.\*

"I'm phoning from Dr Matlhare's place. I've got to go. They are burning the house..."

The interrupted call from veteran reporter Harry Mashabela was the first, but certainly not the last, cryptic and critical message received by a newspaper on June 16, 1976...

Mashabela was dictating an eye-witness account of what he had just seen. He spoke rapidly of pupils marching and police shooting; of stonings, burnings and rioting. Neither Dr Aaron Matlhare, chairman of the Soweto Parents Association, nor his family was home. The doctor was probably at Baragwanath Hospital attending to wounded and injured school-children. Mashabela was using the doctor's home in Soweto as a refuge as well as a communications base, for the mobs were getting dangerous. He was still on the phone to the newsdesk when a servant banged on the door and screamed: "Come out. They will kill us. They are burning the house."

He repeated the last sentence, dropped the phone which swung free

# The blood, fire, and meaning of June 16, 1976



11A  
CT 16/6/93

**MARTYR:** The press photo that opened the world's eyes: fatally wounded Hector Petersen, 12, being carried away, became the martyr of the uprising.

under the table, and ran... In the main road nearby, crowds of adults as well as pupils were milling about. Pupils were building barricades. Others were burning parked vehicles all along the street. By nightfall, when tens of thousands of workers poured out of trains and buses into Soweto, the place was covered in an acrid cloud of smoke. Shops and beerhalls and administration buildings were still being looted and burnt.

## EDITORS UNDER FIRE

**NEW BOOK:**  
The cover of Harvey



11A

16/6/93

Numbers of... ing workers joined in.

For once, the immediate cause of the political explosion was not hard to pin-point. It had been building up for years. It was born and bred in black resentment over the style and quality of Bantu Education. It became headline news a month before, when pupils of Phefeni Junior School in Soweto went on strike...

On June 16 Sophie Tema of The World was standing behind the police as the riot began. "Children taunted the police, a policeman threw a teargas shell and the demonstrators replied with stones," she reported. Thousands of pupils had gathered in front of Phefeni school. There were about 30 policemen, most of them black. The white police were armed with revolvers and two were carrying

Tyson's new book, Editors under Fire.



what she took to be sub-machineguns.

Tema gave no thought to the dilemma which has troubled Press people observing riots in many parts of the world. She did not pause to wonder where her duty lay, or whether she was a journalist first and a concerned human being second; whether she was "an observer" rather than a person. She saw a young boy about six or seven years old fall with a bullet wound in his body.

"He had a bloody froth on his lips and he seemed to be seriously hurt so I took him to Phefeni Clinic but he was dead when we arrived," she reported later that morning.

She returned to the riot in time to see three more students collapsing. "I assumed they had been shot. They did not seem to be dead and were taken to hospital." She also spotted the body of a black policeman on the ground, covered with a sheet of paper. She saw an old man who had been shot moments before she returned to the scene from the clinic. He, too, seemed dead.

### Tragedy

On that fateful day in 1976 a single picture in a dramatic sequence instantly symbolised the whole tragedy. It was, to my mind, more powerfully emotional than all the hours of harrowing TV coverage which was run and re-run around the world for days. It was a photograph of a tall teenage boy in overalls, a shy young girl in her trim school uniform, and of her younger brother. The body of 12-year-old Hector Petersen lies limply in the arms of the tall, urgently striding, teenage stranger. Running to keep up, with her right hand spread to heaven in inexpressible horror, is the dead boy's sister, Antoinette Petersen. In the young faces of the two is mirrored the shock and tragedy of all that happened in Soweto that day... and in the days to follow.

Sam Nzima, a photographer from The World, saw the distraught group coming towards him. He recalls: "I did not take an earlier picture of death. I saw a lone policeman trying to run from the students. He hit a pole and fell. They...slaughtered him

like a goat and set him alight. I couldn't take pictures then."

Much later he saw the Petersen group coming towards him. Nzima was standing beside The World's press car. He clicked his camera shutter six times, then opened the car door. He, Tema and their driver Thomas Khoza squeezed onto the front seat, the children laid Hector in the back and got in beside him. They drove to the clinic. Antoinette did not know that Hector was already dead. The death of Hector Petersen became the symbol of June 16, 1976, a day that has been commemorated ever since by black liberation movements as a day of heroes and martyrs and political resistance to "the system". When the authorities banned plans for a mass funeral of the Soweto dead, the masses gathered instead at the funeral of the 12-year-old boy. It was at his graveside that public emotions were released. It was also where political plots were hatched.

The hero of the hour was Tsietsi Mashinini, a schoolboy nicknamed "The Lieutenant" who led an uprising as important to his community as the storming of the Bastille was to France. Everyone sought out Mashinini — including the police whom he eluded, dragnet after dragnet. The police asked him to surrender because, they said, they had learnt of a plot to kill him. Eventually he skipped the country and surfaced in Botswana where, a few days later, he foiled an attempt by several white men to kidnap him. He fled abroad but — like Phillip Kgosana and other heroes before him — he was quickly pushed aside by the clique of exiles ensconced overseas. A dozen years later Mashinini was living in Liberia, married to a local beauty queen.

But he was everywhere on that second day of Soweto 1976; a day on which the news-desk phones never stopped ringing...

The riots of June 16, 1976 were the first of their kind and they marked the turn of the tide against enforced apartheid. They were the biggest, and signalled the style of South African internal combat for decades to come...

\* Editors Under Fire by Harvey Tyson, Random House R84,99.

# Blacks set to vote for perceived winner

Star 16/6/93

**DONALD SIMPSON**, an independent political analyst, looks at the latest Markinor opinion poll and tries to predict how the parties will fare in an all-in election.

**A** PATTERN of cautious ANC hegemony in the electorate, with a strong National Party presence dominating the tricameral voters, established over the last three years, is breaking up.

Six months ago, the National Party domination of the tricameral Parliament was reflected in its electorate, with the black electorate going for the ANC — with some reservations.

Now, in various contradictory ways, the tricameral

electorate is fracturing but the black electorate is uniting strongly around the ANC.

The ANC would dominate the first democratic parliament, having just more than half the MPs.

Trends where leaders led their parties in the polls have vanished. Both major leaders (Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk) now trail their parties in some important sections of the electorate.

De Klerk's authority is under attack and voting intentions for the NP are at a new low, but his trimming of the number of ANC members on the new SABC board and the raids on PAC leaders will raise his approval rating among potential constituents.

The ANC is consolidating its hold on non-white voters, but perceptions about Mande-

## Number of MPs likely to be elected by latest opinion poll

(Parliament is assumed to have 400 MPs)

VOTES:	ANC	NP	IFP	PAC/ Az	CP	DP	Volks
White	3	29	3	-	19	5	4
Coloured	8	22		2		4	2
Indian	2	6	1	1		2	
Black	207	26*	29	21		4	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>6</b>

\*Includes NP's regional allies and Bophuthatswana

Source: Markinor

la have fallen in the wake of, among other things, his call for the voting age to be lowered to 14.

The recent Lesotho election gave credibility to the theory that black voters will not divide their votes among many

liberation movements, but will vote only for the party most likely to win, which is the ANC.

This is bad news for the PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the IFP.

In previous elections, the

CP scored higher than predicted by opinion polls, and the IFP may be in the same position now.

IFP supporters, like the CP voters, are more rurally based than other voters; the IFP share of the vote could surprise many on election day.

With Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (the new CP leader) having sidelined the party's pragmatists, the extreme Right seems "un-unifiable" and unable to maximise its appeal to an increasingly frightened white electorate, amounting to at least 40 percent of white voters.

Electoral support for the Volksfont is still tiny.

The ANC-National Party bloc still commands the support of 75 percent of the electorate and, under proportional representation, the same percentage of seats.

But the NP now looks more like a weak junior partner than its previous projected role as a powerful and essential part of the new order.

Alone of all parties, the DP has a broad appeal across the spectrum, but its numbers will remain insignificant unless the ANC and NP fight a bruising election campaign battle against each other.

If they do, moderate voters may look to the DP for leadership.

A 3 percent threshold could see the DP and Azapo being eliminated, but not the PAC. □

## MADAM & EVE

OKAY MADAM--I'LL GIVE YOU ANOTHER CHANCE! FOR TEN BUCKS--YOU CAN PICK THE NEW NAME FOR JAN SMUTS AVENUE IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA.



## By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



© Republic of South Africa Entertainment 1993



# Inkatha to defy ban on East Rand march

~~16/6/93~~  
B/Day 16/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

INKATHA supporters would defy a police ban today and march from Thokoza to Vosloorus, where both the ANC and Inkatha were scheduled to hold June 16 commemorative meetings, Inkatha official Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

Ndlovu said he had received a report at a peace secretariat meeting that the Inkatha march was to be stopped by police because no permission had been obtained.

Nevertheless, the march would go ahead because Inkatha had been told in the past that no permission was needed for marches proceeding to legal meetings.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat officials made frantic efforts yesterday to avert potential clashes between Inkatha and ANC supporters on the East Rand.

Secretariat official David Storey said between 150 and 200 monitors would be deployed in more than 17 areas on the Reef including Sebokeng, Vosloorus, Katlehong, Thokoza, Soweto and Johannesburg. Inkatha and the ANC would jointly monitor events in Vosloorus and other areas.

The secretariat had convened discussions on preventing violence at which the two parties and the police were represented, he said. Agreements on policing and monitoring of events were being concluded at local level.

"We are hoping that people will commemorate the day peacefully and exercise restraint and tolerance. If a situation of conflict does occur, we appeal to people to co-operate with the monitors," he said.

ANC NEC member Harry Gwala would address rallies in Sebokeng, Vosloorus and Tembisa, an ANC spokesman said.

Inkatha Transvaal organiser Tembisa Khoza was scheduled to address a Vosloorus rally.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba would address a rally in Orlando Stadium, Soweto, while ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale would speak at the Johannesburg City Hall.

Police public relations chief Maj-Gen Leon Mellet said police were prepared for any eventuality.

The ANC and Inkatha agreed to monitor rallies jointly in Natal, while the police and peace accord officials would form joint operational centres, Sapa reported.

Reuter reported the ANC's main Natal rally, at Curries Fountain, would be addressed by Betty Shabazz, widow of US campaigner Malcolm X.

Comment: Page 6

## Drought aid likely to exceed R100m

B/Day 16/6/93

PRETORIA — Taxpayer support for farmers in drought disaster areas this year amounts to tens of millions of rands and could rise sharply before winter ends.

According to the Agriculture Department's financial assistance directorate, drought aid this year is likely to exceed last year's R100m, especially if summer rains are delayed.

A National Drought Disaster Committee spokesman said 78 districts had been declared disaster areas. This would increase before the end of winter and probably into summer.

The Red Meat Producers Organisation (RPO) said a third of the 9 000 stock farmers failed to qualify for aid in terms of the stock farmers relief scheme launched this month.

At the end of last week about R60m in this financial year had been paid to 1 715 Karoo stock farmers.

This did not include R15m paid to eastern Cape farmers and R12m to 359 Transvaal farmers. Free State stock farmers received another R10m.

RPO spokesman Jan de

GERALD REILLY

Jager said stock farmers were marketing millions of rands worth of breeding stock to survive.

Abattoirs were inundated with stock offerings and prices had sunk to the Meat Board floor price that did not cover production costs.

De Jager said the extent of slaughtering of breeding stock would set the industry back years.

Despite farmers' distress, meat processors and others in the trade were still importing meat.

The RPO had asked government to raise the import levy and to close loopholes in the system.

Meat Board GM Pieter Kempen said cold storage available to the board was more than 80% full mostly with carcasses lifted from the market at the floor price. He expected pressure to continue at least until end July.

He said the problem was not so much heavy marketing, but lack of consumer demand which had declined steeply in the past few months.

## To each his own — ANC

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE ANC would fight for the right of people to be equal and yet remain different, ANC NEC member Albie Sachs said yesterday.

He told the German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg that even though all citizens of a future SA would have equal rights, there was no single SA culture or way of life and no one would be bound to be identical to anyone else.

"We come to the new SA as we are," he said.

The future SA would be pluralistic, with the different cultures enriching the social fabric of the broad SA society.

The ANC believed that different languages and cultures had to be protected in a Bill of Rights.

But political mobilisation around these issues would lead to civil strife as had happened in Bosnia.

Regions of a federal state could not be drawn around ethnicity, as ethnicity in SA was not geographically bound.

Sachs said that one of his biggest mistakes was believing that the state could solve all social problems.



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**CALM AMID THE STORM . . .** Durban clothing manufacturer Mr Ben Jonsson, who decided to stay put following the fire that badly damaged a section of the Mount Nelson Hotel early yesterday. With him are city models (from left) Veronique Rossouw, Manina Colyn and Heidi Mugridge. ● Report Page 9.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

### Syringes in Pepsi cans

NEW YORK. — Investigators fanned through PepsiCo bottling plants and examined company personnel records yesterday to find out how syringes wound up in at least four cans of Diet Pepsi at opposite ends of the United States. The incident has stumped the experts because the canning process used by Pepsi is virtually tamper-proof. The company said it is prepared to order a recall of the product if necessary, but has been advised not to do so by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) because it might hinder the investigation. The FDA has advised consumers not to drink Pepsi straight from the can. — Sapa-Reuter

# SAP warn on Soweto Day events

CT16/6/93

11A

Staff Reporter

THE police will respect the rights of those commemorating Soweto Day today but police spokesmen said yesterday unlawful conduct would not be tolerated and they had a duty to protect those who did not wish to take part in the events planned. The ANC Youth League has called for a national school and work stayaway but Chamber of Commerce human resource manager Mr Charl Adams said they expected normal trading in the CBD. However, Mr Adams said factories could be operating on skeleton staff. A Western Cape Traders' Association spokesman has called on its members and all businessmen to close their businesses between noon and 2pm today. A Cosatu spokesman said they have called on employers to regard Soweto Day as a paid public holiday and on members to participate in rallies.

### 'Against the system'

Various Cape bakeries and supermarkets said they would operate as usual. ● Meanwhile, Sapa reports that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday Soweto Day marked the 17th anniversary of the "heroic student upheavals against the system of Bantu education". He said only a democratically-elected government could bring about "meaningful and thorough-going changes" to the education system. He said education was in a deeper crisis than ever. The demands remained basic: Textbooks, classrooms, desks, equipment, electricity and salary increases — rights which white teachers and students took for granted. For every rand spent on educating a white child, "a mere 20c" was spent on educating a child in a Department of Education and Training school, and where white schools averaged 18 children per teacher, black schools averaged 70 pupils, he said.

# 'Bring back witnesses'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

CT16/6/93

THE two witnesses removed from South Africa before they could testify in the Winnie Mandela trial should be returned to give evidence about a hit list that included Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Democratic Party MP Mr Lester Fuchs said yesterday. The witnesses could also shed light on the disappearance of other youths, he added. Mr Fuchs, speaking in Parliament, disclosed that he had gone

to Diepkloof Prison to visit Xoliswa Falati, Mrs Mandela's co-accused who is now serving a two-year sentence for her role in the incidents. Falati had told him she had lied in court to protect Mrs Mandela's alibi "because I was scared of her". She also told him Mrs Mandela had been in Soweto, not Brandfort — as Falati had testified — at the time of the offences for which they were convicted. "Mrs Falati now admits that

not only did she perjure herself, but that she did so with the knowledge of one of Mrs Mandela's lawyers, Mr Dali Mpfu," Mr Fuchs said. Both Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, a co-accused in Mrs Mandela's trial, and Mr Pello Megwe, a victim of the kidnapping and assault, were smuggled out of the country to frustrate the legal process. "Justice demands that Mr Cebekhulu be returned to South Africa," Mr Fuchs said.

# Talks walkout drama

Star 16/6/93

By Esther Waugh  
and Kaizer Nyatumba

## Negotiators to press on with or without Cosag

Key negotiators have signalled that the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow will continue with or without the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), which walked out of the talks last night.

Representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu government, Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana government, the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and Ciskei government made the dramatic exit to "consult their principals".

The AVU and Bophuthatswana have already confirmed they will attend the

council's next round of talks tomorrow following consultations, and CP negotiator Thomas Langley said his party would still decide.

It was expected last night that the ANC, the Government and the National Party will be lobbying the defectors today in a bid to maintain the negotiation process with all parties present.

At a press conference after the Negotiating Council meeting in Kempton Park — which confirmed the recommendation to the Negotiating Forum that April 27 be the date for the first non-racial election — Cosag members denied having

staged a walkout. They said they had merely asked for an adjournment to consult their leaders after an IFP draft resolution supported by all Cosag members was not carried.

The resolution had called for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state in the new SA had been decided upon.

After the meeting, IFP adviser Marinus Wiechers said he was "seriously considering" his position because of an "intolerable situation". He was "rather embarrassed by the unconstitutional proposals (of the IFP)" and would be discussing the matter with IFP leader Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Key negotiators accused Cosag of walking out over a procedural matter.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer said a compromise proposal — suggested by him in the 10-member planning committee — would have addressed the IFP concerns. There was no reason for the IFP to have requested an adjournment.

The only deduction to be made from the IFP's resolution was that it was only prepared to discuss "a firm decision on a particular form of a federal state". Should this attempt fail, the IFP did not want any progress in the council, he said.

It is understood that the IFP did not canvass support for the draft resolution before moving it in the council.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa stressed that Cosag had walked out over a procedural issue and not a substantive matter. From the start of the meeting, Cosag had embarked on a "disruptive and unconstructive" path, he said.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo described Cosag's move as "the most unseemly display of filibustering".

Government and ANC negotiators said efforts would be made to ensure Cosag's continued participation.

Ramaphosa added: "If

they are not here tomorrow, the process must move on."

Earlier in the day, most negotiators had fought off an attempt by the IFP and its Cosag allies to stall negotiations, despite threats from the IFP and the KwaZulu government that they might have to withdraw.

Towards the end of a frustrating day, an IFP resolution calling for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state had been dealt with was defeated. Of the 26 organisations represented in the negotiations, 16 voted against the proposed resolution, eight — mostly Cosag members — supported the resolution and two abstained.

'No compromise on federalism' — Page 3

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# Extra US aid to SA on cards

By Peter Fabricius  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US government is likely to give South Africa an extra \$10 million (R31 million) a year in direct aid to promote elections and stands ready to help integrate armed forces once a transitional executive council is established.

US assistant secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose disclosed this yesterday during an address to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Moose said the dire levels of unemployment in South African townships made it imperative that the US Government and American investors should engage in SA "sooner rather than later".

The State Department's strong recommendation to the White House would be that once a TEC had been installed and a firm date for elections set, legislative restrictions such as the Gramm Amendment (which denies SA access to IMF facilities) should be removed.

# Peace network in place for rallies

Staff Reporters

Political organisations, peace groups and security forces are holding thumbs for peace and are braced to prevent violence during today's mass commemorations of the 1976 Soweto student uprising.

All peace monitors have been placed on standby. The ANC and IFP plan to flood rallies with marshals, particularly where the rival organisations' events come close to each other.

IFP and ANC supporters from Katlehong and Tokoza — recently the scene of conflict — are to attend rallies in Vosloorus only a few hundred metres apart.

The two organisations will also be within spitting distance in Soweto, with the IFP rally at Mzimhlophe Hall near the ANC's main event at Orlando Stadium.

Wits-Vaal Peace Committee co-ordinator David Storey said yesterday there would be more than 150 monitors on the Reef.

"There is the potential for conflict where the groups come close together, but we

hope that people from all sides will make a strong effort to ensure the day goes peacefully," Storey said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation "will do everything within our means to ensure the marches are peaceful".

IFP Youth Brigade spokesman Carter Ndlovu said: "If they (ANC supporters) leave us alone, we'll leave them alone."

The SAP warned yesterday it would not tolerate lawlessness or intimidation.

SAP public relations head Major-General Leon Mellet said the SAP respected the right of people to hold peaceful demonstrations, but police had a duty to "protect the democratic rights" of those who did not wish to take part in rallies.

● Schooling will continue as normal in TED schools today. Reacting to rumours that some schools could close today, TED executive director Dr Ken Paine said that in individual cases where it was thought a pupil's life could be endangered by attending school, he or she could be marked absent.

## Tributes pour in for James Hunt

# Many workers stay at home for Soweto Day

11A

ARG 16/6/93

## Staff Reporters

BETWEEN 80 and 90 percent of workers from Peninsula townships who usually go to work by train or bus stayed at home today, many in terms of negotiated agreements with employers that June 16 is a paid public holiday.

Cape Chamber of Industries executive director Mr Colin McCarthy said more than 65 000 Western Cape workers in major industries took the day as a public holiday.

This was confirmed by Cosatu regional secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse, who said most of the 14 affiliated unions had negotiated that Soweto Day be observed as a paid public holiday.

But Cosatu affiliate the SA Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) declared Soweto Day a stayaway and urged teachers to attend rallies.

Mr McCarthy emphasised that employers accepted Soweto Day had been "institutionalised" as a paid public holiday and did not regard it as a stayaway.

Clothing, engineering, motor repair and textile staff were not at work.

"There are a number of large industries where this has become a statutory public holiday in terms of Industrial Council agreements," he said.

At least 40 000 clothing workers and 25 000 engineering workers in the Western Cape were involved.

Textile factories had negotiated the day off in their plant agreements.

In smaller industries it was not a public holiday.

Peak hour trains from Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain carried about 20 percent of the normal number of passengers.

Trains on the Simon's Town line were about 60 percent full and those on the Bellville line were normal.

Metro railway spokeswoman Ms Adri Bootsma said a train was stoned at Nolungile station, Khayelitsha about 7am. This was the only incident reported.

Golden Arrow bus service public relations manager Mrs Jeanne Welsh said buses from Crossroads, Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga were about 20 percent full and from Khayelitsha about 10 percent.

● The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that bitterly cold weather and rain put a damper on Soweto Day rallies.

Many businesses closed and shops used temporary staff.

Most large companies recognise the day as a paid holiday while others adopted a "no work no pay" policy.

South African Chamber of Business labour affairs director Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout said it was up to individual companies to decide policy, but most companies had agreements to pay workers.

## SCOOP

### Today's sur-prizes!

CASH prizes of R3 000 and R1 500 in SCOOP today, plus other exciting prizes. Check your SCOOP card with the winning lines on page 12.

### NORTHERN

IN Northern Argus today:

● Traders in Tyger Valley Centre claim rents are too high.

● Table View houses flood on to market as Dunoon settlement gets government go-ahead.

### TOMORROW

### SOUTHERN

Will Pollsmoor prison be enlarged? The Minister's not sure

Those Mowbray shacks must go, says councillor Ian Iversen.

## 'Pressure the PAC' call

APR 16 16 1993

PARTICIPANTS in the negotiations should bring "ultimate pressure" to bear on the PAC to stop its murderous acts, Mr Ray Radue (NP King William's Town) has said. (2) (11)

Speaking in a debate on the second reading of the Budget yesterday, he said that as long as the PAC's armed wing, Apla, continued its attacks on innocent civilians and farmers and committed bloody murders, and these were condoned by the organisation's leaders, there was no moral or legal basis for continued negotiations with them.

Peace-loving participants in the talks should put pressure on the PAC. — Sapa.

Election date debate proceeds

# Inkatha-led walkout jolts talks off track

B/Day 16/6/93

MULTIPARTY talks were thrown off track yesterday by a walkout by members of the Concerned South Africans Group "to consult their principals" shortly before closure of proceedings and just before scheduled discussion on an election date.

Signs of the impending temporary crisis, which followed a KwaZulu threat to filibuster proceedings, emerged in the morning with an Inkatha/KwaZulu initiative, backed by Cosag, insisting that negotiations be halted until their demands were met.

The debate also became a serious test of the concept of "sufficient consensus" in terms of which decisions are taken.

Inkatha introduced a resolution which ruled out progress according to the agreed agenda. It proposed that negotiations on constitutional principles not proceed until parties were "provided with a clear alternative" concerning unitary versus federal state principles, as well as the processes which would lead to attaining each goal. It said any final determination of an election date would have to wait "until the negotiation council has adopted a final decision on the form of state and on the process on constitutional development which would lead to elections".

In a statement to the council, KwaZulu government representative Ben Ngubane warned that if other parties failed to agree they would be "politically responsible for the withdrawal from negotiations by KwaZulu". His group would adopt a "constructive form of filibustering" to get its way.

After a three-hour meeting, the planning committee proposed referring the matter to a technical committee, which failed to

BILLY PADDOCK  
and ALAN FINE

satisfy the Inkatha/KwaZulu delegations.

During debate on the Inkatha motion, DP representative Colin Eglin pointed out that precisely the issues of concern to Inkatha would have been debated had the day's agenda not been thrown off course. The only way to get to discussing the form of state would be through a thorough debate on the constitutional principles.

When the proposal came to a vote, it was supported by eight parties, mostly Cosag members, and opposed by 18, including government and ANC blocs and the PAC.

When the chair ruled that the proposal had failed because it had not attained "sufficient consensus", the ruling was challenged by Inkatha/KwaZulu. When appeals by Cosag representatives for an early adjournment (which would have precluded discussion on an election date) were refused, they staged their walkout.

The discussion on an election date proceeded without the six Cosag delegations — Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

All parties present apart from the PAC agreed to put the April 27 election date resolution to the negotiating forum in 10 days' time for debate and finalisation.

□ Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said last night he hoped the walkout was "a hiccup", but added that no firm date for Inkatha's return could be given until a full discussion of the crisis had taken place in the organisation. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha would be "the last people to delay talks".

# Mandela, Buthelezi meeting delayed

BISday 16/10/92

WILSON ZWANE

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon dimmed yesterday when it was disclosed that their organisations had not made enough progress on the ANC's demand for free political activity.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said a preparatory committee, consisting of representatives from his organisation and Inkatha, had made good progress towards reaching agreement on most items for the agenda for the two leaders' meeting.

These included the public display of dangerous weapons, the fencing of hostels and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The committee had, however, not made substantial progress on the ANC's insistence that the leaders' meeting should discuss free political activity throughout SA, including KwaZulu.

Mamoepa attributed this to the fact that KwaZulu

negotiator Ben Ngubane, a key figure in the discussions, was tied up in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Hopes for an early meeting between the leaders ran high last week when Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it would be held within a couple of weeks.

However, the organisers, who include Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said the date for the meeting would be set only after the two organisations had agreed on the agenda.

Tutu is currently in London for anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston's 88th birthday celebrations. Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall is standing in for Tutu in the organising of the talks.

Buthelezi reaffirmed his willingness yesterday to meet Mandela.

Mamoepa said it was the ANC's view that the meeting should be a product of work done by the preparatory committee. But there was no indication on when a meeting might take place.

Sowetan 17/6/92

# Slogan chanted

■ 40 000 people ignore ANC banning:

By Themba Molefe

"KILL the Boer, kill the farmer", the 40 000-strong crowd roared yesterday, drowning Peter Mokaba's efforts at chanting a different slogan.

"Kill the Boer, kill the farmer," the youthful crowd roared again as Mr Nelson Mandela marched around the Orlando Stadium. Mokaba, ANC Youth League president, was in a quandary this time. (UA)

The choice was clear: Defy the leadership or defy the grassroots. Sensing defeat, Mokaba followed his followers. He then spoke, saying he had not ditched any ANC slogan. "When I chanted 'Freedom in Mandela's time', I was saying Mandela would be the president of the Boers, the farmers and all South Africans," he said.

Mandela, also reading the mood and sensing danger, said he understood why the youth were angry and would consult with their leaders.



# Clamp because PAC 'not afraid' of government'

□ Transitional council a sellout — Alexander

**EDWARD MOLOINYANE**  
Staff Reporter

THE government has clamped down on the Pan Africanist Congress because the PAC is not afraid to stand up against it, says general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander.

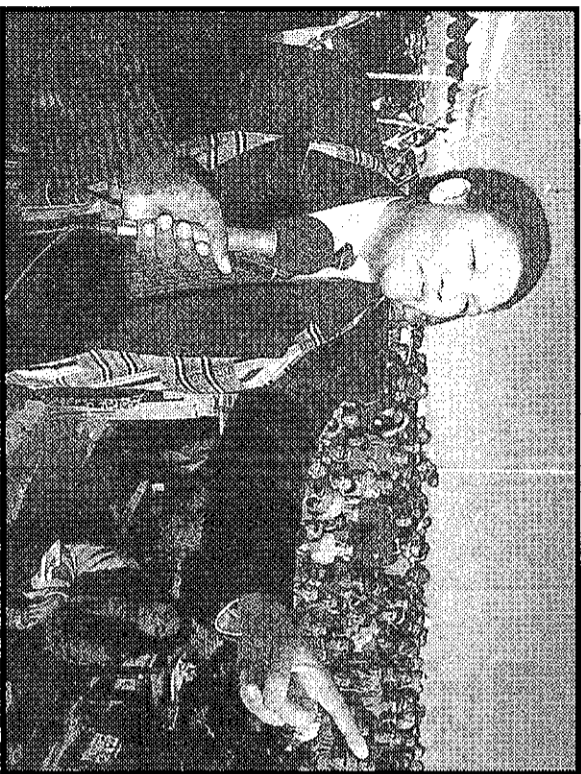
He was addressing a rally at Khayelitsha Stadium marking the 17th anniversary of the June 16, 1976 Soweto student uprising. The rally was attended by more than 10 000 people.

The militant rally, thought to be the biggest PAC gathering in the Western Cape since the unbanning of political organisations three years ago, was also addressed by representatives of the organisation's women's, youth and student wings, who urged youths to join the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC military wing.

Mr Alexander, who arrived two hours late after addressing rallies in Ceres and Paarl, said the PAC had embarrassed the government in the eyes of the outside world by ensuring that the proposed Transitional Executive Council failed.

"De Klerk told overseas presidents that the TEC would be in place by May — but it is already the end of June and no TEC is in place. I must say categorically that the PAC rejects the TEC as it is nothing but an advisory board with no power.

"The TEC is a sell-out position and the PAC will not settle for that... that's why the government clamped down on us to show who is boss."



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

**RALLY:** PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander makes a point while addressing a rally at Khayelitsha Stadium attended by more than 10 000 people.

He likened the TEC to the recent controversy surrounding the appointment of the SABC board, saying the body would have no power as its appointees would be decided by the "boss".

"The enemy is involved in a low intensity war against the African people and they have a three-pronged programme. First they wanted to push through negotiations by creating the TEC and the 'nonsense' called powersharing. Once the TEC has been formed they will declare a state of emergency to deal with those they consider radicals."

Mr Alexander said the PAC was standing up to the regime and interfering with "sell-out

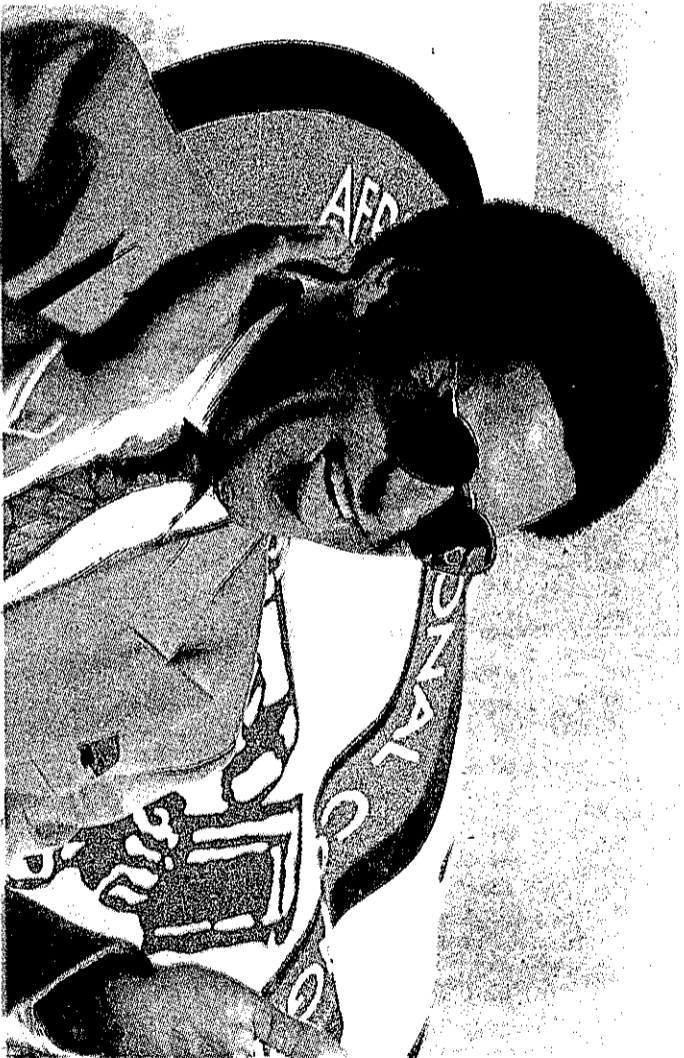
positions and neo-colonialism". He urged supporters not to listen to "those politicians who go about saying they guarantee white people jobs" in the new dispensation.

"I can only say that they love the white man more than the white man loves himself," he said, to the chanting of militant slogans.

He said some PAC leaders viewed him as an embarrassment because of his open support for Apia.

A resounding "no" echoed through the stadium when Mr Alexander asked: "Are you embarrassed?"

"It is better to die for an idea that will live than to live for an idea that will die," he said.



**NOW YOU'RE TALKING:** A young activist had hundreds of people, including ANC (Western Cape) chairman Dr Allan Boesak, in stitches with his impersonations of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk.

## 'Next June 16 under ANC rule'

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

THE 18th anniversary of the June 16 student uprisings will be held under an ANC government and with the movement's president Mr Nelson Mandela occupying Tynhuys, says Dr Allan Boesak.

He said at a commemoration rally at Gugulethu stadium yesterday that the sacrifices made by the June 16 generation had not been in vain.

"The blood on the ground may have dried, but the visions in our heads are still alive." He added that negotiations would not have been possible without the sacrifices made by the 1976 uprisings which began in Soweto.

## Monitors take control

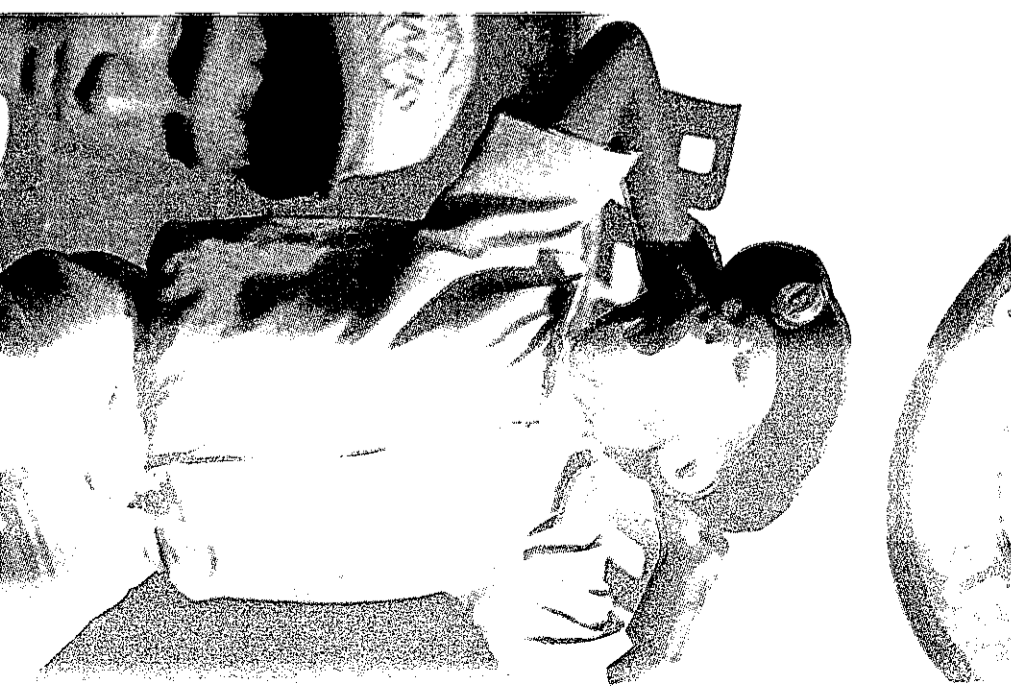
**The Argus Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Peace monitors, working closely with marshals and security forces, took control of marches and rallies across the Reef, ensuring that commemorations of the 1976 Soweto student uprisings went off with little or no violence.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told the ANC's main rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium that multiparty negotiations would continue in spite of Tuesday's walkout by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

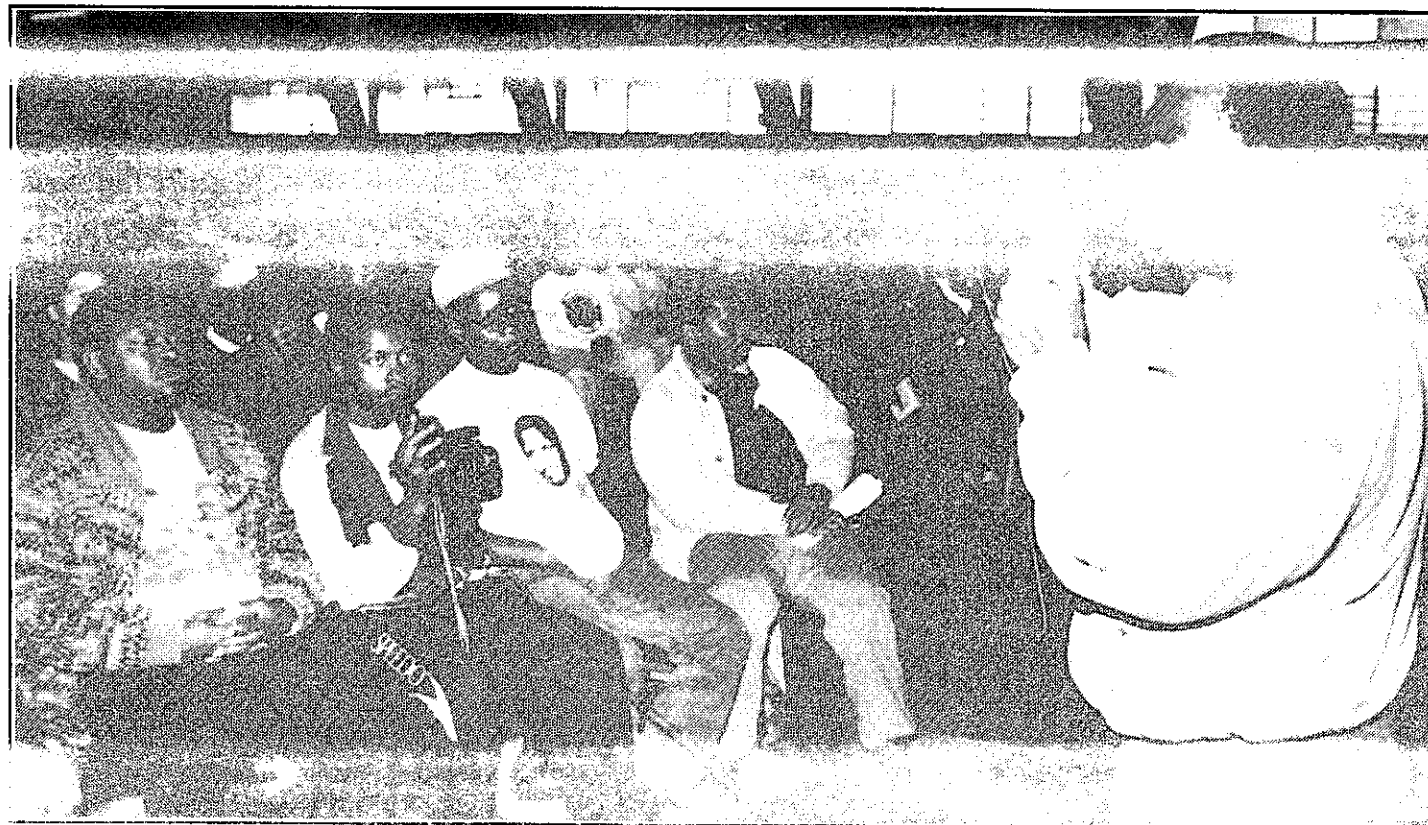
IFP Youth Brigade leader Carter Ndlovu told supporters in Vosloorus that talks were the only way of ensuring all South Africans would be heard.

At a Pan Africanist Congress rally at Jabulani, Soweto, pupils were urged to return to class. Mr Eddie Bosman, publicity secretary of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, said it was time that pupils realised that they needed education to prepare themselves for the future.



Picture: BOB WIGLEY, The Argus.

**TIRED COMRADE:** The June 16 commemoration rally in Gugulethu began nearly three hours late and by late afternoon this member of the ANC's Young Pioneers was showing signs of fatigue.



TRUE LIBERATION ... Azapo national executive member Lybon Mabasa told a June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto that only repossession of the land would result in true liberation. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

# Plea to return to class

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

*Sowetan 17/6/93*  
**DEEPER CRISIS** Mandela calls for a

comprehensive national education forum:

**C**alls for pupils and teachers to return to school were made at several rallies yesterday to commemorate the 17th anniversary of the June 16 1976 students' uprising.

At least eight people were reported killed in violence believed to be linked with the commemorations in Durban, on the East Rand and in Soweto.

Speaking at a rally at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said: "As a new government the ANC will need educated young people with skills to take up employment."

"We are concerned that millions of our young people are out of school without work and are frustrated by the lack of opportunities."

"We have to reach out to the youth through training, skills and jobs."

## Crime entices

Mandela said black youths resorted to crime as it was the most enticing option resulting from apartheid-entrenched anger and frustration.

Seventeen years after the students' uprisings, black education was in fact in a deeper crisis, he said, and called for the establishment of a national education forum to address education.

At another rally, organised by the Azanian Peoples Organisation at the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, speakers attacked the multiparty negotiations taking place at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Speakers said those attending the talks were

opting for a sell-out solution and called for "the escalation of the revolution".

Azanian Students Convention president Mark Mfikeo said Azapo was not attending the multiparty talks because it respected the liberation of blacks and accused participants as "political careerists".

Azapo assistant general secretary Mr Lybon Mabaso said: "We want freedom for our people. We've got to repossess our land and that will result in the true liberation of our people."

At a rally at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto, the Pan Africanist Congress made a strong plea for pupils to return to classes.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani called on black people to wage a struggle to achieve their liberation.

He called on people in the townships to be militant so that they could defend themselves against the "enemy of the people".

In the Northern Transvaal the ANC, PAC and Azapo held a joint rally at the University of the North.

## Sebokeng rally

In the Vaal Triangle ANC national executive member Mr Harry Gwala urged more than 7 000 people attending a rally at the Sebokeng Sta-

dium to resort to armed struggle if their attempts to achieve liberation failed.

Addressing another rally later in Tembisa, Gwala said the ANC should guard against being complacent in the belief that political victory was assured.

## Armed ANC youth

Groups of armed ANC Youth League supporters marched through Vosloorus on the East Rand after a rally in the township.

As the crowd left the stadium where the rally was held, there was a burst of gunfire and one faction of armed supporters marched around the streets.

In Bophuthatatswana 16 people were arrested when they tried to gain access to the Montshiwa Stadium near Mmabatho for a rally.

In KwaZulu a bus left the road and plunged down an embankment near the Pongolpoort Dam. It was reported that an unknown number of ANC supporters were killed and others injured. Meanwhile, a massive work stayaway throughout the country — as much as 100 per cent in many areas — occurred as thousands of workers observed the day.

Business was hard hit and employer organisations confirmed the stayaway was almost total.

*Sowetan 17/6/76*  
**Accord is 'toothless'**

By Josias Charle and Sapa

■ **Sanco president says more should be done to curb war talk:**

THE National Peace Accord was toothless, South African Civics Association president Mr Moses Mayekiso said at a June 16 rally at Soshanguve yesterday.

The commemoration services yesterday coincided with a massive stayaway — close to 100 percent in several Pretoria areas.

The stayaway was almost complete in Atteridgeville, Mabopane, Soshanguve, Garankuwa and neighbouring areas, residents said.

Mayekiso, who described the National Peace Accord as "toothless", said it should be given more powers.

The NPA was not doing enough to curb war talk, he said. Spokesmen for the Conservative Party and Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging were talking freely about killing blacks and nothing was being done about it.

Peace would not prevail until racist whites stopped threatening blacks. When blacks chanted slogans such as "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" there was an outcry among whites.

Mayekiso said blacks would not stop or apologise for these slogans.

The Democratic Party and the National Party would not be stopped

from campaigning in townships "but we will urge our people not to attend their meetings".

Meanwhile, about 10 000 singing and dancing people gathered at the University of Venda Stadium yesterday at a rally organised by the Black Consciousness Movement and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The African National Congress, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions also took part.

Emphasis was placed on the time wasted during the current academic year at black schools.



**June 16 in brief**

*Sowetan 17/6/76*  
**Industry standstill**

INDUSTRY in Port Elizabeth was effectively shut down yesterday as workers headed for services to commemorate the 1976 national uprising that started in Soweto.

PE Chamber of Commerce Director Anton Vlok said the major industries, had ground to a halt. The African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation held rallies in the Eastern Cape.

The stayaway was between 80 and 90 percent effective in the Western Cape yesterday. Peak hour trains from Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain were reported to be about 20 percent full.

*Sowetan 17/6/76*  
**Big stayaway**

IN the Border region the majority of black people stayed away from work yesterday to commemorate the day. The East London municipality said 97 percent of its staff did not turn up for work.

*Sowetan 17/6/76*  
**Casual labour**

was employed for the day and all essential services were maintained. Rallies and marches held in other centres in the Border proceeded peacefully.

*Sowetan 17/6/76*  
**Barricades set up**

POLICE foot patrols were deployed at Ceres in the Boland yesterday after barricades were erected and private and police vehicles were stoned.

A police spokesman said tear smoke was used to disperse a group who were setting up barricades on the road between Ceres and Prince Alfred hamlet.

*Sowetan 17/6/76*  
**Major businesses hit**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions reported an almost 100 percent stayaway at major businesses and factories around Durban and Maritzburg. The Durban Regional Chamber of Commerce said attendance figures varied but were generally very low. — Sapa.

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ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela enters Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.



PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemedzihangani applauds Mrs Ellen Mothopeng at a rally in Jabulani, Soweto. INSERT: ANC supporters raise a "Kill the boere, kill the farmer" placard as Nelson Mandela arrives.



INSERT: ANC supporters raise a "Kill the boere, kill the farmer" placard as Nelson Mandela arrives. PICS: MBUZENI ZULU and PAT SEBOKO

# June 16 Sowetan 17/6/93 recalled

**T**HE 17TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1976 uprisings yesterday passed by in relative calm with millions of workers observing the day.

Rallies held throughout the country were attended by thousands of people and except for Bophuthatswana, where a rally was disrupted by police, no reports of serious violence had been received by late yesterday. Three people were injured in Vosloorus after a rally.

Eight people were, however, killed on the eve

of the anniversary in attacks on squatter camps in Spruitview, Soweto, and Bhambayi outside Durban. Three bodies were also found in Kaitlhong.

Calls for peace and unity of the oppressed dominated the rallies, some of which featured speakers from the African National Congress, Azanian Peoples Organisation and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania. Soweto, where the uprisings started, however, had three separate services by the three organisations.

See pages 2 and 3

# June 16 anniversary goes off quietly

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The 17th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto uprising went off quietly yesterday, marred by one death and four injuries, as hundreds of thousands of workers and pupils around the country stayed at home or attended rallies.

One man was killed in Durban

and a policeman injured. Four injuries were reported from the East Rand.

Peace worker Ms Cathy Jensen, who was stabbed in the leg in Katlehong while on duty, was among the injured. Three people were injured by gunfire at the Vosloorus stadium and were admitted to hospital. Both the ANC

and Inkatha held rallies in Vosloorus.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala said in Sebokeng that men, women and children needed to learn how to fire AK-47s to "defend the gains of the struggle".

"They talk of peace and practise war, they talk of negotiation

CT 17/6/93  
and fight us at night and during the day," he said.

Mr Gwala was driven from Sebokeng in a high-speed convoy to meetings in Vosloorus and Thembisa.

He said mass action and negotiations needed to be pursued simultaneously if liberation was to be achieved.



**'SELL-OUT'...** PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander attacked the ANC at a well-attended city PAC rally yesterday. He said the ANC's support for a transitional executive council was a "sell-out".

CT 17/6/93  
Picture: FANIE JASON  
(11A)

## ANC may drop 'kill' chant

THE controversial "Kill the farmer" chant was again led by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba in Soweto yesterday — but in Cape Town, ANC leaders stepped in to stop marchers using the chant.

Later, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela hinted the chant might be dropped. He told a Soweto crowd he would raise the matter in the the ANC national executive committee and discuss it

with ANC youth leaders.

"I understand your anger. You are justified," Mr Mandela said. "But we are building a nation."

There was need not to frighten "any community, in order to bring all other people into the peace process", Mr Mandela said.

Earlier, Mr Mokaba said the chant was "not in defiance of the leadership of the ANC. It is in support of the leadership".

In Cape Town about 150 marching Marconi Beam squatters heeded a call by their leaders to stop using the slogan.

Mr Jannie Momberg, ANC-aligned MP for Simon's Town, one of the march leaders, said it was significant that the crowd, who were singing the slogan in Xhosa, stopped immediately their leaders asked them to.

— Sapa, Staff Reporter

# Give money to Apla, PAC members told

#CT 17/6/93

Own Correspondent (119)

**UMTATA.** — Employed PAC members should donate R20 each month to Apla coffers to help it fight the liberation struggle without foreign funding, a Soweto Day rally here was told yesterday.

Speaking at the Ngangelizwe stadium here, PAC director of publicity and information Mr Waters Toboti said Apla was cash-strapped and "the Azanian masses should be armed to fight for their freedom, not talk about it at the World Trade Centre".

PAC volunteers went around the stadium collecting funds for Apla from the large crowd.

Relative calm across Reef

# Victory for the Soweto Day doves

Star 17/6/93



By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Peace monitors working closely with marshals and security forces took control of marches and rallies across the Reef yesterday, helping to ensure that commemorations of the 1976 Soweto student uprisings went off with little violence.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told the main rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium that multiparty negotiations would continue following Tuesday's walkout by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Mandela's speech was drowned out for a few minutes when a police helicopter rained down hundreds of pamphlets on the stadium appealing for information about an armed robbery on a bus company in February.

In Vosloorus, Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade leader Carter Ndlovu told supporters that talks were the only way of ensuring all South Africans would be heard.

At a Pan Africanist Congress rally at Jabulani, Soweto, pupils were urged to return to class.

Fan Africanist Students' Organisation publicity secretary Eddie Bosman said it was time that pupils realised

they needed education to prepare them for the future.

A common vein at rallies countrywide was the assumption — and declaration — that this would be the last June 16 commemoration under minority rule.

City centres were almost deserted as workers stayed away and attendance levels at some companies were virtually nil.

Police said four people were found dead in Katlehong yesterday, but they could not say whether the killings were linked to the commemoration rallies.

Although sporadic incidents of violence were reported, monitors breathed a sigh of relief as dusk fell with no major problems.

Township residents who did not attend the rallies took advantage of the day off to bask in the wintry sun.

While residents relaxed or marched, peace monitors scurried about comparing notes with the security forces.

"I am exhausted, but it will be worth it if the day continues like this," a monitor on the East Rand said late in the afternoon.

A statement by the Wits/Vaal Regional Peace Secretariat congratulated the organisers of rallies and those who attended them "for their contribution to peace".

In Vosloorus, monitors herded pockets of armed ANC supporters away from their IFP counterparts.

Vosloorus was tense after an ANC rally in the stadium when a group of ANC supporters from Katlehong refused to return home until the SADF had returned some traditional weapons confiscated earlier.

While the group, fully armed with weapons overlooked by the SADF, marched in a circle, monitors frantically negotiated with the security forces.

The monitors and SAP agreed the priority was to move the group because they were close to the IFP hostel. The subdued group eventually gave in to monitors' requests and headed for home.

Earlier, Katlehong local peace committee chairman Cathy Jensen was stabbed in the midst of a group of PAC supporters, the Wits/Vaal monitors said. She was not seriously injured.

● More reports — Page 3



Message of peace . . . Nelson Mandela greets supporters in Orlando yesterday at the ANC's main June 16 rally, a gathering of its youth league. He told the crowd that negotiations were the only way forward.

Picture: Joao Silva





Comrades in arms . . . ANC supporters from Katlehong circle impatiently outside the Vosloorus stadium while peace monitors negotiate with security forces for the return of their fellow marchers' weapons. Picture: Peter Mogaki

Star 17/6/93

## 'Negotiated holiday' for most workers

By Michael Sparks and Shirley Woodgate

Yesterday — Soweto Day — was either a day to stay off work, or a holiday negotiated between workers and their employers, organised commerce and industry said.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce spokesman Rick Beattie said the bulk of industry had negotiated June 16 as a public holiday, resulting in at-

tendance at work in the greater Johannesburg and Pretoria areas being close to zero.

Some companies paid their workers, while others adopted a "no work, no pay" policy.

SA Chamber of Business labour director Gerrie Bezuidenhout said most had negotiated the day as a holiday. There was no point in doing a survey on effectiveness of the stayaway.

Experts estimated that the cost to the Johannesburg area

of a total shutdown in production was about R16 million.

Putco said buses serving the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and parts of Natal came to a standstill.

Fanie van der Walt, of Johannesburg's municipal transport department, said all available staff had been recruited to drive buses, keeping about half on the roads.

Spoornet said trains were empty.

# Return to school, urges PAC

Star 17/6/93

Staff Reporters and  
Own Correspondent

Pupils were strongly urged to return to class at a PAC June 16 rally in Jabulani Soweto, yesterday.

Eddie Bosman, publicity secretary of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso), said it was time pupils realised they needed education to prepare themselves for the future.

He said the future democratic South Africa needed a society with efficient skills and professions.

"Paso therefore calls on students to stop using counter-productive sit-ins and boycotts no matter how good their intended actions were," he said.

The PAC's national organiser, Maxwell Nemasivhanani, called on people in the townships to be militant so that they could defend themselves.

At a rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto, ANC president Nelson Mandela told more than 40 000 supporters that multiparty negotiations would continue in spite of a walkout by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Referring to Cosag as the "six right-wing parties", Mandela yesterday accused representa-

tives of these organisations of attempting to wreck the multiparty talks as soon as they had started.

Speaking at a service in Vosloorus, IFP Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Carter Ndlovu said negotiations were the only lasting method of ensuring that all South Africans were given the opportunity to have their voices heard.

At the Vosloorus Stadium on the East Rand, fiery ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala emphasised the need for an end to the endemic violence and a speedy constitutional settlement.

He called for peace but said it was the inalienable right of everyone to defend himself when attacked.

Addressing about 200 people in Soshanguve, near Pretoria, South African National Civic Organisation president Moses Mayekiso said his organisation wanted local government elections to be held three months after the national elections on April 27 next year.

At Odendaalsrus in the western Transvaal, Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said there could never be justice in South Africa until white people paid for their sins "in any manner black people deemed fit".

# Soweto uprising anniversary passes quietly

THE 17th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto uprising passed quietly yesterday, marred by one death and four injuries related to commemorative events, as hundreds of thousands of workers and pupils around the country stayed home or attended rallies.

One man was killed near Durban after police returned an armed group's fire, and a policeman was injured when youths attacked a patrol.

On the East Rand three people were injured after gunfire was heard in the Vosloorus stadium. They were admitted to Natalspruit Hospital. Peace worker Cathy Jensen was stabbed in the leg in Katlehong

while on duty. *Blom 17/6/93*

ANC president Nelson Mandela told an estimated 40 000-strong crowd at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto that the negotiation process would not be held to ransom, Sapa reports.

He said the Concerned South Africans Group had attempted to wreck negotiations by walking out of talks on Tuesday. He warned that talks would continue with or without them, but urged them to return, saying all parties had to be prepared to compromise.

Mandela also told the crowd he would raise the issue of the controversial chant "kill the boer, kill the farmer" — which

echoed throughout the stadium — in the ANC national executive committee and discuss it with ANC youth leaders.

"I understand your anger. You are justified. But we are building a nation," he said, adding there was need not to frighten "any community, in order to bring all other people in the peace process".

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who announced the slogan had been ditched two days ago, at one point joined the crowd in the chant.

RAY HARTLEY and LLOYD COUTTS report that ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala told a rally that men, women

□ To Page 2

**Soweto** *Blom 17/6/93*

□ From Page 1

and children needed to learn how to fire AK-47s to "defend the gains of the struggle. Every young man, young woman must learn to shoot so that they can defend themselves."

"The constitution will not defend you, you must defend yourself. They talk of peace and practise war, they talk of negotiation and fight us at night and during the day. They accuse us of smuggling in arms. We'll get arms wherever we need to, to defend ourselves," he said.

Gwala spoke in Sebokeng and was then ferried in a high speed convoy to meetings in the East Rand townships of Vosloorus and Tembisa. He repeated a call by Mandela for the voting age to be reduced to 14 to accommodate the youth.

"We will make apartheid surrender on the battlefields of Sebokeng, Thokoza, Vosloorus, you name it," he said, adding that mass action and negotiations needed to be pursued simultaneously if liberation was to be achieved.

Gwala said he had been wrongly accused of having a hit list of Inkatha leaders. "Apartheid is at the top of my hitlist," he said.

A tense situation in Vosloorus — where both the ANC and Inkatha held rallies — was defused by peace secretariat officials, who ensured that crowds of heavily armed members of both organisations were kept apart. A group of ANC supporters armed with axes, knives and sharpened metal sticks protested outside Vosloorus stadium after SADF soldiers removed weapons from some ANC members, but the group dispersed after an ANC official intervened.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that in Ceres rubber bullets and tearsmoke were used during battles between police and rowdy crowds. A police spokesman said no injuries were reported.

In Mbekweni near Stellenbosch a vehicle was set alight and police were stoned.

Commemorations in the Free State appeared to have gone off peacefully. Soweto Day was commemorated by political groupings ranging from Inkatha

and the ANC to the PAC and Azapo. At a rally in Odenaalstrus, Azapo publicity secretary Gomolemo Mokai said there could never be justice in SA until white people paid for their sins in any manner black people deemed fit.

"It's about time that other people lose their limbs because that is divine justice... There can never be justice until white people pay for their sins in any manner black people deem fit," he told cheering supporters.

THEO RAWANA reports that the gyrating processions to the Orlando stadium and Jabulani amphitheatre began early in the morning through Soweto. Some passed along Mahalefele Road in Dube, where thousands of pupils marched on June 16 1976 and where the first shots that day were fired.

There were long intervals between trains, taxis were sporadic and buses were nowhere to be seen in the township. Business came to a standstill with banks, filling stations and shops closed.

For some it was just a day off. Said one Soweto man: "It is a holiday like any other. The children gave us a day off, so we took it. Don't go asking me what it means."

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that Putco lost about R1m in revenue as an estimated 99% stayaway by black workers on the Reef hit bus commuter numbers. A spokesman said the company had budgeted for this. The Johannesburg transportation directorate was able to run only slightly more than half its normal number of buses.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce said about 80% of workers in Johannesburg enjoyed June 16 as a paid holiday in terms of Industrial Council agreements.

De Beers regarded June 16 as "a NUM and company negotiated paid mine holiday" and did not expect union members at work. One of its mines, Venetta, treated the day as an unpaid holiday as the NUM had not concluded recognition negotiations with the mine. Gengold reported absenteeism levels on some of its mines that were lower than on normal working days.

● Pictures: Pages 2 and 3

Time is running out for a concerted effort to lift the remaining American sanctions

Steer 17/16/93

# Forces must unite on US front

**W**HILE the principal parties in Kempton Park labour to forge a settlement, disturbing signs are emerging that the lack of an equivalent degree of co-operation here may be undermining their efforts to launch a prosperous new South Africa.

When the negotiators agree on the fundamentals of the transition — perhaps within weeks — they, and especially ANC leader Nelson Mandela, are expected to issue a call to America and the rest of the world to lift remaining sanctions and to invest in South Africa.

That may happen here when President Clinton hangs the Philadelphia Liberty Medal on F W de Klerk and Mandela.

Clinton is expected to respond to the South African appeal by pledging some R320 million in extra aid, calling for the abolition of the remaining 166 sanctions measures at city, state and national level and urging American businessmen to invest.

For a moment, South Africa will hold a bit of the international stage. It will be a brief moment.

America does not have a long attention span for obscure corners of the universe. Nor — especially now — has it money to spare.

Like a 30-second TV ad, the impact of that moment will have to be great if it is to grab the attention of the hundreds of corpo-

**Peter Fabricius**  
IN WASHINGTON



rate executives and portfolio managers responsible for investment and the hundreds of legislators at all levels of government who have the power to repeal sanction measures still in place.

At that critical point, South Africa will have to speak with one clear, unambiguous and unified voice if it wishes to be heard.

Among lower-level legislators there is enormous inertia, indifference and just plain ignorance to be overcome.

After Namibia became independent in March 1990, it took years for many to lift their sanctions. To this day, a few have still not done so and in Pennsylvania last week a state legislator proposed new legislation to impose sanctions on South Africa and Namibia.

Although these measures often remain in place only through inertia, they are nonetheless real. They have the power to hurt South Africa, barring governments at all levels from investing in any companies and banks which do business with South Africa.

Those seeking a speedy end to sanctions and a quick injection of

funds to give transitional South Africa a jump start are very aware of the difficulties they face.

They are planning major campaigns to exploit the moment and reach out to everyone with the power to invest and lift sanctions.

Yet it seems — with perhaps just weeks to go — that divisions and confusion that could squander the big moment are setting in.

The South African embassy here has announced that it will launch a major drive across America to inform legislators at all levels that the all-clear has been given to re-invest in South Africa.

Other groups with the same purpose are beginning to emerge but there is no sign of co-ordination of effort.

In Washington, the SA-America Chamber of Commerce was recently formed by former SA Foundation representative John Chettle and former Ford executive Wayne Fredericks.

Almost immediately, Dan O'Flaherty of the National Foreign Trade Council established the US-SA Business Council with the same goal.

Now the two bodies are sniping at each other, each claiming sole rights to lead the charge for the lifting of sanctions.

The Chamber of Commerce claims to be the more authentic institution because it has a letter

from Mandela giving his blessing to the enterprise and has the backing of other credible groups.

Members of the two bodies are also taking swipes at the SA embassy, accusing it of failing to take sides to settle the squabble.

Meanwhile, anti-apartheid groups dismiss all three efforts as lacking credibility because they are being undertaken by those who opposed sanctions even in the days of full-blown apartheid.

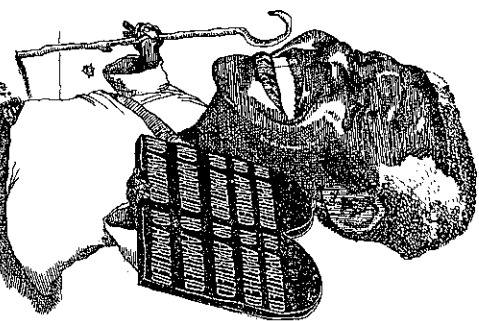
Other similar, business-oriented groups are popping up on the west coast and the midwest.

The SA embassy is trying to co-ordinate the efforts but there is no evidence it is succeeding.

In the anti-apartheid camp, there is also some division and confusion. For one thing, some of its members accuse Mandela of being too free with his letters of endorsement to bodies like the SA-America Chamber of Commerce.

Some members of the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington and Black state legislators elsewhere seem reluctant to take their cue from the ANC and are threatening to maintain sanctions until they feel satisfied that change in South Africa is truly irreversible.

Some may have been influenced by the PAC, which is queering the pitch by demanding that sanctions remain until a constituent assem-



Testing time... Nelson Mandela has a brief moment to make a big impact.

Anti-apartheid groups also blame the ANC for adding to the confusion by failing to project a consistent line on what it wants to happen when the transitional executive council is up and running.

They point out that last November the ANC drafted "guiding principles" which stipulated that foreign investors would have to fulfil certain conditions, such as implementing affirmative action.

Since then, some ANC spokesmen have suggested that this policy may have changed and that the organisation would now welcome any investment.

Certainly that is the approach which influential voices here are pushing.

This week, at a Carnegie Endowment for Peace discussion, former assistant secretary of state for Africa Herman Cohen urged his successor George Moose to resist any "zealous" attempts to make investment conditional.

"That is the way to get no investment at all," he warned.

Time is running out for the organisation of a clear and concerted effort to banish the vestiges of sanctions and inspire life-giving investment.

"This is going to be a big moment. You would think that the South African parties involved would take the trouble to rehearse it before they go on stage," remarked one South Africa-watcher.

What is required now is a quick "Codea" to be called here — either by local South Africans or, if they cannot agree, by their principals back home.

This conference must agree on what exactly is to happen and who is to do it when the call for an end to sanctions is made.

If South Africans can agree to transform an apartheid state into a democracy, they can surely agree on a strategy to sell the idea abroad.

They will have to stand together if they hope to make headway in an indifferent world. □

Star 17/6/93

## LP honours

### Soweto Day

The Labour Party, citing June 16 commemorations, walked out of parliamentary proceedings yesterday. LP chief whip Jacobus Oosthuizen announced the exodus immediately after noting his party's opposition to a motion proposing the State President's new salary and allowances. (11A)

Star 17/6/93  
**Soweto Day relatively calm**

Staff Reporters

(11A)

Despite some incidents of violence, countrywide June 16 commemorations passed peacefully yesterday as workers, students and pupils stayed home or attended rallies. (216)

At least one person was killed and a policeman hurt in Natal violence linked to Soweto Day remembrances. Police found four bodies in Katlehong and the Zonk'iZizwe squatter camp.

On the volatile East Rand, rallies passed relatively peacefully. But in one incident, Katlehong's local peace committee chairman Cathy Jensen was stabbed in the groin. (218)

At least four people were injured and taken to Natalspruit Hospital during a commemoration service at Vosloorus stadium. Three of the injured sustained gunshot wounds.

Also in Vosloorus, a group of youths set a minibus alight.

Five people were wounded after a Soweto Day rally in Ipe-

legeng in the western Transvaal when gunmen opened fire on them from inside a shop. Seven people were arrested.

A man was killed in Bham-bayi shack settlement in Inanda township north of Durban when police came across a group of armed men who fled, firing shots. Police returned the fire, killing one man.

A policeman was injured in Inanda when a patrol was attacked by youths who had erected street barricades.

There were incidents in Cape Town when SA Democratic Teachers' Union members and police clashed. A number of arrests took place.

There were pitched battles between police and protesting crowds in Ceres in the Boland, but the situation in the rest of the western and eastern Cape was relatively quiet.

Several stoning incidents and petrol bombings were reported by police in Kimberley and surrounding areas.

# 'Kill Boer' chant still ringing out

By Bronwyn Wilkinson  
and Political Staff

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba led thousands of cheering supporters in the infamous "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant yesterday, declaring he had never dropped the war cry and never would.

The controversial chant had the ANC divided at Soweto Day rallies. Some speakers scurried to drop the chant, changing it for more amiable slogans or ordering their supporters not to even mention Boers or farmers.

But Mokaba was unrepentant and refused to budge on the issue, despite reports that he told a rally in the northern Transvaal on Monday he would abandon the ominous slogan.

Mokaba told the ANC Youth League rally at Orlando Stadium that reports he had dropped the chant for the more amiable "Freedom in Mandela's time" were propaganda.

To roars of approval and the clatter of gunfire from the crowd, Mokaba yelled: "We will continue to defy the enemy. They will never teach us what to sing. They will never teach us how to sing."

Mokaba was criticised for the slogan when farm attacks rose sharply after he chanted it at remembrance rallies in April for slain SACP chief Chris Hani.

Mokaba explained yesterday that the gentler chant of "Freedom in Mandela's time" was not a replacement for the militant

war cry — it just expressed one of the aims of his organisation.

When told that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was about to enter the stadium, Mokaba declared: "I want us to indicate our defiance by welcoming our president with our chant."

Starting to toyi-toyi on stage, Mokaba prompted "left, right", and switched his microphone off, stopping short of chanting over the public address system himself. The fired-up crowd continued the chant as Mandela walked around the stadium.

Visibly uncomfortable with the booming slogan around him, Mandela said he understood the anger of the youths and said ANC leaders would make a decision on the matter.

ANC NEC member Patrick "Terror" Lekota urged supporters of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance at a rally in Durban to drop the chant as the ANC had to prove its commitment to reconciliation and unity.

In Cape Town, ANC officials ordered crowds to stop when they spontaneously broke into the chant. The crowds obeyed immediately.

ANC southern Natal information chief Sbu Ndebele yesterday declared the ANC's new chant for the elections to be "Recruit the farmer, recruit the Boer". He was apparently countering another version introduced by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi earlier this week — "We love the farmer, we love the Boer".

# Mokaba leads 'kill the boer' chant again



**THE SLOGAN:** During a June 16 rally yesterday, young ANC supporters at Orlando Stadium in Soweto display the chant which is causing all the trouble.

Political Staff and Sapa

MILITANT ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba led thousands of supporters in the infamous "kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant at a Soweto Day rally, declaring he had never dropped the warcry and never would.

But ANC president Nelson Mandela later told the crowd at Orlando Stadium that the chant might be dropped. He said he would raise the matter in the ANC national executive committee and discuss it with ANC youth leaders.

"I understand your anger. You are justified. But we are building a nation," he said, adding that there was no need to frighten "any community in order to bring all other people into the peace process".

Earlier when Mr Nelson Mandela was about to enter the stadium, Mr Mokaba declared: "I want us to indicate our defiance by welcoming our president with our chant."

He began to toyi-toyi on stage, say-

ing "left, right". The crowd rose, toyi-toyed in unison, and roared "kill the boer, kill the farmer" as Mr Mandela walked around the stadium with his fist in the air.

If Mr Mandela felt uncomfortable with the slogan, he did not show it. He ignored it, smiled calmly at his supporters and punched the air with his fist.

Before Mr Mandela's appearance, Mr Mokaba dismissed as "propaganda" reports that he had dropped the chant for the more amiable "freedom in Mandela's time".

As the crowd roared its approval and gunfire was heard, he yelled: "We will continue to defy the enemy. They will never teach us what to sing ..."

He had never changed the chant and if the government expected him to change it "they can go to hell".

If he was arrested for inciting racism or violence he would go to court chanting and he would chant inside that court.



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**I**T HAD its comic moments — such as Amichand Rajbansi's interventions — and was clumsily handled all round. But the initiative by Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group allies at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday signals a crucial — and possibly decisive — test of strength between the right and the ad hoc ANC/NP partnership.

Inkatha and the rest of Cosag, who orchestrated the exercise between themselves, can be thankful that finesse and slick presentation is not a prerequisite for success.

As DP MP Colin Eglin rather brutally pointed out, the Inkatha resolution to the multiparty talks effectively demanded that the negotiating council halt debate on constitutional principles and procedures until those procedures and principles have been satisfactorily dealt with. Inkatha's proposal interrupted debate on those very issues — it was the next item on the agenda.

But the conundrum goes even deeper, for the ANC has made substantial concessions to the Inkatha position. These emerged publicly last month in the party's submission to the constitutional technical committee at the talks. The ANC accepted that regional governments should have "original powers" — the essence of federalism.

**I**n addition, the ANC accepted that the multiparty conference rather than an elected constituent assembly should have the task of determining the powers, functions and boundaries of regions. And various technical committees have been for the past few weeks devising details for the negotiators to debate.

The significance of the ANC concession was illustrated by the response of Inkatha strategist Walter Felgate. "Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position," he told Business Day at the time. His only reservation was that Inkatha was unwilling to take it on faith. He said it had to be "written in stone" to prevent the ANC changing its mind at a later stage — not an unexpected reservation, given the depths of distrust between the two

# Cosag filibuster sets the scene for a battle of wills

Biday 17/6/93

ALAN FINE

parties, and Inkatha would be entitled to ask for guarantees.

But this is hardly sufficient to justify Tuesday's events. And while the ANC position leaves much room for debate on detail, that debate has hardly begun. None of which is sufficient to explain Tuesday's events.

One possibility is that not all Inkatha strategists — including Joe Matthews who has partly usurped Felgate's central role and was a prominent participant in Tuesday's debate — take Felgate's view, though it appears logical and clear.

The Inkatha resolution also mentions the need for a constitutional process which would permit "ground-up democracy building". This is a bit rich coming from a party where even the most minor tactical decisions have to be okayed by the chief minister's office in Ulundi. What it appears to refer to specifically, though, is the right of regions to adopt different regional constitutions to suit their own needs — such as the KwaZulu/Natal proposal. The constitution-makers call this concept "asymmetry". While Inkatha's main negotiating partners have not explicitly agreed to this, indications are that it would not be ruled out provided those regional constitutions were in line with centrally determined norms on democracy and human rights.



Inkatha negotiators Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose.

All this leaves the impression that, whatever the motives of Inkatha and its Cosag allies, Tuesday's pretext was a fairly flimsy and clumsily devised one. Nevertheless, unless one assumes it was done out of sheer bloodmindedness, there must be some explanation behind the orchestrated confrontation.

The explanation lies, perhaps, in certain passages from the KwaZulu position statement delivered by Ben Ngubane at Kempton Park on Tuesday, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's follow-up statement yesterday.

The KwaZulu government, said Ngubane, "has reached the end of the road in tolerating the manipulation of this process". Added Buthelezi: "The IFP and the KwaZulu government drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process."

In other words, the ANC and NP continue to drive the process. But Cosag, led by Inkatha, see themselves as equal partners unwilling to accept whatever bones are tossed their way in response to their

complaints.

The ANC/NP dominance of the process is symbolised by the election date issue, and that is why the Cosag group has linked it to the filibustering campaign Ngubane warned was about to begin.

There is logic in the Cosag position that an election cannot be held until the process leading up to it, and a post-election constitution, have been finalised.


Pressure for the firm setting of an election date arose because of the ANC's own constituency problems, disenchantment at the slow pace of negotiations which was exacerbated by Chris Hani's assassination. While there may have been a point in setting an informal target date, the ANC has made a fetish of it — inviting Cosag to make it a target of a filibuster. The election date issue could itself delay the election.

In judging the likely outcome of this test of strength, it can be argued that Cosag parties, while important to a settlement, are ultimately dispensable, even though the costs would be huge in some cases.

The test of this at the talks is the "sufficient consensus" definition. That is why Cosag attempted to put it to the test on Tuesday. It wants to know whether it has the clout to push through an issue or, failing that, to block one. In reality, "sufficient consensus" has no technical definition. It is determined by the prevailing balance of power.

**I**n weeks to come, the smooth negotiators will become the key figures: the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and government's Roelf Meyer on the one hand, and Inkatha's Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager on the other. To them, the future must already be fairly clear — multiparty technical committees have already caught its essence.

They will have to flesh out the detail and then sell it to their less accommodating leaders and/or supporters. This is crucial because the one factor that could put the process in jeopardy is a misreading on the part of those leaders and supporters of their negotiating strength and how far they can push their opponents.



A group of ANC supporters protest against the confiscation of outside Vosloorus Stadium on the East Rand, soon after ANC addressed a June 16 rally.

## Inkatha advisers 'obstruct agreement on federalism'

31 Day 17/6/93

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki yesterday blamed Inkatha's American constitutional advisers for obstructing agreement over the degree of federalism to be contained in a new constitution.

In Washington for talks with the Clinton administration and Congress, Mbeki said the ANC wanted real power to be devolved to elected regional assemblies, but was not prepared to see SA turned into a federation of sovereign entities. (S) (U) (A) (R)

"Thanks to the advice Inkatha gets from white American academics, it is proposing to carve up the country, with each region drafting its own constitution and leaving the central government those powers it doesn't want," Mbeki, who appeared to be referring principally to Prof Alfred Blaustein, said this approach was based on a "historical fiction".

Inkatha and its allies were digging in their heels over the issue as "they don't believe they have the strength to play an important role in central government after elections," he said.

However, Mbeki stressed that the ANC recognised the need for "strong regional governments".

The ANC was ready to discuss the division of powers — which should be exercised "concurrently" by the centre and the regions. He predicted the end result would be a united SA with "federal elements".

# Inkatha and allies to return to talks

Biday

17/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Concerned South Africans Group, which staged a walkout of constitutional negotiations on Tuesday, held a series of meetings yesterday to devise a strategy for today's talks.

All six parties that walked out 10 minutes before the end of Tuesday's session have said they would be back at the talks today. But it "would not be plain sailing for the ANC/NP alliance", one Inkatha source said.

A senior government source said its negotiators would not meet Inkatha or KwaZulu delegates in bilateral meetings unless their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was present. This was because assurances that federal principles were still firmly on the table had not reached "the Inkatha strategist and decision-maker".

At Tuesday's talks it was evident that the Inkatha negotiators were under regular and direct instructions from Ulundi.

The Cosag group met last night after an earlier Inkatha executive meeting. Buthelezi also summoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a special meeting.

In a statement Buthelezi said the Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations "drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process of constitutional development". Millions of South Africans did not want to see the negotiations going on for another six years.

He claimed that the constitutional principles under consideration at the talks "will be incompatible with a true federation", with all technical committee reports centred on an interim constitution and a constituent assembly. This process of establishing a final constitution would be

□ To Page 2

## Talks

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□ From Page 1

completed only by 1999.

The ANC and government countered this, saying they had informally agreed that the interim phase would last only until April 1996 at the outside.

Buthelezi claimed the future form of state and a federal option had been sidelined by the negotiating council; Inkatha wanted this addressed immediately. Inkatha also wanted the council to consider a single phase transition where the final con-

stitution was negotiated in the current forum and not finalised by an elected body. He said the Inkatha alternative would finalise the constitutional process by 1994.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and DP negotiator Colin Eglin said there was no reason for Cosag members to walk out. It was impractical to negotiate a form of state if they would not discuss constitutional principles.

● See Page 6

# Mandela set to meet Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are expected to come face to face publicly for the first time in more than two years at a dinner here tonight. A representative of their parties will receive the first Africa Peace Award.

Launched by the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (Accord) and the Africa Leadership Forum, the award will go to the community of Mpumalanga outside here.

# 'ANC must accept blame for abuses'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC officials who violated the fundamental assumptions of the Geneva Convention — which the ANC adopted in 1980 — should be disqualified from leadership roles in the armed forces in future, a senior ANC official said yesterday.

ANC national executive committee member and human rights expert Profes-

sor Kader Asmal told the Motsuenyane commission investigating abuses in ANC camps the ANC was bound by the convention's moral assumptions, though detainees in ANC camps did not qualify as political prisoners.

He said the ANC leadership would have to accept collective responsibility for abuses if these were found to be "systematic, persistent and large-scale".

A clause in the ANC's freedom charter opposing detention without trial did not apply to the ANC in exile, as the document was "a people's charter for a future government". (11A) CT 18/6/93

ANC soldiers who disobeyed orders to engage Unita in Angola and those who ignored subsequent instructions to hand over their arms were mutineers in terms of international law, he said.

By CHRIS LOUW

IN a dramatic about-turn, the National Party has dropped its demand that permanent power-sharing be entrenched as a constitutional principle.

Instead, it seems poised to accept the African National Congress' proposal of a coalition government for a limited period, followed by a fully democratic dispensation.

Tuesday's walk-out by homeland and white rightwing delegates overshadowed probably the most far-reaching concession to be made by the government, when it dropped the key principle on which its own constitutional proposals were based.

In the proposals submitted to the Multiparty Negotiations Process, the government had insisted that parties in a future government be represented in the executive "relative to their representation in the legislature". In practice, this would have meant that

# Government changes tune on power-sharing

cabinet posts would have been guaranteed for smaller parties in proportion to their numbers in the national assembly, establishing a coalition government as a permanent fixture on the political scene.

However, when general constitutional principles were debated by the negotiating council this week, the government did not insist on inserting its power-sharing proviso.

The technical committee dealing with constitutional affairs has been sent back four times by the negotiating council to redraft its report. Although a final decision on the draft principles has still to be taken, indications are that the government has

VIA  
W/Mail 18/16-24/16/93  
finally aborted its efforts to have power-sharing — or a veto right for minorities — permanently entrenched in the constitution. It is believed that the concession followed a confidential meeting last week between government and a senior ANC delegation. The government's concession does not imply that it is about to give up power. Rather, it represents a change of strategy.

Issues like the powers and functions of the head of state and the executive government during the transition still have to be negotiated. The notion of an executive composed of representatives of the political parties emerging from the elections

with significant support, for a limited period, will probably be recommended to the negotiating forum by the negotiating council.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the National Party have already agreed on a coalition government to lead South Africa through the transition to democracy. In terms of its promises to its constituencies, the NP will sell this arrangement as "power-sharing", while the ANC will prefer to term it a "government of national unity".

In reality, the agreement represents the implementation of the "sunset clauses" proposed by the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo last year as a mechanism to break the deadlock in the negotiations.

●See Phillip van Niekerk's column on PAGE 15.

# Something fishy about Thebe's deal

**A** N outcry by African National Congress activists in the western Cape prevented the Thebe Investment Corporation — the ANC's controversial investment arm — from concluding a lucrative fishing deal in a joint venture with a big fishing company.

The *Weekly Mail* has learnt that in September last year, Thebe, with Viking Fishing — one of the biggest fishing companies in the country — applied for a quota of 2 900 tons of hake.

When word got out about the application, Thebe found itself on a collision course with the ANC in the western Cape and the West Coast fisherfolk the ANC has had much success in organising. After "passionate appeals" from the ANC's western Cape regional office, Thebe withdrew its application.

Thebe managing director Vusi Khanyile this week said his company "withdrew in favour of other black companies who had also applied for quotas", not because of pressure from the ANC.

At Thebe's first press conference this week, called to defend the company and explain its aims, he said: "We would like to avoid a situation where we create tension."

However, in an interview, ANC western Cape regional chairman Willie Hofmeyr said his office had found itself in an "anomalous situation" when it found out about Thebe's application.

The regional office, through the work of ANC member Johnny Issel who is doing participatory research into the fishing industry, had been assisting West Coast fishing communities to secure quotas.

"Thebe didn't know they would end up competing with community quotas," said Hofmeyr. This was brought to Thebe's attention through the ANC's head office, he said. The company then withdrew its application because "Thebe sees its role as empowering communities", he said.

ANC sources in the western Cape, however, said "intense and passionate appeals were made by the region to the head office. After a number of tense meetings, Thebe's bid was withdrawn".

ANC MP Jannie Momberg said he had taken two representatives of the fishing industry — whom he would not name — to the ANC's head office in Johannesburg in December 1991, before he left the Democratic Party to join the ANC.

"They wanted the ANC to become involved in fishing quotas. Thebe's involvement came out of this," said Momberg. "I subsequently heard that Thebe's application for quotas

*The ANC's investment arm, already in hot water about a publishing deal with Macmillan Boleswa, was also involved in a controversial attempt to get into the fishing industry.*

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

caused unhappiness."

The Quota Board — which allocates fish available for catching — is swathed in controversy. It has long been accused of favouring big fishing companies and only recently fishing communities and black-owned companies have started applying for and receiving quotas.

Meanwhile, at this week's press conference, Khanyile said Thebe had never — and would never — act as a conduit for ANC funds.

Neither did it "wave a political flag" as a way of securing preferential contracts, he said. "Businesses from all over the world approach the ANC directly. The bulk of Thebe's funding has come from commercial loans." He insisted: "We have no direct relation with the ANC. Board members (who are also members of the ANC) sit as individuals."

Thebe's only current shareholder is the Batho-Batho Trust, of which Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are the major trustees. Thebe will not reveal how much the trust has invested in the company — lawyer Ismail Ayob calls it a "modest sum". Any profits Batho made from Thebe would be ploughed into community projects.

Once Thebe had established a good track record, its managers planned to float it on the stock exchange and would invite the public to invest.

At the press conference, Khanyile introduced the corporation, its board members, shareholders and various subsidiaries.

These companies are an import/export company called Thebe Trading (it would not operate until sanctions were lifted, said general manager Litha Nyhonyha); property companies Dakawa, Yesive and Thebe Properties; Oriole Travel; Sizwe Car Hire; Fumo Trucking (which undertakes trucking in the southern African region); Movement Marketing (the ANC's memorabilia and marketing arm); the Bhekisizwe Computer Company (through which Digital will market its computer ware); and the National Printing Trust.



Vusi Khanyile



# Azapo has 'no preoccupation' with election

Star 8/6/93  
11A

## ELECTION COUNTDOWN



Although the Azanian People's Organisation is not yet certain whether it will contest the election, it is still preparing for it, writes Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

LYBON Tiyani Mabasa's name may not be one of the most readily recognisable in certain circles in the country, but the long-serving Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) leader takes solace in the knowledge that among what he calls "the oppressed and exploited", his name does more than just ring a bell.

Mabasa, like many other political activists in the country in the 1970s and the 1980s, has seen the inside of prison walls more times than he cares to remember, but he remains doggedly committed to the philosophy of Black Consciousness (BC) which he first embraced years ago as a young man.

A former president of Azapo, Mabasa has seen some of his once-close comrades and associates leaving the BC fold to join organisations like the ANC and its allies — many of whom have since risen to positions of authority in those organisations — but his faith in BC remains as unshakeable now as it was before Steve Biko's death in 1977.

And like his comrades in Azapo, Mabasa is very sceptical of the multi-party negotiations taking place at the World Trade Centre (WTC), and calls some of those deliberating on the country's future in that forum nothing but "puppets and stooges of the regime".

But Mabasa and his colleagues have been keeping a watchful eye on the goings-on at the WTC, and they know that the negotiators have set the date of country's first all-in election for April 27 next year.

Will they participate in the election?

Mabasa, now Azapo's deputy secretary-general, hesitates. His president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, recently told a press conference in Johannesburg that the question of elections "does not arise" for Azapo.

But two weeks later, does that question still "not arise"?

Azapo, Mabasa says, has no "preoccupation with an election being an instrument for the transfer of power".

However, the organisation will contest the election if it were satisfied that an elected constituent assembly would not be "constrained" by constitutional principles still to be adopted by negotiators at the WTC.

"As an organisation, we would not fear that our people would not support us in an election, but we would also not want our people to be dragged into an election if that election will not deliver," he says.

And so one thing is estab-

lished: Azapo's participation in the election will depend on "whether the WTC will not completely emasculate an elected constituent assembly". Azapo's participation, says Mabasa, might just "save South Africa from heading for a neo-colonial system".

But has Azapo already started preparing for the election?

Yes, says Mabasa. Like other organisations and parties, Azapo has begun mobilising people throughout the country and telling them about its position on the election. It has also been conducting voter-education seminars and has participated in other programmes dealing with elections.

Azapo's main handicap, Mabasa says, is its lack of funds. He says Azapo, probably the poorest national political organisation in the country, has always prided itself in its record of never having been "beggars" abroad. However, the organisation has no illusion about the role money can play in an election.

"Money plays a major role in influencing, controlling and directing the manner in which elections are held and who wins them. Between you and me, only rich people win elections in America, for instance," he says.

Mabasa says the obvious — that Azapo has no money — and reveals that he is not at all confident about the organisation's prospects of raising money for the election.

### Confiscated

Azapo, he says, will rely on its members and supporters for its election budget, and expects to collect about R1 million from them.

The Government, says Mabasa, confiscated R1 million and assets worth another R1 million from the Black People's Convention and other BC groupings when they were banned in 1977, and Azapo will want the money returned to it. In addition,

Azapo will also demand that Pretoria gives it money from the public purse to enable it to contest the election effectively.

And like leaders of the other organisations, Mabasa is confident Azapo will do "very well" in the election. He says the majority of black South Africans will vote for Azapo, and expects the organisation to poll not less than five percent of the white vote.

For Azapo, says Mabasa, the issues on which the election will be fought are repossession of the land by blacks, redistribution of wealth, and abandonment of racism and all forms of discrimination. □



Lybon Tiyani Mabasa . . . he remains committed to the philosophy of Black Consciousness.



# ANC defends record on human rights

(11A)

ARC 18.5/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The "humanism" of late ANC president Oliver Tambo led to the organisation signing the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal told a commission of inquiry.

Responding to a question by ANC counsel Mr Saraj Desai at the Motuenyane Commission of Inquiry yesterday, Professor Asmal said the ANC was the only liberation movement with a code of conduct for its forces.

The commission is investigating alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps in exile.

Professor Kasmal outlined the ANC's involvement in human rights issues since World War 2. He indicated he was happy that the ANC had set up its own inquiry into alleged abuses of human rights.

Earlier Mr Basil "Jomo Sono" Mavuso, a bodyguard of Mr Tambo and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, refuted allegations that he was involved in the torture or maltreatment of ANC detainees.

The commission concludes its evidence today.

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Of particular interest among the technical reports is a draft transitional constitution (not least in view of President FW de Klerk's remarks on limiting the power of the new president), which would clear the way for setting up a Transitional Executive Council and the removal of remaining sanctions against SA.

The following is the list of proposed principles dealing with the allocation of powers to different levels of government, which the 26 parties seem likely to adopt by "sufficient consensus," no doubt with some amendment:

- Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels;
- Democratic representation at each level, with each having appropriate and adequate legislative and executive powers to enable them to function effectively;
- The powers and functions of each level of government shall be defined in the constitution. Amendments to the constitution which alter the powers, boundaries, functions or institutions of regions shall require the approval of a specified majority of the legislatures of the regions. If the amendment concerns specific regions only, the approval of the legislatures of such regions will also be needed;
- The powers and functions of each level of government may include exclusive and concurrent powers, as well as the power to perform functions for other levels on an agency or delegation basis;
- Each level shall have fiscal powers which will be defined in the constitution;
- A financial and fiscal commission, with representatives of each region, shall be constituted to advise the national government on the distribution of resources; and
- Fiscal and financial allocations by national government to regional governments shall be made on an equitable basis, taking into account the national interest, regional disparities, and so on.

Criteria for allocating powers to the centre and regions are also outlined. Thus, the level at which there is most control over the quality and delivery of services should be responsible for those services. The national government shall not exercise its powers so as to encroach on the territorial, functional or institutional integrity of the regions. In the event of a dispute over legislative powers allocated concurrently to both levels, precedence is given to central government.

The committee recommends that where it is necessary for the maintenance of national standards, economic unity, national security or the prevention of action by one region which is prejudicial to the interests of another region or the country, "the constitution shall empower the national government to intervene through legislation or such other steps as may be defined in the constitution."

Essential constitutional principles shall apply to all organs and levels of government.

Where it is necessary for SA to speak with one voice, or to act as a single entity, powers should be allocated to the national government.

Promotion of inter-regional commerce and protection of the common market in mobility of goods, services, capital and labour should be central powers, says the committee.

Regional governments, says the committee, shall have the powers — exclusively or concurrently with the centre — as may be necessary, for, among other things, regional planning and development, and the delivery of services and aspects of health, welfare and education.

The issue of "residual" powers (those not specifically allocated in the constitution) is likely to be hotly contested at this week's meeting, due to kick off as the FM went to press.

A novel approach floated by Inkatha concerns regional "asymmetry," which amounts to a bid to secure more or different powers for KwaNatal.

While it does not at this stage put forward proposals on the idea, the technical committee observes that "it stands to reason" that a measure of geographical and demographic asymmetry will exist among the regions (on which a boundary demarcation commission last week began its work).

The committee also says there can be asymmetry in the allocation of powers and functions, adding that submissions by parties suggest that regions may require different powers and functions depending on location, the extent of development and even population make-up.

## THE TALKS FM 18/6/93

### Regional crunch

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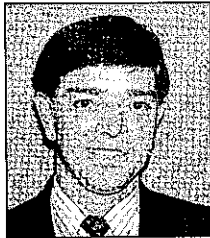
The powers of regional government and the question of self-determination were expected to dominate this week's meeting of the multi-party negotiating council at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre.

The tenor of this debate should signal whether or not the CP will elect to stay in the process or pull out altogether if, as is likely, its proposal for an independent Afrikaner state in a confederal system is rejected. The meeting should also give an idea of whether Inkatha (and Bophuthatswana) believes that the kind of regional powers so far set out will satisfy its muscular federalist demands.

Among other matters to be taken further are: violence (including a possible PAC/government report back); the proposed April 27 general election date; and reports of the technical committees.

# New hopes and old moulds

11A 2001 FM 18/6/93



**Pieter Joubert is professor of political science at Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education**

**Political parties** are keen to canvass maximum support in the next general election but, it seems, that as a result of historical realities, they have for too long focused selectively on the needs of specific ethnic groups at certain levels of society. Marketing their policies among other communities and social levels will be problematic.

So it follows that such an historically focused target-awareness — their serving only a specific electorate — could be reflected in the electoral achievement of most of the parties.

When the NP won the 1948 general election under the banner of an apartheid party, it was successful mainly because of the support of the large, poor-white labourer class of the time. It was the blue-collar white and mainly rural Afrikaner who put the NP in power.

The support base of the NP has shown a visible shift. During the last two elections (1987 and 1989), more than half of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites voted for the NP. The NP had thus developed into a predominantly white, middle-class party. The political gap left in the rural areas by this shifting support base has gradually been filled by the HNP (1969), the CP (1982) and the AVU (1992).

The NP's shifting class support base is relevant to all parties contesting the coming general election.

Though there are now superficial signs of multi-ethnic party political membership (for example, white ANC and IFP members, black NP and DP members), most political

parties have a traditionally established class-linked support base, which will be hard to change in the short term.

The NP will have to shake off its apartheid image among the majority of blacks. This is especially true seeing as most blacks see themselves (as a result of the deteriorating economy) as being poor and constituting an underclass — a situation which, according to the ANC, they ascribe to the apartheid era.

Against this background, it is obvious that the NP will have to make an enormous effort to boost its present 7% of black support (according to opinion polls) to a significant double-digit figure before the election.

The ANC, in turn, is entering the fray as the black liberation party. It is aimed at the 12m-plus blacks who will vote for the first time. For this purpose, the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance can enter the election effectively on three fronts:

□ The ANC leadership can offer political rhetoric that will satisfy the aspirations and needs of a black minority which, in spite of apartheid, now finds itself in the upper stratum of society;

□ Cosatu focuses on the needs of the mass of black workers who find themselves mainly in the lower middle-class stratum of the black community;

□ The late Chris Hani's propaganda that the SACP will take from the wealthy to give to the poor will be music to the ears of the great mass of unschooled, often unemployed, black underclass.

But the ANC, like the NP appealing to black voters, has a problem gaining acceptance among whites. Fewer than 1% of whites support it. Most still regard the ANC with suspicion and see it as a terrorist organisation led by the SACP.

The IFP also faces grave canvassing problems. Though its membership has been open for a long time, the party (which has about 11% support among all groups) is still regarded as an ethnic one dominated by Zulus. Furthermore, the IFP has essential support

only in the rural parts of northern Natal (about 45%). The white MPs who joined the IFP made the move after evaluating their own political futures and the move should be seen as political opportunism in that they hope to continue their careers linked to a future KwaZulu/Natal region.

For its part, the DP carries the image of a mainly English-dominated, white upper-crust party which traditionally represented the rich areas of Johannesburg and Cape Town. The DP, with its image of privilege, is going to battle as much as the NP to bridge the gap to poor, black voters. The high degree of black intolerance already shown towards the NP and the DP supports the view that these parties face an uphill struggle. The DP's only advantage is that it has opposed the NP over apartheid, but, according to the opinion polls, the DP has less than 5% support among all voters.

The extraordinary electoral expectations harboured by the PAC — that it will undoubtedly win the election — are in strong contrast to repeated survey findings which indicate that the PAC has less than 5% support among all groups. The result of such high expectations, which will clearly not be realised, might lead to the organisation intensifying its terror campaign through Apla following an electoral disappointment.

The HNP, AVU and CP face the dilemma that they have marginalised themselves among the greater electorate to the extent that they compete almost exclusively for the support of conservative whites. Opinion polls indicate that the CP has only about 6% support among the total electorate; support for the HNP and AVU is much lower.

Regarding organisations on the ultra-Right, it is possible that they (like the PAC/Apla) will turn to terror and violence from their politically frustrated and marginalised positions.

For most blacks the coming election will be a liberation election and a highly emotional experience.

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course still a subject of negotiation and De Klerk's proposal (an opening shot) can only be part of government/NP submissions to be debated. That, after all, is what the negotiations are about. If not, the idea sails close to the desire of Inkatha and other parties to see the constitution drawn up before any election, essentially as a way to ensure their positions and influence. However, this method is not officially called for by government.

According to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, De Klerk's remarks (in last week's *Sunday Times*) amount to "a desperate attempt to placate an increasingly restless following . . . He is trying to sell to his constituency and his caucus reasons they should stay with the National Party, by suggesting that they will continue to wield influence at the highest level (after the election)."

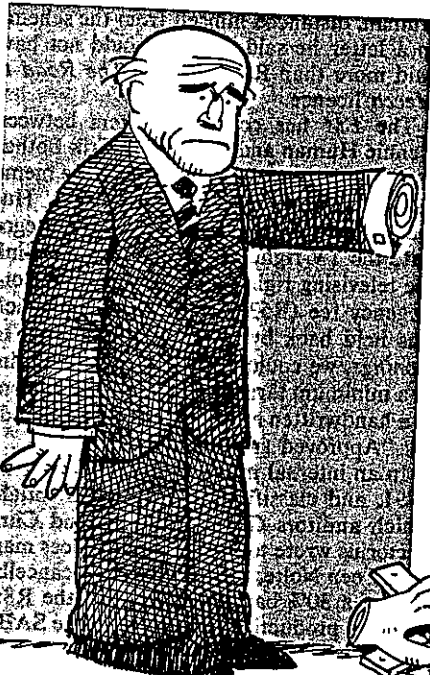
The ANC, Niehaus adds, is "not open to negotiation" on De Klerk's notion of an "inner Cabinet" — comprising the main party leaders bound by a Magna Carta of principles to guide fundamental presidential decisions over five years. Nor does the ANC accept that the new government should be run based on consensus — at least not in the hard terms De Klerk seems to have in mind. Even in a so-called government of national unity endorsed by the ANC, Cabinet decisions would be taken by the majority, the ANC believes, dismissing what it sees as this latest attempt to emasculate that majority.

It is one thing to agree on the general constitutional principles to be entrenched and to serve as the framework in which an elected body will write SA's new constitution. But De Klerk's latest proposals seem aimed at thwarting an interim government of national unity, which, as the DP's Colin Eglin says, should promote SA's transition to full democracy. Eglin says De Klerk was way out of court if he was suggesting a subtle form of minority veto. This was not the same thing as the need to find broad agreement on policy objectives among members of a multi-party government of national unity.

Sceptical about De Klerk's Magna Carta, "whatever this might mean in law or practice," Eglin says the reality is that a government of national unity could only function effectively based on mutual understanding of national objectives, "combined with recognition of the realities of power as expressed through the ballot box."

Government's first draft of a proposed new constitution for SA, recently placed before the negotiations technical committee

(*Current Affairs* June 4 1993), says: "The executive power of the republic shall be vested in the State President, who



(11A) (30/11)  
**PRESIDENTIAL POWER**  
FM 18/6/93  
**The campaign begins**

President FW de Klerk's suggested restriction on presidential power after next year's nonracial general election, as well as the tenor of the ANC's rejection of the idea, are sure signs of the election campaign having swung into gear.

The definition of executive power is of

**CURRENT AFFAIRS** FM 18/6/93

shall be the head of State and exercise his powers subject to the provisions of this constitution." It goes on to propose a government of national unity consisting of the leaders of parties occupying at least 20 seats (5% in the National Assembly and of Cabinet Ministers chosen by those parties in proportion to their relative support in the Assembly.

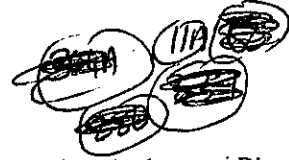
Among the powers the President would exercise "after consultation" with the unity government, various ceremonial duties are listed such as calling and proroguing parliament, appointing ambassadors, ratifying treaties, promulgating laws passed by parliament, convening the Cabinet for the purpose of consultation or resolution of disputes in Cabinet. "All other powers and functions shall be exercised and performed by the State President on the advice of the government of national unity."

The (incomplete) section says further details on the composition and functioning of the national executive will be submitted.

It will be interesting to watch the interplay between the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer at this week's talks for signs of whether De Klerk's latest proposals took the ANC by surprise.

FM 18/6/93

# Oasis or mirage?



**ANC leader** Nelson Mandela is expected to call for the lifting of all remaining US sanctions when he goes to America next month. He and President F W de Klerk are due to receive the Philadelphia Freedom Bell Award from President Bill Clinton on July 4.

The acceptance by multiparty negotiators of a provisional general election date and the expected establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) before the end of the month would meet the requirements Mandela has repeatedly set for an end to sanctions.

In this context, government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer in parliament last week proposed hastening the onset of the TEC without immediately going through the legislative process — subject to agreement by the negotiating council in Kempton Park. Another indication that the TEC could soon be in business is that government has already identified premises in Pretoria to house TEC subcouncils.

Though former president George Bush lifted nearly all federal sanctions in July 1991, many states and cities still enforce restrictions on companies that operate in SA.

A call by Mandela would not lead to a significant inflow of new investment but it would be psychologically important and could pave the way for the repeal of the Gramm Amendment, which blocks SA's access to IMF facilities.

The scrapping of remaining sanctions will provide a penalty-free platform for many US companies to consider new business ventures in SA. However, there is concern that city and state legislators may not regard the repeal of restrictions as a priority and this could delay the resumption of normal trade ties.

At least eight US cities and states still have sanctions laws against Namibia, more than three years after independence. New York City, for example, applies what are regarded as the harshest restrictions against companies with SA ties. They include loss of city contracts and withdrawal of investments in those companies by city employees' pension funds.

Ruby Ryles, assistant press secretary to New York mayor David Dinkins, says a decision to lift sanctions will depend on Dinkins's assessment of progress towards democracy in SA. She says he is aware of the importance of lifting sanctions at the appropriate time, and can see no reason why the move should be delayed once that time arrives.

But sceptics point out that even in New York City references to Namibia were only removed from some sanctions regulations in February 1991, nearly a year after indepen-

dence. However, the close ties between Dinkins and Mandela point to a special effort being made to facilitate the resumption of trade and investment.

At present 27 states, 89 cities and 25 districts in the US still have sanctions against SA, according to the Department of Trade & Industry.

Even after sanctions go, SA is likely to remain a fairly low priority for American companies. Earlier this year US ambassador to SA Princeton Lyman said he believed there was little chance of a return to the situation as it was in the Eighties, when 360 US companies had investments worth \$2,7bn in SA. By this year the number had dropped to 110 companies, with investments totalling only \$1bn.

He expects US companies to adopt a cautious approach to SA and to look at other opportunities as well, such as the Pacific Rim or the North American Free Trade area. ■

# 'Kill Boer' referred to peace body

CT18/6/93

(27) (11A)

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, has called a meeting of the National Peace Council urgently to address the continuing "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chants by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba.

Political parties demanded yesterday that the ANC discipline Mr Mokaba — and there were fresh indications that key ANC leaders are fed up with the growing controversy and becoming increasingly keen to distance the organisation from the chant.

The ANC's PWV leader, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, made a personal pledge to halt the use of the controversial slogan in his region.

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said on Wednesday that he wanted to discuss the chant with the ANC's national executive committee as there was no need to "frighten any community".

Mr Mokaba led a crowd in the chant at Orlando Stadium — only days after he was widely reported as saying the slogan would be replaced by "Freedom in Mandela's time".

Police announced yesterday they were investigating his new chants and previous use of the controversial ANC

"song" in Cape Town and at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Mr Sexwale warned in Johannesburg that the chant could give rise to the right-wing adopting similar "dangerous and explosive" slogans.

The government and the Democratic Party expressed outrage at the latest chanting of the slogan.

The DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said it was impossible to reconcile a peaceful process of negotiation, with provocative and inflammatory public statements.

Mr Schutte said Mr Mokaba had used the slogan despite its being "incitement" to murder.

"If this is the conduct during the negotiation phase — one can imagine what to expect during the election phase," he said.

Continued use of the slogan raised serious questions about the ANC's commitment to a peaceful solution.

"We demand that the ANC deal with this matter credibly."

Mr Andrew said: "If peaceful negotiation and free and fair elections mean anything to the ANC, they cannot continue to duck this issue and shield Mr Mokaba from the consequences of his own actions." — Political Staff, Sapa

# 'I've never done anything controversial'

WHEN he's not going on about the ills of the "settler-colonial regime", Benny Alexander comes across just like your average bloke next door.

Most people would agree that he's a pugnacious politician, but few know that he was once bantamweight boxing champion of the Free State and a top chess player who could have been the youngest grandmaster in the country if he hadn't stopped playing.

Alexander is also a devout Christian. In 1981 he did ministry work at a Baptist church, doubling up as a sound engineer of the church's band, Win over the World.

Right now Alexander is crazy about tenpin bowling. And for the next three weeks at least, the secretary-general of the PAC should have time to knock over a skittle or two. Hard on the heels of claims that he had been dropped from the PAC's negotiating team,

**THIS week Benny Alexander announced he was taking leave, amid speculation that he had been dropped from the PAC's negotiating team. VUYO BAVUMA spoke to him.**

which he leads — claims denied by the PAC — he announced that he was taking a break to attend to "personal matters".

"I have not taken leave for four years. I have been working almost non-stop," he says.

High on the list of personal matters will be his children. Alexander, a father of three, has six-year-old twins who attend a Catholic school in Coronationville because, he says, it is unfair for leaders to send their children to white schools.

It's not long before Alexander gets back to politics again, but then he had just completed an exhausting June 16, when he addressed rallies in Khayelitsha, Ceres and Paarl.

In Khayelitsha he was greeted with thunderous applause by

the thousands present. But while Alexander may not always have enjoyed that kind of attention, he is no Johnny-come-lately to politics.

The PAC's chief negotiator at the talks in Kempton Park shot to fame after he was elected personal assistant to late PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng, but he began cutting his political teeth after meeting Robert Sobukwe, a founder-leader of PAC.

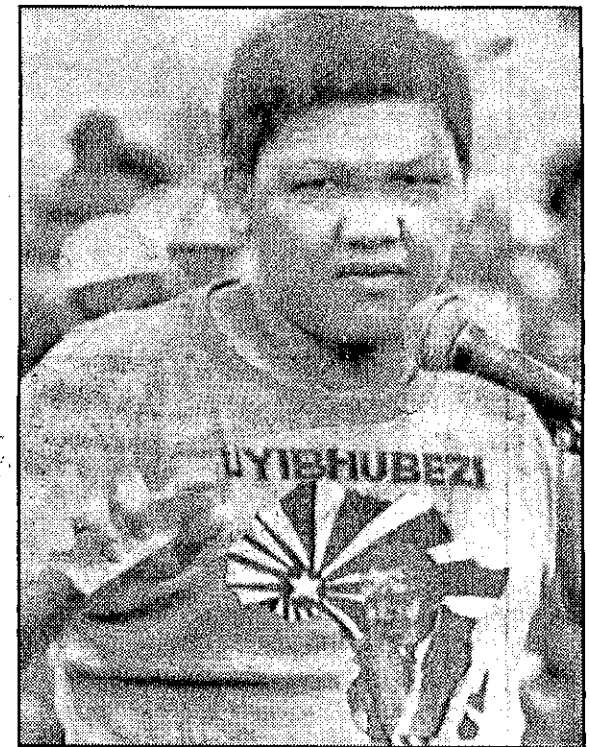
Alexander had his first crack at politics when he formed the Black Health Workers' Union of South Africa. His next task was to organise the "blackjacks" — black local authorities policemen — and set up the South African Black Municipal Workers' Union.

Alexander describes himself

as "the most re-elected official" of the PAC, and criticises the media for caricaturing his movement as destructive warmongers. "Most people know what the PAC is against, but they have no clue what we stand for." Alexander maintains that he himself has never done a controversial thing — "it's just that controversy always follows me".

He is also the victim, he says, of the "propaganda of Military Intelligence that the media happily seize upon".

Alexander describes the PAC's continuation of armed struggle, while negotiating at the same time, as the movement's "Moses option". "Moses had no problem in applying a locust plague against Pharaoh, who was oppressing his people," he says. "At the same time Moses did not abandon the tool of talking to Pharaoh to speed up the liberation of his people."



**PUGNACIOUS:** Benny Alexander says he is the PAC's "most re-elected official".

# Hangings unlikely in spite of vote to scrap three-year moratorium

ARG 18/6/93

□ Talks hope for 285 waiting on Death Row

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT has voted to lift the moratorium on the death penalty by 125 votes to 55.

But little was expected to come of its support for scrapping the moratorium, which is more than three years old, because of the risk of imperilling the delicately poised negotiation process.

And Nationalist Party hopes of a resounding vote in all three Houses were dashed by an 8-15 defeat in the House of Delegates, where the NP has a majority of 21.

In the House of Assembly, 97 MPs supported lifting the moratorium, while 24 were against. The vote in the House of Representatives was 20 to 16.

In all, 129 of the full complement of 308 MPs were either absent — some are at the negotiations — or did not vote.

Rounding off debate last night, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee acknowledged that the vote was no more than part of a process of consultation that would continue with extra-parliamentary parties at the multi-party negotiations at Kempton Park.

Support for the government's motion would send a signal but would not lead to immediate executions, he said.

Nevertheless, there was a realisation that the violent situation in the country demanded severe measures.

Deputy Justice Minister Mrs Sheila Camerer described hanging as "barbaric" but added: "I can live with it while we battle to control the abnormal levels of crime and violence in our country."

Ideally, she would favour life imprisonment over the death penalty.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer dismissed the debate as an "election stunt".

And DP justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon said the government was merely trying to



NOPE TO THE ROPE: Campaigner Mr Reggie September and Black Sash members demonstrate at St Mary's Cathedral. Picture: ANDREW INGRAM. The Argus.

"ride the tiger of public opinion by throwing a few chunks of red meat at it".

The government had no intention of enacting the motion because it knew just one execution would probably derail negotiations, lead to mass insurrection and international retaliation.

## Rape labelled a 'sport of Olympic standards'

CRIMINALS seemed to regard rape as an international sport of Olympic standards, Mr Benito Phillips (NP Border) said in the special debate on hanging.

He said it was estimated that by the end of June there would have been 7 895 murders, 42 927 robberies and 14 454 rapes this year.

He supported lifting the moratorium on executions. The death penalty was justified in Mosaic and natural law. The question of whether it should be retained or abolished was not ethical, but theological.

"We are indulging in a form of mass therapy for MPs which has everything to do with the need to look tough and nothing to do with solving the problems of violence, lawlessness and anarchy."

ANC MP Mr Dave Dalling said: "This whole, ill-timed debate is no more than a desper-

ate part of the National Party campaign to shore up its crumbling support among whites."

The ANC regarded this "politicising with the lives of condemned people... with disgust and contempt".

He said the issue should be left to a democratically elected

constituent assembly.

Conservative Party MP Mr Andrew Gerber accused the government of deliberately delaying a debate on the moratorium in the knowledge that the president would not have to bear the responsibility for executions.

"Parliament has been ridiculed by the government. The imminent Transitional Executive Council will not allow the president to execute a single person," he said.

He said the moratorium made a mockery of punishment handed down by the courts and was tantamount to a frustration of justice.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said: "It is only a few months before a legitimate government will be able to discuss and debate these issues."

"The government has neither the legitimacy nor the moral right to decide this issue on its own."

He added that the ANC would oppose capital punishment in the future.

● Of the 285 people on Death Row — some of whom have been there for several years — 51 have exhausted all avenues of appeal.

## Debate only of academic significance, says lawyer

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The parliamentary debate which voted to lift the moratorium on hangings was of no more than academic significance, according to Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Curren.

According to Mr Curren, the moratorium, although initially announced by President F W de Klerk, was later an agreement in multi-party negotiations which Mr De Klerk could not overturn.

"If the government were to try and go ahead with any executions, we consider them unconstitutional and would take the government to court to stop them," Mr Curren said.

According to Department of Correctional Services spokesman Brigadier Chris Olckers, there are currently 284 men on death row, and two women.

Of those 229 are black, 32 Coloured, 20 white and three Indian. The two women are black.

Almond Nofomela is the longest inmate on death row, having been there for nearly six years. The shortest is Wontsi Moti, who arrived on Tuesday.

Chairman of the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty David Unterhalter said he regarded the vote as an election ploy by the government to show they were taking a tough stand on crime.

The vote exploited a parliament that was not in a position to make such decisions, Mr Unterhalter said. He added that the vote was "a gratuitous form of super-added cruelty to what is already a very cruel form of punishment."

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Tony Leon agreed with Mr Unterhalter, but said when the National Party was fighting for its political life, people's lives become less important.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said: "It is only a few months before a legitimate government will be able to discuss and debate these issues."

"The government has neither the legitimacy nor the moral right to decide this issue on its own."

He added that the ANC would oppose capital punishment in the future.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM. The Argus.

THANK YOU AND GOODNIGHT: President De Klerk, with President's Council chairman Dr Willie van Niekerk, greets Professor J Cilliers at the council's last ceremonial session.

## Democratic centre is emerging, says FW

TOS WENZEL  
Political Staff

A BROAD democratic centre was emerging and like-minded parties should stop fighting each other, President F W de Klerk said at the last meeting of the President's Council.

He also said too much energy was being wasted by parties in supporting each other instead of using this energy to build a democratic centre.

Such parties should rather address those which did not subscribe to the same democratic principles, Mr De Klerk said.

He welcomed the concept of the phasing-in of a new system through a Transitional Executive Council and a government a national unity.

He was confident that efforts to achieve democratic stability would succeed.

There would never be peace if the privileges and rights of

part of the community were maintained at the cost of another section, he said.

There could only be one foundation for a safe future and that was the principle of justice for all.

Efforts to have separate states in South Africa had failed. Instead inter-dependence had developed along with economic realities which could not be ignored. South Africans had a common destiny.

Mr De Klerk also reacted to a plea for the recognition of self-determination made by a Conservative Party member of the council, Dr SD Latsky.

Mr De Klerk said the rich cultural diversity in the country had to be recognised.

This included recognition of the right of parents to choose the language and the religious context in which they wanted their children to be educated.

## Call to discipline Mokaba

Political Correspondent

The National Party and the Democratic Party have called on the African National Congress to discipline its youth league leader Mr Peter Mokaba for chanting "kill the farmer, kill the boer" in Johannesburg this week at Soweto Day rallies.

This slogan has been identified by government sources as one of the inputs into a potentially dangerous white backlash against negotiations.

There have been mixed signals from the ANC recently on whether the slogan has been officially dropped or not.

NP media director Mr Marthinus van Schaikwyk said the NP would lay a charge with the National Peace Committee against Mr Mokaba, asking that appropriate steps be taken against him.

He said Mr Mokaba had decided to defy the ANC leadership. The ANC had to now show it could discipline its members.



# Inquiry told of ANC Star 18/6/93 cadres' conduct code

The "humanism" of late ANC president Oliver Tambo led to the organisation signing the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal said yesterday. (SAP) (2/2)

He told the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry in Johannesburg that the ANC was the only liberation movement with a code of con-

duct for its cadres. The commission is inquiring into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps in exile.

● Evidence before the commission concludes today. It was expected that Jacob Zuma, the ANC's deputy secretary, would give evidence on people who went missing during the organisation's time in exile. (IA)  
— Staff Reporter.

Star 18/6/93

# ANC youth 'reject Boer slogan'

Political Staff

(11A)

ANC Youth League deputy president Lulu Johnson said last night the ANCYL had now fully accepted the ANC national executive committee's decision last week to ban the controversial "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant, and would ensure members no longer sang it.

Responding to widespread condemnation of reports that ANCYL president Peter Mokaba had led the chant at Soweto's Orlando Stadium on Wednesday, Johnson said the chant was not ANCYL policy and had never been.

The ANC said Mokaba had

tried to resist the 40 000-strong crowd's attempts to get him to chant the slogan before finally succumbing.

Johnson said Mokaba did not chant the slogan at all.

Mokaba was not available for comment yesterday.

He has once again been roundly condemned over the the chant, with some parties calling for his arrest and prosecution. Police headquarters in Pretoria yesterday said Mokaba's alleged chanting of the slogan on Wednesday, as well as statements made by him at Wits University recently, were being investigated.

Meanwhile, the Government has asked for an urgent

meeting of the National Peace Committee to deal with the chant.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday he had already asked for the meeting and described the slogan as one that "instigated people to murder".

"I would submit that no country aspiring to civilised norms and standards can tolerate this. If this is to be continued during negotiations, one can just imagine what statements can be expected during the election campaign," he said.

DP chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday that disciplinary action should be taken against Mokaba.

Star 18/16/93

# We've killed 90 in security forces, says Apla

By Montshiwa Moroke  
and Sapa

A senior Azanian Peoples Liberation Army official yesterday claimed Apla had killed 90 security force members this year and said the police and army remained legitimate targets regardless of race.

Interviewed in Wind-

hoek, the PAC's military wing training and manpower development director Willie Brown said police were part of the system Apla aimed to overthrow

(IA) (SAPA) Apla chief political commissar Romero Daniels said his movement had carried out 120 missions this year, about 80

in rural areas. It had lost one member and had two or three arrested.

He said the PAC would end its armed struggle only with a negotiated mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the Government.

Police spokesman Captain Sally de Beer, last night confirmed 95 policemen had been

murdered this year and the police had noted that Apla had claimed responsibility.

"We will obviously go to great lengths to arrest those responsible," she said.

Police have offered a R100 000 for information which leads to the conviction of the killers.

# ANC/govt move helps to avert crisis in talks — for the moment

B Day 18/6/93

A CRISIS in constitutional talks was averted yesterday when government and the ANC acceded to a degree to Inkatha's demands that alternative federal options be examined.

However, negotiators believe the crunch will still come — possibly next week when the negotiating forum debates an election date and issues pertaining to the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Sources in the Concerned South Africans Group indicated that they were planning either to ensure that the forum did not meet or to walk out of the forum.

A government source said the first indication he would have of the forum's likely success would be on Tuesday. The main aim was to make as much progress as possible before the forum met to defuse any "legitimate" opposition to setting the election date.

Yesterday morning the opposing sides were bloodied during the fray, but by the lunch break they were trying to re-establish trust as they "tested each other's positions" on constitutional principles. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer put forward a compromise

BILLY PADDOCK

proposal effectively allowing government and the ANC to continue with their agenda of discussing constitutional principles, which Inkatha wanted to prevent, while directing Inkatha's concerns to a committee. The ANC/government move entailed the negotiating council instructing the technical committee to examine the need for regions to draft their own constitutions and the options for such constitutions.

A senior government source said negotiations had won the day. "Our aim is to

move forward, make space and create time to find possible solutions," he said. He warned against overoptimism, saying the next few days would be crucial.

Real progress was, however, made in the area of controlling violence. This came in the form of a declaration which the council will debate today.

In tabling the declaration, chairman Colin Eglin said the planning committee had drafted it after "dramatic" progress in face-to-face discussions between government and the PAC "in the last week".

The declaration on cessation/suspension

of hostilities, armed struggle and violence states that the country urgently requires stability and peace in order to progress to a democratic and harmonious future.

It states that as from today (June 18) "we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

It is understood that the PAC would be prepared to sign the declaration.

● See Page 8

# Cops probe Mokaba

Sowetan 18/6/93

POLICE announced yesterday that a second docket had been opened to investigate ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba's chant on Wednesday of the slogan "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer". (IA) ~~(S)~~

The announcement also revealed that an earlier docket on the slogan had been referred back to the police by the Cape Attorney-General.

Yesterday morning, ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale told businessmen at a breakfast in Sandton that he would eradicate the slogan in his region.

A new version of the slogan was unveiled by Natal Southern Natal regional secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele, who led the chant of "Recruit the Boer, recruit the farmer".

# ANC boss looks at new govt's problems

B/Dewy 18/6/93

A NEW SA government would face massive pressure to deliver as a result of black anger, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale told a business breakfast in Johannesburg yesterday. (11A)

But he questioned what a new government would have to deliver, and how it would go about doing it. (30/4/93)

"By the time a new government is inaugurated the bulk of the family silver will have been stolen, defrauded or embezzled as the gravy wagon of corruption accelerates the nearer we move towards a new government," Sexwale said.

Delivery, he said, should be born out of economic growth and development where the objective would be to return the country to the growth rates experienced in the '60s — and more.

Overlooking the fear of the whites and the anger and anguish of the black majority, or to address one at the cost or neglect of the other, would be to court disaster, Sexwale said.

"But herein also lies the dialectical twists of the dilemma: no serious minded leader would treat the two equally as of the same weight."

Sexwale called on the business community to take part in efforts to change the economic situation which saw blacks represented only in areas of the commercial sector as shopkeepers, filling station owners and in services such as the taxi industry and hawking.

"It is a serious indictment of the past policies of white supremacy and a future time-bomb to note that the majority are unrepresented in mining, banking, finance and in the industrialised sectors."

A new government, he said, would not be able to distribute wealth "merely by the stroke of a pen or a show of hands".

"Wealth distribution necessitates wealth creation, and that demands a fairly substantial increase in gross domestic investment," he said.

This implied gearing SA to a "tough and pretty rough" struggle to transform the economy into a truly manufacturing and industrial based power in the sub-continent "instead of the current contortion of being imprisoned in a mineral-based economy, which makes SA uncompetitive on the world market". — Sapa.

## Outcry over FW's award

B/Dewy 18/6/93

PHILADELPHIA — A coalition of community and religious groups opposed to President FW de Klerk's past involvement with apartheid say the leader does not deserve to share the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with ANC president Nelson Mandela. (30/7)

The coalition, which in-

cludes black clergy and a Quaker peace organisation, wants to either have De Klerk's invitation to the July 4 ceremony withdrawn or to persuade President Bill Clinton not to attend the event. (22/7)

Episcopal Church of the Advocate's Rev Isaac Miller said the decision made a mockery of an award for defending liberty.

Past recipients of the award include the late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.

International Selection Commission head Martin Meyerson has defended his organisation's decision, saying progress in SA has depended on both men. — Sapa-AP.

W

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## ANC cool on Eskom plans

*B/D Day 18/6/93*  
ESKOM's proposed rationalisation of operations on a regional basis has received a cool reaction from the ANC.

The ANC said the electricity parastatal's plans for regional supply authorities, reported in Business Day yesterday, were premature and created the impression that a high level of agreement existed in the National Electricity Forum. (119)

Eskom senior GM Jan de Beer had said the restructuring plan most likely to be agreed upon in the electricity forum would involve parcelling out electricity supply to regional distributors.

"Such statements, in the ANC's view, ignore the role of the relevant trade unions within the electrification forum, where the relationship between electricity distribution and local government is also to be examined," the ANC said in a statement.

However, the organisation, a member of the forum, expressed support for the rapid extension of electricity supply and rationalisation of Eskom's central operations. — Sapa.

## State's drought relief programme criticised

*B/D Day 18/6/93*  
PRETORIA — The Land Bank would continue subsidising long-term interest at 13% for another year to alleviate the financial obligations of farmers, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said yesterday.

He said this would mitigate the far-reaching effects of drought.

Referring to calls on government to extend the subsidy on the interest rates of long-term loans at commercial banks, he said this was being considered.

However, government's drought and debt relief programme has been criticised by the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre, an ANC-aligned research organisation, Sapa reports.

The organisation aims to influence land, agriculture and rural policy by developing policy alternatives for a new democratic government.

The centre said yesterday the drought relief programme had hardly reduced the agricultural sector's vulnerability to future droughts. Debt relief had curbed the chance for an equitable land transfer programme.

It said R2 400m had been provided by government to write off short-

GERALD REILLY

term debt which farmers had accumulated since the early '80s.

"By repeatedly extending the scheme, government allowed the debt situation to grow to a critical level, thereby precipitating a crisis which required massive assistance."

Many co-operatives were still in financial difficulties, with the continued existence of 10 of the 60 major agricultural co-operatives in doubt.

The centre said the carry-over debt subsidy had done nothing to promote the efficient use of scarce agricultural resources.

It said the programme was harmful because it had contributed to artificially high land prices which inhibited the acquisition of land by poorer farmers; and the carry-over debt subsidy had been targeted exclusively at the white, commercial sector. Drought relief for the homeland areas had been insufficient.

The scheme was financed from borrowing and left a future government in a weaker financial position without addressing long-term problems in the sector.

The ANC leadership would have to accept collective responsibility for abuses if these were found to be "systematic, persistent and large scale".  
"It is a matter of pride for me that

been drafted in 1955, the ANC had not anticipated it would be banned and forced into exile.

ANC soldiers who disobeyed orders to engage Unita in Angola and those

Sethloke, who is still a member of the ANC, had testified that he was beaten on the soles of his feet with a baton during interrogation and hung from a pole while in handcuffs.

## Police probe ANC leader after 'kill the boer' chant

Biday 18/6/93

LLOYD COUTTS

POLICE said yesterday they were investigating "utterances" by ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba at Wednesday's June 16 rally in Orlando, Soweto.

Mokaba led a crowd of youths in chanting "kill the boer, kill the farmer" at the rally, despite a formal decision last week by the ANC's national executive committee to abandon the slogan.

A brief statement from police headquarters in Pretoria said other "utterances" by Mokaba at Wits University were also being investigated.

"The dockets will be forwarded to the attorney-general on completion. The docket regarding Mokaba's utterances in Cape Town (in April) was referred back to the SAP by the attorney-general of the Cape so that more evidence regarding the incident can be obtained," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed that the ANC regarded the chant as "inappropriate", but said a decision to this effect had only been

taken last week, and league representatives were probably still in the process of conveying the message.

Mokaba led the chanting of the slogan as ANC president Nelson Mandela entered Orlando stadium.

Mandela told the rally while he understood the anger of the youth it was important not to frighten communities whose contributions were needed in the peace process.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said in Cape Town yesterday the slogan was incompatible with the termination of the ANC's armed struggle, and questioned the organisation's commitment to a peaceful settlement, reports Sapa.

"This slogan inciting people to murder was used, and condoned... at an official ANC function, despite indications by the ANC that it was not to be used, and despite the fact that the ANC has been found guilty of contravening the peace accord."

## Medical Council welcomes Bill

DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE Medical Research Council yesterday welcomed legislation forcing cigarette distributors to warn potential customers — in their advertisements — of the dangers of smoking.

The Tobacco Products Control Bill was passed by Parliament on Wednesday night and also prohibits the sale of tobacco products to children.

Council spokesman Dr Derek Yach said although the legislation was not as comprehensive as that of some other Western countries, it did provide a platform for further measures.

He said the council would evaluate the impact of the legislation on health behaviour over the next few years.

He said he hoped increased prices through tax would form part of the next Budget.

The council had calculated that a R1 rise in the price of a packet of cigarettes would bring in R1bn extra in excise revenues. The number of smokers would decrease by 1-million and at least 200 000 premature deaths would be prevented over time, he said.

president Roy Andersen.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# East Rand violence claims nine more lives

Biday 18/6/93

LLOYD COUTTS

NINE bodies of people killed in incidents of violence on the East Rand were discovered by police yesterday.

The police also recovered large quantities of arms and ammunition during searches in the region.

Five people were shot and killed when a group of men — armed with AK-47s, R-1 rifles, shotguns and 9mm pistols — rampaged through Tembisa's Welamlambo Section at about 5.30am yesterday, Sapa reports.

Twenty people were injured during the incident and were taken to Tembisa Hospital for treatment.

Police said they did not know the motive behind the shootings.

Police also reported a shooting in Katlehong, where the body of an unidentified 62-year-old man was found in Zuma Section.

East Rand police spokesman W/O Deon Peens said the charred body of a man was found in Thokoza yesterday morning.

Meanwhile, policemen from the Dog Unit confiscated nine AK-47s, 15 AK-47 magazines and a VZ hand-machine carbine and arrested four men after searching a minibus on the N12 near Benoni yesterday morning.

In Tembisa, the Sethokga Hostel was

sealed off and raided by police and SADF members. Three handguns, ammunition, traditional weapons, car radios, typewriters, a surveyor's telescope and two stolen cars were seized.

"These operations were carried out in accordance with the 10-point plan announced by the Commissioner of the SAP earlier this year, in which Gen (Johan) van der Merwe promised the SAP would maintain a visible presence throughout the Republic in a sustained effort to prevent and combat crime," a police statement said.

A Boipatong woman, aged about 23, was killed when gunmen armed with hand weapons opened fire on patrons in a tavern on Bathlong Street early yesterday. Police said the men demanded money before opening fire.

Meanwhile in Natal, two people died in separate incidents.

The body of 20-year-old Mbongeni Edward Shange was found near the railway line between Zwelethu and Reunion stations, south of Durban.

In KwaMashu, also near Durban, a 27-year-old suspect who fled police was shot dead after ignoring a warning to stop.



# Violators of convention 'should not hold rank'

B/Dey 18/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

ANC officials who violated the fundamental assumptions of the Geneva Convention, which the ANC adopted in 1980, should be disqualified in future from leadership roles in the armed forces, an ANC official said yesterday.

ANC NEC member and human rights expert Prof Kader Asmal yesterday told the Motsuenyane commission — investigating alleged abuses in ANC camps — that the ANC was bound by the convention's moral assumptions even though detainees held in ANC camps did not qualify as political prisoners.

Asmal said only "combatants" of SA government forces, held after surrendering or being injured in battle, would qualify as political prisoners in terms of the convention.

But as far as he was aware, the ANC had never held such prisoners.

The ANC leadership would have to accept collective responsibility for abuses if these were found to be "systematic, persistent and large scale".

"It is a matter of pride for me that

the ANC is the first liberation movement to hold an inquiry of this kind," he said.

Wrongs committed by the ANC in exile could not be compared to crimes committed by the apartheid state. The British bombing of Dresden was, in his opinion, a war crime, but no one had equated this to the crimes committed in Nazi concentration camps, he said.

"There can never be an equation between the acts of the victim... and the extraordinary murderous intent of the aggressor," he said.

Asmal said a clause in the ANC's Freedom Charter opposing detention without trial, had not applied to the ANC in exile as the document was "a people's charter for a future government".

He said that when the charter had been drafted in 1955, the ANC had not anticipated it would be banned and forced into exile.

ANC soldiers who disobeyed orders to engage Unita in Angola and those

who ignored subsequent instructions to hand over their arms qualified as mutineers in terms of international law, he said.

Asmal testified the ANC had a long human rights record. It had been the first liberation movement to adopt a bill of rights in 1943, and had made nonracial claims in the Freedom Charter in 1955 while the SA government was implementing racist laws.

He paid tribute to the "extraordinary humanism" of late ANC chairman Oliver Tambo, who had initiated the drafting of a code of conduct for ANC and MK members in 1985.

The code had been adopted in spite of the "claustrophobic context" of SADF assaults on ANC camps.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's bodyguard Basil Mavuso, who was known as "Jomo Sono" while in exile, earlier denied participating in the torture of Gabriel Sethloke.

Sethloke, who is still a member of the ANC, had testified that he was beaten on the soles of his feet with a baton during interrogation and hung from a pole while in handcuffs.

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A mere R185 per person sharing per night entitles



~~301~~ (11A)  
ARG 19/6/93

# PAC gaining ground in spite of 'war'

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE**

Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

**BOTH** the National Party and the African National Congress — the main players in South Africa's political transition process — have suffered sharp losses in potential voter support while the Pan Africanist Congress — still engaged in an "armed struggle" — is rapidly gaining ground.

Some analysts say the PAC may even overtake the NP in the election race.

These are among significant shifts reflected in some of the latest opinion polls. The indications are that much is afoot in South African politics.

A recent countrywide poll by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) showed the ANC alliance still the frontrunner in the election stakes, followed by the NP and, possibly, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

However, two other recent polls reflect a rise in support for the PAC among black people. An election analyst says the PAC, though still far behind the ANC, has emerged as the second most popular party.

It is also claimed that whites are flocking to Inkatha "in droves".

The rising support for the PAC is reflected in a report in a pro-ANC publication *Work in Progress*.

Research analyst Dr Jan Hofmeyr suggests in the report that the PAC is poised to emerge as the single most powerful electoral force beside the ANC, even though it will be exclusively black.

As a result of the NP's loss of support the party's chances of forming a majority coalition are said to be "slim".

The HSRC poll findings reflecting a loss of support for the NP are confirmed by disclosures in a National Party document which has been given to Weekend Argus.

The document shows a dramatic drop of more than 2 000 in NP membership in Cape regions within a year — in spite of the formation of many new NP branches in coloured areas.

Recent opinion polls quoted are said to reflect a drop of about 75 percent in support for the NP among blacks.

Observers say the decline is largely because of defections of NP members to rightwing parties and groupings.

Whites are also said to be joining the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) "in droves", but friction is claimed to be developing between wealthy white members and impoverished Zulu members over clashes of interests.

In the Boland region alone a loss of 1 082 NP members is reported for the year under review.

■ Full report and graphics on page 10.



□ **CHIEF NEGOTIATOR:** Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general as a warmonger by many whites, but to diehards in the PAC he is

**'Every African must carry a gun and identify the enemy and form defensive community forces.'**



# Benny and the 'Moses Option'

ARG 19/6/93 (11A)

**M**AVERICK Benny Alexander's earlier political career might not have enjoyed the glare of the media, but the radical activist is by no means a Johnny-Come-Lately.

The PAC's chief negotiator at the talks in Kempton Park shot to fame after he was elected personal assistant to late PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, but he began cutting his political teeth after encountering Mr Robert Sobukwe, father of African nationalism and a founder-leader of the PAC.

This week, interviewed by Weekend Argus after a gruelling day addressing three June 16 political rallies in Ceres, Paarl and Khayelitsha, Benny, enjoying a sumptuous supper at a PAC activist's house in Mandalay, spoke about his private life, and the future.

Describing himself as the "most re-elected official" of the PAC, Benny claimed the media were depicting his movement as destructive and as war-mongers.

"Most people know what the PAC is against, but they have no clue what we stand for."

Benny is also aware that, for most whites, he epitomises a warmonger who preaches nothing but a racist gospel of doom, because of his constant support for the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People Liberation Army (Apla).

Yet some would say that, to PAC die-hards, the 38-year old secretary-general is a beacon of hope for freedom. That to them, his radical "anti-establishment" rhetoric — such as that Apla should continue the armed struggle against "the regime" and its agents — is music to the ears of the movement's members. That

■ This week the PAC's chief negotiator at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park announced he was taking leave for three weeks "for personal reasons". The fiery radical, the PAC secretary-general, remains optimistic about the future. Weekend Argus Reporter **VUYO BAVUMA** spoke to him.

more than 10 000 wildly-cheering people. The masses broke into tumultuous applause when they saw the man who verbally crossed swords with Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel about the arrests of the PAC activists.

Benny remains unfazed about the negative publicity and maintains he has never done a controversial thing — "it's just that controversy always follows me".

He ascribed much controversy around him to the "propaganda of Military Intelligence that the media happily seizes upon".

Dismissing claims that had been kicked out of the PAC's negotiating team at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park, Benny said he was merely taking a three-week leave to attend to some "personal matters" in his family.

He said: "I have not taken leave for four years. I have been working almost non-stop. After my leave I'll take my rightful position within the negotiating team."

Explaining why the PAC continued the armed struggle while negotiating at the same time, Benny said this was the movement's "Moses Option".

"Moses had no problem in applying a desert theme against the

must carry a gun and identify the enemy and form defensive community forces."

Few know that Benny was bantam-weight boxing champion of the Free State; a top chess player who could have been the youngest grandmaster in the country if he hadn't stopped playing, and a devout Christian.

He also loves pin-bowling.

His first entered politics when he formed the Black Health Workers' Union of South Africa and threatened a strike in 1986 because the Transvaal Provincial Administration refused to address workers' grievances. But the industrial action was averted when the TPA addressed the issues.

**BENNY'S** next job was to organise "blackjacks" — the colloquial term for discredited black local authorities' municipal policemen — and set up the South African Municipal Black Workers' Union.

"The blackjacks were employed by the state. We used this to our advantage and to further the struggle in the process.

"But our ploy was curtailed when the government passed a law incorporating the blackjacks into the South African Police."

Benny, a father of three, has six-year-old twins who attend a Roman Catholic school in Coronationville because, he says, it is unfair for leaders to send their children to white schools and avoid problems in the black education.

"That's a real cop-out. I think we have to face the problems in our education," he said.

How will the PAC perform in the elections?

"I have no question in my mind that we'll win three provinces, except Natal.

"We have taken over from the



Benny Alexander is regarded as a beacon of hope.

# Govt breaks off talks, wants PAC restricted

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

The Government has broken off talks with the PAC and is to urge the Negotiating Council to take steps to restrict the organisation's participation in constitutional talks.

The PAC last night told the Government it accepted the cessation of hostilities in principle. But the decision would be implemented only once agreement had been reached on a transitional authority and an elected constituent assembly, and after the start of elections.

The Government in turn warned the PAC that the SAP would act against it and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer (SAP)

The PAC was asked to clarify its position regarding the armed struggle after it had agreed last Tuesday to a declaration on the cessation or suspension of hostilities. Confusion reigned when

the PAC later told the media it still had to discuss the implications of the cessation of hostilities.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said after last night's bilateral talks that the Government had told the PAC it would urge the Negotiating Council to expel the PAC. This would be a "terrible mistake", she said.

However, it is understood the Government would rather ask for steps to restrict the PAC's participation in the council.

De Lille said the Government had not yet returned all PAC property seized in the police crackdown last month.

Meyer noted last night that the PAC was asked on Thursday when it would "stop killing policemen and civilians".

The PAC's response was unacceptable, Meyer said, because it meant that the PAC "would want to continue with its policy of killing policemen and civilians while at the same time wanting to continue with negotiations".

# In search of the lost generation

South 1916-23/193

Seventeen years after the June 16 Soweto uprisings, what are the expectations of South Africa's youth? Three young people speak their minds about an uncertain future:

## Justin McKay, 18,

### Vredehoek

WITH all the violence, it is very hard to be positive about South Africa, but I believe the big parties, like the NP and the ANC, have South Africa's interests at heart and are trying their best.

It is just certain elements on the right and on the left of these two parties who could ruin things.

While apartheid has been taken out of the laws, there is still a lot of apartheid in the people: racism from both sides, black and white.

Next year's election will be a big testing point. It will be a good indication as to how South Africa will turn out. It could be the start of a long civil war or it could be the start of peace in this country.

I do not mind which government I live under, but I will mind if I am discriminated against for being white.

But whatever happens, I will not leave South Africa. I could get an Irish passport and leave, but I won't — I love this land too much. I was born here, I was raised here. South Africa is my home.

It is we young people who have to set an example for the rest of the country. We cannot be blamed for apartheid, but the responsibility to build a new, peaceful country rests on our shoulders.

I will vote NP and if they decide to form an alliance with the ANC, I will not have anything against that. I trust President FW de Klerk and the rest of the NP leadership.

When I leave school, I want to become a policeman. Some people think I am a racist because of that, but that is far from the truth. The SAP is changing and young people must be part of these changes. I have received so



much from society and joining the police will be my way of putting something back into the community.

## Celeste Brown, 16,

SO MANY things could happen, I can't tell what will happen in the future. It is all very confusing at the moment.

But I don't want to leave Cape Town. I want to stay here for better or for worse.

Young people should have confidence in themselves and go for their goals. We must not depend on the government to make things right. If we want to see change, then we must make those changes ourselves.

The changes so far have been small but positive. Schools and beaches are open to all races, but it will take a long time for people's attitudes to change.

I am not sure who I will vote for, but it will definitely not be the AWB!

Politics is so confusing, I will need to have long talks with my dad before I know what is happening exactly.

I won't vote for the ANC, there are too many unresolved issues in the ANC and they fight too much amongst themselves. Also they are communists, and communists want to stop us from having religion.

I am very worried about the economic situation in this country. I am worried about all the retrenchments that are happening — my aunt was retrenched recently.

I just hope I can get a job, when I leave school, as an air hostess. If I can't, then I would want to work with children, maybe as a kindergarten teacher.



For this country to come right and everybody to be treated equally, regardless of skin colour, a lot of work is needed — plus a lot of prayer.

## Mlandeli Kunelisi, 20,

### Khayelitsha

I MOVED from Ciskei to Khayelitsha in January this year to find a job. So far I have had no luck. With some white bosses, the moment I say I stay in Khayelitsha, they show me the exit door.

But it is not my motto to give up, I cannot stop hoping for work.

I am hopeful that peace will come to South Africa one day. It won't happen at the moment — the National Party has proved its inability to build peace — but hopefully under an ANC government there will be peace and prosperity for all, regardless of race or sex.

I trust the ANC. They have stood the test of time and have fearlessly confronted many challenges over the years with success.

Progress has been made at the negotiating table. But we are still waiting for progress to move beyond the table and to the people because nothing has changed on the ground.

If anything, violence has increased since negotiations began. In Ciskei, for example, bullets and teargas were the only presents we received from Oupa Gqozo and his people. We got to know this apartheid violence very well.

As a school pupil in King Williams Town, it was this sort of violence that interrupted our studies and some of my friends were killed as a result.

It would be easy for me to hate whites because of all the violence caused by apartheid. It is even stated clearly in the Bible: "A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye".

But nevertheless, I can't see myself practising such things — I just want everybody to be treated equally. We are all human beings.



# 'We want a South 1916-23/6/93 revolution'

By Rafiq Rohan

THE negotiators at the World Trade Centre are moving too far to the right — they need to be brought more to the left, cheering crowds in Guguletu were told on Soweto Day.

"We don't only want the vote. We want a national democratic revolution," said Mr Lizo Nkonki, South African Communist Party (SACP) Western Cape secretary general and one of the more popular speakers.

"The process is moving too much to the right and it is up to us to move it to the left."

Nkonki said the government is not sincere about transforming South Africa democratically.

"We must always be ready for the boers because we can never trust them. It is now up to us to shut the mouths of those who don't want democracy," he told the applauding, 4000-strong crowd.

The keynote speaker, ANC regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak, said next year there will be a government "of our own choice."

"Next year Kriel will be gone and we will celebrate June 16 with Nelson Mandela being the elected president of South Africa."

Boesak advised everyone without an identity document to apply for one as soon as possible but accused the government of stalling in issuing these documents.

He said this was a deliberate ploy because the government stood to gain by voters not being in possession of identity documents.

He also warned people against voting for the National Party and Democratic Party.

"When you vote for justice you cannot vote for the National Party or the Democratic Party. Where were they when our people were dying?"

Nkonki's advice was slightly different: "Take the NP and DP food parcels when they come to you, but vote ANC!"

The occasion also provided militants an opportunity to voice the controversial slogan: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer." Toyi-toying groups danced around the NY49 Stadium and one of the groups chanted the slogan continuously.

Sapa reports that the slogan was chanted widely at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto when ANC president, Nelson Mandela made his entrance. However Mandela hinted that the chant might be dropped.

He told the crowd he would raise the matter in the ANC national executive committee and discuss it with ANC youth leaders.

"I understand your anger. You are justified, but we are building a nation and there is no need to frighten any community, in order to bring all other people in the peace process."

Star 19/6/93

# Moments of levity amid the horse-trading



**MDLALOSE:** Sensing trouble, he appealed for patience and understanding.

THE "new" South Africa might be slow in coming, but its gestation is not without its share of levity . . . at least for those at the World Trade Centre who are debating our future.

Despite the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) walk-out of Tuesday's Negotiating Council meeting, much banter was exchanged by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose — who chaired yesterday's meeting — and ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa. When he got Mdlalose to smile, Ramaphosa said: "It's good to see you laughing."

Laughter was the stuff needed to lessen the palpable tensions flowing from Tuesday's

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**  
Political Correspondent

meeting. Sensing trouble, Mdlalose had appealed when opening the meeting to council members to "be patient, understanding and tolerant of one another's views."

Negotiations, he said, did not take place among people who agreed but involved those who had differences. He had hardly finished speaking when "constructive filibustering" — added to our rich political lexicon by the KwaZulu government's Dr Ben Ngubane — began in earnest.

Debate about the day's

agenda lasted 35 minutes, with COSAG members demanding to be allowed to report back to the council on consultations with their principals.

A few more new phrases slipped into negotiators' vocabularies: to "friendly amendments" and "points of information" Ramaphosa added "a point of privilege".

When it was disclosed that yesterday was IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews's birthday and a Labour Party delegate's wedding anniversary, SACP chairman Joe Slovo jokingly said one of his cousins was getting married.

● See Page 10



**RAMAPHOSA:** The ANC chief negotiator managed to get Mdlalose to smile.

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# Farmers Star 1916/93 apply to muzzle Mokaba

OWN  
CORRESPONDENT

AMID calls for the ANC leadership to discipline its Youth League leader Peter Mokaba for again chanting "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer", the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) yesterday launched an application for a Supreme Court interdict against him. (IIF)

Mokaba allegedly repeated the chant before a large crowd on Soweto Day, after the ANC leadership repudiated his use of the slogan.

## Radicals

SAAU president Boet Fourie said the Free State and Transvaal and Natal Agricultural Unions (NAU) supported the move.

NAU president William Mullins said the chant was an "invitation to radicals to kill farmers".

"Already nearly 100 farmers have been killed this year, and we farmers are not prepared to be made targets for political assassinations without putting up a fight.

"We are particularly distressed as Mokaba's earlier use of the chant was repudiated by the ANC leadership," Mullins said.



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# Govt smearing <sup>Star 1916193</sup> us - Makwetu

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**  
**Political Correspondent**

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday denounced the Government's "deliberate campaign" to portray the PAC and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) as "criminals and murderers" (IA) ~~(SIA)~~

Makwetu told a press conference in Johannesburg that Government strategy was to undermine "the legitimacy of the armed struggle against colonial oppressors, and the right of the oppressed to use all means and methods at their disposal to fight against the whole ugly edifice"

## Indignities

This was calculated to distract attention from Pretoria's refusal to enter into a "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the PAC.

Flanked by PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo and national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani, Makwetu said the PAC and APLA were "in principle ready" to enter into negotiations with the Government on the mutual cessation of hostilities, in line with the Harare Declaration of 1989.

Makwetu catalogued some of the indignities to

which blacks in South Africa had been subjected over the years, and accused the Government of waging an armed struggle of its own against the black majority.

"Armed struggle, therefore, arose in order to fight these evils in defence of the oppressed African masses.

"Under international law, oppressed indigenous people have a right to use all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in order to liberate themselves and their country and to assert their right to national self-determination."

Makwetu said the PAC would hold talks with Pretoria "any time" to try to resolve differences on violence: "If they want to meet us, we are ready to meet them even tonight. In other words, we are ready to talk to them any moment."

Makwetu said he was not excited about the setting of a date for the country's first all-inclusive election, saying South Africans did not know what they would be voting for.

The PAC, which wants the election to be for a constituent assembly, reserved its position when the election date was discussed again this week.

# From PAC firebrand to MEC

Star 19/6/93

**A FORMER PAC soldier will be sworn in as Member of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal on Monday. JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter, spoke to him.**

**W**HEN David Chuenyane decided to find out whether the National Party really intended to offer black people a meaningful role in its activities, he went all the way to the top for his answers. "I called the right people and asked them who was the chairman of this area," he recalls. "They told me it was Roelf Meyer. I called him up and said I would like to talk to him."

Chuenyane, a 50-year-old Soweto businessman, met Meyer, who told him "about the future of the new NP". And that convinced him to join up? "Oh no, I still had to meet Pik Botha and the State President. I didn't want just to be a black face in the NP. I wanted to make sure I would be incorporated into the decision-making bodies of the NP."



**NEW ROLE:** Former PAC soldier David Chuenyane now supports the NP. Photograph: George Mashinini

community councillor. "I kept urging him to resign."

At that time, Chuenyane was living in the US, first in California where he did a masters in theology at a seminary, and later in Washington DC. "My relationship with the PAC had lapsed after about three years," he says.

"After military training I fought in Mozambique and Rhodesia, but the organisation was starting to fall apart. The leadership wasn't together, there was no coherent programme... I didn't see any way I was going to improve my life sitting in a camp."

Chuenyane went on to study electronic engineering but says the time in the seminary was a "big part of the change in my life. That is where my thought patterns began to change."

Last year Chuenyane decided to leave his "comfortable life" in the US and return home. "I always had this yearning that some day I could go back to South Africa." Chuenyane, his American wife and their three children returned to the same house in Mapetla, Soweto, from which he had fled years ago. "I had made my money in the US and I could afford to live in the suburbs, but it was right for me to go back to my roots."

But politically, Chuenyane was looking for a new home. "I considered joining the PAC again when it was unbanned, provided we could come up with a programme that would be viable and would help with the liberation of the people. But when I came back they were still deciding about negotiations and there was

still a military wing. I thought that if in one organisation you have two organisations, one of which is doing whatever it thinks is right, we will be back in the same position we were in in the Sixties."

Chuenyane saw no point in joining Inkatha: "Their support is more regional and they don't seem able to deliver." The ANC? "I never really considered them because of my past in the PAC. It was an emotional thing." The DP? "I never gave them a thought. Most of their members are English-speakers who always say they have no blood on their hands, but they colonised this place... at least with the Afrikaners you knew where you stood. If they didn't like you, they told you."

Chuenyane says the NP "removed an albatross from around their necks" when they dropped apartheid. "But for them to change by themselves would be very difficult. They would need some influence and direction. And if more blacks joined the NP it would be easier for us to pursue our dreams and democratic aspirations."

**C**HUENYANE describes with some relish how he was asked to help interview candidates for a new NP regional secretary. "I asked them: 'Have you ever associated with black people? How many black languages can you speak? The party is multiracial now and you should be able to speak at least one.' They were never expecting a question like that. They were not expecting to be interviewed by a black man."

He readily concedes that black people won't easily see the NP as the best vehicle for their dreams — especially as they won't be getting the Meyer-Botha-De Klerk treatment — but he believes his team of five organisers and their canvassers are making headway.

He is candid about his ambitions. "There is no way the ANC can absorb all the black people and give them all opportunities. That is why we are spreading out through all the parties. Of course I am fighting for a cause, but I am also looking for an opportunity to further my career. Why should I lie to people and say I am fighting for them when I am also after more than that?"

# Mokaba silenced

## Youth leader will scrap 'kill' chant

11A  
2/19/6/93

By GUY OLIVER

**ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said yesterday he would scrap the controversial chant "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" from his repertoire.**

In an interview he said he had decided to stop chanting the song in line with the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) decision that it not be sung.

"I am part of the NEC and will therefore abide by policy."

His decision would also promote non-racialism, he said.

The "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan was responsible for inciting racial tension, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa acknowledged yesterday.

He said the ANC's position on the chant remained the same: "It is not a reflection of ANC policy and is not appropriate in the current political climate."

He said the ANC would be issuing a statement shortly on what disciplinary action it intended taking against those who violated its policy on inflammatory slogans.

Although some ANC members might defy the call "the opposition remains the same" from the leadership, he said.

Last week ANC national spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said "the question of whether or not to ban the slogan, was

merely discussed" at the NEC meeting.

Mr Mokaba declined to elaborate on the discussions and said: "The NEC doesn't sit down and discuss chants when we have more important business."

He said the decision yesterday by the SA Agricultural Union that "an application be made in court for an interdict prohibiting Mr Peter Mokaba from using inflammatory slogans against farmers" had no bearing on his decision.



**CHANT NO MORE** ... Peter Mokaba

The interdict would not be necessary as he would no longer use it, he said.

The toyi-toying "cannot be cancelled, not by anyone", he said. "I will lead the toyi-toying and if anyone tries to stop us he will have a fight on his hands."

He said "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" was being used by other forces to discredit the ANC through the killing of farmers.

Mr Mokaba said he was not opposed to the historical relevance of the chant and denied it

was inflammatory towards farmers.

"I condemn the killing of farmers just as I condemn the killing of people in the townships. We will find the killers of farmers in the same ranks as the those killing our people."

He said the killing of farmers was part of an internal destabilisation operation by the National Party.

"Kill the farmer, kill the Boer" was a response to the militarisation of the farmers on the borders into commandos and the "killing of our people".



**STRIKING A POSE...** The Companions, a group of mostly senior citizens who put on concerts for fellow senior citizens, yesterday entertained about 700 people at the Sea Point Civic Centre. Here backstage with some of the audience are artists (left to right) Roy Cheek, Miora Marshbank, Velda Savage, Gwen Marshbank and Elizabeth Neumann.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

# 72-hour ultimatum to PAC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has been given 72 hours to accept a declaration committing all 26 organisations at the multi-party talks to the suspension of the armed struggle and other forms of hostility and violence.

Unless the PAC accepts the declaration, the government will ask the Negotiating Council to suspend the organisation from the talks, government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said: "This situation (the PAC's armed struggle) has got to come to an end."

The PAC is "optimistic" it will be able to reach an accommodation with government on the issue, PAC negotiator Ms Patricia de Lille said last night.

Ms De Lille said she believed it was possible for agreement to be reached on a "total or all-round cessation of hostilities".

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also warned the PAC to sign the declaration. He said the 72-hour break given

to the PAC would be its "very last opportunity" to sign the document.

A source stated yesterday that the PAC was under enormous pressure in the Planning Committee from the ANC and the SACP to sign on the dotted line.

It is thought that the ANC believed it would only be possible to rein-in ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba — and end the chant of "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" — once the PAC suspended its commitment to

the armed struggle.

The source said there was pressure from government "but the real tough stuff is coming from the ANC and SACP".

President FW de Klerk told police cadets at a graduation parade in Pretoria yesterday that negotiators would insist that any political party that killed police and civilians stop if it wanted to be part of a negotiated settlement.

He slammed as "arrogant" an Apla announcement made in Namibia on Thursday.

'Civil war may be option'

JOHANNESBURG. — IFFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he believed in a federal system for a democratic South Africa and warned civil war might be the only option if this goal was denied. "I have never believed in violence. I never accepted violence as a way of solving problems. But what will be will be," he was quoted as telling foreign correspondents.

Asked if he was prepared to lead his people in revolt, he replied: "If it is the only option, to lead my people through these dark waters, then it will be the option I will follow."

Later Chief Buthelezi denied he had said he would go to war if a federal system for a democratic South Africa was not adopted.

"What I said was there was already a low-grade civil war in KwaZulu, and that this would get worse if federalism was not considered," he said. — Sapa

## crack of dawn



I see Absa wants R23 million for its Hout Bay dune property site. It goes to show Absa doesn't make the heart grow fonder.

## Pagel appeal date awaited

By IAN GAULT

THE Western Province Rugby Football Union is awaiting a date for the appeal over its banned prop Garry Pagel.

WPRFU president Mr Ronnie Masson said yesterday all matters had been attended to in lodging the appeal, and only a date for the hearing was needed.

The SA Rugby Football Union is expected to respond soon.

## Mandela and Buthelezi fail to meet over dinner

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not attend a peace award dinner last night — dashing hopes that the dinner would see the first public meeting between the two men since 1991.

At the dinner former Nigerian president General Olusegun Obasanjo awarded the first Africa Peace Award to the Durban township Mpu-malanga — where an historic truce has held out in what was one of the most strife-torn areas in the country.

Yesterday it was reported that Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba

was in the process of finalising the date for the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi indicated at a civic luncheon in Randburg yesterday that they will meet in a few days.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who brokered the proposed meeting at Bishops court in Cape Town, is in the United States at the moment.

Chief Buthelezi said Bishop Mogoba who was making arrangements on Bishop Tutu's behalf had spoken to him this week. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

## BUSINESS BRIEF

... to 'pay for ...'

# PAC stalls for time at

Star 19/6/93

## Tuesday deadline on armed struggle

THE proposed multi-party declaration on the suspension or cessation of armed struggle has been put off for ratification until Tuesday.

The postponement of the matter, which is intended to resolve the difficulties between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress, came after yet another request by the PAC to consult with its principals.

This time, said the PAC's Patricia de Lille, the movement's president, Clarence Makwetu, was waiting to consult with PAC delegates to a conference in Cairo.

The declaration was tabled at the World Trade Centre talks in a final amended form yesterday afternoon following an earlier debate in

which more than 30 speakers took part.

It was proposed that parties able to endorse the amended declaration do so and those still wanting clarification be given until Tuesday to follow suit. The postponement was offered because the PAC needed further consultation.

However, it was decided, with stern warnings to the PAC, that decisions and endorsements by all the parties would be postponed until Tuesday, when the Government's Roelf Meyer insisted, a decision should be taken by the council on what to do with those parties who refused to endorse the declaration.

The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa also warned: "They (the PAC) should understand it as the last opportunity to get this declaration adopted." — Sapa

talks

# ANC surveys fresh image for election

By **AYESHA ISMAIL** *STimes*

THE ANC is to "slightly modify" its logo and use a "particular" picture of ANC president Nelson Mandela in its election campaign. *[Cape Metro]*

This is disclosed in an internal ANC document which was discussed at the organisation's general council meeting in Manenberg last week.

The confidential document, which Cape Metro has obtained, also reveals that the ANC will run its election campaign in two phases. *2016/193*

Phase One, the "preparation phase", will be run from June 1 to August 31 this year.

Phase Two, the campaign "We are the ANC — We are ready to govern", will run from September 1 to December 10 this year. *(11A)*

The document also includes a national survey — based on information from three different surveys by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Omnichack, and the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) — which state that ANC leaders, as opposed to government leaders, are not well trusted and believed by coloured voters.

"The ANC gets by far the most blame for political violence and the poor state of the economy. Some blame the IFP and very few blame the government," the document said.

In a "mock ballot" 28 percent of African ANC supporters did not vote correctly, the document said.

"Overall the results mean we will win just below 60 percent of the vote at present, the NP less than 15 percent and all other parties less than five percent."

**F**ORGET about the rantings of Peter Mokaba, Apla and the AWB.

Their slogans and chants are to be expected from our sad, divided SA as we move along towards democracy.

Peace-loving South Africans are understandably appalled – especially when our politicians are hammering out a peace settlement at the World Trade Centre.

But is the media not giving undue publicity to the chants of those who do not deserve it?

Why should the rhetoric, delivered so cavalierly before the toy-toting throngs, be more weighty than the painstaking achievements of 26 political groups at the World Trade Centre?

A well-respected black medical doctor and Jo'burg West ANC branch official told me this week his committee was forced to expel a radical white member who persistently chanted "Kill the boer! Kill

**MY WAY**  
With Khulu Sibiya

# SA's Uhuru is different



IIA  
C/P/raen  
20/6/93.

the farmer!" in their meetings!

He said: "In my constituency not all of us agree with this chant. It's even worse if it comes from a white member. I think he was an agent provocateur."

Nonetheless, it seems our political movements are grappling with a split between those who genuinely want change and those who are earnestly resisting it!

In the ANC, Cyril Ramaphosa leads the pro-negotiations camp – those who honestly believe negotiations are the only

way for the ANC to become the next government. On the other hand there is the youth – the majority of the ANC's membership – under Mokaba's influence who believe mass action and militancy are the only option left for a black takeover.

The NP government is similarly engaged. Roelf Meyer, their constitutional leader, is trying to score the best possible power-sharing deal for the outgoing NP. Radicals to the right of him under the caustic leadership of Henus Kriel believe they can still cling

to power, no matter what.

Meanwhile, both the NP and the ANC leadership, locked in deep discussion together at the World Trade Centre, seem far removed from their grassroots support. They give little or no feedback at all to the people who will matter the most, the voters.

Inkatha, on the other hand, seems to have bigger problems. Firstly, it was an unwise decision on their part to ally with discredited leaders like Oupa Gqozo and Lucas Mangope.

Worse still, was that they joined forces with the

white rightwing, whose main purpose all along has been to deny black power.

The regional or federal state Chief Buthelezi is demanding at the Centre is different to that demanded by the white rightwing.

The Afrikaners within Cosag demand the right for self-determination for its own *volk* without being prescriptive to others. They want to maintain their own ethnic identity. Does Buthelezi want the same for blacks or the Zulus?

The PAC, on the other hand, is the only political movement that still has an army outside the borders of SA. Will this army declare war should the PAC lose the election and to what extent is the PAC leadership in full control of this army?

While SA is the last country in Africa to be liberated, it would seem we are not going to go the same route to Uhuru as our neighbours.

Everything will come from the World Trade Centre.

# Cessation must be mutual - PAC

*C Press 20/6/93*

■ From Page 1

understand it as the last opportunity to get this declaration adopted"

PAC president Clarence Makwetu has already indicated that the PAC will not bow to government pressure. (IIA) (204A)

And PAC sec-gen Benny Alexander has been even more forthright, saying: "If the entire negotiating forum kicks out the PAC, the PAC will not force itself on the forum."

Soon after the PAC was given this ultimatum, Makwetu repeated the organisation's position that they will only agree to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg, he said: "The PAC has put its case clearly. We are prepared to sit down and discuss how to bring about a mutual cessation of hostilities, but the government has not done that yet. Until then we cannot agree to it."

Makwetu further accused the government of not being willing to discuss the issue of a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Alexandra said five points had to be considered before the PAC could agree to an end to hostilities. These were:

- Agreement on a constituent assembly;
- Agreement on the future of Apla soldiers;
- The role of the international community in enforcing resolutions;
- The form of the future army and;
- The issue of the arsenals of various armies.

Earlier, the government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer accused the PAC of conducting an armed struggle while negotiating at the same time.

Asked to comment on Meyer's accusation, Makwetu pointed out that the government was also doing this.

## 'Talks or struggle - but not both!'

*C Press 20/6/93*

By MOSES MAMAILA and Sapa

THE PAC's participation in the constitutional talks hangs in the balance if - as is expected - they refuse to end the armed struggle. (IIA) (204A)

The organisation has until Tuesday to decide whether they endorse a draft declaration which binds all participants at the talks to an immediate end to hostilities.

The matter will have a final hearing when the talks resume at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday.

ANC sec-gen Cyril Ramaphosa has already entered the fray and warned the PAC that "they should

■ To Page 2



# Rallies punt peace — and war

By ZANELE VUTELA

Cross 2016193

JUNE 16 will never be the same again.

Most political organisations said this year's commemoration would be "the last" under apartheid.

(11A) Glaring differences emerged in the liberation movement's youth about the significance of the day.

The PAC rally at the Jabulani amphitheatre was dominated by a war-like stance among the youth — T-shirts bore the slogans "Each bullet takes us forward", and

"Apla sticks to the gun".

The chant "One settler, one bullet" rang out throughout the day. Even the priest who conducted the opening service chanted the slogan.

The mood at the ANC's service at the Hector Peterson monument in Orlando West was more subdued — although the youth could not be prevented from chanting "Kill the boer! Kill the farmer".

The day's theme — "Mobilise for the next election to make sure that in 1994 Mandela is the new president" — was

clearly an exercise in electioneering.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told the packed Orlando stadium he understood the youth's anger and that it was justified, but warned the youth to play its role in such a way that it did not frighten other communities. This was in order to keep the spirit of non-racialism alive.

Mandela warned: "Those who want to derail negotiations have a fight on their hands, Umkhonto weSizwe is alive. All our youth who want to be soldiers must join."

# 'I NEVER SAID IT'

Cifess 20/6/93

BY MOSES MAMAILA

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba has vehemently denied that he led the controversial chant "Kill the boer! Kill the farmer!" at the June 16 rally in Soweto.

The slogan has been banned by the ANC.

This is despite reports that Mokaba led the chant during a June 16 rally at Orlando stadium.

"I did not chant the slogan," Mokaba said emphatically. He says it was chanted by youths who were standing next to him.

"What should be clear however, is I will not abandon the toyi-toyi," he said. He accused the media of trying to mesh the chant with the toyi-toyi.

He said the ANC did not abandon the chant because of pressure by "the boers" but because the organisation was in the process of building the nation.

## Reports

However, reporters who attended the rally at Orlando stadium on Wednesday maintained that Mokaba led the chant, in what was seen as open defiance of the ANC call to abandon the chant.

Asked if the ANC would censure Mokaba, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The necessary action will probably be taken."

He said the matter was still under discussion.

He said the ANC leadership would meet Mokaba to discuss the issue but maintained that at this stage he could not pre-empt the outcome of the meeting.

"What should be clear is that the ANC is against the slogan."

Asked what measures the ANC would take against its members found chanting the slogan, Niehaus said that would be announced after the meeting with Mokaba.

Explaining why the chant, which is popular among militant youths, should no longer be chanted, ANC President Nelson Mandela said the move was in keeping with the spirit of building the nation.



PLACARDS BEAT BLACKBOARDS ... Throngs of teachers made their point clear when they marched through the centre of Cape Town this week.

FANIE JASON

# Next 5 days will tell what the future holds for SA

By SEKOLA SELLO

CIPress 2016193

In the next five days the world is likely to know whether SA is headed for what one observer poignantly referred to as a racial miracle or, as many fear, a racial catastrophe.

On June 25 the Negotiating Forum is expected to endorse a recommendation by the Negotiating Council that elections be held next April 27, a decision which could precipitate a serious crisis for the fragile multi-party talks. (SOTA) (11)

The Council's recommendation - made at the beginning of this year - was strongly opposed by Inkatha and their allies in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and a few other homeland parties.

In the last two weeks of talks these parties have used every trick in the game to prevent the announcement of the election date. However, they have been outmanoeuvred by their principal rivals, the government and the ANC. (11A)

Predictions of a massive racial conflagration have been made in the past and all of them have been proven wrong. There is little to suggest that the country could be poised on the brink of serious trouble.

The fact that most of the country's major political players are still talking to each other also makes nonsense of predictions of looming disaster.

But the relative civility of the talks at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport belies the serious problems that lie ahead. There are serious differences between two distinct groupings, those for early elections and those opposed to them.

The government, ANC and its allies in the Patriotic Front are for early elections while Cosag are opposed and using various ploys to delay this aim.

## Warning

This week Cosag once more warned against going ahead with an election date before the issues of what form the state should take, federalism and an Afrikaner homeland have been dealt with.

Afrikaner Volksunie member CD de Jager warned against making hurried decisions that "one day we will all be sorry about".

This was an ominous warning coming from a party generally considered less hardline than the Conservative Party and other rightwing formations.

It is generally accepted that, once an election date has been set, the CP will walk out. Short of an Afrikaner homeland, it is difficult to see how the CP can be persuaded to remain in the talks.

Both Inkatha and the KwaZulu government have indicated that even if they do not walk out, they will not be bound by the decisions taken at the talks. Several other minority parties from Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa could also take similar positions.

Although the PAC are for early elections, their participation in them is conditional on two factors. They insist that these must be for a constituent assembly. They also demand the question of the mutual cessation of hostilities between their armed wing Apla and the security forces be resolved.

The movement's national organiser Maxwell Nemasivhanani states the obvious when he says it is "practically impossible" that these two issues will have been dealt with by June 25.

According to Nemasivhanani, until these two problems are resolved there is no basis for the holding of elections.

The positions taken by the rightwing groupings - both black and white - and the PAC is a clear indication that some important role players could boycott the April elections.

The ANC and government will in the coming days try hard to placate the CP, AVU, PAC and Inkatha to ensure their participation in the elections - an effort many consider hopeless.

Should they succeed then the racial miracle many are hoping for could be on the horizon. The alternative, in the words of the late unlamented Prime Minister John Vorster, could be too ghastly to contemplate.

The next five days could indeed be crucial to this country.

# Hani slaying ups support for ANC

SI Times 2016/93  
By CHIARA CARTER

INDEPENDENT surveys of coloured voter opinion in the Western Cape shortly before and just after the assassination of Chris Hani have revealed a big swing to the ANC. (S)

The later poll, conducted by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys, showed the ANC would command just over 23 percent of the coloured vote — more than double the findings of previous surveys.

According to the survey, support for the Democratic Party had risen to about 10 percent from seven percent, while that for the NP dropped from just under half to a third. (11A)

Equally startling was the high percentage of undecided voters — 16 percent didn't know and 12

percent did not support any party.

A survey of coloured males on April 22 indicated the ANC commanded as much as 32 percent of support — more than double the 15 percent the organisation enjoyed in a survey among women on April 8, two days before the Hani slaying.

The largest number of ANC supporters were between the ages of 18 and 34 — the so-called "boycott generation".

The survey, which has a five percent variable, was carried out among 200 men and 200 women.

A separate national survey of white voters conducted by Omnicheck in April indicated support for the NP had plummeted from 40 percent in October 1992 to only one in four voters.

# AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

HURLING toward its first major deadline, the Negotiating Council stopped the clock for three days this week to dance a delicate and dangerous minuet.

The negotiations have to deliver concrete proposals to the parent body, the Negotiating Forum, this week. They have few in hand, and only three days of talks to go before the forum meets at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

But instead of heeding the looming need to take a decision, any decision, on substantive issues, delegates turned to playing out an inevitable power struggle.

From the start, the mood was ugly on Tuesday. The Kwazulu government, taking its turn as "Cosag bad cop" this week, choreographed a bickering group of allies, seizing on procedural issues to doggedly corral the meeting towards confrontation.

It forced the council to spend the whole of Tuesday debating, in effect, the placing of an item on the agenda.

Eventually, fumbling forests of documents into briefcases in an attempt to catch up with the others, the Cosag delegates left.

The dread "walkout" had happened.

They were leaving to "consult with principals", they said — a bit rich on Inkatha's part, considering that Dr Ben Ngubane's precipitate confrontational statement was freshly faxed from Ulundi.

But it was a clear reminder to the government and the ANC alliance that Cosag would no longer take the bullying of the two main players.

Tickled like dull trout, or bludgeoned into compliance, the Cosag parties had been carried along for seven weeks — but they weren't going to take it any more.

Of course, two days later they walked in again, point taken.

After a brief scolding, the main contenders restored peace, launching into appalling quips to lighten the mood.

The lullaby continued into the afternoon when the council settled down to debate constitutional principles on the clear understanding that they were not taking binding decisions.

This was a deliberate strategy to "show them that there is nothing dangerous or frightening about debating real issues", said a National Party member.

A committee of constitutional experts duly noted the concerns expressed and the agenda moved on.

By Friday, villains had appeared against whom many of the parties could safely unite — the PAC and the CP.

Frustrated by the PAC's intransigence on the violence issue, the government brought its bilateral talks concerns to a council demanding a progress report on

these: An attempt to get the PAC to stop killing people — and boasting about it — was transmuted into a general declaration of cessation of hostilities to be signed by all in the council.

Of vital importance to the government, the declaration would send the message that the talks had stopped the killings.

It was also a terrible gamble that may backfire. Until now, the fact that the PAC negotiates while its armed wing guns down civilians in pubs has been largely obfuscated by the movement's complaints about last month's police raid. Now, having been brought into the open, the issue

will taint the process and embarrass the government if the PAC fails to sign the declaration when the debate re-opens on Tuesday.

The PAC was not the only one to squirm in the spotlight of the declaration: the Far Right, which hints darkly at the consequences

should it not get its way, balked at committing itself to not taking up arms if that should happen.

It is unlikely to happen, and therein lies one of the most cynical of all the negotiation strategies.

The Conservative Party has admitted privately that it will not pander to those "just drooling for us to walk out" by quitting the talks for good "until the end".

Knowing full well that Kempton Park cannot deliver an Afrikaner homeland of the sort it seeks, the CP participates to give the appearance of trying the nobler option before resorting to confrontation.

Perhaps it believes that the world will rally to support its self-determination in the way that Europeans raised a small army to help the brave little Boer nation fight beastly Britain 90 years ago.

But diplomats at the talks are sickened by the CP double-talk.

CP delegate Fanie Jacobs thrice ducked the question of how citizenship would be determined when he rose to explain his vision of self-determination to the council.

Through commitment to our ideals, he said, through the law of descent.

Mr Jacobs' presentation provided a diversion — as did the open laughter when he again warned of "disastrous consequences".

As the week wound down, the resident voice of reason, Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress delegate Prayin Gordhan, reminded the council: "We have reached the point where we have got to become decisive about substantive issues."

Behind his dry delivery lay a warning: some parties — and his supports the ANC — believe they had already made significant compromises. It was up to the others to follow suit. They have three days.

## It's time for the Kempton Park crew to cut the cackle

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON

## Abuse claim

THE Mtsuenyane commission into alleged abuses at ANC camps heard this week that three Quatro camp inmates had complained of eardrum damage caused by torture.

However, the ANC's former medical chief in Angola, Dr Haggar McBerry, said the allegations were false. (11) (11)

He said it could not be confirmed that a fourth inmate had suffered a broken limb as a result of torture.

The commission heard its last evidence on Friday and is due to report by the end of the month. (11) (11)

# How ANC

# will rebuild police force

S Times 20/6/93



AN ANC government would disband the SAP's internal stability unit and check the file of every SAP member to rid the force of people "with blood on their hands".

This was the message from the ANC this week as President FW de Klerk told 1 800 recruits at the Pretoria Police College that policemen were "assured of their role in a future dispensation".

Mr Matthew Phosa, head of the ANC's legal department, said it was "naive to assume the police force would be left untouched".

"You can't leave the present management of the SAP in control. They must be retired so this country's past cannot be repeated.

"The present command structure is characterised by white male Afrikaans conservatives. Can they be trusted to protect a new constitution and proposed bill of rights?

"Like the SADF, the SAP is seen as an instrument of oppression.

## Promote

"Neither group has ever been accountable to the people of South Africa, and it is crucial that the police force becomes legitimate in the eyes of the population."

The ANC had considered two options for dealing with the SAP.

"We could disband it entirely, which could lead to anarchy, or we could agree on its exact role and then implement a programme of affirmative action," said Mr Phosa.

"We choose the latter, and intend to promote black officers to the highest ranks."

Mr Phosa said the existing SAP could never be impartial or open to "democratic values".

But while the majority of current SAP members would remain in the force, they would have to be "reoriented to the values of a new constitution".

However, there would be no place for the internal stability unit, which was "completely unacceptable" in its existing form.

"Depending on their personal history, ISU members would be retrained

By NICK OLIVARI

and given alternative posts. Ideally, the ISU should be replaced in the run-up to elections by a multi-party peacekeeping force," said Mr Phosa.

The ANC was especially concerned by the fact that key positions in the SAP were held by former security branch members.

"We view the right wing as taking control of the SAP. They have positioned themselves in power and are still dealing with us as if we are the enemy. The human rights perspective of the current command is pathetic."

The ANC would like to see trained Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres form the core of the new police force.

"A number of them have already been trained abroad for this purpose," said Mr Phosa.

Brigadier Andre Beukes, a key figure in negotiations on the SAP's role under a future government, said most members would adapt to changing circumstances.

Admitting there was uncertainty about the future in SAP ranks, he said any policeman who did a "professional job" had nothing to fear.

"The key lies in being apolitical and impartial, resisting the temptation to be involved in political issues and moving at all times within the law-and-order mandate of the community we serve," said Brigadier Beukes.

**Racist slogan  
should be  
banned from  
public arena**

*S Times 20/6/93*

*(11A)*

"VRYSTAAT" is probably the best-known South African slogan but "Bulala Amabhunu" is fast replacing it. Where "Vrystaat" unified South Africans, "Bulala Amabhunu", wrongly translated as "kill the farmer, kill the boer", does the opposite.

A slogan, like the bumper sticker, expresses in a short, punchy way the feelings, aspirations, dislikes and commitment of people. Each of us can think of slogans which evoke a nostalgia which can include joy, hope, hatred, sadness, solidarity, blood lust and determination.

Slogans, war cries, songs and chants are emotional levers with which to stimulate our loyalty, commitment and anger or simply serve to remind us of happy memories and warm companionship. The emotional connotations can make them powerful, destructive and irrational weapons in the mouths of manipulative politicians.

**Banned**

Unlike "Vrystaat", many slogans are exclusive. The cry of "Amathembu" will only be supported by Transkeian Xhosas; "Kom Boere" by Afrikaners and "Usuthu" by Zulu warriors.

The slogan that grips our interest at present is "Bulala Amabhunu". "Mayibuye Afrika" (let Africa return to us), "Tswa Lethu" (the country

is ours), "Amandla Awethu" (power is ours) are old cries.

Others are controversial such as "Gatsha is a dog" (chanted by the ANC); "You have cleaned the blood from our hearts, Janusz Walus" (chanted by the IFP); "One settler, one bullet" (chanted by the PAC).

Because of the galvanising effect on the supporters and opponents of slogans, it is important to analyse them when they are used for political purposes in a context of race, tribe and language.

The word "bulala" has definite connotations of violent killing or killing in anger. A bull would be slaughtered (hlaba) for its meat but it would be killed (bulala) if it had gored somebody.

Although not as strong as murder, the word carries some of those connotations. It is totally unacceptable to civilised society for any political party to use "bulala" as part of its armoury of slogans and the word should be banned from the South African political vocabulary.

The word "Amabhunu" is

**GRAHAM McINTOSH examines what is meant by 'Bulala Amabhunu', the chant ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba says he won't abandon**

presented to South Africa as meaning "farmer", but this is an incorrect translation. "isiBhunu" is Afrikaans in Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi. "iBhunu" means an Afrikaner and "amaBhunu" means Afrikaners in general.

Just as white South Africans are in no doubt as to what is meant by "Afrikaner", black South Africans understand precisely the same by the word "iBhunu".

Carl Niehaus, FW de Klerk, Eugene Terre Blanche and Zach de Beer are all "amaBhunu". As far north as Kenya where Afrikaners are called "Kaburu" in Swahili, Afrikaners are as clearly identified as the Batswana, are, as a tribe of Africa which is loved, feared, detested but always respected.

"Amabhunu" can have the hint of a "smear" in it rather as the words "Vaalpens" (Transvaler), "soutie" (white)

English-speaking South African) and "hairyback" (Afrikaner) have.

**Regime**

"Amabhunu" does have a wider context in the sense that it represents the "regime" because the policemen who enforced influx control, the civil servants with whom blacks dealt with in terms of apartheid legislation, the prison warders, the ticket inspectors and conductors on the trains were mostly Afrikaners.

They came to represent the regime that implemented apartheid and so personified white baasskap. That may be a sense in which the ANC, Youth League and MK use "Amabhunu". To see the word as meaning "farmers" is simply nonsense.

In the final analysis, "Bulala Amabhunu" is a blood-thirsty, tribalistic and racist slogan which is disgusting and shameful in the context of South Africa's politics.

□ Graham McIntosh, who farms near Estcourt, is a former PFP MP.



ARC 2/16/93

## Rival leaders to talk on Wednesday

The Argus Correspondent (11A) (11)

JOHANNESBURG. — The meeting which violence-torn South Africa has been waiting for will be held near here on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops court, Archbishop Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue as, in view of time constraints, it would be more convenient to hold it near Johannesburg.

It will be the second meeting since Mr Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29, 1991 in Durban.

Since then the country has been in a spiral of violence, which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers.

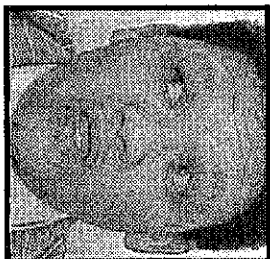
But political rivalry between the two parties goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed.

Archbishop Tutu called on all Anglican bishops to hold a prayer vigil on Wednesday.

The Anglican leader leaves Oslo today and is expected to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow.

PAC general-secretary 'embarrassment to African unity'

# ANC fires salvo at Alexander



APR 21/6/95  
Benny Alexander  
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

MILITANT ANC Western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni is waging a war of words against PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander — labelling him an embarrassment to his organisation and to African unity.

Mr Yengeni's blistering attack follows sharp criticism of Mr Alexander at a rally in Guguletu yesterday.

It comes on the eve of the PAC's high noon with the ANC and the government over signing a declaration committing all 26 parties at the multiparty negotiations to suspending violence and the armed struggle.

While the government and the ANC have warned the PAC they face suspension from the talks if they do not sign the declaration tomorrow, some of the latest opinion polls show increasing support for the PAC.

Research analyst Dr Jan Hofmeyr has claimed that the PAC, with its largely black support base, is poised to emerge as the single most powerful electoral force next to the ANC.

Yesterday Mr Yengeni challenged Mr Alexander to a public debate, calling him a "demagogue and rightwing opportunist".

Today he said the ANC was angry because Mr Alexander had condemned as a "sell-out" its proposals for a transitional executive council.

"Whenever he opens his mouth he insults our leadership. We find his attacks unacceptable. They must stop."

There was no way a liberation organisation led by Mr Nelson Mandela and the late Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Chris Hani could be accused of being "sell-outs".

Mr Yengeni accused Mr Alexander of trying to gain support at the expense of the ANC leadership.

"He wants to get into parliament on the back of our sacrifices."

He claimed Mr Alexander was not helping to build unity between the ANC and the PAC on the eve of South Africa's first non-racial elections.

"Now is the time for all those claiming to fight for liberation to unite."

He said the ANC did not have any problems with the PAC.

"Our problem is with Benny Alexander. If he wants war we'll accept the challenge in the Western Cape."

Meanwhile PAC organising co-ordinator in the Western Cape Sisa Mhambi is to see Mr Yengeni at the ANC's Woodstock offices today to discuss what he called an "explosive" situation in Crossroads.

"What he said about Benny may come up," said Mr Mhambi.

It seemed Mr Yengeni had misunderstood Mr Alexander's criticism of the TEC, he said.

# Women want Winnie back as chairman

## Political Staff

THE Concerned ANC Women's League (CAWL) has called for Winnie Mandela to be reinstated as chairman of the PWV region with a warning that, if she were not, "the masses would take action".

The executive committee, speaking at a Press briefing at Mandela's home in Soweto yesterday, said it was giving the Women's League National Executive Committee until July 4 to accede to its demands.

It also called for the reinstatement of the entire executive committee.

The group said the recent Appellate Division outcome had vindicated its belief that Mandela was unjustly tried by

the media and the ANC cabal".

"She is still the 'Mother of the Nation' and now we feel she has to resume her status." Meanwhile, Mrs Mandela said at the weekend: "Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicions until the people are involved."

She was speaking in her capacity as the chairman of the South African National Civic Organisation at the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa regional congress in Germiston.

"I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling of my people in the name of negotiations."

(119)  
ANC 21/6/92

## OAU may fund ANC, PAC voter education

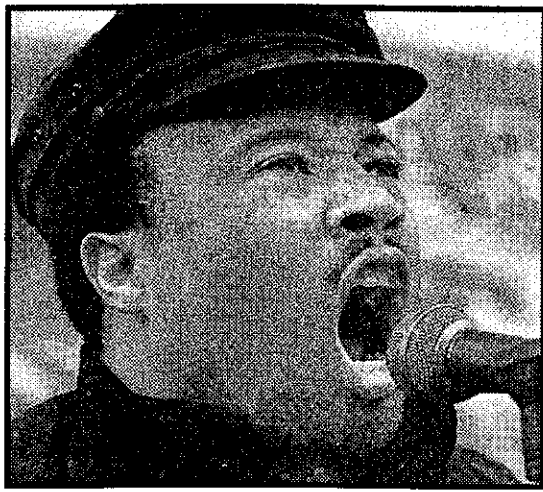
CAIRO. — Special voter education funds might be given to the ANC and PAC, if the Organisation of African Unity accepts recommendations by its liberation committee.

A report issued at the weekend suggests a fund be established to channel money directly to the ANC and the PAC for voter education. (SAPA)

The two organisations already receive continuing support from the OAU's liberation fund which has a shortfall of nearly \$15 million (about R45m).

ANC representative Mr Stanley Mabizela said he had emphasised the importance of support for the election. — Sapa (11A) (SAPA) CJ21/6/93





**THREAT:** ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni threatens mass action.

# 'Boer' chant 'does not mean killing whites'

11A  
AUG 21 16 1973

**VUYO BAVUMA, Staff Reporter**

THE controversial chant: "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" does not mean individual whites should be murdered, but refers to the crushing of "white supremacy", according to ANC Youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba.

He said the people would not apologise for their culture of resistance, opposing the "Boer" system which they equated with "evil" white supremacy.

The ANC had launched a non-racial struggle and did not approve of the killing of individual whites, he said.

Mr Mokaba was speaking at a rally in Guguletu, attended by thousands to announce the handing over of Ikapa town council houses to residents from July 1.

The authorities agreed to hand over the houses after a nine-day sit-in at the council offices by ANC Women's League members last month.

Mr Mokaba said: "When we say 'Kill the Boer', we don't mean that whites should be killed, but to destroy the boer system. And we won't apologise for that.

"It is the whites who should march to us, not us. If they don't like our culture, they don't like South Africa. The crux of our struggle is the liberation of the African masses."

Township councillors were not whites, but were advancing the system of the "Boers" — and the people were against them.

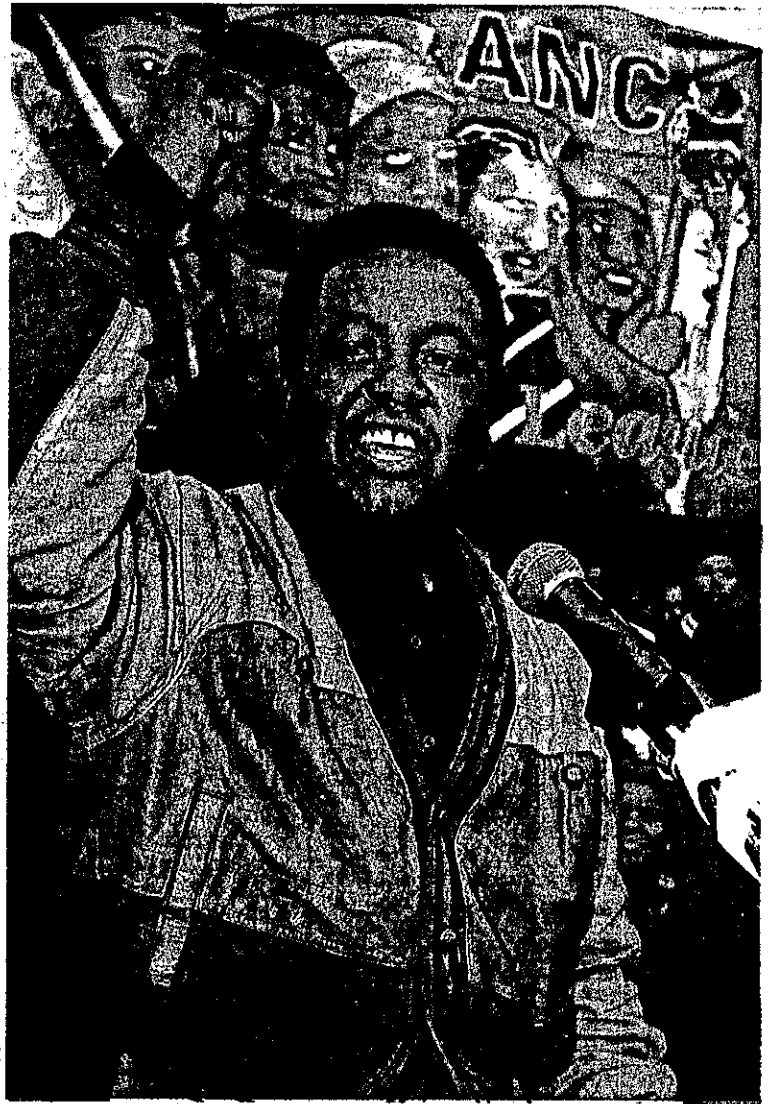
"We won't be threatened by our enemies' guns. We also have guns. We aren't afraid. We are soldiers. We'll return fire by fire.

"We'll continue to challenge our enemies whether Peter Mokaba is alive or not," he said.

Militant ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said people would unleash mass action if "Boers" refused to take their hands off Mr Mokaba and Mr Mandela's estranged wife Winnie Mandela.

The people would also display their anger to make their point.

Later chants of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer," resounded through the crowd after Mr Yengeni asked them to "lift up your hands if you want to hear the slogan".



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

**CHANT:** ANC Youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba explains the controversial chant: "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer".



**CROWD:** Part of the crowd at the rally attended by thousands of people in Guguletu to announce the handing over of Ikapa town council houses to residents from July 1.

Mandela, Buthelezi to meet this week

# Go-ahead for peace talks

Star 21/6/93

Staff Reporter

The meeting violence-racked South Africa has been waiting for is to take place near Johannesburg on Wednesday.

In a dramatic breakthrough last night, church leaders announced that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to talk face-to-face for only the second time in three years.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is flying home today from Europe to co-chair the meeting with the Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The meeting was to have been held at Bishops Court, Tutu's official residence in Cape Town, but the two parties suggested the new venue would be more convenient in view of time constraints.

It will be the second meeting since Mandela was released from prison in February 1990. The first was on January 29 1991 in Durban.

Since then, the country has been in a spiral of violence which has seen hundreds killed in clashes between Inkatha and ANC followers. Political rivalry between the two parties, however, goes back about eight years, during which an estimated 15 000 people have been killed, Sapa reported last night.

John Allen, Tutu's spokesman, told the media last night: "The objective (of this meeting) is peace."

No details of Wednesday's agenda, decided upon by a joint preparatory committee, have been released, but it is expected that issues such as free political activity, the disbandment of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, public display of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels will be on the list.

"The agenda is still being discussed and has not yet been finalised", Methodist Church spokesman Ruth Coggin said.

The ANC has until now brushed aside calls from Buthelezi for a meeting, saying it was unlikely the two individuals could solve the complex violence issue and that unless such a meeting was well prepared, it could exacerbate the situation rather than improve it.

The IFP's point has been that if Buthelezi and Mandela could publicly join hands and declare their commitment to peace and tolerance, this would go a long way to convincing their followers this was the path to follow.

In their joint statement, Mogoba and Bishop Michael Nuttall, Dean of the (Anglican) Church of the Province, thanked Inkatha and the ANC for their "hard work in arranging the meeting".

ANC and IFP spokesmen welcomed the news.

Carl Niehaus of the ANC said the meeting was long in the offing and there had been a lot of preparation.

Walter Felgate of Inkatha said Buthelezi and Mandela should "get on with things that really mattered" and not "old politics" — as he described some of the expected issues on the agenda.



Frosted fencing . . . today is the shortest day of the year — and the sea certainly making itself felt. This scene outside Johannesburg yesterday shows just how far below freezing the mercury dropped. Picture: Joe

## Midwinter chill will linger

Sub-zero temperatures before dawn, and crisp, cold days will continue this week in the PWV area, marking the winter solstice.

It will warm up to a maximum of 24 deg C in Pretoria by Wednesday — but a Weather Bureau spokesman said the chill would be back over the region again by Thursday.

The weekend was the coldest in the central interior so far this winter, with the mercury dropping to well below

freezing at most places. The lowest temperature of -9 deg C was recorded at Trompsburg, in the Free State, early yesterday, while -8 deg C was recorded at Ficksburg, Hendrik Verwoerd Dam, Edenburg and Hobhouse, also in the Free State.

It was -7 deg C in Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom. At Philippolis, Verkeerdevlei, Jagersfontein and Bethlehem, the mercury dropped to -6 deg C, and at Hertzog-

ville, Bain's Vlei and Hof to -5 deg C. It was Klerksdorp, Postmasburg and Kuruman. Priesburg, in the Cape, with 4 deg C was the only place in the country where the weather office reported a temperature above freezing.

The weather office would remain cold in the next few weeks, with night temperatures ranging well below freezing at most places at least in the next few days. —

## Pupil and driver killed in triple smash on N1

By Peter Davies

A school pupil and the driver of a sedan were killed in a three-vehicle smash on the N1 concrete freeway near Roodepoort early today.

A Nissan Skyline, a Mercedes and a minibus carrying schoolchildren collided at about 7.30 am on the south-bound section of the highway between DF Malan Avenue and 14th Avenue.

According to Lappies Lauschagne of the Roodepoort Traffic Department, the

minibus, while travelling north, missed its turnoff and attempted a U-turn through a traffic island.

It collided in the south-bound lane with the two sedans. A child and the male driver of the Skyline were killed. A second pupil was critically injured and 17 others taken to hospital.

Emergency vehicles from Randburg and Roodepoort were soon at the scene and a portion of the freeway was closed while paramedics freed the injured.

## Shopkeeper murdered

A Portuguese shopkeeper was stabbed to death in a robbery in western Transvaal Saturday afternoon.

Menezes Francisco, who lives in Bedfordview, was at about 1.20 pm when he was robbed and killed.

A neighbouring shop owner found Francisco's body lying in a back room with four stab wounds to the chest. The robber was arrested. — Crime Rep.

# Mokaba defends use of 'kill' slogan

Staff Reporter

DEFIANT ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba yesterday defended his use of the controversial chant, "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", but stopped short of actually using the slogan.

Addressing about 2 000 people outside the Guguletu Civic centre, Mr Mokaba said the ANC was determined to des-

stroy white supremacy and was not apologising to anyone for this.

The slogan refers to the entire system of white domination and not individuals, he said.

"I'm saying to the Boers go to the African people. That is your salvation. If you do not there is no home for you in South Africa," he said.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC

could still toyi-toyi without using the slogan and then led the crowd in a toyi-toyi.

Earlier, the ANC's Western Cape secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni, slammed Mr Benny Alexander, PAC general secretary, for accusing the ANC of selling out at the negotiation forum.

He challenged Mr Alexander to a public debate and said:

"Benny Alexander is nothing but a right-wing opportunist and a demagogue. We, the members of uMkhonto weSizwe, are tired of Benny Alexander. He must direct his anger against the enemy, not the ANC."

He asked people in favour of the controversial chant "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" to raise their hands. All the people raised their hands.

# Historic meeting set

WITH an estimated 15 000 people dead in eight years of political rivalry and South Africa's constitutional talks at a crucial phase, the face-to-face meeting everyone has been waiting for has at last been set.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are due to meet on Wednesday.

Making the announcement yesterday, Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Church of the Province Bishop Michael Nuttall called on "all people of faith" to pray for the meeting.

According to a statement the talks will be chaired by Bishop Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Tutu, in Europe at the moment, plans to break his programme to return for the talks.

A venue for the talks is still to be announced and an agenda has not been finalised.

Meanwhile ANC and IFP spokesmen were unable to confirm the meeting.

The ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said the issues of free political activity throughout South Africa, the carrying of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels "would clearly be under discussion".

Asked about these issues, IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said they were old politics and Mr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela should get on with things that really mattered. — Sapa

## Consumers spend more

JOHANNESBURG. — Consumers spent more in real terms and the fall in investment spending slowed down in the first quarter this year — fuelling optimism that the economy is moving out of recession.

Reserve Bank deputy governor Mr Jaap Meijer said real private consumption spending showed a small increase in the first quarter.



## Security tightened for tennis

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Security plans to deal with an IRA bomb at the Wimbledon tennis championships which start today include an emergency mortuary with 400 body bags.

The bags are stored in an indoor tennis court — officially designated "a

## Advocate charged

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — An advocate here, Ms Jennifer Wild, has been charged with attempted murder and dealing in cocaine after an incident in which a policeman was shot and R25 000 worth of cocaine was confiscated at her home.

● Full report — Page 3

# Support up, say PAC

PAC officials claim growing support in the Western Cape after their June 16 rally drew almost double the audience that attended an ANC gathering.

According to estimates, the crowd at the Khayelitsha PAC rally, which was addressed by Mr Benny Alexander, was 10 000-strong while about 5 000 people turned up for an ANC rally addressed by Dr Allan Boesak at the Guguletu stadium.

ET 21/6/93 (11A)  
PAC organising co-ordinator for the Western Cape Mr Sisa Mhambi claimed yesterday that PAC support was growing significantly in coloured areas as well.

Mr Mhambi ascribed the PAC's support in Khayelitsha to the ANC's "failure to address civic issues" there, and the fact that "they (the ANC) have been fighting against each other, and people don't like that".



By Paul Bell  
Labour Correspondent

Star 21/6/93

# Assist new govt, ANC urges unions

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has cautioned the trade union movement to ensure that its efforts to promote economic transformation do not hamper the work of a future democratic government.

Speaking in Cape Town at the weekend, he also encouraged trade unions to support political parties where this furthered their members' interests, saying there was no contradiction between this and the continued strength and independence of the unions.

Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) sources welcomed his statement, saying Ramaphosa had acknowledged that trade unions were not to be regarded by politicians as voting fodder.

The ANC, said the sources, was also clearly committing itself to going beyond an election programme to a coherent plan for economic reconstruction, and was binding itself to co-operation with the union and civic movements in developing and pursuing such a plan.

Ramaphosa, speaking at the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union conference in Cape Town, warned that where trade unions and employers were making agreements to address workers' immediate needs, unions should ensure that these initiatives did not place obstacles in the way of a future democratic government.

"There is a danger that agreements reached today could inhibit a future democratic society from introducing

measures aimed at far-reaching transformation.

"These initiatives are still taking place in a situation where political and economic power remain concentrated in the hands of a minority.

"We therefore need to be careful that the processes we are embarking on address people's immediate needs, but don't place blockages in the way of long-term change," he said.

A programme of socio-economic transformation would

have to be formulated, not simply as a programme of the tripartite alliance, but in conjunction with a wide range of democratic forces — "especially the mass formations which will have to play a large role in implementing the programme", Ramaphosa said.

Given the opposition of a range of local and international groups which would prefer it to fail, the programme would succeed only if it was mass-driven.

"Our mass formations — par-

Star Monday June 21 1993 3

ticularly trade unions, civics and others — will have to fully involve the people, together with the democratic state, and our international allies, in implementing and defending the programme," he said.

Ramaphosa also said there was no contradiction in a strongly democratic and independent trade union deciding to support a political party or organisation in the forthcoming election if its members believed such support would further their interests.

To this end, what workers needed most was strong independent unions which actively engaged in the political process.

# We want Winnie back, say concerned women

Star 2116193

11A

By Stan Hlophe

The Concerned ANC Women's League (Cawl) yesterday called for Winnie Mandela's reinstatement as chairman of the PWV region and warned that if she was not reinstated, "the masses would take action".

Speaking at a press briefing at Mandela's home in Soweto, the Cawl executive committee said that it was giving the Women's League National executive committee until July 4 to meet its demands.

To show confidence in Mandela, Cawl said the recent Appellate Division outcome had vindicated its belief that she was unjustly tried by the media and "the ANC cabal".

"She is still the 'Moth-



Mandela ... "still the Mother of the Nation".

er of the Nation' and now we feel she has to resume her status," it said.

Meanwhile, Mandela, speaking in her capacity as the chairman of the South African National Civic Organisation at the regional conference of

the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa in Germiston, said at the weekend: "Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicions until the people are involved.

"I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling of my people in the name of negotiations.

"Negotiations must be representative of the feelings of the people.

"If the mood of the people is 'Kill the boer ... kill the farmer', it does not help for their leaders to try to say 'sorry baas ... what they really mean is 'Kiss the boer ... kiss the farmer'.

"If the leaders do this they are not representing their followers, but their own selfish hunger for power," she said.

# 'SA agents killed many in ANC'

By Mokone Moletse

A deadly game of espionage and counter-espionage between the ANC and the South African Security Police was described at the Motsuenyane commission on Friday.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said that most SA agents who had infiltrated his organisation were "dangerous" and their activities resulted in the deaths of many MK recruits.

In particular, he mentioned David Mbatha, a man

Star 21/6/93  
named McKenzie and Bheki Mpongose who "actually did a lot of damage".

Zuma claimed they were recruited by the security police to spy on the ANC in exile. They succeeded in:

- Identifying MK cadres who had sneaked back into the country.
- Booby-trapping arms which were hidden inside the country and this resulted in the death and injury of many MK cadres.
- Exposing underground units of the organisation.

● Fomenting the mutiny in ANC camps in Angola in 1984.

(JIA)  
"We got information (on these people) from the files of the enemy (the South African security forces where the ANC had planted its own spies)," Zuma said.

McKenzie, he said, had driven a car full of explosives to Botswana. This resulted in the deaths of many members of the ANC. He denied that after his exposure Mbatha was beaten up by members of the ANC.

Star 21/1/93

# Clash on armed struggle expected at talks

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

A showdown over a declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle and the cessation of hostilities is looming tomorrow in the 26-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday her organisation would not sign the declaration but was prepared to sign an amended version.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer served notice on Friday that the Government would to-

morrow urge the council to take a decision on the continued participation of parties which refuse to commit themselves to the declaration.

The declaration, which flowed from the deadlocked talks between the PAC and the Government, was discussed in the council on Friday but a decision has been deferred until tomorrow.

The Government insists that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the PAC will only discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities.

However, the declaration can potentially be signed by all 26

parties in the council.

Negotiations passed a baptism by fire last week but more hiccups could emerge in the run-up to a meeting of the Negotiating Forum on Friday.

## Compromise

The council will have to decide within the next four days on two vital issues which caused the walkout last week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Negotiators will have to strike a compromise on whether the transition should be a single or a two-phased process.

Cosag parties demand that the multiparty Negotiating Forum draft a final constitution which will be put to a referendum. In terms of this scenario elections for a representative government will be held by September next year.

Most negotiating parties are demanding the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to prepare equal ground for all parties in the first democratic elections on April 27 for an interim government of national unity.

Key negotiators have warned that "difficult moments" lie ahead this week.

## Buthelezi ready to meet Mandela

By Day 21/6/92  
WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has dispelled doubts that he had reservations about Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu facilitating a meeting between himself and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In an interview on Friday, Buthelezi said he had turned down an invitation to attend a summit of black leaders at Tutu's official residence, Bishops court, in November 1990 because of certain views Tutu held.

However, those views had been addressed during Tutu's subsequent visits to Ulundi. (1/1/92)

He said he was expecting his meeting with Mandela to take place "within days". Items to be on the agenda had been dealt with by Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Tutu's spokesman John Allen said the church leaders were waiting to hear from the organisations before announcing a date for the meeting.

At a function — hosted by Randburg mayor Brian Crail — earlier on Friday, Buthelezi took a swipe at ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, saying his "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan "was grossly irresponsible".



Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi addresses a function in Randburg on Friday. In the background is a painting of former mayoress Carika Kuzenkamp. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Buthelezi ready to meet Mandela

Wilson Zware

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## Pullout to be reassessed

Mziwakhe Hlangani

THE Oilseed Board is to reassess the withdrawal of local oilseed food processors and manufacturers from the board at its next meeting.

SA Oil Expressers' Rick Griffiths said food processors and manufacturers would withdraw from the board in protest against oilseed farmers' 11% producer price increases.

Asked if the board would continue if food processors and manufacturers withdrew their participation, board GM Jan du Preez said it was too early to comment on the matter.

He would not comment on calls for the dismantling of the board.

Shoprite Checkers said it would take a hard line with oilseed product suppliers who passed "unwarranted

price increases onto consumers". A spokesman said the producer price increase would be absorbed, in line with the group's commitment to low prices. The old price would be maintained as long as possible to assist consumers.

Further support would be granted to consumers through wide-ranging special offers and discounted prices to be negotiated with the suppliers.

Pick 'n Pay Deputy GM Sean Summers said the price of local oilseed had always been far higher than the world price. The farmers' price increase was therefore unnecessary.

The SA Consumer Council was unavailable for comment.

## Duty hike unlikely for broadcasters

Marcia Klein

MAJOR broadcasters M-Net and the SABC were unlikely to be hit by a huge increase in duties when import rebates lapsed later this year, an M-Net spokesman said at the weekend.

Commenting on reports that rebates allowing broadcasters to import equipment, spares and video materials without paying customs and ad valorem duties would lapse on December 19, he said no additional duties would be charged from then.

He said broadcasters had been

aware of the lapsing of the rebate provision for some time. Their research had found that none of SA's trading partners included licence fees for customs duty purposes, and that a ruling to this effect would be contrary to GATT.

An official from the Finance Department had also confirmed that there would be no additional duties after December 19.

# Consumer confidence falls to eight-year low

CAPE TOWN — Consumer confidence has plummeted to its lowest level in eight years, Stellenbosch University Bureau for Economic Research (BER) says in its latest survey released on Sunday.

The composite consumer confidence index for whites fell to its lowest level since 1985 in the second quarter of this year.

Black consumer confidence also dropped to its lowest level since 1986, particularly with respect to consumer confidence in the employment-creating ability of the economy.

This reflected a "drastic drop" in black expectations since 1990, when the confidence level was relatively high.

Cape Town consumers were relatively more optimistic, but pessimism reigned in the Durban/Pietermaritzburg area.

The bureau said the employment deterioration rate had, however, slowed in the retail sector and was recovering in the wholesale sector.

While statistics from the SA Race Relations Institute showed that political vio-

lence had subsided in the first few months of the year compared to 1992, crime and violence remained at unacceptably high levels.

"This, amongst other things, has caused consumer confidence to plummet in the second quarter," the BER said.

"Retailers, wholesalers and motor dealers reported poor sales and were not optimistic about conditions in the third quarter of this year.

Despite the increase in the VAT rate in April, inflationary expectations were still moderate and the bureau's survey indicated that both wholesalers and retailers had come to terms with more moderate price increases.

This indicated that, in spite of the 40% rise in the VAT rate, inflation should remain relatively low for the next two years.

The bureau maintained its view that the economy would "at best" bottom out this year and that GDP would probably fall by about half a percentage point. But a real growth rate of about 2% was forecast for 1994. — Sapa.

## Blacks trained to fill key public service jobs

Gerald Reilly

PRETORIA — Efforts are being made by the Commission for Administration and by the ANC to equip more blacks to move into senior and key posts in the public service, government spokesmen say.

More than half of the public service in SA is black although most of these workers are in lowly paid jobs.

Of the 599 000 workers in central government departments, 300 000 are black and 222 000 white. In the Own Affairs departments, blacks number 22 106 and whites 80 122 of a total of 181 000, and of the 240 000 public servants in the six homelands, all are black.

A Commission for Administration spokesman said training programmes had been intensified to prepare blacks for more skilled jobs.

A total of 64 blacks were being trained for posts in junior, middle and senior management up to and beyond the level of director. Programme guidelines aimed at a more representative public service had been issued to all state departments.

The commission conceded that some race groups were represented poorly in the public service and this needed to be rectified.

The inevitability of a black public service at higher levels has been accepted by the Public Servants Association. The association said as long as promotion in the service was based on merit and qualifications, there could be no objections.

The ANC has said there would have to be early retirement of some public servants in the process of affirmative action, but there were no plans to fire white government workers en masse.

# Allies differ over trade union role

BID Day 21/6/93

CAPE TOWN — Differences between ANC and Cosatu representatives on the role of trade unions in a democratic government's policy formation emerged during a weekend conference on worker rights organised by the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union.

ANC head of economic planning Trevor Manuel said trade unions should be concerned primarily with their members' interests and had a limited capacity to influence macro-economic policy formation. It was government's role, for instance, to determine the country's trade policy.

Manuel conceded that trade unions had inputs to make in macro-economic policy, but stressed that the coherence of that policy went beyond the concerns of trade unions and was a concern of government. This was so partly because trade unions represented the sectoral interests of their members, who were a privileged elite of wage earners relative to the unemployed.

Government had a definite role which could not be taken away, but what was important was who sat in government and whose interests were represented there.

Manuel did not believe that Cosatu should develop a "sweetheart" relationship with government after the election. A vibrant democracy required constructive tensions which did not disappear just because there was a tripartite alliance.

LINDA ENSOR

In reply, Cosatu's national negotiations co-ordinator Jayendra Naidoo said there was not one issue on which government could take a decision which would not affect workers. There was a need to find a clear mechanism by which government could operate with inputs from the labour movement as the challenges of the future could not be met by excluding labour (SATA) (IA)

He agreed, however, that government would play a role on a number of levels where the labour movement could not be involved.

Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa said Cosatu would be involved jointly with a democratic government in the process of reconstructing and democratising society.

"We have a great interest in the economy and expect to play a permanent role in institutions such as the National Economic Forum, the National Manpower Commission, the Unemployment Insurance Fund and the National Training Board," Shilowa said.

He said trade unions might have to resort to strike action to ensure that worker rights were not tampered with by an ANC government.

Naidoo said Cosatu was negotiating a reconstruction programme and election platform with the ANC. The issue was not the ANC's track record but what rights workers would get in a new SA.

# D-Day for PAC at talks

Sowetan 21/6/93

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

**A** SHOWDOWN looms tomorrow between the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiating council of the multiparty conference over the armed struggle ~~(SIEF)~~

Consternation gripped negotiators at the weekend when the PAC dug in its heels, declaring it would not suspend the armed struggle unless the Government agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities. ~~(SIEF)~~ (IA)

Negotiators are to decide tomorrow whether the PAC — and any other party backing the armed struggle — should be kicked out of multiparty constitutional talks.

A proposed multiparty declaration on the suspension or cessation of the armed struggle is set to be ratified by the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, thus making the exit of the PAC from the forum a strong likelihood.

The proposal was tabled last Friday after several meetings between the PAC and the Government to discuss the issue over the past three weeks ended in a stalemate. The PAC maintained that its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), would abandon the bullet only when the ballot was secured or when there was what it termed a mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the Government.

The Government demanded that the PAC should at least declare a moratorium on armed

incursions, insisting that the organisation could not simultaneously talk and fight.

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said a decision should be taken by the council tomorrow on what to do with parties which did not endorse the declaration.

The Government's position, however, is that the PAC be kicked out of the process unless it ratifies and sticks to the proposed declaration.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said at the weekend that the organisation would not end its armed struggle.

Addressing a service in Boipatong on Saturday to commemorate the June 17 1992 massacre of residents, Makwetu said: "We stand by our position that we won't renounce the armed struggle until a mutual ceasefire had been arrived at.

## Proclaim ceasefire

"The regime insists that they never declared war against the PAC, and thus cannot be required to proclaim ceasefire. I reiterate that the current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front."

PAC negotiations strategist and national executive member Mr Mark Shinnars yesterday said the National Party, and not his organisation, was in a crisis.

He said the PAC would continue to put its case across at the World Trade Centre and would not be bothered by the Government's demands and attempts to pressure other parties to agree with it.

"We are in the process because it is our right. Parties which want us out will have to say so tomorrow."



# the news in brief

## Hangings will not start now

*South Africa 21/6/93*  
HANGINGS will not resume summarily now that members of Parliament have voted in its favour. A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice confirmed this yesterday. During a special debate and consequent vote on Thursday night, National Party and Conservative Party MPs voted 125 to 55 in favour of lifting the moratorium on hangings, which has been in place since February 2 1990. (11A) (11B)

## Pole held in central Italy

A Polish man armed with a 30cm knife and a tear-gas grenade was arrested yesterday morning in Foligno, central Italy, minutes before Pope John Paul II was due to pass by, Italian police said. The 33-year-old man, whose identity was not been revealed, was arrested on the route laid out for the Pope on a pastoral visit to the central Italian town.

## Consumer confidence falls

*South Africa 21/6/93*  
CONSUMER confidence in South Africa has plummeted to its lowest level in eight years, Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research says in its latest survey released yesterday. According to the survey, Black consumer confidence also dropped to its lowest level since 1986. (11A) (11B)

## Date set for talks

*South Africa 21/6/93*  
INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will meet for talks chaired by Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Archbishop Desmond Tutu on Wednesday, according to a statement from the Methodist Church and the Church of the Province yesterday. The meeting is expected to focus primarily on the ongoing violence between IFP and ANC supporters in Natal. (11A) (11B)

## Cold spell will remain

THE Weather Bureau yesterday reported that it will remain cold for the next few weeks with temperatures remaining well below freezing at most places at least for the next few days. - Sapa

# Church bodies back NCCR after claims

*Sowetan 2/16/93*

By Lulama Luti

THE three church bodies that were part of the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles have come out in full support of the NCCR.

The church organisations — the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference and the World Conference for Religion and Peace — said they were satisfied that the grants to the NCCR could be accounted for.

"We are satisfied that this money can be properly accounted for save for the R400 000 which was discovered to be missing of which R200 000 was recovered," said Mrs Sheena Duncan, spokesman for the church organisations. In a statement during a Press briefing on Friday, the church organisations said: "We wish to state that our auditors are of the opinion that no more than R400 000 of which a little more than

half has been recovered, is still unaccounted for." The church bodies also said as soon as the theft was discovered, police were informed and evidence of the theft was given to them.

They added that the NCCR, of which they were part, also instituted a commission of inquiry which was open to the public and the press.

"This was done because we wanted to be open with the public - we insisted on the commission of inquiry even when the NCCR ceased operating," said Dr Franz Auerbach.

Responding to an article in the *Sowetan* last week, in which former NCCR director Mr Moss Chikane was said to be a relative of the SACC's Dr Frank Chikane, Duncan said the two were only distant relatives. "Moss Chikane was employed according to normal employment procedures. Any suggestion otherwise is devoid of all truth," said Duncan. She added that the SACC was taking legal advice on the *Sowetan* article published last Monday "because of the gross inaccuracies contained in the article".

## next *Talkback* topic

THE *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show tonight will be an open line. You are invited to phone between 7pm and 8pm to share your views on any topic with host Tim Modise.

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

## Involve masses in talks forum, says Winnie

*Sowetan 2/16/93*

NEWLY elected South African National Civic Organisation chairman Mrs Winnie Mandela has criticised the multiparty negotiations forum, saying it lacked democratic participation as practised by trade unions and civic organisations.

Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, was addressing a National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) regional congress in Germiston at the weekend.

"Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicion until the people on the ground are involved. I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling (out) of my people in the name of negotiations." Grassroot mandate Mandela said political organisations must consult and obtain grassroots mandates before changing strategies.

"If the mood of the people is 'Kill the Boer ... kill the farmer', it does not help for their leaders to try and say 'Sorry baas ... what they really mean is kiss the Boer ... kiss the farmer'.

"If the leaders do this they are not representing their followers, but their own selfish hunger for power," she said, adding that there would be no lasting solution to the country's conflict until poverty, economic deprivations, violence and crime had been resolved.

● The ANC recently withdrew the controversial chant after whites complained it was inciting racial murder. — *Sapa*.

## Commission told of ANC camp killings

B/Bow 2/16/93  
RAY HARTLEY

A MAN was executed and two others beaten to death by exiled ANC members, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma told the Motsuenyane commission into abuses in ANC camps on Friday.

Zuma testified that Jabu Zikalala had been executed after being sentenced to death by an ANC tribunal. Zikalala had supplied the SA government with sketches and photographs which led to the bombing of the ANC's Katenge camp in Angola.

Zuma, who served as ANC intelligence chief from 1987 to 1991, said he was aware that Thabo Twala had been beaten to death in the "Sun City" jail in Zambia in 1989 and a man known as "Mahlatini" had died as a result of a severe beating at Pango camp in Angola in the early 1980s.

The camp's commander, known as "Mahamba", had participated in the beating of Mahlatini and had subsequently been exposed as an enemy agent, he said. But 11 others, alleged to have died while in the ANC's exile structures, were alive. Zuma handed the commission a list of their current occupations and whereabouts.

He said he had compiled a second list of 17 people who had last been seen when they had been infiltrated into SA by the ANC. "We believe that someone has to account for these people and that someone is the SA government," he said. (11A) (233)

Former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee had told the ANC that police had "burned people to ashes" to get rid of evidence and to avoid taking them to court, he said. The ANC had infiltrated the police in various centres and had used police information to expose several government infiltrators.

Goodluck Mpungose, who was arrested by the ANC as an infiltrator, had lured Natal UDF leaders out of hiding during the state of emergency by offering to sprinkle them with herbs that would protect them against the police, he said.

The commission heard evidence for the last time on Friday. It will sift through 2 000 pages of evidence from 45 witnesses, and report directly to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

# Crucial week ahead for negotiators as parties threaten

NEGOTIATORS face a crucial week in constitutional talks as they fry and make adequate progress to report back to the parent body on Friday, while avoiding an irreparable confrontation that could see another walkout by some parties.

ANC and government negotiators are resolutely pursuing their goal of getting the negotiating forum to agree on Friday to the establishment of a transitional executive council — despite strong opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group. There are indications that the Cosag parties want the meeting to be postponed or, failing this, plan to walk out if the provisional election date of April 27 is ap-

proved by "sufficient consensus".

It is widely expected that the CP will walk out this week as it becomes increasingly evident that it will not be able to negotiate a separate Afrikaner homeland under a confederal option. (S)

After seven weeks of negotiating, the parties have set a contested provisional election date; have broad agreement on general constitutional principles; a report on fundamental human rights; draft legislation on an independent electoral commission and media commission that still requires debate; and broad agreement on combating violence. (IA)

A senior government source said that as

3 Day 2 11 93  
BILLY PADDOCK  
a result of last week's events when the Cosag parties walked out after spending a full day filibustering on an agenda item, the negotiating council was way behind schedule. Friday's meeting was tied up with the council trying to resolve the problem between government and the PAC.

Government and the ANC will want to send their leaders to Philadelphia next week with an agreement on a transitional executive council and a firm election date so that US President Bill Clinton can announce the lifting of remaining sanctions.

SIMON BARBER reports from Wash-

ington that Clinton's plan to unveil a major package of proposals designed to bolster the SA economy when he awards freedom medals to President F W De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela in Philadelphia on July 4, remains conditional on agreement being reached on a firm election date and the creation of a transitional executive council.

The package is expected to include the removal of all remaining economic sanctions at federal level — most importantly the US veto on IMF and World Bank lending to SA — according to diplomats and US officials. (S)

Clinton will also call on state and local

walkouts

## Walkouts

struction bonds" designed to raise capital for housing, education and transport.

The negotiating council meets three days in a row from tomorrow. The first day is likely to be spent catching up on the reports from the technical committees.

The debate on the process that will be followed in drafting a final constitution is likely to result in heated debate as the Cosag parties reject the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for a constituent assembly. (S)

The government source said he could not understand what Inkatha was up to because it had agreed in bilateral meetings with government to the two-phased process. On May 28 Inkatha's Walter Felgate had confirmed this in the presence of the full Inkatha delegation. (S) (IA)

"We then had a further meeting with the ANC on May 29 where we came to an understanding on the nature of this process and we could then move a resolution on June 1 that instructed the technical committee to draft regional powers and func-

From Page 1

tions on the basis of a two-phased process."

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has since reneged on this agreement and government is trying to devise a strategy that will keep Inkatha to its word.

An ANC-allied negotiator at the weekend said he was "extremely cautious" about what they could achieve this week and warned that there would still be a great deal of filibustering from the Cosag parties.

He said there had been a request to Kwa-Zulu to drop its formal statement that they would enter into "constructive filibustering", but this had been to no avail.

"We will have to find a way to restrict the opportunities available to them to continue this strategy and forge ahead. If the crunch comes then it must come and they will have to face the consequences."

The government source said while they would be attempting to push the pace of the talks this week, caution had to be the order of the day and "we must try and avoid a head-on confrontation".

authorities to remove their restrictions on US investment in SA, and announce that he will be urging leaders of the G-7 nations to co-ordinate what one US official called a "significant mobilisation of resources" for post-apartheid reconstruction.

Clinton may also say that he is urging agencies like the Export Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to step up efforts to promote SA trade and investment.

One option under review is the provision of government guarantees that would encourage US pension funds and other institutional investors to invest in SA "recon-

To Page 2

# Deadline set for changes

EXISTING apartheid local and regional government structures had to be replaced by appointed pre-interim transitional executive committees not later than July 31 this year.

This was one of the resolutions adopted at a summit of the ANC PWV local and regional government commission and its allies outside Johannesburg.

The weekend summit was organised by the ANC, Sanco's southern Transvaal branch, SACP and Cosatu to discuss the installation of interim local government structures, the relationship between local and national negotiations and proposals from the local government negotiating forum.

It was agreed that appointments to interim local and regional government structures be made by a committee of appropriate negotiating forums publicly and in consultation with the community.

The powers and functions of appointed interim committees would be determined by guidelines laid down by a national local government negotiating forum, provided these powers were not entrenched in the interim constitution.

Once appointed structures were in place, the negotiating forums needed to be restructured to include representatives of the local and regional government com-

mittees and relevant civic organisations. The ANC-led alliance also demanded that existing local and provincial authorities stopped retrenchments and called for the reinstatement of employees who had already lost their jobs.

Participants agreed that a programme to deliver services efficiently and affordably had to be put in place with the establishment of appointed interim structures.

They would take the resolutions adopted at the summit back to the constitutional structures of their organisations for ratification.

The ANC PWV region's deputy chairman and local and regional government commission head Mathole Motshekga said the summit had consolidated and demonstrated the unity of the ANC alliance and Sanco PWV.

It also laid a firm foundation for preparing the people for governance at local and regional level, he said.

Motshekga urged the regional alliance and Sanco to take this message of unity back to their local and subregions.

He also called on them to build the alliance and Sanco for the final assault on apartheid and the transfer of power to the people as a whole.

SUSAN RUSSELL

## Russian firm dominates Paris air show

# No intimidation before NP rally, says ANC

B/Day 21/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC yesterday denied it had intimidated people not to attend an NP meeting in the northern Transvaal at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday dismissed the claim by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who accompanied President F W de Klerk to the meeting, that the ANC had attempted during the days before the rally to intimidate supporters into staying away.

Botha claimed intimidation had only been 10% to 15% effective, Sapa reports.

Niehaus also alleged that there had been a low turnout for the meeting, although the NP said it was delighted with the size of the crowd.

"The low turnout is a direct indication that the NP is not accepted as a party of the future that will bring liberation to the people," Niehaus said.

However, De Klerk said on Saturday that the NP had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, Sapa reports.

He and Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference after the rally held at the Pietersburg showgrounds.

The approximately 6 000-strong crowd had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, De Klerk said.

"This was a very important day."

Black support for the NP had been writ-

ten off by many of the commentators, said De Klerk.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity, said De Klerk.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow," he said.

"The NP gives notice today that what was started here will be repeated across the country."

The goal was to ensure that each and every voter knew, whatever any intimidator did, that when he entered the polling booth his vote was secret.

"If we can ensure this, we will give a tremendous surprise to those who think that the NP has support only in communities other than black.

"We are the third biggest party among black South Africans."

After the ANC it was only Inkatha and the NP which showed double-figure percentage support in research results.

Botha said the meeting was the largest, by more than three times, he had ever addressed in the northern Transvaal. The second largest was broken up by the AWB in 1986.

**WILSON ZWANE and  
DIRK VAN EEDEN**

PAC president Clarence Makwetu yesterday invited white farmers to discuss a political solution to hostilities between them and the PAC's armed wing, Apla.

Speaking in Johannesburg, he said the two parties should meet as soon as possible to discuss "issues of common interest".

The PAC has accepted responsibility for attacks on farmers by Apla members, saying farmers were a legitimate target.

Makwetu stressed that the PAC would not suspend the armed struggle as a precondition for the meeting. The PAC was fighting anyone opposed to blacks' liberation, he said, accusing farmers of abusing blacks living on or near their farms.

Free State Agricultural Union president

## Makwetu invites farmers to meeting

*B1 Day 22/1/193*  
Piet Gous said that if such talks could prevent only one farmer's death, they had to be regarded as a positive move. But farmers were not prepared to negotiate across graves and the PAC would have to prove its commitment to peace first. The farmers would talk only if they saw, over time, that no farmers were murdered, or if the PAC called on Apla to stop its war and handed murderers over to the police.

SA Agricultural Union spokesman August du Preez said the union could not comment until it had a formal invitation.

Picture: Page 4 (877)

**T**HE hope here is that, on Friday, SA's negotiating parties will announce they have reached agreement on a firm date for elections and the formation of a transitional executive. Perhaps they will also be in a position to define how the executive will function, what its powers will be and when, precisely, it will be in place.

This will be extremely helpful to, among others, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George Moose and ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, neither of whom was able satisfactorily to answer audiences at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace last week.

Moose spoke in the plural, referring to transitional executive councils. Mbeki spoke of one council with subcommittees. Both agreed that whatever they were, they would exist to "level the playing field" for elections. That we knew. Thereafter there was confusion.

**T**he American, pleading inexperience, felt sure there were others in the room who could explain things better than he. If there were, they were not volunteering, and he was obliged to make various stabs on his own. There would be "mechanisms" designed to "ensure transparency in key government institutions", but they were "not as yet entirely clear to me. . . . My sense is these will be decision-making bodies."

Mbeki, the following day, was asked to verify Moose's sense. A simple yes or no would have been nice. Instead we were merely assured that, *pace* Roelf Meyer, "how the playing field will be levelled" would be spelt out in law at some point. Even then, we should not expect anything that was "mathematical", though we could be certain that the council would not be "overridden by government in matters of its competence". Then, in a flash of candour, Mbeki allowed that not even he could define easily what the council's foreign affairs subcommittee would

# Clamour for clarity before the US can do business with SA

B/Dewy 22/6/93

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

do, despite the fact that he would logically be an important part of it. Here's a suggestion: its first task might be to clear up the fog.

It will be a matter of no little importance for the outside world to know who and what is the SA government during the transitional executive council's period. Moose said he was urging the White House and Congress to treat the formation of the transitional executive as the end of apartheid rule for the purposes of US law. Is this a proposition the ANC, in particular, accepts?

If it is serious about seeing remaining US sanctions lifted, it had better accept. The Gramm Amendment, the last federal sanction of any significance, requires the US representatives on the boards of the IMF and World Bank to veto loan applications by any country "which practises apartheid". Unless there is greater clarity about the status of the transitional executive, this could cause difficulties.

There are two ways of dealing with Gramm. Either the US president can certify that apartheid is no longer being practised or Congress can repeal the statute. Both methods are under consideration, but both

could be complicated if, say, the Congressional Black Caucus decided to extract concessions from the administration on other matters by insisting Gramm's conditions would not be met until there had been elections. All politics, remember, is ultimately domestic.



**I**mprecision about the council could cause problems on the state and local fronts as well. There are plenty of arrogant experts out there ready to be more royalist than the king, aka Nelson Mandela, when it comes to penalising US businesses for daring to go near SA. They will be looking for excuses not to heed Mandela's call. Some will even think they are helping the ANC by disobeying, which will be pretty rich given the resources the ANC and others are going to have to sink into disabusing them. They must not be allowed to think the council is a charade.

On the other hand, none of this may matter much unless the parties agree that decisions taken during the council's period are those of a sovereign, responsible and legitimate gov-

ernment and will be adhered to, where applicable, after elections.

The waiving or removal of the Gramm Amendment will not in itself open the door to World Bank and IMF finance. Loans and facilities will have to be negotiated with the institutions, and undertakings on policy given that will satisfy a majority of their boards. Will a transitional executive council administration be able to do that? If not, action on Gramm before April 27 — assuming that is the final election date — is moot, a comforting symbol, nothing more.

Another, if lesser, example. Will the council authorities be able to sign an agreement with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the US government agency that provides risk insurance for foreign investment? For US business the existence of an Opic agreement is an important signal, and the sooner one is signed the better.

Among the options percolating through the National Security Council is the provision of US government guarantees to leverage private investment in housing, education and other "reconstruction" projects. These, too, will require negotiations

with a sovereign SA government. Surprising as it may sound, the US Congress is loath to risk voters' money without some assurance that the beneficiary will not squander taxpayer underwritten investment through rash policies.

One issue that continues to vex US companies, both those already in SA and those sniffing, is the fair employment codes mandated by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Though few object to the principle of standards, no other country imposes such obligations on its companies operating in SA. Compliance is a bureaucratic burden and, arguably, has led to a misallocation of resources. It also put US firms at a competitive disadvantage.

The ANC has belatedly come to recognise the problem and has acknowledged that labour standards should be drafted and enforced equally for all by an SA government. As Moose put it: "South Africans regard the question of business behaviour as something they themselves should decide."

**F**ine, but when? Can a transitional administration deal with the question, thus allowing the relevant section of the Act to be phased out? Or must US companies continue to wait? Once more, there is no clarity.

It may be said there are only 10 months before there is a real government, decisions can wait. No doubt they can, but is the delay worth it, especially when a newly elected government will be under enormous pressure to provide immediate and visible material gains for its electorate? Another year of talking will not help, especially given the lead times for loans to be negotiated and investment to be translated into jobs, schools and houses.

Put very simply, it is not very much use for the ANC to declare SA open for business — except as a symbolic gesture — unless there are legitimate authorities in place with whom business may be done. Can the transitional executive arrangement be so characterised?



# Negotiations now Sowetan 22/6/93 at a crucial stage

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

IIA

IT IS make or break for multiparty negotiations over the next three days.

At the top of today's agenda at the negotiation council's meeting at the World Trade Centre is violence and the question of the PAC's continued armed struggle.

The Government is adamant that the Pan Africanist Congress should suspend its armed struggle and sign a declaration on the cessation or suspension of hostilities.

In a snap response, the PAC's Mr Jackie Seroke yesterday said his organisation had no problem with a cessation of hostilities.

"We are not opposed to a mutual cessation of hostilities, but the process must be

adequately discussed and structured," Seroke said.

Other items on today's agenda will be the Independent Media and Election commissions. Constitutional matters will be discussed tomorrow.

Transkei's Mr Zam Titus, who is on the planning committee which worked on today's agenda until late last night, said the next three days would be critical.

"What emerges at the end of this week will determine whether South Africa will have democracy or not," he said.

On Friday the negotiating forum will receive a report from its council that should seal the inevitability of the negotiations process.

Friday's meeting is expected to give the go-ahead for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council which would prepare the country for elections and ratify April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first nonracial election.

The negotiations will also be severely tested by the "constructive filibustering" of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its allies in Cosag.

## in brief

*Sowetan 22/6/93*  
**Yengeni warns PAC**

THE African National Congress' general secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Tony Yengeni, has warned the Pan Africanist Congress to stop attacking the ANC and its leadership.

The warning, which was issued at a rally in Cape Town, followed a PAC rally in Khayelitsha on Soweto Day where the PAC's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, criticised organisations that supported the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council.

UFA

# ANC and PAC at OAU

Sowetan 22/6/93

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent



An ANC source confirmed yesterday that the OAU had approached the liberation movement for clarity on the matter.

## Elections

11A

"We said that we thought the ANC and PAC should retain their status in the OAU until elections towards a constituent assembly were held," the source said.

The SABC yesterday reported that the OAU meeting was under way in Egypt and said that South Africa was not represented there.

Both the ANC and PAC are recognised by the OAU and have always attended its summit meetings as observers.

THE broad liberation movement has retained its status at the Organisation of African Unity and the Government has been excluded.

## OAU summit

Representatives of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress are presently attending the OAU summit in Egypt and will continue representing South Africa until elections towards a constituent assembly have been held.

# Tutu returns for ANC, IFP summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is interrupting a five-day holiday in Norway to co-chair the summit tomorrow between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba will also chair the meeting.

Both clergymen have been instrumental in bringing about the meeting.

The meeting follows the death of another 32 people in weekend clashes between African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Natal.

Asked what the government

hoped would flow from the meeting, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said: "We would like them to recommit themselves to peace, to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said that Mr Man-

dela and Chief Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalty, of putting national interests first "because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence".

Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu was positive about the prospects of a successful summit.

## Mokaba probe continues

INVESTIGATIONS of intimidation, incitement to violence and racial hatred by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba were continuing yesterday.

The investigation arose from "utterances" made during a June 16 rally at Soweto's Orlando Stadium and another rally at the University of Witwatersrand, said police spokesman Warrant Officer Andy Pieke.

Similar "utterances" of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" were also being investigated by city police after a Khayelitsha rally, he said.

(11A) CT 22/6/93

Sowetan 22/6/93

## No friends of NP

THE president of the ANC Youth League, Mr Peter Mokaba, says the fact that the ANC is negotiating with the Government does not mean the organisation is a friend of the Government.

Mokaba said in Cape Town oppressed people would not beg for freedom but would fight for it if necessary. (11A)

He said there was no need for him to repent for chanting his controversial slogan, "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" because it was not aimed at individuals but at the Boer system. (11A)

# PAC bid to talk to farmers

11A  
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CT 22/6/93

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress yesterday invited white farmers to a summit to discuss a political solution to existing hostilities between them and the organisation's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Apla.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday that his organisation wanted to meet "as soon as possible" the representatives of white farmers to discuss "issues of common interest".

Dozens of farmers around the country have been murdered and the PAC has accepted responsibility for attacks on farmers by Apla members, saying farmers were a legitimate target.

## 'No end to armed struggle'

OFS Agricultural Union president Mr Piet Gous said that if such talks could prevent only one further killing of a farmer, it had to be regarded as a positive move. However, farmers were not prepared to negotiate across graves and the PAC would have to prove its commitment to peace before they could talk.

Mr Makwetu stressed that the PAC would not suspend the armed struggle as a precondition for the meeting.

Alluding to recent statements by the PAC that farmers were legitimate targets of Apla attacks, Mr Makwetu said his organisation was fighting anyone who was opposed to the liberation of blacks.

Mr Gous said it had always been agricultural union policy that farmers who abused labourers had to be criminally prosecuted and he called on the PAC to prove abuse in court, saying that the union would not protect such farmers.

# Tutu returns for ANC, IFP summit

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is interrupting a five-day holiday in Norway to co-chair the summit tomorrow between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba will also chair the meeting.

Both clergymen have been instrumental in bringing about the meeting.

The meeting follows the death of another 32 people in weekend clashes between African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Natal.

Asked what the government

hoped would flow from the meeting, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said: "We would like them to recommit themselves to peace, to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said that Mr Man-

dela and Chief Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalty, of putting national interests first "because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence".

Africanist Congress leader Mr Lawrence Makwetu was positive about the prospects of a successful summit.



# Job loss costing ANC support

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak has acknowledged that many coloured people are negative about the ANC because they believe they are losing out to blacks in the job market.

He was reacting to a fresh survey of coloured voting intentions in greater Cape Town, which showed, among other things, support for the ANC in upper-income groups and sup-

port for the National Party in lower-income groups.

Dr Boesak said: "That surprises me because I always thought high-income people would be more comfortable with the NP."

"Now, in a time of economic crisis, there's a perception among many coloureds that they are losing jobs because of the influx of Africans, and they blame the ANC for that."

Many were prone to the NP's "swart-gevaar" tactics.

He said experience of support among poor people in rural areas indicated lower-income groups in the urban areas could easily be won over.

Regional deputy secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the varying support among different groups had more to do with education and the extent to which people were trained to be critical and discerning.

He predicted that a less-partial approach by the SABC would alter many misconceptions among the electorate.

AKG 22/6/93

# Coloured community turns towards ANC

ARC 22/6/93

3/11/93 11/9

□ Gains also for DP in big swing against NP

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

ANC support has risen sharply in the coloured community in greater Cape Town, particularly among men and the more affluent, according to a survey.

Democratic Party support has grown too, but the National Party's share has dropped.

The survey also shows a large "undecided" factor.

These are the key points of a face-to-face April poll organised jointly by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys and the Johannesburg-based Community Agency for Social Inquiry (Case).

The survey — with a five percent margin of error — puts ANC support among coloureds in greater Cape Town

at about 33 percent, with the National Party trailing 10 points at 23 percent, followed by the DP at 10 percent.

The Labour Party polled 4 percent and "others", 2 percent.

A large percentage — 28 percent — are undecided or don't support any of the existing parties.

Mr Jan Hofmeyr of Research Surveys said that while the "undecided" vote was at a "historically high level", the NP was under serious pressure and that the ANC and DP were the primary beneficiaries.

He said significant swings were still possible.

An analysis of gender differences showed coloured women are more likely to support the National Party than the ANC, while men favour the ANC

over the NP. Forty percent of the women surveyed supported the NP and 15 percent the ANC; 32 percent of men supported the ANC and 27 percent the NP.

The ANC's support is also mostly in the 18 to 34 age group — 28 percent against the NP's 24 percent.

Most coloureds over 35 in this survey — 44 percent — support the NP, against 17 percent who support the ANC.

A comparison of party preferences among coloured women in the April survey with a similar one in October last year shows support for the ANC rising from 3 to 15 percent, the NP's share dropping from 53 to 40 percent, the DP rising from 7 to 9 percent and the undecided vote rising from 23 to 31 percent.



# PAC willing to talk with the farmers

Star 22/16/95  
11A

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

As pressure mounts on the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress to suspend its armed struggle, PAC president Clarence Makwetu yesterday said his organisation was willing to meet white farmers to discuss mutual problems.

In what amounts to the first olive branch his organisation has presented to the country's white farmers, Makwetu — who said "a unilateral ceasefire" by the PAC would be "most irresponsible" — stated he was willing to meet the farmers.

Makwetu, whose organisation has twice offered to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, also expressed hope for a successful summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi tomorrow. The meeting was brokered by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

Makwetu's decision to meet the farmers comes amid growing pressure on the PAC to sign a declaration committing itself to the suspension of all forms of violence in order to remain in the negotiations process.

Makwetu has repeatedly reiterated his organisation's willingness to discuss the question of violence with the Government, but has insisted that violence would have to be ended by both sides.

Following the two parties' failure to resolve the issue, the

Government asked negotiators at the World Trade Centre to sign a declaration distancing them from any form of violence.

In a move political observers believe might signal the organisation's willingness to get its armed wing to cease attacks on farmers, Makwetu said the PAC was prepared to meet them.

The meeting, he said, would address "issues of common interest between the farmers and the African communities either employed by the white farmers or living close to the white farms".

Makwetu said black farmworkers continued to suffer "many abuses at the hands of white farmers (who) are a law unto themselves". This, he said, worsened the "pain of land dispossession".

The PAC leader said while the Azanian People's Liberation Army addressed these problems "through armed struggle", the PAC leadership wanted to address them through dialogue with the farmers.

Makwetu said while the PAC disagreed with many parties in the country, it was not waging a war against them because they did not hold political power.

He said the PAC was flexible, and would "cease fire" under certain conditions.

These would be the establishment of a transitional executive council "with full, independent control over the security forces", the setting in motion of a process to elect a constituent assembly, and an agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Stein 22/6/93

# Big money, big talk in poll stakes

~~(S)~~ (11A) (11B)

**S**OUTH Africa's first all-in election, tentatively scheduled for April 27, will be a mega-bucks affair.

And, judging by the optimistic predictions — sometimes bordering on the incredible — the different political parties and organisations have been making, it seems that South Africans will have to cast multiple votes if the parties are to get what they each hope for.

Indications are that the historic election will be the dirtiest and most acrimonious.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress plan an all-out attack on the National Party's abysmal apartheid record and gross human rights violations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party will be portrayed as a puppet of the Government, and the 1991 "Inkathagate" scandal will not help matters.

The ANC will be haunted by allegations of torture and widespread human rights violations in its camps in exile, despite its two commissions of inquiry into the claims.

The albatross around the PAC's neck will be the attacks

by its armed wing on white civilians, even though this is not likely to cause much damage to the organisation since it is difficult to conceive of whites who will be queueing up to cast their votes for it.

The election will be expensive, with most contestants planning to spend liberally.

Most ambitious is the PAC, which hopes to raise R190 million for the election, 60 percent of which will be used on the big day itself. Secretary-general Benny Alexander says the PAC will have more than 900 "precinct commanders" working in each township in the country, and will need an estimated 190 000 volunteers to do door-to-door canvassing.

Next in the big-money stakes is the ANC, which hopes to raise between R168 million and R200 million, and the IFP, which plans to amass between R160 million and R170 million, a third of which will be for head office expenses.

As ANC election "general" Popo Molefe explains, the ANC will recruit 180 000 election volunteers as "foot soldiers", and will have one volunteer for every 100 voters.

## ELECTION COUNTDOWN

Most of the parties planning to fight South Africa's first nonracial election predict victory for themselves, reports Political Correspondent **KAIZER NYATSUMBA.**



The NP, which has a superb election machinery and the advantage of being an incumbent in office, does not need as much money, according to chief information director Piet Coetzer. The party believes R100 million will be enough to launch a nationwide blitz.

More modest is the Democratic Party, which believes R15 million will enable it to poll enough votes to remain a significant player in a government of national unity.

The Azanian People's Organisation, on the other hand, has no illusion that it can raise more than R1 million, and therefore plans to put pressure on the Government to fund it

from the public purse and return to it R2 million confiscated from Black Consciousness organisations when they were banned in October 1977.

Some of the parties make bold predictions about their chances at the polls.

The ANC expects to win the election convincingly, and has not doubt it will poll not less than 60 percent of the vote. The NP hopes to emerge from the election as "the biggest single party", says Coetzer, and the PAC is convinced it will be the majority party after the election, according to Alexander.

Despite Azapo's huge financial handicap, deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa

says it "would not fear that our people will not support us in an election".

Surprisingly, the IFP is much more realistic than the others, with chief executive officer Joe Matthews revealing that it aims to get about 26 percent of the national vote. However, the IFP will go all out to ensure it wins "sufficient support" in KwaZulu/Natal so that it can form a government alone or in a coalition in the area.

Also realistic is the DP's Ken Andrew, who says his party expects to poll around 16 percent of the vote: 25 percent of the white vote, 40 percent of the coloured and Indian vote, and 10 percent of the black vote.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Moolman Mentz says it is "too early" for his party to grant interviews about its election plans as it is not yet clear whether the election will be for a unitary state, a federal system or a confederation.

The Conservative Party is opposed to an inclusive general election, and wants a separate state with sovereign powers for whites. □

# Bid to avoid talks row over violence

Star 22/1/93  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Attempts are being made to prevent a row in the Negotiating Council today over a far-reaching declaration on the suspension of armed activities.

The compromise involving a report on violence being discussed in the Negotiating Council before the declaration, which was originally scheduled to top the agenda.

The report on violence proposes two "multiparty agencies" to deal with police forces as well as with armies and armed formations.

It recommends a phased approach to a new defence force and a new police force.

This means that the PAC's concerns over the implementation of a cessation of hostilities will be considered.

After addressing the 10-member planning committee yesterday, PAC negotiator and political secretary Jaki Seroke said the committee was considering the compromise.

Asked if the PAC would then support the declaration, Seroke said: "We are not opposed to a cessation of hostilities but the process to arrive (at that) needs to be discussed and structured."

The Government served notice on Friday that it would urge the Negotiating Council to take a decision on the continued participation of groups refusing to accept the document.

Negotiators from the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu governments indicated last night they would accept the declaration.

The declaration states that parties will "commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

## Bid to reinstate Winnie fails

*Star 22/6/93*  
The ANC Women's League last night rejected attempts by the Concerned ANC Women's League (CAWL) to have Winnie Mandela reinstated as chairman of the PWV region. Women's League general secretary Baleka Kgositsile was responding to CAWL's threat of mass action if Mandela and her executive committee were not reinstated by July 4. — Staff Reporter (117)

### New MECs take office

PRETORIA — New members were sworn in as members of their provincial executive committees in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal yesterday.

At the inauguration ceremony for the four Transvaal members — Lerate Chuenyane of Soweto, Lesiba Mothiba from Lebowa, Lucas Nel of Pretoria and former journalist Pieter Goetzer — Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough said the executive committee had been increased to 10 members.

In Natal Dan Makhanya and Rudi Redinger were welcomed as members of the executive committee by Natal Administrator Con Botha.

And in the Cape, Martha Olckers, former President's Council member and a government negotiating team member, has become the first female Cape provincial member of the executive committee.

Olckers was sworn in by Deputy Judge-President J.J. Fagan at the Cape Provincial Administration offices yesterday.

She takes over the Tourism, Nature Conservation and Museums portfolio. — Sapa.

# Buthelezi outlines hopes for meeting

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he hoped that his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow would contribute towards defusing violence between members of their organisations.

Asked whether he wanted the meeting to result in joint strategies to curb violence, Buthelezi said he and Mandela had agreed at their meeting in Durban in 1991 on the necessity of good joint strategies.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the meeting of the two leaders would send out a signal to their followers, which should start "moving them towards bringing down violence".

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Schoeman said: "We would like them to recommit themselves to peace to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant."

"It would be a major achievement if their meeting helps to bring down the level of violence."

The two leaders will meet in Johannesburg at a venue still to be disclosed by church leaders.

The meeting will be chaired by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who is arriving from London today, and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The question of joint rallies by the two leaders will also be discussed.

WILSON ZWANE

Buthelezi has said he expects the meeting to last more than one day.

The agenda for the meeting had not been finalised by yesterday. But the ANC has said the meeting should discuss — among other things — Inkatha's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded, the fencing of hostels and the public display of dangerous weapons.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu was upbeat yesterday about prospects for the meeting. PAC leaders had tried for some time to persuade Mandela and Buthelezi to agree to the meeting, he said.

"We wish them well. This is what we have been striving for all along."

DP leader Zach de Beer said Mandela and Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalties.

It was crucial that they put the interests of the nation first "because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence". He added: "The eyes of SA and the world will be on them this week. If they can meet the challenge, they will have deserved high places in the new SA."

NP media liaison director Martinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday both leaders had the ability to provide strong leadership on the issue of violence if they refrained from using the event for party political advantage.

# NP loses coloured support to the ANC

Bidax 22/6/93

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — A substantial drop in support for the NP had taken place this year among coloured people in the western Cape, a new public opinion survey has found.

The results of the poll, conducted in April, showed the NP was losing support to the ANC and DP, Research Surveys director Jannie Hofmeyr said yesterday.

The survey found 33% of coloureds would vote for the NP, 23% for the ANC, 10% for the DP and 4% for the Labour Party. It found 28% did not know who they would support.

Conducted in association with the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case), the survey polled 200 men and 200 women in the metropolitan areas of greater Cape Town.

Younger people, high income groups and men favoured the ANC, while older people, lower income groups and women tended to favour the NP.

LINDA ENSOR reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak attributed growing support for the NP among lower income groups to the "swart gevaar" tactics of the NP, which blamed job losses and retrenchments in the former coloured labour preference area on the influx of blacks.

At a news briefing yesterday, Boesak said membership figures in the western Cape had shown consistent

Political Staff

growth since February and branches in coloured areas had been opened at an unprecedented rate.

ANC assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr estimated that membership in the western Cape now stood at more than 60 000. (11A)

Approximately 3 000 new people had joined every month over the past few months.

He said the ANC had launched a concerted membership drive in the coloured community since March. Support had increased after the death of SACP leader Chris Hani and with the ANC's involvement in the education crisis, and the survey did not reflect growth in ANC support due to events since April.

Research Surveys' Jan Hofmeyr said the sharp growth in ANC support was only possible due to the high percentage of people who did not know who they would vote for or who said they would not vote for anyone.

"We are dealing with a very ambivalent electorate which is very much in flux. There is such a high proportion of people who don't know who to support that to get an accurate picture, data has to be turned around every four weeks," Hofmeyr said. "Significant swings are still possible."

## Govt offers to boost legal aid

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government yesterday announced it would match rand-for-rand any non-governmental assistance provided for legal aid. Bidax 22/6/93

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told Parliament during a debate on the Attorneys Amendment Bill that last year 684 246 people appeared in lower courts without legal representation and it would have cost R557m to provide them with lawyers.

This was not possible at present, from either private or public funding, and SA did not have enough qualified people to provide assistance to all accused.

In 1992 compared with 1990, 49% more accused had legal representation in lower courts and government's contribution to the Legal Aid Board had increased to a record R65,5m in the current financial year. (2352)

"Legal aid, of course, needs to be improved. Until now, financial assistance from the private sector has proved disappointing. The government therefore declares itself willing to match any non-governmental assistance on a rand-for-rand basis," Coetsee said.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said government had to ensure the Legal Aid Board and law clinics were adequately funded to enable prospective attorneys to perform community service.



# Let's talk Sowetan 21/6/93 says PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress was prepared to meet white farmers to resolve conflicts affecting them and the African communities. (11A)

At a Press conference yesterday, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said Africans employed on white farms or living in their neighbourhood continued to suffer many abuses at the hand of white farmers.

He said the Azanian People's Liberation Army was addressing these issues through armed struggle. The liberation movement wanted to address these deep concerns politically with the white farmers. (11A)

A unilateral ceasefire by the PAC, as demanded by the Government, would be most irresponsible. But the PAC was flexible, provided:

- A transitional authority controlling security forces was established;
- Constituent assembly election processes are set in motion; and
- A mutual end to hostilities was agreed on.

# Negotiations now at a crucial stage

Sowetan 22/6/93

By **Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent



IT IS make or break for multiparty negotiations over the next three days.

At the top of today's agenda at the negotiation council's meeting at the World Trade Centre is violence and the question of the PAC's continued armed struggle.

The Government is adamant that the Pan Africanist Congress should suspend its armed struggle and sign a declaration on the cessation or suspension of hostilities.

In a snap response, the PAC's Mr Jackie Seroke yesterday said his organisation had no problem with a cessation of hostilities.

"We are not opposed to a mutual cessation of hostilities, but the process must be

adequately discussed and structured," Seroke said.

Other items on today's agenda will be the Independent Media and Election commissions. Constitutional matters will be discussed tomorrow.

Transkei's Mr Zam Titus, who is on the planning committee which worked on today's agenda until late last night, said the next three days would be critical.

"What emerges at the end of this week will determine whether South Africa will have democracy or not," he said.

On Friday the negotiating forum will receive a report from its council that should seal the inevitability of the negotiations process.

Friday's meeting is expected to give the go-ahead for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council which would prepare the country for elections and ratify April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first nonracial election.

The negotiations will also be severely tested by the "constructive filibustering" of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its allies in Cosag.



**LET'S TALK PEACE ...** PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the organisation was prepared to meet white farmers to discuss peace. With him is PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo. See Page 6  
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

**Our four month  
Secretarial and  
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cut to success.**

# Clash looming as PAC sticks to its guns

THE negotiating council today faces a tense debate over the PAC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle.

There are indications that the PAC might be left out on a limb with only the CP for company. The CP also has problems signing a declaration which commits it to desist from taking up arms, even if it does not attain its goal of a separate Afrikaner homeland. The CP has threatened to go to war if it fails in this at the negotiations.

Most of the other 26 parties are pushing to have the declaration of a cessation of hostilities signed by all those negotiating. Even the PAC's patriotic front partners, including the ANC, have warned that today

*B. Day*  
**BILLY PADDOCK**

is its last opportunity before facing censure from the negotiating council.

The declaration was drafted by the planning committee and carries the full weight of the negotiating process. ~~(S)~~

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday she was prepared to sign the declaration if it was amended to say it was a "mutual cessation of hostilities." ~~(S)~~ *(11A)*

And at a media briefing PAC president Clarence Makwetu said his organisation would suspend its armed struggle if one of three conditions was met: the mutual cessation of hostilities between government,

*2216143*  
and the PAC, the establishment of a transitional authority with full, independent control over the security forces; and the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The PAC would not endorse the negotiating council resolution to renounce violence because, he said, it was biased against the PAC as it focused only on Apla instead of all armed formations. ~~(S)~~

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the PAC's suggestion of an agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities was unrealistic, Sapa reports. He described as "nonsense" the PAC's insistence that government was involved in some form of armed struggle.

Country holds thumbs as Mandela, Buthelezi talk peace

# Mandela, Buthelezi meet

114  
23/6/93

114  
23/6/93



The Argus Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — A silent prayer swept across South Africa today as Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met today for crucial talks.

They started their summit, brokered by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, under stringent security. Even the exact location of the meeting place in the Kempton Park conference centre was kept secret.

Peace topped the agenda as bloody violence flared across the country from Crossroads to Katlehong.

A smiling Mr Mandela arrived first to be greeted warmly by Archbishop Tutu and Dr Magoba.

Mr Mandela said: "There is a will on the part of the IFP and the ANC to make a breakthrough and put an end to the killings. Our leaders have called and we have responded."

Archbishop Tutu said the leaders were on the same side, opposing apartheid.

Both wanted a democratic dispensation; now they could demonstrate to the world that they were allies.

Soon afterwards the IFP delegation, including Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Mr Walter Felgate arrived to warm greetings from Dr Magoba and Archbishop Tutu.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa arrived soon afterwards.

Chief Buthelezi was given the same exuberant greeting by the bishops.

He said his meeting with Mr Mandela was more than symbolic. The present situation was vastly different from that in 1991 when they last met.

Although the IFP was poles apart from the ANC politically, there was still no reason for killing one another, he said.

"As a Christian I feel hopeful about the meeting with Mr Mandela today. I am hopeful as I would not be here if I was not a Christian and believed in peace."

The summit follows another bout of gruesome violence in trouble-torn Natal, where at least 45 people have died since the weekend.

Observers said the recent spate of violent attacks in Port Shepstone, Bergville and Esikhawini near Empangeni conformed to a pattern of similar attacks on the eve of peace talks and major constitutional changes.

The 1991 meeting between Mr Mandela and Dr Buthelezi was followed by sporadic incidents of violence in Natal.

This meeting was widely regarded as a failure and the two men will want to make sure today's summit sends a message of hope to battle-weary South Africans and the international community.

ANC sources said they resented Chief Buthelezi's "condescending attitude" at the 1991 meeting when he read out a long statement castigating various ANC leaders criticising him and the IFP in the pas, and demanding an apology from them at the beginning of the meeting.



**TALKS START:** ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi pose for photographers shortly before they started their talks at an East Rand church venue today.

Mr Mandela angered Chief Buthelezi last year when he told the United Nations that the IFP leader allowed himself to be used by Pretoria, and called the IFP a "surrogate" of the government.

Chief Buthelezi refused to meet Mr Mandela and demanded an apology from the ANC.

When this did not materialise he laid a complaint with the National Peace Committee, which failed to resolve the dispute.

● See page 4.

# Cosatu dilemma over coloured vote and ANC ties

SHARON SOROUR  
Labour Reporter

COSATU in the Western Cape, which will be expected to deliver the coloured vote to the African National Congress in the election, is in a "precarious position" as most of its members do not support its ANC/SACP allies, says Mr Mike Coetzee of the Workers' College at the University of the Western Cape.

In an article in the latest SA Labour Bulletin, Mr Coetzee said that while the ANC, with its functioning branches, was sound in the suburbs and middle class coloured areas, it displayed a "marked weakness and absence from the large working class areas".

He added: "Cosatu, being the only formation with membership and following in this constituency, will be expected to deliver the coloured vote to the ANC in the election."

The following options were being debated:

- The ANC should be remodelled and its image changed if it was to be marketed to the coloureds in the Western Cape.

- A "rainbow coalition" of different organs of civil society should campaign on a progressive ticket, being non-hostile and non-antagonistic to the ANC.

- A coloured political party should be formed, or the ANC should enter into an alliance arrangement with the Labour

Party.

- Cosatu and other organisations should campaign against the National Party, but not pro-ANC in the region to ensure the NP gained few votes and the ANC's position would be strengthened.

Mr Coetzee said Cosatu had been the only organisation or political formation able to establish a political tradition and loyalty among the mass of coloured people in the Western Cape.

A draft survey by the UWC's Centre for Development Studies on "Ethnic Consciousness and Potential Voting Behaviour in the Coloured Community" made the following findings:

- The coloured community,

who make up 11 percent of the population, had a relatively low level of education and most were working class.

- Seventy-four percent supported President De Klerk as president in a new South Africa, while 62 percent supported the NP, as opposed to nine percent for the ANC and five percent for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

- The community was hesitant to accept an "African" as president.

Mr Coetzee said the level of unionisation in the Western Cape, which had an economically active population of 3.5 million, was low, with Cosatu having 175 000 members and Nactu far fewer.

ARC 23/6/93

# Mandela, Buthelezi summit venue 'secret'

Own Correspondent

(114) 23/5/93

**JOHANNESBURG.** — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet today to discuss rivalry between their organisations, but journalists have been asked not to make public the venue of their meeting.

Inkatha chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said today's meeting would centre on the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC and their leaders.

Methodist Church of SA spokesman Ms Ruth Coggin and meeting co-chairman Bishop Stanley Mngobu said the clergy who brokered the meeting did not want the venue disclosed for security reasons.

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# PAC looks at forming civics

Staff Reporter (11A) ~~11A~~ 23/6/93

WESTERN CAPE members of the PAC are considering forming their own civic structures because they say the South African National Civics Organisation is too closely aligned to the ANC.

A public call advising members to form civics "if they thought it wise" was made at a rally in Khayelitsha last week at which PAC leader Mr Benny Alexander

called the ANC "sell outs". PAC regional general secretary Mr Batembu Lugulwana said: "The existence of Sanco should not stop different ideas in civic society emerging. Residents are not homogeneous in their views."

He said it was not PAC policy to form civics, but PAC members could do so if they felt their views were not being reflected.

He said the PAC was concerned

at the appointment of Mrs Winnie Mandela, an ANC figure, to a senior Sanco post.

Sanco spokesman Mr Welcome Zenzile said he was "not happy" about the possible PAC move. He said Sanco was "non-partisan".

Mr Zenzile said PAC-aligned civics would lead to "competition between township structures which should concentrate on bread-and-butter issues".

# PAC agrees to *Sowetan 23/6/93* 'cease hostilities'

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

## ■ BILATERAL TALKS Declaration

signed after intense deliberations:

**A**FTER INTENSE behind-the-scenes deliberations, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday accepted a declaration at the negotiating council which will force the movement to suspend its armed struggle.

Having earlier in the day flatly refused to sign the "Declaration of Cessation-Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence", the PAC left the council chamber to deliberate with the Government.

Emerging from the meeting later, the PAC's secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said: "The PAC is willing to accept the declaration of cessation-suspension of hostilities in principle and subscribes to it.

"It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a

mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime."

The PAC and the Government will meet again tomorrow for bilateral talks to:

- Agree on outstanding matters between the two parties; and
- Agree on the implementation of the declaration on cessation and suspension of hostilities.

Seroke also referred to a section of the resolution of conditions that should be created to eliminate violence that was tabled at a session of the council yesterday.

The paragraph refers to a series of phased confidence-building measures which would include the future of all armed formations, their personnel and

arsenals. It is hoped this would lead to the creation of impartial, legitimate and effective security forces with the consequent dissolution of all other armed formations.

Seroke said that the PAC advocated a transitional authority and not a TEC.

The PAC turnaround came after intense behind-the-scenes discussions, brokered by planning committee member and leader of the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses Mr Pravin Gordhan.

"On behalf of all the parties here I applaud the PAC," the chairman of yesterday's council meeting and the leader of the National Party's delegation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said after Seroke had spoken.



# NEWS Mystery murders recalled in co

## news in brief

Sowetan 23/6/93

### Natal death toll 38

GUNMEN killed at least three dwellers at Umlazi's Glebelands Hostel in Durban yesterday and police reported another two deaths overnight in the township.

Police spokesman Major Bala Naidoo said the gunmen "went from room to room" in a section of the hostel, shooting at dwellers before dawn. Meanwhile, KwaZulu police reported two overnight deaths in two separate incidents at Umlazi. The toll from violence in Natal since Friday is now at least 38.

Sowetan 23/6/93

### PAC sends support

THE Western Cape region of the Pan Africanist Congress has come out in support of its negotiating team's refusal to sign what it called the unilateral suspension of hostilities in Kempton Park yesterday. PAC regional organiser Mr Michael Siyolo said the organisation would suspend its armed struggle once all armed forces had ceased hostilities against Africans. He said it was useless

Sowetan 23/6/93  
to suspend the armed struggle while people were still being killed. (11A)

Sowetan 23/6/93

### Durban hotels battle

THE All Africa Games are proving a boon to Durban hotels plagued by low occupancy rates — but prospects for a good school holiday season appear grim.

A Fedhasa spokesperson said enquiries had been particularly brisk in the past few days. However, she said the coming winter holidays were offering little cause for cheer. Enquiries were down to a trickle and the season was expected to be very quiet for hotels. (238)

### Kite-flying death

AN eight-year-old boy was electrocuted when his wire-framed toy kite got entangled in a power line at a village near Gweru, Zimbabwe. A police spokesman said Ephias Muzivi of Mkoba's Village was badly burnt on the face and chest when the kite touched live wires. He died in hospital. — Sapa.

**NEWS FEATURE** *Economic woes will be main challenge of a continent plagued by tensions*

**By Joe Lataksom**  
Sowetan Africa News Service

**T**WO issues will top the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity's conference in Cairo this week and the heads-of-state summit next week.

White minority rule in South Africa, which has been the single biggest issue for 30 years, and Africa's economic woes, will again be put in the spotlight.

This could be the last time the apartheid issue is a major concern, however. If the negotiations in South Africa remain on track it is likely that some form of democratic representation will be in place by next year's OAU summit and apartheid will cease to be the clarion call it has for so long been for African states.

Indeed, the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation Movements of Africa, which is a specialised OAU agency set up to provide financial and military aid to nationalist movements in dependent countries, may have exhausted its mandate.

The disappearance of apartheid as an issue will also mean its disappearance as the major (some say the only) unifying factor in the OAU. For this year, however, it will still be there, albeit in a fading form.

Last month the OAU celebrated its 30th anniversary and African leaders are united in the view that there is little to show for those years of endeavour. The continent is still plagued by wars, political and religious tensions and even the virtual political disintegration of some African states such as Zaïre and Angola.

Outgoing OAU chairman Abdou Diouf of Senegal said recently that Africa had "an urgent need to have the means to overcome not only the disputes between states but also internal conflicts".

The OAU has largely been seen as a toothless watchdog. But it was the cau-

# OAU's farewell to apartheid issue

*Sowetan 23/6/93*

**UNIFYING FACTOR Biggest single issue**

*for organisation for last 30 years:*

colonial borders. If this were not so, there would have been far more border disputes than there have been. One dispute, the issue of Western Sahara, almost led to the break-up of the OAU.

In 1982, the 19th heads of state summit, which was to have been held in Tripoli, Libya, failed to materialise because 19 states boycotted the proceedings over the admission to membership of the SADR, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara). Morocco terminated its membership of the OAU in protest and the issue has still not been resolved.

**Newest member**

So far, the SADR has refrained, at the request of certain African states, from taking its seat in the OAU. It will be interesting to see whether the SADR will now demand to take its seat following the acceptance last month of Eritrea as the newest member of the OAU after successfully seceding from Ethiopia.

South Africa has been pressing for some form of recognition by the OAU, just before last year's summit in Dakar.

Senegal, Foreign Minister Pik Botha appeared on the scene to lobby for acceptance of South Africa into the community of African nations. His efforts were thwarted and the OAU called

for continued sanctions against South Africa. This year, Botha appeared in Cairo and once more seemed to be lobbying for some reward for its efforts at democratisation.

But most African countries, despite recognition of the progress made — and in some cases normalising relations — do not believe the time has come for such a reward. In fact, both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have opposed any moves towards recognition of the Pretoria government.

Looking beyond the liberation struggle it has supported for so long, the Liberation Committee has recommended that the ANC and PAC be given funds for voter education projects.

ANC representative Stanley Mabhiza said at the weekend: "We asked the OAU to come out and assist us just as they assisted Zimbabwe and Namibia when it came to voting because our people don't know how to vote and need education."

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*2250 (11A)*



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extension of the mandate of the OAU observer mission in South Africa until elections are held. Both the PAC and ANC are represented at the OAU and it is expected that the presidents of the two organisations, Clarence Makwetu and Nelson Mandela, will attend the summit next week.

It is the economic decline in Africa, however, that will take up most of the deliberations. The conference is expected to renew the call African countries have been making since 1985 for a special conference of creditors and bor-

rowers to seek a solution to the problem of the continent's heavy debt. According to the African Development Bank, OAU members now have foreign debts of 250-billion US dollars and interest and repayments use up more than 30 percent of export earnings. Interventions by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have done little to ease the difficulty and some states have found their prescriptions politically unacceptable.

At a recent conference of African Economic Ministers on ways to stem the growing poverty and economic decline, the executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa said that the commission's report had painted a picture of "unmitigated grimness" and added that the World Bank and IMF programmes were taking too long to reverse the decline.

The marginalisation of Africa in world economic terms has meant that it will have to look inward, and develop markets and economic co-operation policies that will transcend existing barriers. African countries are now finding that even the metropolises to which they directed their exports are now closing up — particularly as Europe goes forward towards implementation of the Maasricht Treaty.

The democratisation that has swept Africa in recent years may give African leaders the legitimacy to deal constructively and effectively with the problems that beset Africa. With some form of accountability, these leaders know that unless they deliver, voters will judge them harshly. Given this, and also a recognition by the IMF and World Bank that there may be some truth in the criticisms of their prescriptions, the long-sought conference of creditors and African debtors may yet materialise.

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This principle has seen the OAU turning a blind eye to blatant human rights abuses, flourishing dictatorships, military coups which have put illegitimate governments in place and the subversion of democracy.

In partial response to this, secretary-general Sahn Ahmed Sahn has drawn up a plan to deal with conflicts. The plan was due to be tabled at Monday's first Council of Ministers meeting and had gained much support.

Sahn has said that Africa does not have the resources to establish a mechanism for resolving conflicts such as those in Liberia, Somalia, Angola and Zaïre, which has virtually ceased to exist as a formal country, with the whole political and security infrastructure having collapsed.

Sahn's plan also refers to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Last Friday, seven people were killed and 20 injured when a bomb exploded in a Cairo slum.

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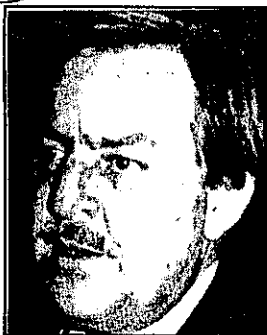
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# ANC's day of judgment on nagging torture claims

Star 23/6/93

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**S**TEEPED in controversy even before it sat — for being appointed by the ANC to judge the ANC — the Motsuenyane Commission, which adjourned last week, must make a finding on whether the organisation tortured or abused inmates it detained in Angola and Uganda.

A characteristic of the hearings has been the acknowledgement by all witnesses called by the ANC that beatings *did* occur in camps, but that nobody took personal responsibility.

Camp commanders, commissars and at least three senior ANC officials admitted they had been informed about the abuse of prisoners — or inmates as the witnesses and lawyers prefer to call them — but only one admitted beatings. And the punishment he had meted out to the prisoner was so minor — “a slap” — that it would not have warranted a commission of inquiry.

Former secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the commission most of the complaints he had received or heard of came from *agents provocateurs* who were intent of fomenting trouble. ANC camps were in the main not there as torture chambers but to “educate these people politically”.

This theme was carried

The commission of inquiry into alleged human rights abuses in ANC camps has adjourned to prepare its findings. MOKONE MOLETE reports.

through by various security and intelligence officers in their evidence to the commission.

The commission is headed by former Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motuenyane, sitting with Zimbabwean advocate David Zimchiya and American judge and anti-apartheid activist Margaret Burnham. The hearings were a sequel to critical reports by the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) and an Amnesty International report, the Douglas Report, which found widescale abuses in ANC camps. The Douglas Report was funded by the conservative International Freedom Foundation.

The ISHR was blunt in its condemnation of the ANC: “The human rights record of the ANC can be split into two parts: in exile the prolonged detention, savage torture and killing of opponents, and inside South Africa the assassination and intimidation of opponents and critics.”

It called the ANC's response to complaints “at best, grudging and half-hearted”.

The Motsuenyane Commission heard, *inter alia*, that:

- Measures of torture included beatings until prisoners were unconscious, the rape of women, and forcing prisoners to eat bottles;
- Some inmates did not receive regular medication or food;
- Prisoners were locked in badly ventilated cells;
- A prisoner was jailed for years without medical treatment despite having broken fingers and a painful shoulder.

Most of these alleged abuses took place at Quatro camp, also called Camp 32, in Angola.

In response, witnesses called by the ANC testified that:

- It was not a policy of the organisation to torture or abuse its dissidents in any way;
- As a signatory to the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war it was bound to treat its prisoners in a humane way.

High-ranking officials who gave evidence before the commission — including deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, head of security Joe Nhlanhla,

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Joe Modise and former head of security and intelligence Mzwandile Piliso — denied prisoners had been tortured.

“Such behaviour was not only a breach of my own words, but of the policy of the ANC,” Piliso told the commission.

The organisation's medical officer in Angola, Dr Hagger McBerry, said he had neither received reports of ill-treatment nor treated anyone who had been ill-treated.

Motsuenyane, who is supposed to release his findings by the end of the month, is faced with a daunting task. Besides denials by ANC witnesses that they had been involved in human rights abuses, they stated that allegations against them were made to undermine the organisation.

Even more challenging will be the fact that those who had heard of the abuses contextualised them in terms of difficult conditions in war-torn Angola, where supplies were scarce and communication difficult.

Motsuenyane, however, seems unfazed. He believes a just finding will be made: “As long as we have heard all sides by the end of our inquiry, we will be able to make balanced findings. Then it's back to the ANC to consider sanctions. That is not within our brief.” □

# SA's cultural mosaic faces ethnic realities

Star 23/6/93

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IT IS unfortunate that apartheid has so poisoned the issue of ethnicity that we cannot debate it rationally. For the issue is important, as the upsurge of ethnic conflicts around the world, particularly in Bosnia and the former Soviet Union, so vividly illustrates.



Allister Sparks

warns the masses against these illusions... it welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations."

So nationalism and ethnic pride became dirty words in the communist lexicon, sentiments to be stamped out in the interests of proletarian universalism.

Irina Filatova, the Russian historian now teaching at the University of Durban-Westville, tells of a driver from the Ukraine who was refused membership of the Soviet Communist Party because when filling in his application form he wrote "Ukrainian" as his nationality and "Russian" as his mother tongue.

Well, we know now how mistaken this view was. Far from withdrawing away, as the communist theoreticians predicted, ethnic nationalism has flared up with a vengeance in the Ukraine and other parts of the former Soviet Union. It has torn Czechoslovakia

in two and is ripping Yugoslavia into a kind of KwaZulu archipelago.

Indeed everywhere it was suppressed, ethnicity is resurging with a new fanaticism. Which calls to mind a warning by the Oxford philosopher, Sir Isaiah Berlin, who likens ethnicity to a twig on a branch. "Bend the twig too far," Berlin says, "and it will lash back at you."

History is full of examples of such lashing back by ethnic groups who felt their culture was being swamped or humiliated. The French, after their revolution, dominated western Europe politically, culturally and militarily. The humiliated and defeated Germans, particularly the economically backward East Prussians, bullied by French officials imported by Frederick the Great, lashed back with a surge of national pride that found its voice in a new philosophy of Romanticism which countered the universalism of the French Enlightenment with a fierce glorification of individual cultures.

Johan Gottfried Herder developed the concept of the *Volksgeist*, or the spirit of the German people, and pleaded for cultural

and spiritual autonomy. Others, like Johan Fichte who followed him, turned it into an embittered and aggressive nationalist self-assertion.

A century and a half later, after Germany had suffered another humiliation at Versailles, Hitler was to revive these ideas and pervert them to commit one of the greatest crimes against humanity that the world has seen.

So let us in South Africa be warned. We may not like ethnicity, but it is no less real for that. We may agree that the kind of autonomous *Boerestaat* that the right-wing Afrikaners want is a practical impossibility, since there is no part of the country with a white, let alone an Afrikaner, majority and it is unthinkable that they should be given a part of the country where people of colour will be disenfranchised and discriminated against.

But that still does not remove the ethnic factor from our society. The lack of an Afrikaner Quebec makes the issue harder, not easier, to deal with.

Nor is Afrikaner nationalism the only ethnic twig to beware of. Apartheid may have discredited any overt assertion of tribal iden-

tity by black South Africans for the immediate future, but that may change with time.

We are fortunate that with the exception of Inkatha our major black political organisations are not rooted in tribal constituencies. The ANC was founded in 1912 as an explicitly pan-tribal movement to mobilise all African people against the Land Act, and it has remained so ever since. The same goes for its main rivals, the PAC and the Black Consciousness movement, both of which broke away from the ANC and, like it, have no specific tribal identity.

That means the leaders of these parties cannot issue atavistic tribal calls to mobilise their constituencies, as happens in so many other African countries. If Nelson Mandela were to beat a Xhosa tribal drum he would alienate all the ANC's non-Xhosa supporters and shrink the movement's support base from a national to a regional level. He could not then aspire to winning a national majority.

This is a powerful disincentive to politics developing along ethnic lines in South Africa. There is no numerically dominant ethnic group (the Zulus, who are the big-

gest tribe, are only one-fifth of the total population), which means no ethnically based party can win national power. Even the National Party, the mother of all ethnic parties, has recognised this truth and is frantically trying to go multiracial.

Yet this is still not a guarantee that ethnicity will not rear its destructive head. It is precisely the despair at seeing no prospect of ever gaining power, at feeling politically impotent and therefore culturally vulnerable, that causes ethnic and religious minorities to lash back like bent twigs.

The Basques and Catalans of Spain, the Nagas and Sikhs of India, the Tamils of Sri Lanka, the Catholics of Northern Ireland, and the Palestinians of the Middle East all fall into this category.

As we set about trying to build the new, non-racial South Africa let us take note of this recurring human phenomenon. Let us not bend any ethnic twigs. Non-racialism must not be universalist. It must respect and accommodate cultural differences, not seek to eradicate them. Our aim must be to have a cultural mosaic, not a melting pot. □

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Clive Derby-Lewis allegedly obtained the 9 mm pistol used in the murder, and

# Drama over PAC stand on end to armed struggle

Star 23/6/93

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

The PAC has plunged negotiations into confusion. After initially agreeing last night to a suspension of its armed struggle, it then dismissed the understanding brokered in negotiations.

In what had appeared to be a boost for negotiations and the peace process, the PAC agreed "in principle" during debate at the World Trade Centre to suspend its armed struggle.

However, later last night the PAC leaders told a press conference the organisation had not "unilaterally suspended the armed struggle" but had agreed to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government.

This would be addressed at a meeting with the Gov-

ernment tomorrow night.

Many negotiations were astounded by the PAC's egg dance on a clear rejection of violence.

Confusion about the PAC's intentions continued today. The leader of the PAC delegation at the Negotiating Council, Patricia de Lille, said today her organisation had last night taken a "political decision on the cessation of hostilities" - which implies the PAC is suspending Apla's armed activities.

However, she said the implementation of this decision still had to be agreed to by the PAC and Government.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his National Party counterpart Dr Dawie de Villiers responded last night by warning of disciplinary action in the Negotiating Council.

They said in a joint statement: "After this the PAC has no credibility. It makes a mockery of the negotiations process and the 25 other parties when it commits itself publicly to the declaration (on the cessation of armed hostilities) and on its own contradicts it."

The dramatic announcement, which appeared to bring the PAC position on armed struggle in line with that of the ANC, was made in the Negotiating Council and was immediately welcomed by other negotiators.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that PAC negotiators had told him they had been instructed by their president Clarence Makwetu to agree to the declaration on the suspension of armed struggle.

● To Page 3

However, Seroke later told a press conference the PAC remained "committed to the armed struggle and is working towards a mutual cessation of hostilities".

Asked if this meant the armed struggle would be suspended only once agreement had been reached with the Government, he said "yes".

The declaration states that parties subscribing to it commit themselves to a peaceful resolution of conflict and to cease or suspend any form of hostilities, armed struggle or violence.

"It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime."

PAC negotiator Jaki Seroke emerged to tell the Negotiating Council: "The PAC is willing to accept the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities in principle and subscribes to it."

The apparent breakthrough came yesterday afternoon after the PAC, the Government and negotiations planning committee member Pravin Gordhan had met behind closed doors.

Late last night many negotiators who had originally welcomed the PAC move were confused by developments, with some speculating that the PAC may have been trying to buy time to sell the agreement to its grassroots support.

**Drama over  
PAC stand  
on hostilities**

Star 23/6/93

● From Page 1

# Buthelezi, Mandela talk at secret venue

Star 23/6/93

By Shirley Woodgate

A silent prayer swept across South Africa this morning as Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela met face to face on the East Rand for crucial talks.

The two started their talks, brokered by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba, under stringent security which saw even the location of the meeting kept secret.

On the agenda — as bloody violence flared in Natal and from Khayelitsha to Katlehong — was peace.

A smiling Nelson Mandela arrived early to be greeted by the two church leaders.

He said: "There is a will on the part of both the IFP and the ANC to make a breakthrough and put an end to the killings. Our leaders have called and we have responded."

Archbishop Tutu said after entering the conference room that both leaders were on the same side in opposing apartheid. (I) (A) (S)

Both wanted a democratic solution; now they could demonstrate to the world that they were allies.

Shortly afterwards, the IFP delegation, including Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Walter Felgate, arrived to be warmly greeted by both clerics.

Next to arrive was Cyril Ramaphosa.

Buthelezi received the same exuberant greeting from Tutu and Mogoba and said his meeting with Mandela was more than symbolic. He said the present situation was vastly different from that in 1991. Although the IFP was poles apart from the ANC politically there was still no reason for their supporters to kill each other.



Beat him, brother . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela takes time off yesterday to wish Dinga Thobela well for his world title fight against defending World Boxing Association champion Tony Lopez on Saturday. Report — Page 30.

Picture: Karen Sandison



# Murder case security net

Star 28/6/93

By Susan Smuts

The Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg is the focus of international attention today as the trial of Chris Hani's alleged killers begins.

Stringent security measures — including weapons searches — were in place this morning before the appearance of the right-wing trio. Conservative Party representative to the now-disbanded President's Council, Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye, and alleged hitman Janusz Waluz are standing trial for the murder of the SA Communist Party chief outside his Dawn Park, Boksburg, home on April 10.

Coverage of the trial is set to be relayed around the world, with a rush from local and international news or-

ganisations to secure the limited number of courtroom seats for the media.

Family, friends and followers of the slain leader will have to jostle with those of the accused for seats in the public gallery. Those who do not find a seat will be asked to leave the building.

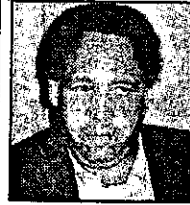
## Conspiring

The trio have been charged with murdering Hani, conspiring to murder eight others, and illegally possessing arms and ammunition. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Defence counsel Eben Jordaan said last night he would ask for a postponement.

"We have not had nearly enough time to prepare the case. No case is ever brought to court so quickly. Attempts are still being made to raise money for the defence."

## THE Chris Hani



The State, which will be represented by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and State advocate Gerrit Nel, intends opposing any postponement.

The charge sheet refers to Hani, known to millions as Chris, as "Martin Thembisile Hani". Gaye Derby-Lewis is referred to as Gabrielle Mavourna Derby-Lewis.

Events which filled newspapers for weeks have been summarised in three pages of "substantial fact" which

form the State's case. (117)  
The State will try to prove to Judge President C F Eloff that Walusz shot Hani dead after plotting the murder with the Derby-Lewis.

According to the charge sheet, Gaye Derby-Lewis asked former Citizen reporter Arthur Kemp to provide her with the addresses of prominent people, who allegedly appeared on a hit list.

Clive Derby-Lewis allegedly obtained the 9 mm pistol used in the murder, and

fitted it with a silencer.

Waluz was arrested soon after Hani's murder. Two guns were found in his car, including a pistol which had been stolen from SA Air Force headquarters in April 1990, the charge sheet says.

The State alleges ballistic evidence proves this pistol was used in the murder.

Clive Derby-Lewis was detained on April 17 and his wife on April 23.

The alleged hit list of people targeted for assassination included: Hani, ANC president Nelson Mandela, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, Sunday Times editor Ken Owen, SACP's Mac Maharaj, and reporters Tim du Plessis and Karin Brynard.

● Tracker dogs sniff courtroom for surprises — Page 3

## Who's in the courtroom

- The accused: Clive John Derby-Lewis (57) and Gabrielle Mavourna (Gaye) Derby-Lewis (54), both of Krugersdorp, and Janusz Jacob Waluz (38) of Pretoria.
- The deceased: Martin Thembisile (Chris) Hani.
- The judge: Judge President Mr Justice C F Eloff.
- The defence: Eben Jordaan.
- The prosecution: Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres, SC, assisted by State advocate Gerrit Nel.
- The charges: Murder, conspiracy to commit murder, illegal possession of arms and ammunition.



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# PAC still slippery on armed struggle

**Political Staff**  
JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC last night appeared to renege on an earlier undertaking to suspend the armed struggle, telling a news conference after negotiations ended yesterday that its agreement was just a declaration of intent.

After debate in the afternoon, the PAC accepted "in principle" a declaration on ending the struggle adopted by the 25 other participants in the Negotiating Council.

"It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the

regime," PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said.

Chairman of yesterday's council meeting — and chief NP negotiator — Dr Dawie de Villiers replied: "On behalf of all the parties here, I applaud the PAC."

According to the document, they had committed themselves to the peaceful resolution of conflict and "where applicable cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives".

They also committed themselves to ensuring that their conduct and messages, including chants, were

consistent with the declaration.

But at a news conference later, Mr Seroke said: "I want to state it very clearly and unambiguously we did not unilaterally suspend the armed struggle. The suspension of the armed struggle is not on the cards."

He said the PAC had agreed to "a mere declaration of intent" and the implementation of a mutual cessation of hostilities would be discussed with the government at a bilateral meeting today.

The government was asked to react to the PAC, and it said the organisation "after this, has no

credibility".

Dr De Villiers and chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said in a statement: "The negotiating council will (today) have to take note of this and decide on further necessary steps against the PAC."

The proceedings began with the PAC refusing to adopt the declaration, despite having agreed to do so in a planning meeting on Monday.

Mr Seroke said the PAC supported the declaration in principle, but because the government had not yet returned all confiscated material, it would not adopt it.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril

CF 23/6/93  
Ramaphosa intervened and said that before the council condemned the PAC, it should also look at whether the government had honoured its side of the bargain.

"If Mr Meyer can say that government would implement its undertaking, I am sure Mr Seroke will find he can accept this and I see he is nodding right here next to me," he said.

Mr Meyer undertook to "completely fulfil" the terms.

Mr Seroke and Mr Meyer then met over an extended tea break, with assisting chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan mediating. This led to the

PAC accepting the declaration in principle.

The PAC qualified its stand by demanding that a statement be read into the minutes that it would meet the government to reach agreement that the implementation of the declaration would be done in accordance with a single clause of another resolution on violence, which the council accepted.

This stated that "a series of phased confidence-building measures, which would include the future of all armed formations, their personnel and arsenals, be adopted".

# Winnie's compensation and fine still outstanding

By Montshiwa Moroke

Winnie Mandela has yet to pay the R15 000 fine and R15 000 in compensation imposed on her by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein on June 2, Matthys Lourens, senior registrar of the Rand Supreme Court, said yesterday.

The compensation has to be paid to the registrar within 30 days of the date of the order.

Mandela's six-year sentence handed down in the Rand Supreme Court in May 1991 for kidnapping was set aside in part

by the Appellate Division. She was fined R15 000 instead. If she does not pay the fine, she will spend a year in jail. (11A)

She was ordered to pay R5 000 to Kenneth Kgase, Barend Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Pelo Mekgwe, who were abducted in December 1988.

The court set aside Mandela's 1991 conviction as an accessory after the fact to assault.

The charges arose from the abduction of Stompie Seipei (14), Kgase, Mono and Mekgwe. Stompie was found dead on January 6 1989.



Peter Mokaba . . . ANC youth leader who refuses to abandon the "Kill the Boer" chant.

## Farmers lay charges over chant

Star 23/6/93

By Norman Chandler  
Pretoria Bureau

Angry farmers, accusing the Government of dragging its feet, yesterday laid three charges against ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba over the "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant.

The charges are in terms of the Internal Security Act, the Intimidation Act, and the Riotous Assemblies Act.

SA Agricultural Union president Boet Fourie said in Pretoria that if the Attorney-General's office in Johannesburg declined to prosecute, farmers would bring a private prosecution against Mokaba in order "to muzzle him".

Stating that repeated calls by the ANC leadership to Mokaba to refrain from using the slogan had had no effect, Fourie rejected a weekend statement by Mokaba who told a rally in Cape Town that the chant was not directed against individual farmers but against the apartheid system.

Fourie — who was last month booed off the stage by farmers at a Potchefstroom rally — said the Mokaba chant was "vengeful" and had led to an escalation of attacks on farmers.

Asked if this meant that the SAAU believed the Government was dragging its feet on the issue of farm security, Fourie replied in the affirmative.

He also disclosed that the SAAU had written to ANC president Nelson Mandela about the chant and that Mandela had responded that he was investigating the matter.

Fourie said farmers were angry.

"The perception at ground level is that the inference of the chant is much greater than anything else concerning farmers," he added.

"When we are striving towards peace and some sort of stability, the country doesn't need slogans which provoke violence."

Asked whether the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions — both affiliates of the SAAU — would join the recently established right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront, which has called for strong action against farm attackers, Fourie declared that the SAAU and organised agriculture in general were apolitical.

He said it would be disastrous for 60 000 farmers to take a political viewpoint.

He told The Star that some farmers were leaving their land

as a result of more than 125 attacks on the farming community since January — but that this was not entirely due to the security situation. Much of it was because of economic reasons.

Fourie also said the SAAU could not see why it should meet PAC officials unless such a meeting had to do with the future of agriculture in the new South Africa.

Fourie had been asked whether the SAAU would be taking up an invitation by the PAC to talk after it was reported yesterday that the PAC had offered to meet farmers to find a political solution to their being targeted by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Fourie added that the SAAU's function and aim was to hold discussions to make people realise the importance of a strong agricultural industry.

"If discussions with the PAC are to follow that line, there would be talks," he added.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu was quoted as saying the meeting could "contribute to a relatively peaceful resolution of the many conflicts afflicting our country".

He also accused farmers of abusing farm labourers and rural black people.

# Liberation ticket

## for ANC

By Claire Gebhardt

The ANC is to fight the forthcoming elections as a liberation movement rather than as a political party.

ANC economics department deputy head Tito Mobweni told the Italian South African Chamber of Trade and Industry yesterday the decision was based on two critical issues.

The first was that the election was not a normal election. It was an election without a constitution-making body. The second was funding.

"We don't have the same resources as the National Party who give people Koeksisters to persuade them to vote Nat. And we don't use taxpayers' money as the Nats did in Pietersburg to send out buses to collect chiefs to come and hear the head of State speak," Mobweni said.

"It is easier for a wide range of people — black business, churches and overseas supporters — to throw money into an election which is part of a liberation process whereas it is more difficult to get funds for a political party."

# SA's cultural mosaic faces ethnic realities

ster 23/6/93.

IT IS unfortunate that apartheid has so poisoned the issue of ethnicity that we cannot debate it rationally. For the issue is important, as the upsurge of ethnic conflicts around the world, particularly in Bosnia and the former Soviet Union, so vividly illustrates.

There is a tendency among liberals, socialists and other rationalists to downplay and even ignore ethnicity. For them it is synonymous with apartheid, which makes any idea of accommodating it unthinkable. And, as people with their philosophical roots in the 18th century Enlightenment, they regard ethnic nationalism as something primitive, a throwback to the bigotry, ignorance, intolerance and other dark passions of the pre-scientific age which one must not make concessions to, but rather hope that education and reason will eventually eliminate.

Socialists in particular have eschewed ethnicity. Marxism, as a theory, is internationalist. The early Bolsheviks saw ethnicity as a myth created by capital to keep the workers of the world divided. "Not only does the proletariat refuse to defend the national development of every nation," wrote Lenin, "but, on the contrary, it



Allister Sparks

warns the masses against these illusions ... it welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations."

So nationalism and ethnic pride became dirty words in the communist lexicon, sentiments to be stamped out in the interests of proletarian universalism.

Irina Filatova, the Russian historian now teaching at the University of Durban-Westville, tells of a driver from the Ukraine who was refused membership of the Soviet Communist Party because when filling in his application form he wrote "Ukrainian" as his nationality and "Russian" as his mother tongue.

Well, we know now how mistaken this view was. Far from withering away, as the communist theoreticians predicted, ethnic nationalism has flared up with a vengeance in the Ukraine and other parts of the former Soviet Union. It has torn Czechoslovakia

in two and is ripping Yugoslavia into a kind of KwaZulu archipelago.

Indeed everywhere it was suppressed, ethnicity is resurging with a new fanaticism. Which calls to mind a warning by the Oxford philosopher, Sir Isaiah Berlin, who likens ethnicity to a twig on a branch. "Bend the twig too far," Berlin says, "and it will lash back at you."

History is full of examples of such lashing back by ethnic groups who felt their culture was being swamped or humiliated. The French, after their revolution, dominated western Europe politically, culturally and militarily. The humiliated and defeated Germans, particularly the economically backward East Prussians, bullied by French officials imported by Frederick the Great, lashed back with a surge of national pride that found its voice in a new philosophy of Romanticism which countered the universalism of the French Enlightenment with a fierce glorification of individual cultures.

Johan Gottfried Herder developed the concept of the *Volksgeist*, or the spirit of the German people, and pleaded for cultural

and spiritual autonomy. Others, like Johan Fichte who followed him, turned it into an embittered and aggressive nationalist self-assertion.

A century and a half later, after Germany had suffered another humiliation at Versailles, Hitler was to revive these ideas and pervert them to commit one of the greatest crimes against humanity that the world has seen.

So let us in South Africa be warned. We may not like ethnicity, but it is no less real for that. We may agree that the kind of autonomous *Boerestaat* that the right-wing Afrikaners want is a practical impossibility, since there is no part of the country with a white, let alone an Afrikaner, majority and it is unthinkable that they should be given a part of the country where people of colour will be disenfranchised and discriminated against.

But that still does not remove the ethnic factor from our society. The lack of an Afrikaner Quebec makes the issue harder, not easier, to deal with.

Nor is Afrikaner nationalism the only ethnic twig to beware of. Apartheid may have discredited any overt assertion of tribal iden-

ity by black South Africans for the immediate future, but that may change with time.

We are fortunate that with the exception of Inkatha our major black political organisations are not rooted in tribal constituencies. The ANC was founded in 1912 as an explicitly pan-tribal movement to mobilise all African people against the Land Act, and it has remained so ever since. The same goes for its main rivals, the PAC and the Black Consciousness movement, both of which broke away from the ANC and, like it, have no specific tribal identity.

That means the leaders of these parties cannot issue atavistic tribal calls to mobilise their constituencies, as happens in so many other African countries. If Nelson Mandela were to beat a Xhosa tribal drum he would alienate all the ANC's non-Xhosa supporters and shrink the movement's support base from a national to a regional level. He could not then aspire to winning a national majority.

This is a powerful disincentive to politics developing along ethnic lines in South Africa. There is no numerically dominant ethnic group (the Zulus, who are the big-

gest tribe, are only one-fifth of the total population), which means no ethnically based party can win national power. Even the National Party, the mother of all ethnic parties, has recognised this truth and is frantically trying to go multiracial.

Yet this is still not a guarantee that ethnicity will not rear its destructive head. It is precisely the despair at seeing no prospect of ever gaining power, at feeling politically impotent and therefore culturally vulnerable, that causes ethnic and religious minorities to lash back like bent twigs.

The Basques and Catalans of Spain, the Nagas and Silks of India, the Tamils of Sri Lanka, the Catholics of Northern Ireland, and the Palestinians of the Middle East all fall into this category.

As we set about trying to build the new, non-racial South Africa let us take note of this recurring human phenomenon. Let us not bend any ethnic twigs. Non-racialism must not be universalist. It must respect and accommodate cultural differences, not seek to eradicate them. Our aim must be to have a cultural mosaic, not a melting pot. □

of violence ● Union braces for wages confrontation

Sowetan 23/6/93

# Tembisa stayaway goes on as planned

By Lulama Luti

■ **ILLEGAL TENANTS** Aim of march

**T**HE stayaway organised by the ANC alliance in Tembisa on the East Rand continues as scheduled today, organisers said yesterday.

Residents are expected to converge at the Jan Lubbe Stadium at 10am, from where they will proceed to the Rabasotho Centre to hand in memoranda at the local police station and the town council offices. Spokesman for the ANC in Tembisa Mr Chilly Magagula said the march would be monitored by the SAP, ANC marshals and members of the Wits-Vaal Peace Committee. "I must stress that the aim of the march is not to go and destroy the Vusumuzi Hostel as has

is not to destroy the hostel:

been rumoured. We have no intention to destroy the hostel," said Magagula.

Magagula said the Vusumuzi Hostel, an IFP stronghold, has been a flash point of the violence that has claimed the lives of scores of people in Tembisa. "We are calling on the council to kick out those people living illegally. If they fail to do that, we will have no option but to re-embark on the rent boycott," he said.

He said that the stayaway had been organised as a result of ongoing violence in the area and to consolidate the week-long consumer boycott of white businesses in Kempton Park.

At the top of the list of the grievances is that the businessmen in Kempton Park should put pressure on their colleagues who own some of the houses at the Vusumuzi Hostel complex to kick out the people who are living there illegally. "The town council has told us that of the 150 housing units there, only five are occupied by families. The rest of the people living in those houses are illegal tenants and we fear that they have been taken over for criminal activities," he said. Magagula added that residents wanted the erection of a dumping site for toxic substances at Chloorkop to be stopped.

Sowetan 23/6/93

### Visit is unwanted

THE ANC and its alliance at Ladysmith is opposed to the visit by KwaZulu's minister of interior, Mr Stephen Sithobe, to Ezakheni township this weekend. (1A) (S)

The ANC alliance coordinator in (S)

### rief

Sowetan 23/6/93

the area, Mr Elias Tshigeng, said yesterday Sithobe was responsible for the current violence in the area because he rejected the formation of a local dispute resolution committee in Ladysmith. (1A) (S)

# Cosatu dilemma over coloured vote and ANC ties

SHARON SOROUR  
Labour Reporter

COSATU in the Western Cape, which will be expected to deliver the coloured vote to the African National Congress in the election, is in a "precarious position" as most of its members do not support its ANC/SACP allies, says Mr Mike Coetzee of the Workers' College at the University of the Western Cape.

In an article in the latest SA Labour Bulletin, Mr Coetzee said that while the ANC, with its functioning branches, was sound in the suburbs and middle class coloured areas, it displayed a "marked weakness and absence from the large working class areas".

He added: "Cosatu, being the only formation with membership and following in this constituency, will be expected to deliver the coloured vote to the ANC in the election."

The following options were being debated:

- The ANC should be remodelled and its image changed if it was to be marketed to the coloureds in the Western Cape.

- A "rainbow coalition" of different organs of civil society should campaign on a progressive ticket, being non-hostile and non-antagonistic to the ANC.

- A coloured political party should be formed, or the ANC should enter into an alliance arrangement with the Labour

Party.

- Cosatu and other organisations should campaign against the National Party, but not pro-ANC in the region to ensure the NP gained few votes and the ANC's position would be strengthened.

Mr Coetzee said Cosatu had been the only organisation or political formation able to establish a political tradition and loyalty among the mass of coloured people in the Western Cape.

A draft survey by the UWC's Centre for Development Studies on "Ethnic Consciousness and Potential Voting Behaviour in the Coloured Community" made the following findings:

- The coloured community,

who make up 11 percent of the population, had a relatively low level of education and most were working class.

- Seventy-four percent supported President De Klerk as president in a new South Africa, while 62 percent supported the NP, as opposed to nine percent for the ANC and five percent for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

- The community was hesitant to accept an "African" as president.

Mr Coetzee said the level of unionisation in the Western Cape, which had an economically active population of 3.5 million, was low, with Cosatu having 175 000 members and Nactu far fewer.

SAF 117

ARC 23/6/93





# Hopes high for peace

Sowetan 23/6/93

(11A) (11B)

**H**OPES for peace and a reduction in the level of violence are pinned on today's summit between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The two leaders begin crucial talks outside Johannesburg today in yet another bid to stem the carnage among their supporters.

Some 15 000 people have died since the early 1980s, mainly in Natal, as members of the two groups have battled it out over political turf.

Since the weekend, at least 45 people have lost their lives in horrific violence in Natal, adding greater impetus to the meeting.

Since Mandela's release in 1990, the two leaders have met twice.

They first met on January 29 1991 at Durban's Royal Hotel, after which they again held discussions, also in Durban, in April that year "to iron out personal differences", an ANC southern Natal spokesman said.

But both meetings failed to halt the inter-necine violence.

The latest indaba, brokered by church leaders and to be chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Methodist President Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba, will be held behind closed doors at an East Rand church venue.

The agenda is not known but pressing issues that have emerged over the years include the IFP's insistence that the ANC's armed wing,

Umkhonto we Sizwe, be disbanded and the ANC's demands for free political activity in KwaZulu, banning the carrying of "dangerous weapons" in public and the fencing-off of hostels.

Until now the ANC has spurned IFP calls for a further face-to-face presidential meeting, charging that the violence in Natal was far too complex for the two individuals to clear up.

On the other hand, the IFP insists that a joint meeting would send a strong signal to supporters of both organisations to end the killing.

The IFP further says a series of joint rallies by Mandela and Buthelezi would cement the initial agreement emanating from a personal meeting.

The meeting has instilled much hope in major political parties across the spectrum.

Most have welcomed the impending talks, with the Government saying the meeting would send a firm message to the ANC and IFP supporters.

However, not all share the fervour the meeting has engendered.

Head of the Centre for African Studies Mr Eugene Nyathi expressed scepticism that a mere meeting would call ANC-IFP supporters to order at grassroots level.

"I am sceptical that anything other than just symbolism will be served by this meeting. I have a feeling both parties recognise very little will be achieved although they must see the public relations value of attending such talks."

Tutu's spokesman, Mr John Allen, said: "The objective of the meeting is peace." — *Sapa*.

Election still a sticking point

# Pledge to renew quest for tolerance

Biday 24/6/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday recommitted themselves to taking urgent measures to ensure political tolerance among members of their organisations.

They also committed themselves to working towards the establishment of impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA.

But they spent a large part of the meeting disagreeing on whether April 27 1994 should be ratified yet as a date for SA's first nonracial elections.

Mandela said the ANC would continue to persuade Inkatha to accept the date. Buthelezi reiterated Inkatha's position that a date should not be set until there was agreement on constitutional principles.

In a joint statement, read by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the end of the nine-hour meeting at the Kempton Park conference centre, they said they committed themselves to creating a climate of political tolerance.

"Both the ANC and Inkatha recognise the right of people to assemble and give expression to their grievances and the parties they support provided that such manifestations are in keeping with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord."

They agreed that when either party convened a demonstration, protest or any form of mass action, it would ensure that:

- It had given priority to the need to promote peace;
- The action would avoid deliberate provocation, damage or injury;
- All reasonable steps would be taken to ensure no weapons were carried with unlawful intent;

WILSON ZWANE

Peace accord structures would be kept fully informed;

Good faith negotiations would occur with all relevant parties and the security forces regarding the proposed action; and

Provision would be made for effective communication between relevant parties during and after the action.

To promote "healthy and constructive" interaction between their organisations, they committed themselves to "strengthen and expedite the work of the joint liaison structures between our two organisations". The structures would monitor the implementation of the agreed programmes.

The two leaders pledged themselves to the holding of joint rallies and agreed that a meeting of signatories to the peace accord should be convened urgently.

On armed formations, they said violence and legitimate law enforcement should be addressed in the context of the transition, and committed themselves to making constructive contributions to negotiations on multiparty control of armed formations.

Tutu and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba were enthusiastic about the meeting, which they said took place in a spirit of mutual respect. Mogoba said the meeting had laid the foundation for the resolution of problems.

Mandela said "active steps" would be taken to ensure that the agreements would filter down to grassroots level, while Buthelezi said although violence would not end overnight, the meeting's "symbolism" would contribute to peace efforts.

● Picture: Page 3

**'One settler (IA)  
chant at court**

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC supporters chanted "one settler, one bullet" during the Magistrate's Court appearance here yesterday of two alleged Apla members who allegedly planned to bomb Rockafellas Restaurant here. (IA) (IA)

Mr Patrick Muchindu, 32, of Soweto, and Mr Godfrey Mathebula, 26, of Mandela Squatter Camp, will apply for bail on July 6. Another accused, Mr Martin Dolo, 24, of Uitenhage, did not appear. — Sapa

CT 24/6/93

# PAC blames media for 'causing the confusion'

024/6/93 (11A) B

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday refused to clarify its position on suspending the armed struggle to negotiators at multi-party talks and blamed the media for "causing the confusion".

PAC delegate Ms Patricia de Lille, when called on by NP delegate Dr Dawie de Villiers to clarify the organisation's position, said the government was "overreacting" to the PAC's earlier statement and as the PAC and the government would be meeting today there was "no need to deal with it here".

The statement the PAC had made to the council on Tuesday was read again. In it the PAC said

it accepted the declaration to cease or suspend the armed struggle "on principle and subscribes to it. It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities".

Dr De Villiers said he wanted to know whether the PAC reconfirmed the text of the declaration and thereby denied "the perception that the PAC will continue to wage the armed struggle".

Ms De Lille said her organisation was "not prepared to be held hostage by one party" and refused to answer the question.

"We are not prepared to answer to any reports by the media which is owned by the govern-

ment or the liberal press," she said, adding that it was the media that had caused the confusion.

She was supported by ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, who said no party should be called on to explain the council settlement in the media. But he did support the idea that the PAC restate its position to the council. Dr De Villiers said he would raise the matter in a form of a motion to enable the council to find ways of getting clarity on the PAC's position.

It is understood that the council would not give much sympathy to a government motion censuring the PAC until after a meeting between the two today.

# Negotiating forum delay

(11A) (11B) CT 4/6/93

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The failure of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to agree yesterday on an election date led to the negotiating forum being postponed for a second time this month.

It is scheduled to meet tomorrow.

Instead, it is likely to meet in a week's time, with a commitment from all parties to make sufficient progress so that the forum can decide on a date and the process of writing a final constitution.

At the multi-party talks yesterday, the PAC refused to clarify its position on suspending the armed struggle, blaming the media for "causing the confusion".

PAC delegate Ms Patricia de Lille, when called on by NP delegate Dr Dawie de Villiers to clarify the PAC's position, said the government was "overreacting to our statement last night and as we will be meeting them tomorrow there is no need to deal with it here".

However, the council decided it was necessary for the PAC to respond.

Claiming the media created the confusion, she said: "We are not prepared to answer to any reports by the media, which is in any case owned by the government or the liberal press."

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Staff**

THE ANC's powerful Youth League has formally requested that international affairs director Thabo Mbeki be made deputy president of the ANC and heir-apparent to Nelson Mandela.

The request, conveyed to the ANC executive by Youth League president Peter Mokaba, called for the elevation of Mr Mbeki as soon as possible and argued that the matter was too urgent to be held over for the next ANC conference.

Mr Mokaba said the Youth League "decision" had been taken after consultation with ANC structures around the country, and had received widespread support.

If accepted by the parent body, the Youth League initiative could see incumbent deputy president Walter Sisulu taking up the post of national chairman, previously held by the late Oliver Tambo.

Mr Mokaba said the ANCYL felt that following the death of Mr Tambo in mid-April, the next regular meeting of the ANC national executive committee (NEC) should install Mr Mbeki as deputy president. He made it clear that this would establish the ANC's line of succession: if anything were to happen to Mr Mandela, Mr Mbeki would lead the organisation.

The ANCYL said prominent ANC figure Cyril Ramaphosa should remain in his position as secretary-general.

Mr Mokaba said the promotion of Mr Mbeki would strengthen the ANC considerably in the run-up to the country's first all-in election, scheduled for next year.

In a press interview, the controversy-dogged but influential Mr Mokaba declared his loyalty to Mr Mandela and said he accepted the ANC's decision that the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant should not be used.

He also said he would support the appointment of President De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a Cabinet in a government of national unity, provided they were prepared to serve under an ANC-dominated government.

Chief Buthelezi could be invited to serve in such a Cabinet even if his party did not poll the required votes, Mr Mokaba said. This would be in the interests of national reconciliation.

He would not be opposed to the vice-presidency of the country being given to President De Klerk, as long as the National Party leader would not automatically ascend to the presidency if the majority party leader — Mr Mandela — became indisposed. ARG 24/6/93

Mr Mokaba said Mr Mbeki had worked closely with the youth and commanded the respect of both the radical and moderate wings of the ANC.



Thabo Mbeki



Peter Mokaba

# ANC power play — surprise move

ARG 24/6/93  
(11A)

Sowetan 24/6/93

# The fight is for land, says training boss

By Ruth Bhengu  
Sowetan Africa News Service

**DAR ES SALAAM** — Willie Brown, Apla's director of training and manpower development, is not generous with words. As a military man he may feel that he does not need to use them as much as he should use action.

But he leaves no doubt that he believes the PAC will not bow to the increasing pressure for it to abandon the armed struggle.

"What we are fighting is a war of decolonisation," he said.

## Equal rights

"We are not fighting apartheid. We are fighting to get back our land which was taken from us by the settlers. This struggle is about land and not about equal rights."

Brown sees his job as turning raw recruits into disciplined guerilla fight-

ers who are well versed not only in military tactics but also in the political philosophy underlying those tactics.

"An Apla cadre must first learn political discipline before he achieves military discipline," he said in an interview in Apla's headquarters in an office block in downtown Dar es Salaam which, like the rest of the Tanzanian capital, would benefit from a little maintenance.

"In Apla we emphasise discipline," he said. "In our training we give political and military discipline."

"A person cannot receive military training without first having political and ideological discipline."

"An Apla soldier must know what he is fighting. He must know why he is fighting it and how to fight it," said Brown. "As a soldier of the people he must know his relationship to them and it should not be antagonistic. His duty is to serve and protect the people."

Brown is a slightly-built, young-

looking man who could easily be mistaken for one of his recruits.

Brown is not his real name but a nom de guerre. Under the conditions imposed when the interview was granted, neither his real name nor anything about his background may be disclosed, other than that he is a black South African.

While he was not prepared to talk about matters he considers to fall under security restrictions, Brown was willing to discuss the philosophy behind Apla's activities.

"The Apla cadre should live by socialist values," he said. "We believe that socialism is a discipline."

"It is about economy — an economy that must serve the interests of the majority of people and not just a few people."

"In this system the workers are partners in the running of the economy. What they produce and what they get should be balanced."

He was asked how the PAC intended to convince South Africans that socialism was a workable system despite its failure in Europe and elsewhere.

Brown replied that Apla's task was to make people understand that, because socialism had been abused elsewhere, it did not mean that the system itself was a recipe for failure.

## African values

"We are saying that socialism must be based on African values. It should be Africanistic."

"We are not talking about African socialism because socialism is a phenomenon that is scientific."

"And it will come about because of certain conditions whether we like it or not."

Brown's views on the philosophy behind Apla's actions were confirmed by Jacob Jumo (not his real name), Apla's director of ideological training and culture, who is responsible for the

"ideological and political education" of Apla cadres.

He also spoke about the problems faced by the PAC in spreading its ideas. Jumo believes that the new media, like the Pretoria Government, deliberately paints a distorted picture of his party.

He believes the PAC needs its own media resources to explain its policies to a wider audience.

"But we have obstacles," he said. "We are officially unbanned but in reality we are still banned. In the last raid they took all our documents. What organisation can operate without its documents?"

Although not sure of the exact membership of PAC and Apla, Brown said it was growing rapidly.

"According to the figure we got last year from our general secretary's office we had over 700 000 paid-up members. That is a big number if you consider the (short) period in which the PAC has been allowed to operate openly."

**NEWS FEATURES** PAC geared for intensification of onslaught • Apla's mission explained

**■ NO AMBIVALENCE** *Estimated*

*10 000 being trained 'to spread fire':*

By Ruth Bhengu  
Sowetan Africa News Service

**DAR ES SALAAM** — The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a seemingly ambivalent stance on armed struggle in its statement at the multiparty talks. But there was no ambivalence among leaders of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, when I visited its headquarters in Dar es Salaam recently.

While the African National Congress has abandoned the armed struggle and is working towards the election of what it terms a government of national unity, Apla's High Command in the Tanzanian capital gave every indication of gearing themselves for an intensification of the onslaught on white domination.

In keeping with its designation of 1993 as The Year of The Great Storm, Apla is training an estimated 10 000 guerrillas outside and inside South Africa. Among Apla soldiers in Tanzania and Zimbabwe the possibility of coming home soon to vote in the elections is remote, despite the fact that a date has already been set.

**Struggle**

Sabelo Phama, the PAC's secretary for defence and Apla's commander, said in an interview in Dar es Salaam: "We are aware that our plans to spread the fire to the greater part of the country and hitting the enemy harder might prolong the struggle for another three or four years at least. But our main target is that we cannot get to the year 2000 as an oppressed nation."

The Sowetan Africa News Service visited Apla's headquarters in the Tanzanian capital in an attempt to find out why it was talking war when everyone else seemed to be talking peaceful negotiation. We met members ranging from the High Command down to junior cadres.

A striking thing about PAC and Apla members is that they are all immaculately dressed, whether in khakis or in formal wear. They appear to be well-disciplined.

They have adapted well to the Tanzanian culture — speaking Swahili fluently, for instance.

These men and women, who refer to themselves as "the fighting machine of the Azanian masses", are members of an organisation that has been active for more than 30 years. First formed as Poqo on September 11 1961, Apla is claimed

by its members to be the oldest South African guerilla army.

When the government banned the PAC in the early sixties and arrested many of its members, the PAC and its armed wing left the country. Those who remained went underground, recruiting small groups of people for military training abroad while military units were set up in South Africa.

In 1968 Poqo formally became Apla. As the government became more harsh in repressing opposition, Apla recruited more members and established additional military training centres.

A sociologist at Durban-Westville University, Dr Evan Mantzaris, who had studied the PAC over a decade, said in 1992 that "all indications point to the fact that Apla can only become stronger and its activities will be intensified in the near future".

His prediction seems to have been accurate. A senior Apla official, Willie Brown, said at a regional security conference in Windhoek recently that Apla had killed 90 members of the security forces since the beginning of this year. The police and the army remained legitimate targets, he said.

Brown, who is Apla's director of training and manpower, said black police were propping up the system that Apla aimed to overthrow.

Speaking about attacks on farmers, Brown said former president PW Botha had made farmers South Africa's first line of military defence under the Joint Management Security System.

**120 missions**

Apla's chief political commissar, Romero Daniels, said at the Windhoek meeting that his movement had carried out 120 missions this year, about 80 of them in rural areas. It had lost one member and had two or three arrested.

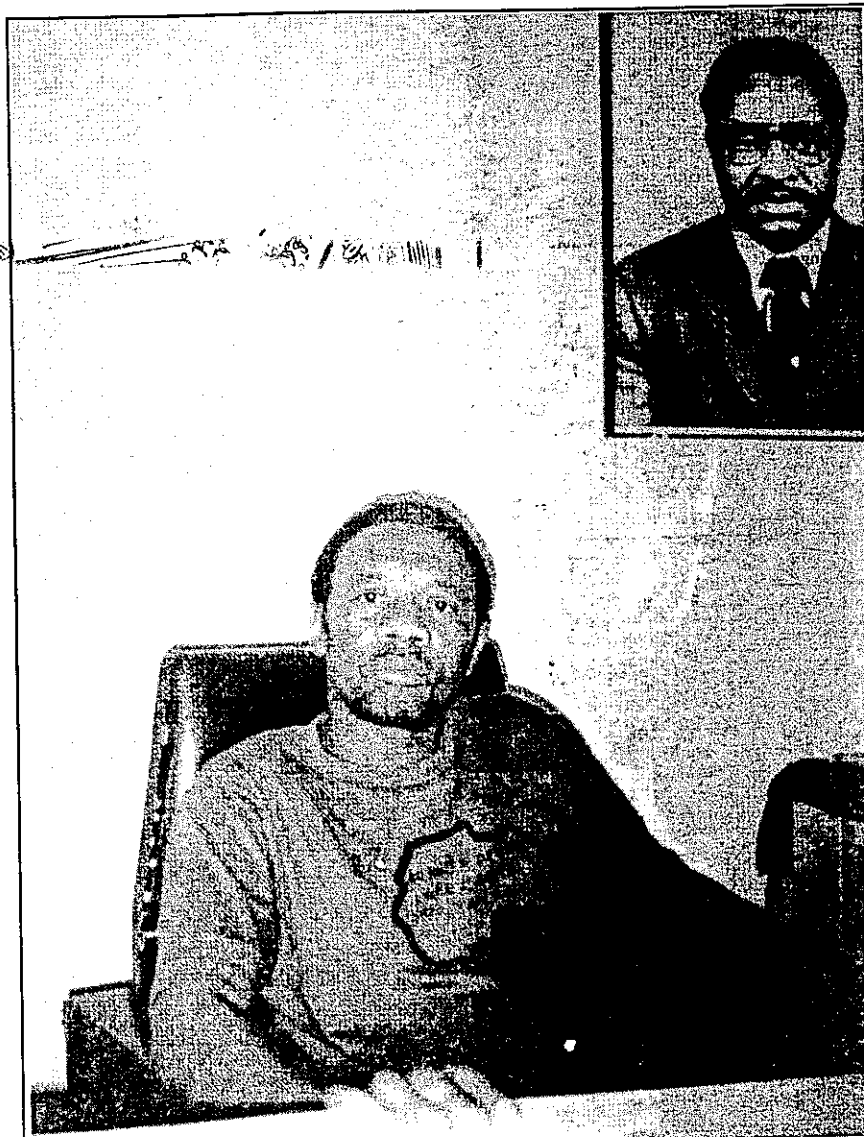
What would it take to make Apla members lay down their arms? This question was put to Apla's director of Information and Publicity, Mr Willie Mazambane, in Dar es Salaam.

"We believe that there should be a negotiated, mutual cessation of hostilities and we have defined such cessation as the stopping of war and achievement of peace," he said.

He said the mutual cessation of hostilities must include joint monitoring of all armed formations during the transitional period under a neutral authority. It should also involve international scrutiny and thorough investigation of the location and size of the weapons now in the hands of the SADF, the SAP and other security forces.

**Apla spells out its plans for the future**

*Sowetan 24/6/93*



Sabelo Phama, the PAC secretary of defence and Apla commander who foretold the year of the storm in 1993, says oppression must end by the year 2000.



# Scenes of anger

## Sowetan Reporters

"YOU can never kill what Hani stood for!" proclaimed a poster carried by an African National Congress supporter.

Another one declared: "We will never ever forget you for killing our Hani!"

Such was the mood outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday at the beginning of what has come to be known as the Chris Hani murder trial.

As early as 8.45am scores of ANC supporters — mainly youths wearing the green, black and gold colours of the organisation — milled around outside the court, singing freedom songs and chanting the controversial "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan.

### Thunderous applause

The first top ANC people to arrive were deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo and ANC lawyer Mr Matthews Phosa, who were greeted with thunderous applause from

the crowd of supporters.

The three leaders passed through the policemen standing guard at the court entrance without hindrance but their bodyguards were barred.

More top ANC people arrived as the morning wore on. There were several minor scuffles with policemen as people tried to gain entry.

And inside the court another scenario was being played out.

"Waluz, Waluz, how are you doing?" He looks up to see who is addressing him and then puts up his hand, showing his thumb, and nods.

He says something but it is inaudible.

The black policeman next to him urges him to follow.

He is getting a bit impatient after they have been waiting for some time while the three accused are talking to friends and relatives.

Waluz walks down the steps below the courtroom. Close behind him is Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife, Gaye.

(ST)

(11A)



# Big 2 may 'bury the hatchet'

ARC 24/6/93

## Tensions eased, but SA poll date remains unresolved problem

### Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The marathon Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi summit yesterday took a significant step towards easing tensions between the ANC and IFP — but deadlocked on the critical issue of the setting of an election date.

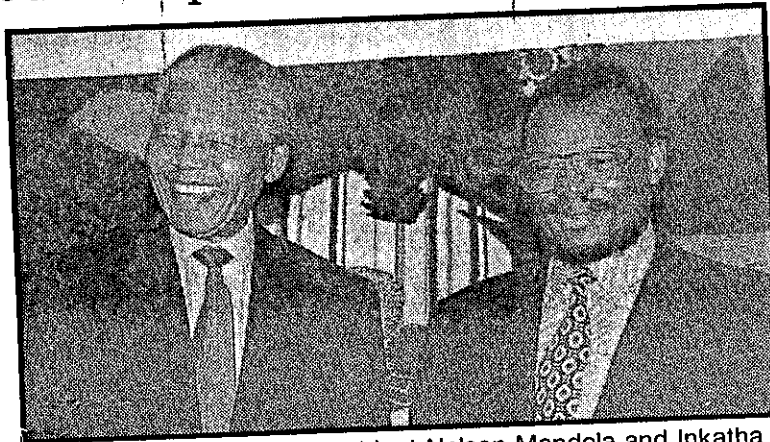
The church-brokered meeting at the Kempton Park Conference Centre ended after nearly nine-and-a-half hours of deliberations with the leaders agreeing to share joint platforms and other steps to "bury the past and look to the future".

Mr Mandela said afterwards they had "made a great deal of progress" in the talks and the meeting itself would send out a positive signal to supporters.

But he acknowledged that "there remain some possible sticking points which will have to be resolved" and hoped negotiations would remove IFP concerns.

Dr Buthelezi said the discussions had been held in a good spirit and although he did not think it was "a magic wand that will make violence vanish", it would make a "major contribution".

But it was clear afterwards that the meeting was unlikely to contribute much towards immediate progress in negotiations — and



**LEADERS MEET:** ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at yesterday's meeting.

could leave the ANC president largely empty-handed for his meeting with United States President Bill Clinton early next month.

Chief Buthelezi had dug in his heels on the election date — tentatively set in negotiations for April 27 next year and one of the conditions to the lifting of remaining US economic and trade sanctions.

The IFP president insisted that agreement first be reached in negotiations on principles that would be part of a new constitution before the Kwazulu government and IFP would get on board.

"We did not achieve the break-

through we hoped for," a tired-looking Mr Mandela told the Press conference.

However, the leaders did make concrete agreements on steps to ease violence between the organisations — including a commitment to "share joint platforms in strife-torn areas to bring about peace."

They also announced in a joint statement that they would "conduct joint symbolic visits to persons and places which are of great significance to our respective organisations."

Joint mass rallies, marches and meetings of "local and regional

structures" would also be held.

There was also agreement that free political activity should be allowed in all areas. "We recognise that if we are to set an example of reconciliation for our people, we must make it clear that both the ANC and IFP support free political activity and reject the concept of no-go areas," they said in the statement.

The ANC has campaigned for free political activity in Kwazulu, but last night Chief Buthelezi emphasised that he had never personally forbidden a gathering by any organisation in the territory.

They reiterated agreement that there should be a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons to political meetings and rallies.

In another step likely to improve relations they committed themselves to take active steps to ensure agreements were implemented at all levels of support.

The organisations' negotiators would also establish constructive bilateral relations in an effort to resolve "constitutional differences".

Chief Buthelezi was upbeat about the effect of the meeting on negotiations, saying "they should go much better than up to now". But ANC sources said that while the agreements would improve relations between the organisations' negotiators, immediate hopes for progress with IFP support had been dashed.

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# 'Hope' after leaders meet



**SUMMIT** ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Buthelezi shake hands at a summit yesterday.

Picture: AP

Political Correspondent  
**JOHANNESBURG.** — A gruelling nine-hour meeting between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday failed to produce an agreement on a date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

But the hugely significant and long-awaited summit, although "grim" and "stormy" at times according to some sources, had "brought hope to this land", the head of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Magoba, said last night.

The two leaders had been "accepting and gracious towards one another" at the meeting in Kempton Park, he said.

Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela buried the hatchet and pledged themselves to peace,

## Still no date for election

also at grassroots level, and agreed on the necessity of free political activity throughout the country.

They will hold joint rallies in violence-torn areas and together exhort their followers to lay down arms.

Following the meeting, the ANC and IFP agreed on each others' right to exist, while they also accepted the need for a meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to be convened as soon as possible.

They still differ substantially on the issue of the election and the carrying of so-called tradi-

tional weapons at Inkatha rallies.

A positive Mr Mandela said after the meeting that although there had been several sticking points, "the very fact of our meeting today is an achievement in itself because when you discuss the important issues — and even if there is not agreement — after such discussions you cannot be the same".

Also yesterday at the World Trade Centre, the 26-party Negotiating Council announced that tomorrow's scheduled meeting of the expanded Negotiating Forum to finalise an election date had been postponed to July 2.

CT24/6/93  
The setback comes shortly before President F W de Klerk and Mr Mandela's crucial meeting next weekend with President Bill Clinton which has been geared towards the lifting of sanctions and promoting investment in South Africa.

Both the government and the ANC were adamant yesterday that the finalisation of an election date and an agreement on a Transitional Executive Council — the key triggers for the lifting of remaining sanctions — should be settled by tomorrow.

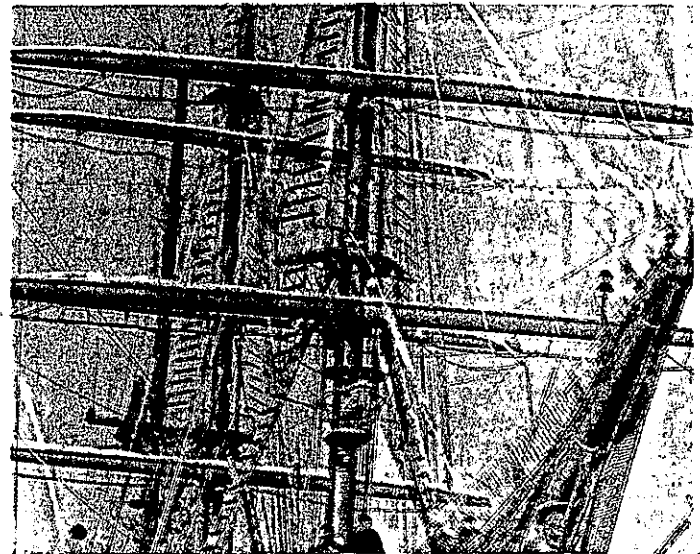
But by late last night negotiators at Kempton Park were forced to delay the meeting of the Negotiating Forum until next Friday and Chief Buthelezi declared that the setting of a date was "a recipe for disaster".

Interviewed on SATV's Agenda programme, Chief Buthelezi said the "hysteria" about the election date among negotiators and the international community was reminiscent of the Angola situation.

"We cannot do it now," he bluntly declared.



## DIAS VOYAGE TRACED



**TALL SHIP** ... The 55-year-old Portuguese square rigger, Sagres, at anchor in Table Bay last night preparing to berth at the Waterfront today. The vessel is on a 30 000 mile voyage celebrating the 450th anniversary of Bartholomew Diaz's voyage to the "Cape of Storms".  
Picture: BENNY GOOL.

# Negotiating forum setback

THE negotiating forum, scheduled to meet tomorrow, has been postponed for a second time this month.

Instead it will meet on Friday July 2, with a commitment from all parties to make sufficient progress so that the forum can reach firm decisions on issues like an election date and the process of writing a final constitution. (11A) (30/7/93)

It is understood that the decision to postpone the forum's meeting results from ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi failing to agree on setting an election date.

Also at multiparty talks yesterday, the PAC refused to clarify its position on sus-

Billy Paddock  
BILLY PADDOCK

pending the armed struggle and blamed the media for "causing the confusion".

PAC delegate Patricia de Lille, when called on by NP delegate Dawie de Villiers to clarify the organisation's position, said government was "overreacting to our statement last night and as we will be meeting them tomorrow there is no need to deal with it here".

The council decided it was necessary for the PAC to respond. It then proceeded to read once more the statement the PAC's Jaki Seroke read to the council on Tuesday

□ To Page 2

## Forum setback

Billy Paddock 24/6/93 □ From Page 1

in adopting the declaration to cease or suspend the armed struggle. The PAC said it accepted the declaration "on principle and subscribes to it. It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities."

De Villiers wanted to know whether, in subscribing to the declaration, the PAC reconfirmed the text of the declaration and thereby denied "the perception that the PAC will continue to wage the armed struggle". De Lille responded that her organisation was "not prepared to be held hostage by one party" and refused to answer the question. She rejected any other questions other parties wanted to ask, stating: "I said no, that means nee."

Claiming that the media had created the

confusion, she said: "We are not prepared to answer to any reports by the media, which is in any case owned by the government or the liberal Press."

She was supported by ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa, who said no party should be called on to explain the council settlement in the media. But he did support the idea that the PAC restate its position to the council as it did on Tuesday.

De Villiers said he would be raising the matter in a motion to enable the council to get clarity on the PAC's position.

It is understood that the council would not be sympathetic to a government motion censuring the PAC until after a meeting between the two today.

(11A) Comment: Page 8

# ANC to head 'buy black' campaign

B/Dewy 24/6/93

THE ANC would head the campaign to buy first from blacks to improve the black businessman's lot, ANC economics department head Trevor Manuel said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Giving the keynote address at the annual conference of the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce, Manuel said an ANC government would outlaw banks' discriminatory lending which barred black access to finance, and would change the situation where the economy was controlled by a few conglomerates.

SA industrial policy at present was capital intensive and did not provide for job creation, Manuel said. The public sector was not geared to helping people, the Land Bank was not set up for blacks, the Industrial Development Corporation did not care and 73% of the SBDC's lending volume went to whites.

"We will change all that and introduce institutions for cheaper lending," Manuel said. "The country, too, needs strategies in which people will have access to training."

Blacks should not be confined to the small and medium enterprise sector. "We need 100 more companies like the National Sorghum Brew-

## THEO RAWANA

eries," Manuel said.

Nafcoc president Archie Nkonyeni called on political leaders to stop bickering and speed up negotiations

"If this economy is to be preserved for posterity to build on, then our leaders must rise to the occasion and be the statesmen we believe they are," Nkonyeni said. (H) (S)

He added: "From all business formations, from Nafcoc, from the Business Forum, from the National Economic Forum, and from the conference at Kempton Park, they must be left in no doubt that, even though we know that we are dealing with a situation that has its own realities, its own dynamism and its own imperatives, the nation expects nothing less than going to the polls on April 27 next year."

He said the transitional executive council, expected to be installed soon, should use its greater credibility than that of the current government to quell violence.

The future government and the whole nation needed to commit themselves to policies, programmes and plans that would help the economy to grow. He called on black businessmen to take the initiative.



ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale, left, Wits Vaal peace secretariat member Peter Harris and the SAP's Maj Cobus Feche, who defused tensions outside the Rand Supreme Court yesterday during the Hani murder trial.

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

# ANC will not close its files on assassinations

B1 Day 24/6/93

THE ANC would not close its files on those implicated in the killing of its campaigners until a future government had fully investigated the assassinations, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Sexwale was addressing about 300 ANC supporters at the Central Methodist Church. The crowd had gathered to demonstrate outside the Rand Supreme Court where alleged assassins Janus Waluz and Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis were to be tried for the murder of former SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

"This is not our case, this is their case. The Hani file remains open, even if they close it here. In that court we have the killers, not the plotters. We may close the file on the killers, but the file on the plotters will remain open," he said.

The crowd shouted its dissatisfaction when Sexwale announced that the trial had been postponed to October 4.

Earlier the crowd had chanted "kill the boer, kill the farmer" at a large police contingent, some of whom had police dogs deployed to guard the court.

After negotiations facilitated by regional peace secretariat officials, the crowd

RAY HARTLEY

moved to the church.

A second crowd, which had gathered in the street opposite the court, then chanted "kiss the boer, kiss the farmer".

A police statement criticised the crowd for chanting the slogan "in such sensitive circumstances". (IIF)

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, MK chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda and Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo were among political leaders who attended the trial.

Slovo was granted access to the courtroom after negotiations with police, who initially told him there was no space left in the gallery.

"This is a day of immense sadness and tragic irony. Whatever happens in this courtroom, Chris will never be brought back," he said.

Sisulu was accompanied by several bodyguards who jostled police at the court door when they were refused entry.

Protesters carried placards saying "You can never kill what Hani stood for" and "We shall never forgive you for killing our Chris Hani".

RAC chant for

**NEWS** Cradock files d**Charge is laid  
against Mokaba**

*Sowetan 24/6/93*  
THE president of the SA Agricultural Union, Mr Boet Fourie, has laid a criminal charge against ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba for his "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant.

Fourie said on the radio programme *Calling all Farmers*, yesterday he had laid the charge personally as the union could not do so.

He said he had done so for the country's farmers.

The Attorney-General had been investigating Mokaba's actions, he said. — *Sowetan Correspondent*.

# ANC, IFP pledge

Sowetan 24/6/93

# on peace

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

**Y**ESTERDAY'S MEETING BETWEEN Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi paved the way for greater tolerance and peace between supporters of the ANC and IFP.

They failed, however, to reach agreement on other major issues, including the ratification of April 27 next year as an election date.

After nine hours of negotiations, the two leaders emerged exhausted, but no closer, in real terms, to each other than before the meeting.

The postponement to July 2 of tomorrow's Negotiating Forum meeting, which was supposed to have ratified the election date, has been blamed on the stonewalling by the IFP and its allies.

Political observers remarked that Buthelezi's filibustering had made the meeting of the Negotiations Forum "rather futile".

Buthelezi said last night he was not prepared to give his support for the election date before his party's demands on constitutional matters such as

federalism were met first.

"As far as we are concerned we believe that the first things should come first. If the things that should be done first are done, we'll go along with the date," he said. (IFP) (ANC) (IFP)

Mandela said after the meeting that he had hoped to take "a confirmation of the proposed election date" to the meeting of the OAU in Egypt on Saturday and to US President Bill Clinton next week, but that this was now impossible.

"I sincerely hope that by Friday we will have been able to remove the fears and concerns of all those political parties, including the IFP, over the election date," Mandela said.

A joint resolution however, paves the way for greater tolerance between supporters of the ANC and IFP. They agreed on the necessity for free political activity throughout the country; agreed on each others' legitimate right to exist; accepted the need for an urgent meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to be convened as soon as possible; agreed to address joint rallies; a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons at certain political rallies and meetings and that the two leaders would visit places and persons affected by the endemic violence in the country.

## Shake to end bloodshed



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands before their meeting at Kempton Park on the East Rand yesterday to discuss ways of ending the violence which has claimed thousands of their supporters' lives. Hopes for peace and a reduction in the level of violence in the country rested on the outcome of the meeting.

PIC: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Light House Candles

# KNOCK DOWN PRICE

179

LONGER BURNING SPECIAL

Judging by the hundreds of



met

# Mbeki's our Sowetan 24/6/93 crown prince - Mokaba

(11A)

## ■ Youth want an heir-apparent named:

THE ANC's powerful Youth League has formally requested that international affairs director Thabo Mbeki be made deputy president of the ANC, and heir-apparent to Nelson Mandela.

The request, conveyed to the ANC executive by Youth League president Peter Mokaba, calls for the elevation of Mbeki as soon as possible.

Mokaba said the Youth League's "decision" had been taken after consultation with [redacted] around the country, and had received widespread support.

If accepted by the parent body, the Youth League initiative could see incumbent deputy president Walter Sisulu taking up the post of national chairman, previously held by the late Oliver Tambo.

Mokaba said the ANCYL felt that following the death of Tambo in April, the next regular meeting of the ANC national executive committee (NEC) should install Mbeki as deputy president. He made it clear that this would establish the ANC's line of succession.

The ANCYL said prominent ANC figure Cyril Ramaphosa should remain in his position as secretary-general.

Mokaba said the promotion of Mbeki would strengthen the ANC considerably in the run-up to the country's first all-in election, scheduled for next year.

## Loyal to Mandela

In a frank, wide-ranging interview, the controversy-dogged but influential Mokaba declared his loyalty to Mandela and said he accepted the ANC's decision that the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant should not be used.

He also said he would support the appointment of President FW de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to a Cabinet in a government of national unity, provided they were prepared to serve under an ANC-dominated government.

Buthelezi could be invited to serve in such a Cabinet even if his party did not poll the required votes, Mokaba said - this would be in the interests of national reconciliation.

Neither would he be opposed to the vice-presidency of the country being given to De Klerk, as long as the National Party leader would not automatically ascend to the presidency if the majority party leader - Mandela - became indisposed.

Giving details of the surprise ANCYL endorsement of Mbeki as the ANC's "crown prince", Mokaba said the international affairs director had been misrepresented. He said Mbeki had in fact worked very closely with the youth and other members of the community, and had good relations with and commanded the respect of both the radical and moderate wings of the ANC. There was "no other" candidate for the deputy presidency, he said.

# ANC 'becoming isolated'

Biday 25/6/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The delay in the negotiations process was increasingly isolating the ANC from its supporters and it would have to withdraw from the talks if there was no resolution to the deadlock within the next year, ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale warned yesterday.

Noting at a Seeff-Cape Times function that SA would be in "deep trouble" if the negotiating forum ended in crisis, Sexwale called on President F W de Klerk and government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer to get the negotiations out of the quagmire. He accused De Klerk of adopting a deliberate strategy to lock the ANC indefinitely into negotiations with the aim of isolating its leadership from its supporters and making them the "laughing stock of the people" because of their failure to deliver anything.

Sexwale questioned how long ANC supporters would obey the call for a ceasefire which had resulted in unprecedented violence against blacks never witnessed during the period of armed struggle.

"We are just gritting our teeth and hoping we can hold on," he said. He warned delays would give the right wing the opportunity to wreck the peace process.

De Klerk's failure to deal effectively with the right wing when he had the power

to do so had given them the space to strengthen their forces. Right-wing leader Constand Viljoen was far more dangerous than AWE leader Eugene Terre'blanche, Sexwale said.

He expressed fears that setting an election date would unleash a right-wing backlash by those seeking to prevent it. There was no way the ANC could accommodate a boerestaat which was in fundamental conflict with its aspirations.

Sexwale believed that there was a racial bias in the violence wracking the Transvaal in particular.

Whereas it was logical historically for blacks to feel angry towards whites and for political violence to be confined to whites in fact the violence was taking place predominantly in black areas. It seemed the aim was to create a lack of confidence in the ability of blacks to govern the country.

He also criticised the unproductive exchange of shares on the JSE as a major contributor to rising inflation.

Sexwale called for massive foreign aid for the reconstruction of SA akin to the aid received by post-war Germany under the Marshall Plan.

PROFILE

# Mr Controversy

Peter Mokaba, the ANC Youth League's fiery president, is today one of South Africa's best-known and most controversial figures. In an interview with Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Mokaba speaks frankly about how his powerful organisation is viewed at home and beyond. Mr Mokaba believes he has been greatly misunderstood: here he is, in his own words.

The question of who embodies the views of the Youth League in the ANC leadership:

In looking at the gap left by Comrade Tambo, the Youth League and myself have taken a formal position that Comrade Thabo Mbeki is the man who should now become the deputy-president of the ANC, with an understanding that when the time comes for Comrade Mandela to rest, Comrade Thabo should become the president of the country. That is the decision of the Youth League, presented to the last NEC meeting of the ANC, where the slogan (issue) was also discussed.

On why the Youth League favours Thabo Mbeki:

There is no other man who would want to oppose a man like Thabo. The Youth League will stick to that name. We are satisfied in our consultations with most of the regions, and structures such as MK, that Thabo is the choice, whether you go to conference or you do it today. We were not doing it against anybody. He is simply the best candidate suitable for that job.

He is highly educated both by the West and the East, he was also a leader of the youth in 1962, and has always showed boldness, for instance when they were opening up new fronts in order to infiltrate arms and ammunition inside the country.

He is also one of the most intelligent — in the very same class as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu. He is also very humble.

We have done our own research and we as the youth were hurt by distortions suggesting Thabo is a snob and never mixes with people.

The fact is that in the same way that Chris (Hani) used to work, when Thabo is in South Africa he is in Soweto discussing with our Youth League there, organising workshops. That aspect of his life is not known.

I was myself surprised that the Youth League's decision was unanimous. It was not as if there was a number of names and then we chose him (Mbeki). Everyone suggested him.

On whether the change in ANC leadership positions is imminent:

We want this (elevation of Mbeki to the deputy presiden-



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, T

**MR PETER MOKABA: "I do not like to be pushed around by the enemy ..."**

cy) to happen now, when the NEC next sits. We need to go into an election campaign fully prepared and with young, energetic people.

When we decided this we also took into consideration the health of Walter Sisulu, and discussed this issue with the whole leadership, including Sisulu. We made it clear that we think Comrade Sisulu should take the position of the late OR Tambo (the ANC national chairmanship), and Thabo should take the position of deputy president. It is the view of the youth that the constitution allows that.

We would have preferred a conference to give Thabo a very, very broad mandate — because conference (would endorse our choice) — but we don't want to delay the strengthening of the movement, and therefore we have suggested that whenever this issue is raised again Thabo should become deputy, or at least national chairperson if we don't have to change the deputy president now.

On how this affects Cyril Ramaphosa:

We think Cyril is okay as a secretary-general. As I've said there was no other candidate. It is not as if we are choosing Thabo above any others. It's just that, in his class, there seems to be no other person. We would see Cyril as a secretary-general.

At the (last ANC) conference the youth preferred Alfred Nzo, but once Cyril was elected we went to him and promised to work with him. He is a capable administrator.

On stopping the "Kill the boer" slogan:

The SABC and the National Party have succeeded in distorting the meaning of our songs. I understand the political reasons for which we (the ANC) have taken this decision (to stop the chant) — that farmers are being killed, and that is not our programme. We hate to give people who are conducting these heinous acts a cover. That is not our

programme, and we condemn it.

But I'm also worried that this might be extended to cover all our songs that refer to the boers. People fail to see that this is not racism — we are referring to white supremacy.

I certainly do not like to be pushed around by the enemy — any threat they make against me makes me more adamant. If they had not said things like they are going to charge me, I would have looked at this matter differently. But then of course it became more and more difficult to continue defying the government on that score.

We decided we should also not aid the killers of the farmers. I agree with those reasons, but I also pointed out it needs to be recognised that our people have always sung about the boers.

On the June 16 chanting incident:

What is happening is that they are now moving from

saying we shout words "Kill the farmer" to say not toyi-toyi. I'm not sing the chant, end of my song, toyied. That is done since the decision (to stop

On whether the government of (GNU):

I was deeply involved with the Youth League the question of mental changes are done up with apartheidism.

Those are the things I have fighting for. The youth have all once the movement, a decision, all bound by it. The ANC has GNU. Thabo must ensure we win effectively implement decisions

# ersy

...known and most controversial political figures. In this wide-ranging ... how his powerful organisation views developments within the ANC ... s, in his own words.

(11A) ARG 25/6/93



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

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we condemn ... worried that ... extended to ... people fail to ... not racism — ... to white su ... not like to be ... y the enemy ... they make ... es me more ... had not said ... are going to ... would have ... matter differ ... of course it ... d more diffi ... defying the ... at score. ... should also ... lers of the ... e with those ... o pointed out ... ognised that ... always sung ... hanting incl ... ing is that ... oving from

saying we should not sing the words "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" to saying we should not toyi-toyi. I specifically did not sing the chant, but at the end of my speech I toyi-toyed. That is what I have done since the ANC took the decision (to stop the chant).  
**On whether he supports a government of national unity (GNU):**  
 I was deeply worried together with the Youth League on the question of a GNU. If we are unable to effect fundamental changes in the way things are done, we may end up with apartheid or neo-colonialism.  
 Those are not the kind of things I have spent my life fighting for. But we as the youth have always said that once the movement has taken a decision, all of us would be bound by it. The majority of the ANC has approved the GNU. Thabo Mbeki said we must ensure we win the election effectively so we can implement decisions.

This situates the question of the GNU on our ability to organise, and no longer looks like the kind of compromise it looked like when it was first mooted.

**On the possibility of a vice-presidency for F W de Klerk:**  
 The principle of majority rule should not be sacrificed. If De Klerk takes such a position, and the ANC is a majority party and he serves an ANC government, I have no problem.

But if for any reason the president from the majority party is unable to continue (in office), it should then not be automatic that a person from a minority party should become the president.

**On Chief Buthelezi in the GNU:**

As a person, I do not have problems with him. But when he allows the IFP to do the kinds of things that it is doing and allows himself to become a puppet of De Klerk and does not have any compassion ... I can never be proud of (him) as an African.

But even if (he) does not reach the (five percent) threshold, but commits himself to peace, reconstruction and unity and wants to confound counter-revolution, I would approve (of his inclusion in government). I want a government in which the ANC has got the power and the magnanimity to take into our Cabinet people from other parties who are committed to peace, reconstruction and unity.

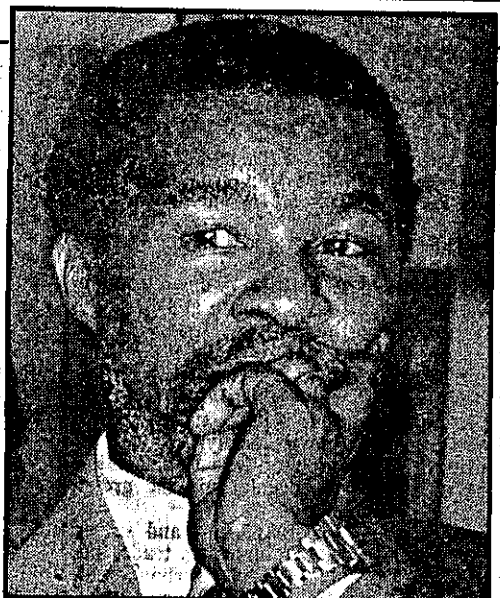
**On his own future career:**

I intend to stay in politics, to continue to serve my people. It is difficult to talk about oneself, because things will depend on other people. (But) I will make myself available for the ANC list for parliament, if that is the desire of the people.

If the movement decided (I should be in a Cabinet), I would be available for that or for any kind of position.

I would (prefer) something that brings me closer to the youth and rural people ... not something which would make me a bureaucrat.

I am doing (tertiary) studies because if we South Africans are to be different from the rest of Africa, we need to master the management of human resources and human material.



MR THABO MBEKI: "The best candidate for the job", says the ANC Youth League.

## Mbeki, Ramaphosa set to fight for Mandela's mantle

(11A) ARG 25/6/93

The Argus Political Staff reports from Johannesburg.

**T**HE ANC Youth League's request that international affairs director Thabo Mbeki be appointed ANC deputy president and heir-apparent to Nelson Mandela will be discussed at the next meeting of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC), according to an ANC source.

The NEC meeting — to be held in August — will formally discuss the league's proposal as spelt out by league president Peter Mokaba.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday that the league's request would probably be debated by the NEC when it meets in August.

However, Mr Mamoepa emphasised that there were only three vacant positions on the NEC, and the deputy presidency was not one of them. The three were those left by the resignation of Winnie Mandela last year, the assassination of Chris Hani about three months ago and Oliver Tambo's death.

Mr Mamoepa said although the agenda of the next NEC meeting had not yet been decided upon, individual members of the ANC had a right to nominate people for whatever position. However, only a national congress could change the leadership.

He said as far as he knew ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa — whom the league wanted to remain secretary-general — was happy in the position into which he had been elected at the 1991 congress in Durban.

If Mr Ramaphosa wanted to make himself available for another position, he would



MR CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ... said to be furiously fighting back.

have to resign as secretary-general.

Asked for comment at the World Trade Centre yesterday, Mr Ramaphosa himself declined to comment.

Mr Mbeki is out of the country and could not be reached for comment.

The league's endorsement of Mr Mbeki has come as a complete surprise to many, who regarded the international affairs director as a moderate who had lost the support of the militant youth.

Sources within the ANC said Mr Ramaphosa, who had been widely tipped as the next ANC president, was furiously fighting back following the league's decision, and had begun to hold talks with the ANC's 14 regions.

He is understood to have held talks with the powerful PWV region.

# Mokaba's move is (11A) rebuffed

25/6/93  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday poured cold water on a move by its Youth League to have Mr Thabo Mbeki installed — without an election — as Mr Nelson Mandela's heir-apparent.

The bid to get the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) to replace Mr Walter Sisulu with Mr Mbeki as deputy president is seen as a ploy by the Youth League to prevent ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa taking over the leadership.

Sources said there was bad blood between Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Ramaphosa.

Mr Mokaba has asked the NEC, which next meets in August, to install Mr Mbeki as deputy president, saying the matter was too urgent to be held over until the national conference next year.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday there was "no precedent" for the proposal and no provision for such a step in the ANC's constitution.

The constitution stipulated that the position of deputy president was an elected position.

# Benny Alexander acquitted of fraud

JOHANNESBURG. — PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander was yesterday acquitted on fraud and forgery charges relating to a false driver's licence — but was found guilty on a lesser charge of carrying the false document.

Alexander was fined R1 500 or six months, suspended for four years.

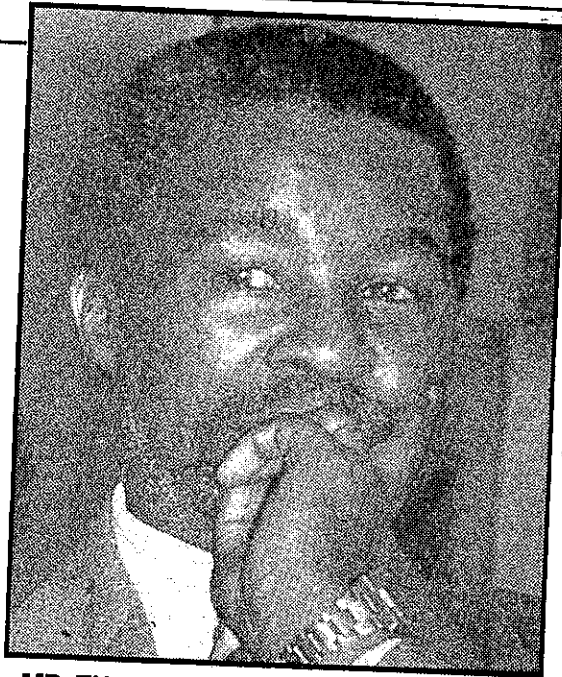
The magistrate's court heard that Alexander possessed a valid driver's licence but had also received another document through the post, which turned out to be a forgery.

He mistakenly carried this one last November 27 and produced it when stopped by a traffic cop.

Alexander's evidence was that he had noticed the driver's code in the posted ID document was wrong. He had then applied for and received the correct ID document, but on the day of the incident he mistakenly carried the wrong one.

Alexander said after the case that his name had been vindicated and that he would decide soon whether to appeal.

(11A) CT 25/6/93



**MR THABO MBEKI:** "The best candidate for the job", says the ANC Youth League.

# Mbeki, Ramaphosa set to fight for Mandela's mantle

11P  
ARG 25/6/93

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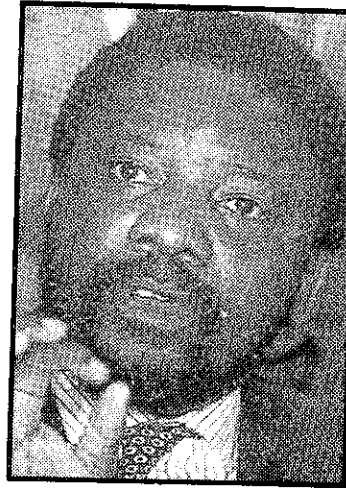
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# Thebe insiders close ranks

By FERAL HAJFAJEE

*w/mail 25/6-11/7/93* (11A) (122) (118)  
THE Thebe Investment Corporation, which claimed this week it had found three bugging devices in its offices, concealed the debugging sweep from its own staff.

An investment company with African National Congress links and funding, Thebe swept its offices at the weekend in the wake of a spate of controversial revelations about its business dealings.

Staff were instructed in a circular not to make arrangements to work on Saturday on the pretext that the office was being refurbished. The memo was from a junior employee who signed on behalf of managing director Vusi Khanyile.

Not even Khanyile's senior management team knew about the planned operation. Two Thebe insiders have independently contacted *The Weekly Mail* to express fears that Thebe itself may have planted the bugs.

After revelations of Thebe's controversial business deals in the press last month, Khanyile called a staff meeting and told employees he feared information and documents had been leaked to the press from the company.

He instructed staff "to be more responsible". Soon afterwards, the offices were debugged.

Insiders also say Khanyile and his circle of advisers are increasingly closing ranks. Monthly staff meetings

have all but stopped, and Khanyile recently said there was no longer any need for weekly management team meetings either.

The company said that the discovery of the devices came at a time when "attempts are being made to discredit Thebe, particularly over its links with the democratic movement". It claimed the bugging "shows the extent to which certain groups will go to destroy efforts to right the wrongs of apartheid."

"We note that other black companies that threaten established interests have been subjected to measures intended to destabilise them." Thebe also alleged that the "dirty tricks" incident smacked of "political interest rather than business practice".

Revelations last month exposed Thebe's intention to start a joint venture company with multinational publishing house Macmillan-Boleswa for the supply of textbooks.

Thebe would supply Macmillan with "a regular line of communication with the relevant government structures in the new South Africa" in return for a 20 percent shareholding in the new company.

An attempt to move into the mine catering business hit flak from the Congress of South African Trade Unions-affiliated National Union of Mineworkers.

And an earlier bid to secure lucrative fishing quotas on the Cape coast was vetoed by the ANC's national leadership.



# Who will inherit Sisulu's crown?

**C**YRIL RAMAPHOSA — long assumed to be the heir apparent to Nelson Mandela — is facing the biggest challenge of his political career as a major debate over the succession to the deputy presidency of the African National Congress has broken into the open.

Growing internal dissatisfaction with Ramaphosa has bubbled to the surface with the surprise public proposal that Thabo Mbeki — believed to have been sidelined within the organisation's leadership — should succeed the ageing Walter Sisulu as deputy president.

Sisulu (81) has come under increasing pressure from his family and doctors to take a less strenuous position within the organisation. It is understood that the issue was tabled at a recent meeting of the ANC's national executive committee. This would leave the high-profile position of deputy to Mandela vacant. It is understood that three candidates are being discussed within the ANC: Mbeki, Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma. Pallo Jordan has also been mentioned, but is seen as a rank outsider.

The proposal was that Sisulu be named to the post of ANC national chairman — created for Oliver Tambo on his return from exile — within the next

W/Mail 25/6-1/7/93.  
*The likely retirement of Walter Sisulu has revealed surprising splits within the African National Congress over who will succeed him.* By **STEPHEN LAUFER** and **PAUL STOBER**

few months. But objections from those supporting other candidates, unhappy that they had been given insufficient time to lobby for their favourites, succeeded in having the discussion adjourned.

Surprised by the depth of divisions made visible by his proposed move, Sisulu agreed to stay on in his current position until a fuller debate is possible.

Mandela is believed to be backing Zuma, because he would like to see a Zulu in the number two slot. But Mbeki is still regarded as the front runner.

As Tambo's right-hand man and the principal architect of the dialogue between the ANC and the white businessmen and Afrikaaner intellectuals in the 1980s which led to major meetings in Lusaka and Dakar, Mbeki enjoys respect within the organisation. He is well known internationally, and is young enough to be able to look forward to many

years in the top job, should he succeed Mandela.

Despite occasional criticism from within Shell House at his somewhat authoritarian approach, Ramaphosa has a reputation as an able administrator. But in career terms, he may have become the victim of his own success as the ANC's principal negotiator. It is felt that he is indispensable in the role of go-between with the National Party and the government, a function which is likely to become even more essential in a multi-party government.

Jordan enjoys the respect particularly of the ANC's Youth League, because he is regarded as intelligent and a man of integrity.

But ANCYL chief Peter Mokaba has opted for Mbeki, upping the stakes in the leadership race by going public early. By making his proposal public while his candidate is out of the country at an Organisation of African Unity meeting, Mokaba has protected Mbeki from any fallout.

"Mbeki enjoys the greatest confidence within the organisation, not just among the youth. As deputy-president he would be a clear candidate for the succession to Mandela. The media loves to make kings, as they've done with Ramaphosa for months. They've got this one wrong," said an ANC insider.

# PAC-ing it in on Natal's campuses

*The South African Students Congress has taken a knock in Natal while the Pan African Students Organisation is growing significantly.*

By **FAROUK CHOTHIA**

**T**HE PAC-aligned Pan African Students Organisation (Paso) is on the rise at Natal campuses, capitalising on a spate of setbacks by its ideological rival, South African Students Congress (Sasco).

Paso has set up branches at almost all tertiary institutions in the province, including the University of Durban-Westville, ML Sultan Technikon, Mangosuthu Technikon, the University of Zululand and the University of Natal. It is also targeting secondary schools, having formed a branch at the Inanda High School — and intends to do likewise at schools in Umlazi, near Durban.

In bouyant mood, about 150 branch delegates converged at UDW last week to launch Paso's Natal region with their newly elected chairman, Monise Ponoane, declaring: "Paso is the talk of the day on every campus in Natal."

In contrast, the African National Congress-linked Sasco shows no sign of growing — and is battling to keep its militant constituency within its fold.

Conceded Sasco national executive committee member Qaddafi Sedibe: "It's true we are not as strong as we were in 1989 or 1990 — but that doesn't mean we're weak or on the decline."

Sedibe added that Sasco still had the muscle to mobilise students, pointing out that it had organised protest action around kwaZulu's non-recognition of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union and the Independent Development Trust's failure to allocate sufficient bursaries for students.

Sasco traces its woes to President FW de Klerk's February 1990 speech. Sasco national secretary Mahlengi Bhengu said De Klerk's announcement had led to "demobilisation" not only in Sasco but also in other "democratic formations" and a move away from "resistance" politics.

"When there is a great element of resistance, the capacity to organise increases," she said.

There was also disillusionment with the ANC-led negotiation process, which three years later had failed to bring about democracy.

She added that there was general discontent with the ANC's decision to suspend armed struggle and to agree to power-sharing with the government.

In contrast, Ponoane said, Paso activists

had not demobilised in the post-February 2 era — nor had they put their faith in the negotiation process. Morale in Paso was, therefore, still high and its activists were working hard, he added.

He sidestepped a question as to whether Paso was winning over Sasco activists. "I'm not looking at Sasco. I'm only interested in Paso growing.

"Whether they were ANC before does not interest us."

And he argued that Paso was not winning support because of its slogans or because of the armed struggle of the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla).

"You can't eat slogans. You can't eat Apla. It is our ideology which appeals to the oppressed masses. It is 100 percent correct and it has been consistent," he said.

Bhengu does not believe Sasco is losing membership to Paso. She believes Paso is merely "emerging" now. "The PAC was not around in the 1980s and the early 1990s. The whole of it was in exile. It never had a large following like the UDF. Now it is trying to emerge. It is logical for them to have a presence."

Indications are that this "presence" is significant: recent protest rallies at ML Sultan Technikon, organised by the SRC to press for the "democratisation" of the council, were packed with Paso supporters — and they called the shots.

**A**t UDW, Paso went to an SRC-convened mass meeting last month and found enthusiastic support for its plan to hold protest action around the detention of its leaders for alleged Apla activities.

At the University of Natal (Durban), the administration is becoming nervous over Paso's growth: earlier this year it warned students they would face disciplinary action for wearing "One settler, one bullet" T-

shirts, as these violated the university's code of conduct which opposed violence and racism.

And Sasco is increasingly finding that it can no longer rely on student support to maintain control of SRCs.

Paso has successfully challenged Sasco for control of the councils in some instances — an indication that its leaders are gaining in popularity.

In elections at ML Sultan earlier this year, Paso wrested control of the SRC from Sasco, winning eight of the 13 seats on the executive.

Sasco shot itself in the foot after its members faced serious charges of mismanagement of

funds.

Having made anti-corruption a central theme in their election campaign — ahead of even political issues — Paso cruised to victory.

At UDW, Sasco was dogged with similar allegations last year. Nevertheless, eight of its members were elected to the SRC — though the presidency went, for the first time, to a non-Sasco member, Lordwish Sithole.

He regards himself as being politically non-aligned.

**S**asco soon found it could not work with Sithole, claiming he was "undemocratic" and "power-hungry", and its eight members resigned.

It was a tactical blunder: students and Paso threw their weight behind Sithole, who accused the Sasco eight of attempting to sabotage the SRC.

In a shock move, students adopted a resolution which barred the Sasco eight from taking part in future elections — a decision which can only be overturned by students at another mass meeting.

After failing to put up other candidates in by-elections which followed, Sasco now has no SRC representation. Paso, meanwhile, has three members on the SRC, with one each for the Black Consciousness-aligned Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) and the Trotskyist Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa). Other SRC members are politically non-aligned.

Ironically, Sasco activists spearheaded campaigns in the 1980s for the recognition of SRCs, seeing them as the "vanguard" of student struggles.

But bodies to their left, particularly Paso, seem to be enjoying the fruits of those campaigns on many campuses.

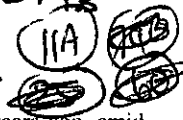
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IIA

# China's example a lesson for SA

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Sowetan 25/6/92



**By Jeremy Cronin**  
of the SA Communist Party

HOW many times has the ANC been told to drop its alliance with the SACP "because it will scare off foreign investors"? And how many times, for the same reason, has the SACP been advised "to change its name"?

The late Chris Hani had a fairly definitive, one-word reply to this line of argument: "China."

Hani led an official SACP tour of China in 1992. He was not uncritical of all they saw. But he could not help noticing that, in striking contrast to Yeltsin's official anti-communist Russia, foreign investors were queuing up to invest in the People's Republic of China.

Yet China continues to be ruled by a Communist Party.

Far from withering away, last year the Chinese Communist Party accepted nearly 2 million new members, taking its total to 52 million.

The Chinese Communist Youth League, for its part, has 56 million members, and it remains by far the largest organisation of youth in the world.

Doesn't this scare foreign investors?

Apparently not. Five years ago, amid signs of a major economic boom in China, the big multi-nationals like Chrysler, Volkswagen and Phillips scrambled to get in. China's economic superpower neighbour, Japan, was late on the scene but in the past year Japanese investment has suddenly soared, almost trebling to US\$ 2.2 billion.

For their part, the Chinese have welcomed this investment, most often in the form of joint ventures.

But they have taken care not to allow it to subvert their own economic reform package which includes a strong state sector and a consumer-led growth path.

For South Africa, the Chinese example has a few basic lessons:

- Foreign investors are not going to trigger a sustainable boom; for that you have to rely on your own resources;

- For foreign investors the prime question is profits, not the colour of your flag.

Nobody is arguing that we should simply mimic the Chinese. But this fastest growing economy on earth does underline one simple truth: there are other options in the world than the IMF's "export-orientated growth", "drastic privatisation", and the slashing of popular consumption levels.

# Summit fuels peace hopes in ANC, IFP

Star 25/6/93

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

The summit between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi was warmly welcomed yesterday and appears poised to reap results in violence-ravaged Natal.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said the talks between the ANC president and IFP leader had "undoubtedly given invaluable impetus to the peace process".

The joint commitment by the leaders after their 9½-hour Kempton Park meeting to "bury the past" and maintain ongoing lines of communication had the potential to remove a "huge obstacle on the way forward", Hall said.

## Campaign

"Furthermore, their appearance on joint platforms around the country — especially at community level — will publicly reinforce this resolve."

In the first indication of movement at regional level as a result of the meeting, the ANC's southern Natal branch vowed to start a peace campaign to support the agreements.

Dumisani Makhaya of the ANC region's department of information and publicity said the organisation would be seeking

regional meetings with the IFP, business community and church leaders in the drive for peace.

"While we welcome the meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi, we are saying it must go further," he urged. (11A)

Makhaya's sentiments were shared by Ed Tillet of the IFP's information centre in Durban.

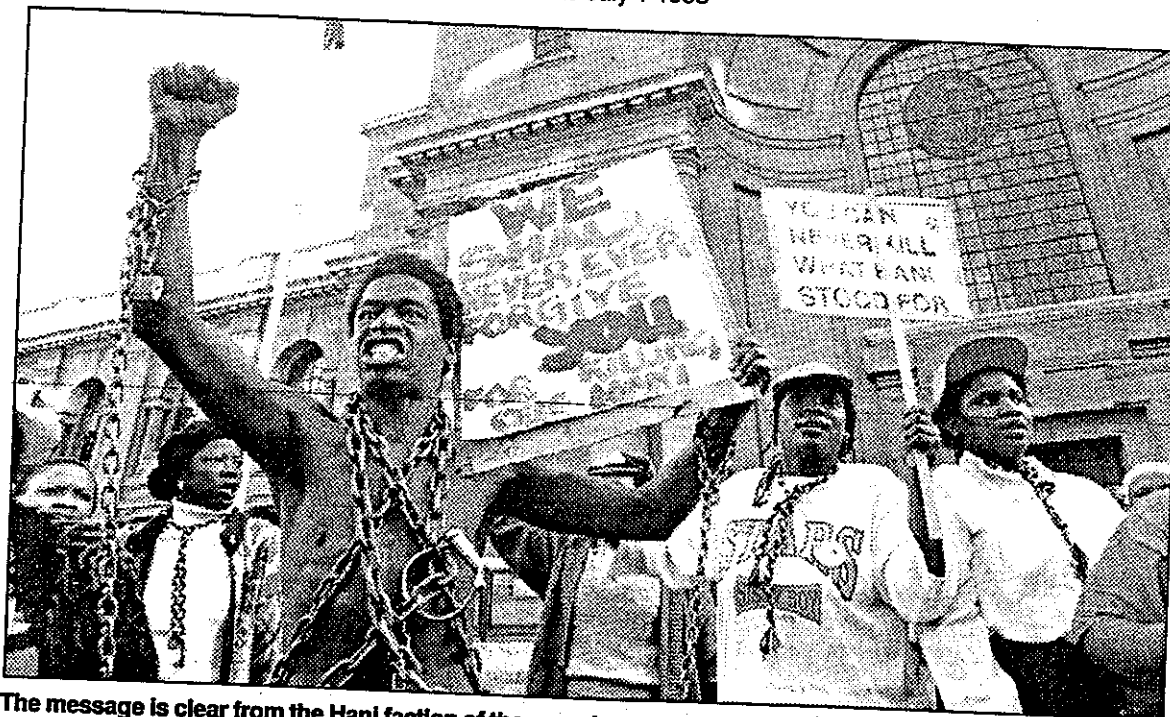
He told The Star the IFP was "without a doubt committed to the (peace) process" and would set no preconditions to meetings between regional leaders.

But he cautioned that while the organisation was "buoyant" in the wake of Wednesday's summit, agreements struck at the January 1991 Buthelezi-Mandela summit had not been followed through. (11B)

The IFP hoped supporters on the ground would take up the sentiments expressed by the two leaders and follow the same path, he said.

Meanwhile, sources inside the talks indicated that several hours were taken up with constitutional matters, and that while no agreement could be reached on the fixing of an election date, there was progress in some other areas.

They said the IFP moved significantly closer to accepting a transitional executive council, but retained certain preconditions such as the acceptance of principles to be binding on a new constitution-making body.



The message is clear from the Hani faction of the crowd outside the courts

Photo: LUANNE CADD

## World watches Courtroom 4E

By STEPHEN LAUFER

IT was a morning of colourful clothing and inimical cultures, of red judges' robes and crimson communist banners, black advocates' garb and khaki for the brylcreem-and-nicotine-fingers brigade from the West Rand.

South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo joked that "we could have a bilateral meeting with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging right here in the public gallery", on this, the first day of the murder and conspiracy trial against Chris Hani's alleged killers.

At the end of the session, *tannies* in crimplene frocks queued eagerly to shake Clive Derby-Lewis' right hand,

or to whisper words of encouragement into Janus Waluz's left ear. Wrinkle-faced men with striped wash-and-wear ties sent straight-armed waves to Gaye Derby-Lewis, herself eager for every opportunity to look round at friends and supporters in the public gallery.

As the three went down to the cells, Clive Derby-Lewis told reporters he felt "very good", gave a thumbs-up. His broad grin indicated that he meant it. Waluz said the same thing, but his losing battle to muster even a small smile told a different story.

As is often the case, the rightwingers had been the early birds. Bussed in from Roodepoort under the leadership of

Conservative Party MP Jurg Primloo, they'd already occupied almost all the seats when Slovo and African National Congress deputy president Walter Sisulu arrived.

TV cameras from around the world rolling, the SACP chief had the massive wooden doors of the Rand Supreme Court unceremoniously slammed in his face. It took all the persuasive talents of ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa to have space made available for him, Sisulu, Cosatu's Jay Naidoo and Hani's close friend, Tokyo Sexwale.

The handshakes and greetings on the way to Courtroom 4E for the leftist leadership from security policemen and state advocates were a sight to behold, and even Witwatersrand attorney general Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau seemed to have little difficulty with the three-point comrade's handshake pressed upon him by Phosa.

Ultimately, it was a morning of measured legal argument among "learned friends", the defence arguing for postponement, the prosecution convinced that it was in the national interest to proceed forthwith.

Judge President CF Eloff granted a remand until October 4, when a roll call of more than 50 witnesses will begin.

By then, the Derby-Lewis should have been able to raise sufficient finance to cover legal costs, possibly by selling their house. Their CP friends, it seems, are struggling to raise the several hundred thousand rands it's going to take.

Wim mail 25/6-117193. (11A) (11A)

## LABOUR

# Fight for worker, not party, rights

**O**RGANISED labour will brook no breach of workers' hard-won rights by World Trade Centre negotiators and will pursue its policies no matter who is in government.

This was the broad message to emerge from last weekend's workers' rights conference in Cape Town, an event which brought together unions, political parties and business.

Hosted by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu), the conference helped bring to centre-stage of the constitutional debate workers' concerns about where the political process will leave them — an effective force in society, or with their hard-won rights curtailed.

Parties deliberating on an interim Bill of Rights at the World Trade Centre weren't focusing clearly enough on the

*W/Mail 25/6-11/7/93*

*Cosatu believes the trade union movement must be*

*independent and be prepared to take action to ensure its rights*

*are not undermined.*

By **GAYE DAVIS**

effects the wording might have on workers' rights, said Sactwu general secretary John Copelyn.

African National Congress, Democratic Party and National Party speakers spelled out their parties' proposals for Bills of Rights, but for the first time were forced to do so in terms of workers' rights. As Sactwu assistant general secretary Ebrahim Patel noted afterwards, all three parties acknowledged that any interim dispensation should not

in any way undermine trade union gains over the years.

"Until the conference, the DP held the view that a Bill of Rights should not include workers' rights per se," Patel said. "But in the course of the debate, Tony Leon acknowledged the merit of the argument that fundamental trade union rights should be protected in a constitution or Bill of Rights."

Reassurance for unions about their role in the constitution-making process came from ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa. Workers' concern at their exclusion from the negotiating process, after Cosatu's bid to sit at Codesa was rejected, was understandable, he said. But it was incorrect to conclude that workers had no role or influence over the negotiation process.

Urging trade unions to play an independent and aggressive role during the



**Cyril Ramaphosa** Photo: REUTER

election and constitution-making process, Ramaphosa said they should put forward their demands and programmes not only to the ANC but all parties, before and after elections.

As the most organised sector of the mass movement, unions had spearheaded the involvement of civil society in the political process, demanding that it belong to all the people of South Africa and not just the parties at the negotiating table.

This was not to suggest that workers' only role was that of breaking deadlocks, however. "Behind all the technical debates and specialised language over which negotiators argue at the World Trade Centre is ultimately one decisive question — that of power. "The real source of our power... is support from the masses of our people."

On the issue of Cosatu's decision to call on all workers, and not just those within its affiliates, to vote for the ANC as the only party with the will to deliver a programme of reconstruction and development (which will form the basis of the ANC's election platform), Ramaphosa said this held no threat to unions' independence. "A union will only lose its independence if it decides to give a party unconditional support, regardless of what it does."

ANC head of economic planning Trevor Manuel said trade unions should concentrate on their members' interests and had a limited ability to influence macro-economic policy formation.

He acknowledged unions had inputs to make in policy formation, but its coherence was a concern of government, partly because unions represented the sectoral interests of their members, who — compared to the unemployed — were a privileged elite of wage earners.

Cosatu's national negotiations coordinator, Jayendra Naidoo, responded that there was no single issue on which government could take a decision which would not affect workers. "We would not accept from any government a move to marginalise unions to shop floor issues without looking at the policies behind them," he said.

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa said labour expected to be involved jointly with government in democratising society and hoped the ANC, once in power, would not exclude unions. But the union movement had to be independent and prepared to take action to ensure its rights were not undermined. "We will oppose even the ANC and we will take our support elsewhere."

# IFP, ANC engage in political horse-trading

**T**HIS week's 10-hour summit between African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had more to do with efforts to find a constitutional accommodation than with peace.

It is unlikely the meeting will have an impact on the carnage in Natal and the Reef, but it has paved the way for bilateral talks on constitutional issues between the ANC and the IFP.

IFP sources said this week that the organisation was prepared to accept April 27 as an election date, even though this seemed the major sticking point at Wednesday's summit, and to concede the ANC's demand for a Transitional Executive Council. It might even participate in an ANC-led government of national unity.

But this would be in exchange for ANC acceptance of IFP proposals for a federal system of government.

The trade-offs are expected to take place in a series of bilateral talks in the run-up to a meeting of the negotiating council next week.

Significantly, Buthelezi was flanked by his top constitutional negotiators and advisers at the meeting, including Joe Matthews, Frank Mdlalose, Walter Felgate, Ben Ngubane and Suzanne Vos. Central committee member Velaphi Ndlovu was the only person in the IFP team involved in Natal peace talks. He

*The meeting between Nelson*

*Mandela and Mangosuthu*

*Buthelezi may have had little*

*to do with peace, but it went*

*some way towards resolving*

*constitutional problems.*

**By FAROUK GOTHIA**

serves on the Natal/kwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee.

Mandela did not have a single Natal representative on his delegation. Instead, he took chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa, Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise and three Johannesburg ANC leaders involved in peace talks — Jacob Zuma, Sydney Mafumadi and Bhaleka Kgositsile.

This has fuelled speculation that the real purpose of the meeting was to pave the way for the ANC and IFP to find common constitutional ground rather than getting bogged down in historic disputes over violence.

The militant ANC Natal Midlands region cautiously welcomed the announcement of bilateral talks.

On peace, both sides seem to be pinning their hopes on the National Peace Accord and agreed that its signatories should meet soon.

With 38 Natalians having died last weekend, the Natal/kwaZulu RDRC announced a meeting of all Peace Accord signatories in the Natal Mid-

lands sub-region for next month. Meetings of the northern and southern Natal sub-regions would follow.

The Mandela-Buthelezi indaba failed to produce any new peace proposals. Instead, they recommitted themselves to freedom of political activity; that no areas would be no-go zones for either the ANC or IFP and that they would seek to ensure their followers did not carry weapons in public, except on cultural occasions.

The summit, however, failed to break the deadlock around the key issue of an election date, with Buthelezi sticking to his guns that there should first be agreement on constitutional principles.

IFP sources later indicated that they were prepared to make concessions to the ANC. Mandela's decision to meet Buthelezi had facilitated this process. "If federalism and devolution of power are addressed, we have no problem with the proposed election date," said a source.

In private, other IFP sources suggested they may also compromise on their demand that the multi-party negotiating forum draft a future constitution. The sources said the IFP now accepted that a transitional executive would be installed as a forerunner to an election for a constituent assembly.

The IFP rejected the concept of a government of national unity, but was willing to change its stance, he added.

# Sexwale warns against 'deadlock'

By ARI JACOBSON

IF the government continued to "drag its heels" in negotiations the ANC might not be able to control its followers any longer, the ANC's PWV chairman, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at the Seeff/Cape Times breakfast, he said the country was in crisis and there would be an additional crisis if negotiations remained "in deadlock".

CF 25/6/93

People must see the results of change if we are to avert a time-bomb situation."

He said "the date (for South Africa's first democratic election) should be finalised tomorrow (today) — yet now we hear it's been stalled".

"Three years down the line (after the unbanning of the ANC) our people have become more desperate," he said.

However, Mr Sexwale said, South Africa would only be a success "if skilled

people remained in the country", and addressing the largely white audience he said: "Do you want to sabotage us (the black people) twice, first through apartheid and now by taking all the skills out of the country?"

He said black people were represented in the commercial sector "as shopkeepers, taxi owners and hawkers" and this needed to be "changed drastically".



## MEETING OF THE YEAR

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The consensus before the Wednesday meeting between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi was that both had too much to lose politically by not showing tangible gains when they emerged. It was felt that planners must have prepared a minimum position which they could agree on and present as progress.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande cautioned that expectations in his violence-torn region were not high. He felt there was a risk of the meeting damaging Mandela's image — and concerned that the summit would cloud the real causes of violence, which he

believes are still apartheid-linked. Nzimande also noted the similarity between the run-up to this and the previous indaba — which failed to stop violence.

But the University of Natal's Mervyn Frost believes substantial agreement must have been reached beforehand. The two would, he thought, have two separate agendas, one public and the other confidential. "The problem with their first meeting, in 1991 in Durban, was that there was no structured plan. This time Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu would have done much homework."

## Mandela to visit Ulundi

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JOHANNESBURG. —  
Following Wednesday's  
summit between ANC  
president Mr Nelson  
Mandela and Inkatha  
Freedom Party leader  
Chief Mangosuthu  
Buthelezi, the ANC  
leader is expected to  
visit Ulundi in KwaZulu.

Methodist presiding  
Bishop Dr Stanley Mo-  
goba said yesterday that  
the meeting had cleared  
the way for Mr Mande-  
la's first visit to Kwa-  
Zulu.

During the visit Mr  
Mandela would pay a  
courtesy call on King  
Goodwill Zwelethini and  
visit the IFP headquar-  
ters. — Sapa (S) (IA)



# PAC's armed struggle stance unclear

ARC 25/6/93

## Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Confusion over the PAC's position on the armed struggle is dragging on — the matter remained unresolved after a meeting at the World Trade Centre between the PAC and the government.

The conflict between the government and PAC stems from a difference of interpretation of a declaration on the cessation of hostilities and the suspension of armed action.

**Constitutional Development**  
Minister Roelf Meyer last night told the negotiating council that the PAC delegation could not clarify its position on the armed struggle.

In a statement circulated in the council he said: "The PAC delegation was unable to give an answer to this, and requested time to obtain further instructions from their leadership."

But the PAC denied that it was unable to clarify its position.

"The PAC delegation, however, promised to seek further consultation as to at what stage we cease hostilities, with our leadership," the PAC said.

Talks were held yesterday between the PAC and government after all members agreed to the far-reaching declaration on Tuesday.

But the PAC indicated after the meeting on Tuesday that the organisation had not suspended its armed struggle.

Mr Meyer said the government was under the impression that the PAC had suspended its armed struggle on Tuesday when it agreed to the declaration.

The PAC told the negotiating council that the government insisted at yesterday's meeting on first clarifying its position on the armed struggle before it would respond to its non-compliance with an earlier resolution on the return of PAC property.

# PAC, Govt talks end in stalemate

Sowetan 25/6/93

**By Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government reached a stalemate in their crucial meeting yesterday.

The Government wants the PAC to suspend its armed struggle in compliance with a declaration of a cessation of hostilities tabled at the negotiating council this week and which the movement endorsed.

In spite of endorsing the declaration, the PAC said it did not mean it had to suspend its armed struggle unilaterally.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday that they would "definitely not suspend our armed struggle unilaterally".

Mr Jaki Seroke, the PAC's secretary for political affairs, said that until elections for a constituent assembly were held and the various military formations in the country were under the joint control of "a transitional authority", his organisation would not suspend its armed struggle.

The Government went into yesterday's meeting expecting "positive answers", according to a National Party source.

The PAC reportedly "were not ready to answer" and had requested more time to consult their principals.

# Can Mandela, FW get it together before visit?

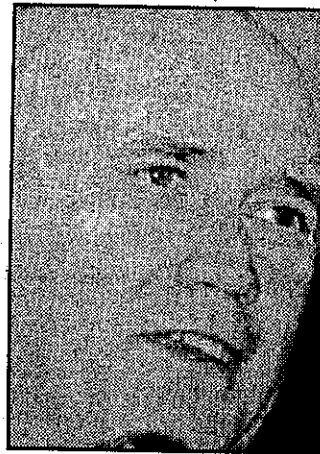
Star 25/6/93

By Peter Fabricius  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's high-profile visit to Washington next week could be another "Rubicon speech"-style disaster if negotiators in South Africa fail to reach a prior transition deal, US business sources are warning.

They are expressing concern that negotiators might fail to reach firm agreement on an election date and the establishment of a transitional executive council (TEC) before Mandela and De Klerk receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal in President Clinton's company on July 4.

If so, Mandela would not be able to use the occasion to issue the call for the lifting of sanctions which everyone here is expecting. If he fails to do so, potential US investors — already growing impatient for an agreement — might turn



De Klerk . . . will receive medal jointly with Mandela.

their backs on South Africa.

The decision yesterday to postpone a decision on the TEC and an election date until next Friday is going to put enormous pressure on Mandela and De Klerk.

That is the day they are scheduled to meet Clinton in the White House before going to Philadelphia for the medal ceremony on Sunday.

US business sources point



Mandela . . . expected to call for lifting of sanctions.

out that Clinton is lending his prestige and putting his reputation on the line by joining the South African leaders when they receive the award.

It will be a big moment with a great deal of American attention focused on South Africa.

Most observers here believe that with this kind of pressure on him, Mandela will somehow find a way to issue the expected call for sanctions to

be lifted.

The Inkatha Freedom Party seems to hold the key to the success of the Mandela-De Klerk visit.

It continues to oppose firm commitments to elections and a TEC until there has been agreement on a federal system for South Africa.

US business sources have also expressed concern about aspects of a draft Senate Bill to lift sanctions and encourage investment once the firm commitment to a TEC and elections has been made.

The Bill would extend the life of the present code of conduct — known as the State Department Fair Employment Standards — which obliges US business to observe trade union rights and spend money on projects to benefit blacks.

The code would terminate after South Africa's first democratic elections. This represents some concession to business interests. The original provision would have maintained the code until a democratically elected South African government had enacted fair labour standards.

~~SCIP~~

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### World honour for Albertina

The deputy president of the African National Congress Women's League, Albertina Sisulu, has been elected the new president of the World Peace Council (WPC). She was elected unanimously in Basel, Switzerland, at the first meeting of the new 40-member executive committee, which was appointed at the WPC assembly, held from June 3 and 6. — Sapa.

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Star 25/6/93

# 'Few blacks to benefit from political settlement'

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Few blacks will benefit from next year's political settlement in South Africa, and conditions will remain much the same for the masses or get worse.

This is the view of Dr Eugene Nyati, director of the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Whites and a small black elite would benefit, and if they

failed "selflessly" to extend the benefits, the transitional government would become vulnerable, and civil and labour unrest would "render the country ungovernable once again", he warned.

Nyati's analysis was contained in his Froembling Memorial Lecture to the western Cape branch of the South African Pharmaceutical Society in Cape Town.

He said that if whites and

11A ~~25/6/93~~  
the black elite, which he expected to benefit from the 1994 settlement, consciously extended the benefits to more South Africans, "it is possible that over the medium to long term the majority of people may identify with the settlement and act in ways that will stabilise the country".

The immediate beneficiaries had a "heavy responsibility".

"The 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against

blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change in the short and medium term.

"The emphasis of the settlement will be a strategic co-optation of the black elite.

"While the country will have a majority black Cabinet, the effective power relations between the races will not change much.

"Overall, the most the settlement will do is create a

black elite that will be too small to threaten white control of the economy, but hopefully conspicuous enough to serve the purpose of being a psychological and physical buffer between white interests and the radical demands of the hungry black masses," he said

Nyati also expressed concern about the nature of the transitional government, warning that it could prove unworkable.

# Alexander acquitted of ID-book fraud, forgery

Star 25/6/93

Court Reporter

11A

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander was yesterday fined R1 500 (or six months), suspended for five years, for contravening the Road Traffic Act.

Alexander (38) was acquitted on charges of fraud and forging an identity document.

After being sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, Alexander said: "The most important and serious allegations, fraud and forgery, were dismissed by the court. I am happy my name has been vindicated."

He said he and his lawyers would consider appealing against the conviction.

The charges were brought against Alexander after traffic police on an East Rand highway caught him in pos-

session of a false identity document last November.

Alexander admitted that the document was not valid, and that it contained a code 11 driving licence, which Alexander did not have.

He said that he received the document in the post after putting in an application with the Department of Home Affairs.

Although Van Staden found that the department could not have issued the document, he said there was no evidence that it had been forged by Alexander.

He also found Alexander had no intention to defraud the traffic policemen when he showed them the document.

Alexander was convicted on the third charge because he was aware that the document was not valid, but failed to return it to the department.



# ANC leader hopes to raise *Star 25/6/93* millions in US

By Peter Fabricius  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — ANC president Nelson Mandela hopes to raise about R100 million for his organisation's election campaign on a 10-day fund-raising tour of America starting at the beginning of next month. (117)

He will visit six major cities with the message that the ANC needs a huge injection of funds to overcome its electoral inexperience and level the political playing field. (32/13)

Mandela arrives in Washington next Friday for a scheduled meeting with President Bill Clinton — who will meet President de Klerk on the same day — and will receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with De Klerk on July 4.

Depending on the progress of negotiations in South Africa, Mandela could issue a major call for the lifting of sanctions.

He will devote most of the remainder of his stay to fund-raising in Washington and in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Atlanta.

● Can Mandela, FW get it together? — Page 10

Star 25/6/93

## Don't leave SA, Sexwale urges skilled whites

CAPE TOWN — ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale yesterday described as "sabo-teurs" those whites who obtained high-level skills in the apartheid years and now wanted to emigrate.

A new ANC government would succeed eventually, but it would be much harder and would take much longer without the help of highly skilled white South Africans.

Addressing a business breakfast in Cape Town, Sexwale said that under an ANC government the attorneys-general and the auditor-general would be independent, to ensure that economic crimes were pursued without political interference. (DAB)

The ANC did not want South Africa to be part of an Africa that had failed because of corruption. Not only public sector corruption was a problem, private sector fraud in South Africa was among the highest in the world. (CIA)

The international community and institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank should help a new South Africa as they had done for Germany and were now doing for Russia.

However, an ANC government would want to negotiate as equals and not be subscribed to. — Sapa.

# Bid to boost Mbeki on ANC's agenda

Star 25/6/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC Youth League's request that ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki be appointed ANC deputy president and heir-apparent to Nelson Mandela will be discussed at the next meeting of the organisation's national executive committee (NEC), according to an ANC source.

The NEC meeting, to be held in August, will formally discuss the ANCYL's proposal as spelt out by its president Peter Mokaba in an exclusive interview with The Star this week.

Mokaba said the powerful ANCYL's NEC, backed by youth and other ANC structures around the country, felt that following the death of ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo in mid-April, Mbeki should immediately become deputy president of the organisation, with

ageing incumbent Walter Sisulu becoming chairman.

Mokaba, who described Mbeki as a key strategist in the ANC and the best candidate for the job, said such a move would strengthen the ANC considerably in the run-up to the country's first all-in elections next year.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa yesterday said the ANCYL's request would probably be debated by the NEC when it meets in August.

## Vacant posts

However, Mamoepa emphasised there were only three vacant positions on the NEC at the moment, and the deputy presidency was not one of them. The three were those left by the resignation of Winnie Mandela last year, the assassination of Chris Hani about three months ago and Tambo's death.

Mamoepa said that as far as he knew, ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa — whom the ANCYL wanted to remain sec-

retary-general — was happy in the position into which he had been elected at the 1991 congress in Durban. If Ramaphosa wanted to make himself available for another position, he would have to resign as secretary-general.

Ramaphosa himself has declined to comment.

Mbeki, whom Mokaba described as "most intelligent ... (and) in the very same class as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu", is out of the country and could not be reached for comment.

The ANCYL's endorsement of Mbeki has come as a surprise to many, who regarded the international affairs director as a moderate who had lost the support of the militant youth.

Sources within the ANC said Ramaphosa, who had been widely tipped as the next ANC president, was furiously fighting back following the ANCYL's decision and had begun to hold talks with the ANC's 14 regions.

He is understood to have held talks with the powerful PWV region.

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# CP's 'last chance' to press its case

Star 25/6/93

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

The crunch for the Conservative Party comes on Tuesday when it will be given "the very last opportunity" to convince the Negotiating Council of the viability of an Afrikaner state.

The party's thrust for self-determination in a confederal state left it isolated in negotiations yesterday.

The CP refused to give details of the boundaries of its proposed state. It also elaborated only slightly on its definition of an Afrikaner, with negotiator Fanie Jacobs saying that some English-speakers would also be granted citizenship.

But the CP has undertaken to answer by Tuesday questions raised yes-

terday and in a report by a negotiations technical committee.

In a rejoinder to his fellow Cosag member, IFP delegate Joe Matthews said it required much self-control from many to hear arguments about freedom of Afrikaners when the entire thrust of the process was the achievement of freedom for blacks.

"The basic reason we are here is to ensure the freedom and emancipation of the black majority. We must never deviate from that principle," said Matthews.

After an appeal to the council not to ignore the claims of Afrikaners, Jacobs added a veiled threat, saying the process "should not negotiate a course that will lead to destruction, strife and even civil war".

# Right to hold demo at talks

Star 25/6/93

Political Staff

Thousands of Afrikaner Volksfront supporters were expected to protest outside the World Trade Centre as negotiators begin their work this morning.

Police, defence force and emergency service staff have been put on alert at the venue.

The Negotiating Council was told last night that the Kempton Park Town Council had given permission for between 1 000 and 3 000 demonstrators to protest outside the centre between 6 am and noon.

A council report said organisers agreed that no firearms would be allowed. A strong SAP and SADF contingent would be present on the roads and highway leading to the centre, negotiators were told.

Five demonstrators would be allowed to enter the World Trade Centre to present a memorandum on their demand for an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The Volksfront also hopes that Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen will be allowed to address the council — a request which was refused last night.

# PAC still vague on struggle

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Confusion over the PAC's position on the armed struggle is dragging on and the matter remains unresolved after a meeting at the World Trade Centre between the PAC and the Government.

The conflict stems from a difference of interpretation of a declaration on the cessation of hostilities and suspension

of armed action. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night told the Negotiating Council that the PAC delegation could not clarify its position on the armed struggle.

The PAC denied this but promised to seek further consultation with its leadership as to at what stage it would cease hostilities.

# ANC in campaigning gear

B.1.204 25/6/93

THE ANC, hitting the campaign trail for the first time in its 80-year history, has launched a high-powered bid to sweep SA's historic elections next year.

"Their elections programme has been up and running for about 18 months already," said Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries policy analyst Wim Boooyse. "They're going to catch everyone else with their pants down."

"The ANC is taking this election very seriously," said Wits University academic Tom Lodge, an authority on the movement. "They're fighting it as if they feel there's a chance they might lose."

He said the ANC needed to work hard on wooing voters in ethnic groups other than its traditional black constituency — coloureds, who form about 10% of the 21-million electorate, and whites and Indians who make up about 15%.

"If it is content to rely on its black support, it would obtain only a narrow margin of victory, especially if there's a low turnout," Lodge said.

"It cannot take black support for granted — it has probably reached a ceiling in this area, while parties like the PAC and Inkatha could make inroads."

He said the ANC, with the backing of about 1% of the 3-million white voters, was not trying to win white votes as much as reassure them an ANC victory would not spell disaster.

"They're spending a lot of money on improving their image."

The ANC has obtained the services of US consultant Stan Greenberg, who helped President Bill Clinton defeat George Bush

last year. ANC sources said Greenberg, a political scientist who closely follows events in SA, had advised the ANC to choose two issues and two slogans to focus on as voting nears.

Booyse, estimating that the ANC had budgeted R2m for campaign expenses such as computers, fax machines and four-wheel-drive vehicles, said Greenberg was part of the "high end" of the campaign.

"But they are also pursuing traditional methods like knocking on doors. They've had billboards and placards up in the townships since March — nobody else has."

Booyse said the PAC and Inkatha had done little or nothing to prepare for an election while the CP had yet to decide if it would take part.

The NP is trying to attract black voters with limited success. Recent opinion polls show it losing white support to the right wing.

Among coloureds, support for the ANC is running at about 15% against 68% for the NP.

Booyse said a weakness in the ANC campaign was its failure to address the concerns of coloureds.

"Their objective is to win 66% of the total vote," he said. "But that is a best-case scenario. They won't get it unless they expand support among coloureds, whites and Indians."

Lodge said coloureds were put off by what they perceived as the ANC's indiscipline, its left-wing leanings and the domination of youth in the movement. — Sapa-Reuter

# Sticky beliefs gum up the negotiating process

B/Day 25/6/93

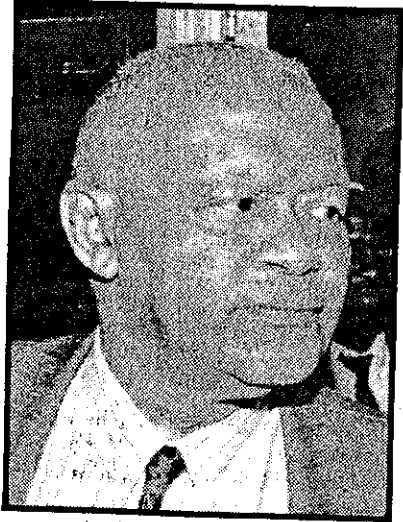
GEORGE Orwell said: "It is at times of great uncertainty that people cling to the most lunatic beliefs."

That is why the negotiating forum scheduled to take place today has been postponed for another week — to give parties like Inkatha, the CP, the Afrikaner Volkunie and Bophuthatswana the opportunity to come to terms with the new reality facing them — partition does not work.

It is precisely because of the beliefs held so doggedly by the Inkathaled Concerned South Africans Group that sufficient progress has not been made despite Inkatha effectively having gained what it wants — regional autonomy. A member of the technical committee on constitutional issues says openly that the regional proposals amount to a clear federal option without the name being attached.

The forum had to be put off because no effective decisions could have been taken without government and the ANC bulldozing the process. That would have meant serious confrontation and a breakdown in talks, for at least a period.

It became clear that when ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthezi could not "cut a deal" at their



□ MATTHEWS

summit on Wednesday, at least on an election date, that the forum would have to be postponed. If the two leaders could have reached agreement, at least on an election date, the forum would have been able to go ahead with Inkatha pulling its Cosag allies along.

The negotiating council has not

## BILLY PADDOCK

(11A) (4B) (2012A)

been able to do enough work on substantive issues and convince Cosag that its fears and anxieties are being accommodated. There have been too many delays due to trying to sort out difficulties between government and the PAC and Cosag's filibustering.

Yesterday CP delegate Fanie Jacobs made an impassioned plea for confederation. Even his Cosag colleague, Inkatha's Joe Matthews, could not go along with this and said that it was time the negotiating council realised what the parties were here for — the emancipation and freedom of the black majority.

The negotiating council, in attempting to live up to its undertaking to make the process as inclusive as possible, has ensured that it could not meet its self-imposed deadline. By entertaining lengthy debates on issues and beliefs which, according to SACP negotiator Joe Slovo "this council will never sanction", negotiators are raising false hopes because the alternative is to lose some par-

ticipants, in particular the CP. It is understood that the reason government and the ANC have not taken a tougher line is because Cabinet has not yet been able to agree on when to get tough with Inkatha.

The question is whether the next seven days are going to change the position substantially. Most ANC and NP negotiators are not optimistic that the "difficult parties" will change their positions. However, there are some who express hope for progress.

It is understood that there will be a flurry of bilateral and trilateral meetings in the next week — predominantly between government, the ANC and Inkatha — to try and thrash out the problem areas. Through a careful look at the constitutional principles, and especially regional powers and functions, there is a hope that Inkatha will accept a two-phased transitional process and endorse the provisional April 27 election date.

This will be backed up by the technical committee's sixth report which proposes a compromise solution on the regional question.

The report calls for an equilibrium, or balance, between the two approaches, to be established. The

committee says this equilibrium could be attained through:

- First, the adoption of general constitutional principles pertaining to regional autonomy;
- Then the council should decide how the principles pertaining to the regions should be incorporated and applied in the transitional (pre- and post-election) period;
- If regional governments are instituted for the transitional period, the constitution-making body could ensure that these regional constitutions conform with the national constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiating body; and
- It could be possible for the constitution-making body to approve the coming into operation of regional constitutions before the adoption of a final constitution.

According to negotiators, there are two other considerations that have to be taken into account: a need to guarantee Buthezi a place in the next coalition cabinet; and the need to broaden the Natal/KwaZulu regional joint executive during the transition to accommodate KwaZulu government ministers.

A difficult week lies ahead. Success will depend on the extent of Cosag's flexibility.

## LETTERS

business, then people might not have

**T**HE human rights die for a future SA will be cast in the coming weeks when the Motsuenyane commission compiles its report on alleged abuses in ANC camps.

Former Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane, who chaired the ANC-appointed commission, and fellow commissioners Zimbabwean advocate David Zamchiya and former US judge Margaret Burnham, are faced with an onerous task. They will have to sift through nearly 100 hours of evidence transcribed in more than 2 000 pages of official records to reach a decision.

They will have to reach a technical conclusion on the question of whether the ANC adhered to international legal principles governing the detention of people during the conduct of a liberation war. This finding will be based on the implications of the ANC's 1980 adoption of the Geneva convention protocols relevant to national liberation movements and a code of conduct adopted at the 1985 Kabwe conference.

**B**ut the commission's most difficult task will be to sift through the chilling atrocities alleged to have been committed by ANC military and security officials who abused their positions of power to torture those at their mercy. Witness after witness testified that they had been abused by methods euphemistically known as "pompa", "coffee" and "guava juice".

The moral weight of the conclusions they reach on these matters ultimately depends on the extent to which the commission has legitimacy with that vaguely defined thing called civil society.

That the ANC and the commission were conscious of the need for legitimacy was reflected by the way in which hearings were conducted. While not a formal extension of official justice, the commission made every effort to reconstruct the atmosphere of a court of law. A suite in the FNB stadium was converted into a makeshift courtroom. Court officials cried "all rise" as the commissioners entered the room. The media were allowed full access to all the

# Motsuenyane probe will set a precedent for human rights

RAY HARTLEY

hearings and special arrangements were made to allow photographs to be taken during the sessions.

The 45 witnesses were led and cross-examined by counsel for the commission and lawyers acting for those accused of abuses. This was followed by intensive questioning by the three commissioners.

The commission was the first of its kind convened by a national liber-

ation movement to investigate allegations of abuse inside its ranks. It was, in many respects, a commission of the future, breaking the mould of previous commissions of inquiry in SA. All the commissioners, attorneys and the majority of the witnesses and defendants were black.

And yet it conformed with its predecessors in one crucial respect: those accused of abuses constructed an

elaborate wall of denial which was seldom breached. Phrases such as "I don't remember" and "that is not true" flowed freely from commanders and officials of camp 32 — the notorious Quatro detention centre in Angola. A typical question and answer session went like this:

Commissioner: Were you aware that X was held in Quatro?

Quatro official: I heard he was there, but I never saw him during my time.

Commissioner: X has claimed you tortured him during interrogation.

Quatro official: That is untrue.

Commissioner: Did you ever participate in the beating of an inmate?

Quatro official: I never did, it was against ANC policy.

Commissioner: Were you ever aware of any beatings while in Quatro?

Quatro official: I once heard that a man had been beaten up, but that was before I came to Quatro.

This contrasted with the candid evidence of some ANC officials such as deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, who testified that, according to ANC records, a man had been executed and two others beaten to death in the camps.

The commissioners are now faced with the task of having to determine the reliability of the evidence of those claiming to have been abused.

Unlike previous inquiries, such as

the ANC's internal commissions and the International Freedom Foundation's Douglas commission, the Motsuenyane commission attracted a broad range of witnesses. It heard evidence from a range of Quatro officials and former inmates alleging they were abused there.

While the Douglas commission produced a detailed account of alleged abuses, it did not hear evidence from the ANC officials named as abusers and there was no effective defence against the allegations.

The ANC's two previous commissions failed adequately to hear the evidence of those claiming to have been abused, mainly because they feared retribution or did not wish to become involved in a cover-up.

A fourth inquiry, by Amnesty International, relied on secondary evidence and also failed adequately to canvass officials directly implicated in abuses.

**T**he Motsuenyane commission will have to achieve what four previous inquiries failed to deliver: a verdict with the kind of objective credibility which no party can question. Unless this is done, the ghost of human rights violations will haunt the ANC even as it tries to win an election as a liberating force. Perhaps even more distressing, questions will continue to linger over those officials against whom allegations were made.

Should the commission fail to name the abusers, laying the basis for ANC president Nelson Mandela to fulfil his promise to remove them from positions of leadership, SA will face the unpleasant prospect of torturers and murderers being granted wider power in a new government.

But the significance of the commission's deliberations extends far beyond setting the record straight about events in the past. Their conclusions and the action the ANC takes based on them will establish a framework for the handling of human rights abuses in the future.

Whether the commission is equal to this task remains to be seen. One thing is certain, the future of human rights in SA demands a credible report and decisive action by the ANC.



From left, commissioners David Zamchiya, Sam Motsuenyane and Margaret Burnham, with a witness and lawyer Siraj Desai in front. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# ANC planning to discipline unruly members in Crossroads

□ We've decided these people must be dealt with, says Boesak

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

DISCIPLINARY action will be taken against ANC members found to have been involved in the violence in Crossroads.

This pledge was given at a church service in St George's Cathedral yesterday by the movement's regional chairman, Dr Allan Boesak.

He said: "We've decided these people must be dealt with. We can't live like this."

He said Crossroads had a tradition of violence, poverty and misery.

"In a real sense it's the tradition of Cape Town. This city must be judged by what happens in Crossroads. If there's no peace in Crossroads there's no peace in Cape Town."

He pledged his and the ANC's continued support for the settlement, adding the movement was determined to tackle the root causes of the violence.

He was angry because the violence and problems which had hit Crossroads in the 1980s were still occurring today.

"In 1981 there were warlords in Crossroads ... they are still there today. They need to be uprooted."

Poverty and inadequate housing also had to be tackled.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

**PRAYERS FOR PEACE:** ANC regional president Dr Allan Boesak, second from left, and his personal assistant Mr Calvin Smith, left, at a service for peace in St George's Cathedral yesterday.

Dr Boesak said Cape Town was too complacent about Crossroads, adding it was too easy to sit in the cathedral talking about the settlement.

Another service should be held in the settlement "so that our people will descend on Crossroads and

pledge their solidarity there".

And another reason was "so that the people causing violence will see us and we can call on them to pledge their commitment to peace publicly".

This undertaking should be given in front of residents and not only in

Western Cape Regional Peace Committee meetings.

Political organisations should also be invited to Crossroads "so that the people can see them there".

He said the ANC would like all of Cape Town to support the Goldstone Commission's investigation of the violence in Crossroads so that the truth about what was really happening in the settlement could be uncovered.

"Why is it that there are people who have no money for food, but money for guns?"

He added: "My plea is that we do not only ask the peace committee to do this, but that we as citizens of Cape Town take it upon ourselves."

Peace committee spokesman Mr Hannes Siebert said it was unfortunate that "the mothers of Crossroads who were at our meeting last Friday were afraid to speak because they feared for their lives".

Lasting peace could be achieved in the settlement only if the community elected its own local authority, decided about housing for residents and had leaders who were fair, honest and had integrity.

● Yesterday's service was convened by the Western Province Council of Churches at the request of a women's group calling itself the Mothers of Crossroads.

11A  
AUG 25/93



# News in brief

## Benny Alexander fined

PAN AFRICANIST Congress general secretary Mr Benny Alexander was yesterday fined R1 500 in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court after being found guilty of contravening the Road Traffic Act. 25/6/93

Alexander was also found guilty of failing to return a false driver's licence to the Traffic Department within 21 days. He was given a four-year suspended sentence but was acquitted on two charges of fraud and forgery. (11A). Sowetan

## Veteran journalist dies

VETERAN journalist John Dunn died of cancer in the Johannesburg Hospital yesterday morning. He was 61.

At the time of his death he was a sub-editor at *Drum* magazine. He previously worked for *The Star*, *Sunday Times* and *The Citizen*.

## Money for returnees

THE National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles has appealed to the returnees whose voluntary repatriation application form numbers are listed below, to report to the Smal Street, Johannesburg, branch of Nedbank to collect their money. In Rustenburg collect from Nedbank

The VRAF numbers are: 066683, 068987, 080661, 081141, 122026, 091044, 091046, 091135, 091137, 100434, 100831, 104282, 120287 (all in Johannesburg). The numbers in Rustenburg are 080333 and 080447.

## Suspect fit to stand trial

JOHN Beck, the man who allegedly plotted to assassinate SA Communist Party national chairman Mr Joe Slovo, was yesterday declared fit in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to stand trial. 25/6/93

Beck (38) underwent 30 days' mental observation at Weskoppies Hospital. State psychiatrist Dr PM Joubert stated that Beck suffered from psychological disorders but these did not prevent him from appreciating the wrongfulness of his actions at the time of the alleged crime or from understanding proceedings during a trial. His case was postponed to July 19. Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.

# 14 Voter education

## Cleaning up apartheid's mess

Sowetan 26/6-30/6/93



**W**HEN South Africans discuss the need for international election monitors for our elections, they often raise the issue of monitors 'helping to calm voters' fears about elections.

These fears are based on the realities that people experience. Many fear violence and intimidation, many are disillusioned and doubt elections will change anything.

Some became so used to being apathetic during apartheid, that they find it difficult to break the habit now that things are changing.

These are all symptoms of a problem which will last beyond election day.

However, elections are a recurrent event: they happen every five years or so.

Can we continually call on the international community to come to our assistance every time we have an election? Obviously not.

These problems anticipated before our first election must be solved by the time the second election comes around.

Political parties have demonstrated foresight and are addressing the "levelling of the playing fields" and the need for affirmative action.

The levelling of the playing fields refers to making up for the inequalities left behind by apartheid, which still affect the balance of power among the various political groups which will be contesting elections.

This is necessary because there are a number of national institutions which still fall under the sole control of the government.

Because the government is going to be one of the parties contesting the coming elections, this is an unfair advantage.

Levelling the playing fields is an attempt empower alternative political groupings so that they can exert some kind of control over the future of their organisations and members.

Violence, intimidation, political intolerance, fear, apathy, suspicion, mistrust, are all symptoms of underlying problems in our society which can all be traced back to apartheid.

Myron Weiner, a Ford International Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was invited to give a lecture on the topic of affirmative action by the Urban Foundation.

"I was not aware of the baggage that the term 'affirmative action' carries in this country. For some South Africans, affirmative action means 'quotas for university admissions, jobs and membership in corporate boards, based on race; while for others it means the entire range of policies intended to reduce racial and gender inequality," Weiner said.

His own definition of affirmative action is "a very selective group of policies and programmes by government and non-governmental institutions to redress the inequalities that exist within societies along racial, ethnic, gender and caste groups, especially those programmes that provide special opportunities to some people on the basis of their membership in these groups".

He also said while the term is an American one, the concept itself existed long before it acquired this label.

Weiner said a difficult factor in multi-ethnic societies is that the two goals of, firstly, reducing disparities among ethnic communities and secondly, managing ethnic conflict at the same time, are often in conflict with one another.

Affirmative action is not meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, but to bridge the gap between groups.

"Some opposition comes of course from some people who are racist and who believe that one group is superior to another," Weiner said.

"Their criticisms are of no concern to us from an intellectual point of view. The more serious concerns come from those who want to build a non-racial, caste-blind, ethnically-blind society, and who are therefore uncomfortable with the idea that benefits should be allocated on the basis of race or ethnic identity.

"There are also objections from those who are concerned that individual merit will be downgraded as the result of affirmative action policies."



**PROPHETS OF THE VOTE:** Prophets of the City, who are bringing the democracy message to Cape Town

Sowetan 26/6-30/6/93

## Rapping for the vote in Cape Town

RAPPING FOR Democracy will be back in town next month. The project, organised by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and presented by the Prophets of the City (POC), is aimed at educating students about voting.

The "Rapping for Democracy" school tour started in Soweto in May this year.

POC then spent a month in Johannesburg, covering schools in Eldorado Park, Riverlea, Coronationville and Bosmont. Eldorado Park's "Peace Party", organised by

the local Centre for Peace Action, was an all-day affair, and was a major success.

In Durban POC performed at venues in Isipingo, Chatsworth, Merebank, Mombeni and Clare Estate.

Back in Cape Town on June 7, the programme opened up in the Strand / Somerset West area, where the group "edutained" students at Strand and Gordon Secondary Schools, Mitchells Plain, Macassar, Ocean View, Hout Bay, and finally Eros in Athlone and Maitland High School.

POC departed for Copenhagen in Denmark on June 13 after a show at the Peninsula Technikon.

"Totally worth it," they said.

They are currently in Denmark at the invitation of the organisers of the "Images of Africa" concert. They return at the end of this month, when they re-start their "Rapping for Democracy" tour in and around Cape Town.

● Do you want POC to come to your school to teach you how to vote? Call Melanie or Heidi at CDS at 959-2566/2151. Literature and posters are also available.

## Equal votes for all, say South Africans

Sowetan 26/6-30/6/93

MOST South Africans believe that everybody over the age of 18 should have an equal vote, regardless of educational level, income or age, a Markinor survey conducted last year found.

From a total of 2 300 respondents, 62 percent of blacks fully agreed with this statement, 49 percent of whites agreed and 20 percent of both race groups partly agreed.

"Interestingly, more Afrikaans-speaking whites than English-speaking whites fully or partly agreed

that everyone's vote should be equal," said Ms Christine Woessner, Markinor's deputy managing director.

"It must be kept in mind, however, that the survey took place in urban areas only."

The people who gave their opinions rejected the suggestion that the vote of people paying higher income tax should count for more than the vote of people paying little or no tax.

"Not surprisingly," Woessner said, "respondents with a higher

income agreed more with this statement than those with lower incomes."

"Age-related voting was also strongly rejected by both race groups, but with greater disagreement by whites," she said.

She said the greatest conflict came with the suggestion that voting should be qualified by education.

"The issue of educational qualifications seems to evoke the strongest feeling, among both whites and blacks, that it should 'perhaps' be

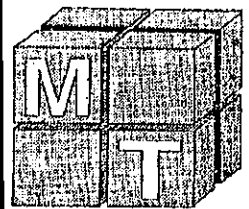
introduced."

Woessner said a system of qualified franchise is not alien to international politics. Not long ago, Americans had to pass a literacy test before they could be registered as voters, and Swiss women only received the vote in 1972.

"Now the most commonly used system is that which allows all adults to vote, provided they are not insane or have a criminal record," Woessner said.

"I wonder, will this be the case in South Africa?"

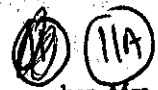
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# Women's League veteran dies

50472  
26/6 - 30/6/93.

By Shannon Neill



VETERAN ANC member Mrs Nellie Jibiliza died on June 11 at the age of 69.

She joined the ANC in Athlone in 1950 and in 1955 became the first ANC Women's League president.

She was involved in mobilising women against the pass laws, resulting in the celebrated women's march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria and in fighting for the recognition of August 9 as National Women's Day.

In 1960 Jibiliza was detained for nine months, and in 1961 she joined the Women for Peace Movement.

In 1978 she was a member of the Women's Front, and when it merged with the United Women's Organisation she was elected to the executive committee.

She was an active member in the Release Mandela Campaign and in 1990 was elected to the Women's League regional executive committee.

Her funeral will begin at 9am on Sunday 27 June at her house at NY1 no 100 in Guguletu.

# 14 Voter education

## Cleaning up apartheid's mess

Sowetan 26/6-30/6/92



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# Apla's warlord speaks out

ARC 26/6/93 (1/1)

## 'If we lose five million out of 30 million, 25 million must be freed'

### RUTH BHENGU

Argus Africa News Service

**DAR ES SALAAM** — Mr Sabelo Phama, Pan Africanist Congress secretary for defence and Azanian People's Liberation Army's commander, believes the armed struggle must be intensified rather than abandoned.

He calls those who have abandoned it "a bunch of opportunists".

Mr Phama, 44, born in Umtata, describes himself as the custodian of Apla unity. He sees it as his responsibility to ensure that the military policy of Apla is maintained, that the strategic objectives are clearly defined and that the military priorities of the movement are carried out.

According to Mr Phama it is necessary for the PAC to press on with the struggle even if more lives are lost.

"Even if we lose five million out of the 30 million, we must make sure that the other 25 million will be free. Then it will be a sacrifice worth making," he said here.

Asked whether the PAC's ideals had changed over the years, Mr Phama said: "As far as I know the PAC has not changed. That is why it is being accused of being rigid, militant and so on."

"It is simply because the ideas of decolonisation in the continent are still paramount."

"If you look at the strategic goals of the PAC, the issue of political power, the issue of land, there is no change."

"There has been a tactical change, however. For instance, there was a time when we had to have some of our cadres in the urban areas because the enemy was pushing its own serious onslaught on the townships."

"So we had to push deterrent operations because we were at the time in a strategically defensive position."

"Our tactical offensive was still very weak. But, now we are moving towards a strategically offensive position because we are moving straight into the countryside."

"This has always been our basic approach, because that is

where the enemy is at its weakest and at we are able to replenish ourselves."

Mr Phama accused the media of not presenting a true picture of the political situation.

"For instance, when there was the euphoria of the unbanning of liberation movements many people, including the media, were saying that independence is just around the corner."

"But, it does not mean that when people are freed from the small prison of Robben Island and put in the bigger prison, South Africa, they are free."

"After a few months people were able to see from the actions of the enemy that there was absolutely no change in the lives of our people."

"Some people are saying they are going to be in parliament. Even if it is the kitchen of the parliament. They say it is better than being outside."

"We as Apla could say 'Let them go through with the charade only to say: You see? We told you'. But, to call those people again and ask them to take

up arms would be a big problem."

"What we are going to do is maintain the pressure and let the minority who are prepared to accept crumbs go ahead as they did with the bantustans. Some of them even opted for independence, but there was no change. Instead, they moved from bad to worse."

"And others even refused independence, but continued to take crumbs from the master's table and that still did not work out."

Asked to explain the idea behind the Year of the Great Storm, Mr Phama said:

"This is called the stormy year because this is when people will see the serious clash (between Apla and government forces) and a clear polarisation of the reactionary, moderate line and the revolutionary, progressive one."

"Though some people were talking of an interim government, saying come 1993 we are going to have elections, there are no elections even this year and they are still a long way off."

South 266 - 306193

# Workers urged to go to World Trade Centre

WORKER rights were in "grave jeopardy" because workers were leaving their future in the hands of negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

To solve the problem, workers had to find out where the World Trade Centre was (outside Johannesburg at Kempton Park) "go there in great numbers" and make their presence felt when their future was being decided.

Mr John Copelyn, general secretary of the SA Clothing and Textile Workers Union, told a labour conference at the weekend workers had made too many sacrifices and had fought too long to become passive.

"We've gone to sleep as a trade union movement. We are always referred to the World Trade Centre and told that people at the World Trade Centre are looking after our interests."

To loud applause Copelyn reminded delegates to the conference of the story about a group of people who were told to close their eyes and pray and everything would be fine. When they opened their eyes their land was gone.

"We are being told to close our eyes and leave things to the World Trade Centre and when we open our eyes everything will be all right."



**Sheila Camerer**

Supporters of the ANC were led to believe that as long as the ANC was at the negotiating table everything would be all right. The same situation existed among National Party supporters, Copelyn said.

"Unfortunately this approach is a great discredit to the trade union movement. We have suffered too much and fought too long to be passive about our rights."

Representatives of a few negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre presented their positions on worker rights at the opening of the "Worker Rights in a Democratic SA" conference.

Professor Albie Sachs stood in for



**John Copelyn**

the ANC, Mrs Sheila Camerer for the NP and Mr Tony Leon for the Democratic Party.

After the speakers from the political organisations presented their viewpoints Mr Copelyn commented: "I am not here to stroke you, be polite and welcome you to the new South Africa. I'm on home turf!"

Copelyn said workers should be concerned about the outcome of negotiations and how it affected them in the future. He said if unions lost the right to closed shop agreements and industrial councils, political parties would not be responsible but courts would.

"If we lose our rights it won't be



**Tony Leon**

the NP or the ANC taking away those rights but court judgements. We have to be wary."

Camerer and Leon prefaced their speeches with warm thanks to Sactwu for inviting them to address the conference because, both said, it was not very often that got invited to conferences of the sort.

Camerer was put on the line after presenting the NP's position on worker rights. According to the NP charter workers have the right to go on strike but employers, at the same time, had the right to employ an alternative workforce. After some fumbling she composed herself and said:



**Albie Sachs**

"Our approach is to be fair to workers and employers."

She added the NP charter could be amended.

Sachs told the gathering that worker rights should be firmly entrenched in a future South Africa and that "no government in future, including an ANC one, can take away these fundamental worker rights".

Sachs warned, that workers should not only confine themselves to fighting for worker rights: "You should not ignore the general rights that every person is entitled to. You are all South Africans, not only workers." **RAFIQ ROHAN**

# CROSSTALK

The Inkatha Freedom party adds its voice to the debate surrounding the powers which should be given to regional government under a new constitution:

## Federalism is the road to freedom

South 2616 - 3016193

By Farouk Cassim

**F**REEDOM is not a word. It is a God-given right. If freedom comes in the day but is stolen from us in the night, we will have gone to bed free only to awake the next morning in the old chains of bondage and servitude.

The Inkatha Freedom Party wants a lifelong guarantee on freedom. The IFP believes that when men and women are free, genuinely free, only then will they concentrate on creating wealth, music, art and a stable society.

The IFP believes that you are the captain of your own destiny. You are the decision makers for the kind of roof you want over your head, the education you want for your child, the hospital you want for your community.

Decision making at the level of the people is people's power. In politics we call it subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is the bedrock of federalism.

At the end of Codesa 2 it was agreed that the powers of the regions would be entrenched in the constitution.

Professor Kader Asmal (Crosstalk June 12) is partly right about what should have followed: clarifying the respective powers that the centre and the regions should have.

I say that he is partly right because he is conditioned to the thought that once the negotiators had carved the cake between the centre and the regions everyone should have been delighted.

The question that remains is whether liberation, freedom, uhuru on the one hand and the carving up of power on the other hand, is compatible with genuine democracy.

I detect that what the ANC is saying is that there is a need to consolidate power, to increase power, to maximise power. Power, like alcohol, makes men drunk and then they are very dangerous.

The IFP seeks to curb power. Even if the IFP becomes the next government, it is vitally important to recognise that sovereignty rests in the people.

Therefore an IFP government or any other government must have adequate curbs placed on it so that it is totally free to do all the good it can for the people but that it is restricted



Farouk Cassim

from doing serious harm to the people.

Power must reside with the people, not with the representatives of the people. Too much power in the hands of politicians is the sure and shortest route to dictatorship.

Give your money to someone and it is gone. Lend it and you might get it back. Secure it and it's yours for keeps. So too, it should be with the power you have.

The IFP favours federalism because litre for litre federalism takes you further and faster on the steep road of freedom. It is like being on a jediner. Centralists are offering a bus ride to a destination which will never be reached.

We are proud to be federalists because we have an open agenda and we offer ordinary people the right to decide for themselves, not to have decisions thrust down their throats.

A free people in a free South Africa is what we seek. Freedom is power. Freedom is motivation. Freedom is the oxygen that makes pol-

itics live. Freedom is what will make South Africa the envy of Africa. Freedom is what will bring investors to our shores.

Federalism offers a belt and braces to guarantee that freedom will live and that tyranny will be tramped underfoot.

The question people ask is whether federalism is the same as confederalism. I ask if a guarantee is the same as a warranty? One is genuine, the other is a fake.

A confederation is a loony arrangement. It must be rejected by everyone in South Africa. The IFP totally and unreservedly rejects confederation as a solution for South Africa.

Confederation will undermine the gains of the struggle of the people of South Africa. It will, moreover, thwart democracy.

It was bad enough producing a passport when going through Transkei. Can you imagine how horrific it will be to travel from Cape Town to Johannesburg and to return via Dur-

ban, East London and George with six to nine border crossings?

What then does the IFP want? The party insists on a permanent union of states with specific powers devolved to the geographically defined states. The IFP wants a federal republic for South Africa like that which obtains in the USA or in Germany.

The IFP agrees that it is right and necessary that South Africa should be strong and united when facing the world and yet it should create room for democracy to be expanded and diffused within the borders of the country.

We want an indestructible union composed of indestructible states. Provided that nothing the centre does is repugnant to the states and nothing that the states do is repugnant to the centre, each sphere will have the scope to promote happiness, freedom, prosperity.

The big doubt is whether the promise of liberation, freedom, uhuru, democracy and peoples' power will materialise in South Africa. If these materialise adequately, we shall have peace and plenty in our land.

International experience shows that country after country is going the federal route. Belgium is the latest. No federal republic, on the other hand, is going the other way.

Free people don't need political bottle feeds. They resist others doing for them what they can do better for themselves.

The IFP and everyone who seeks federalism for South Africa set the following objectives for themselves:

- devolution and not delegation of powers
- subsidiarity and not subordination
- co-operation and not coercion
- unity and not autonomy
- egalitarianism and not elitism

The Inkatha view is that people must rule and not be ruled. If the struggle is won, it must be won for the widest number of people for the widest good of all.

The width of democracy is judged by the slice each citizen had in decision making. Can anyone settle for less? Can they? Can we? Should they? Should we?

*Farouk Cassim is a member of the IFP central committee, member of the IFP negotiating team and a member of parliament.*

# Nongwe accuses Press of lying in Yengeni report

DALE KNEEN ~~2~~ (11A) ~~278~~  
Weekend Argus Reporter

CROSSROADS squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe has accused the Press of inciting violence by publishing false information.

He labelled as "lies" reports that his supporters had forced African National Congress regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni out of the township.

It was reported yesterday that Mr Yengeni fled from the township in a car after youths threatened that he "must not leave Crossroads alive".

Mr Nongwe said: "We all would like peace in Crossroads and Mr Yengeni is trying to bring peace

here. It is not true that the youths wanted him out of the township."

He added that he had not seen Mr Yengeni in Crossroads yesterday and that he had merely met members of a tour organised by the Western Province Council of Churches and the Western Cape Regional Peace Committee.

"While I was talking to the church leaders I heard two shots being fired somewhere near Lansdowne Road.

"Apparently some youths had asked Mr Yengeni why he was holding a march in the township on June 19. I later told the youths that he was not bringing people to toyi-toyi, but he was bringing peace." ARG 26/6/93



# Mokaba *3 Times* in hot *27/6/93* water again

By SHARON CHETTY

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba is in hot water with the National Executive Committee for making public his league's choice for the position of ANC deputy president.

Mr Mokaba said international affairs director Thabo Mbeki was being punted as heir apparent to ANC president Nelson Mandela. (11A)

Deputy president Walter Sisulu was expected to become ANC chairman to make way for Mr Mbeki, Mr Mokaba said.

However, PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday no such debate was taking place within the ANC and Mr Mokaba had violated the NEC's code of conduct by speaking out.

Mr Sexwale said the Youth League made the suggestion at a recent NEC meeting, but it was set aside and Mr Sisulu's position was reaffirmed.

He said the NEC still had to decide on what action, if any, would be taken against Mr Mokaba.

Vacancies exist on the NEC following the deaths of Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani, and the resignation of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Meanwhile, Mr Mokaba, has asked the youth to help turn townships into tourist attractions, reports EZRA MANTINI

He said youths needed to bury their anger against apartheid and grow flowers as a sign of peace.

"I hate violence. It only brings death and destruction. That is why I want the youth to help turn the townships into safe havens for tourists from the suburbs and from abroad."



**HEAVYWEIGHTS ... AWB marchers forced their way past police and occupied the World Trade Centre negotiating chambers where they tore up documents and painted graffiti calling for one land for "the people". Some displayed their weapons for news cameras and others draped their "swastika" flags over cameramen.** ■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

CIPREAD 27/6/93

# FW is warned: DO SOMETHING!

IF THE government failed to take immediate action by arresting the rightwing leaders who led the destructive march on the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday, the ANC might be consider arming its cadres to protect them during negotiations, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has warned.

Addressing a media conference after assessing the damage caused by thousands of rightwingers at the negotiations centre

on Friday, Mandela said State President FW de Klerk assured him during their telephone conversation after the right-wing siege that the arrest of culprits would begin on Friday night.

## Rampage

But by late yesterday no one had been arrested.

The march was led by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) co-ordinator Gen Constand

Viljoen and CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg.

The PAC adviser at the negotiations, Barney Desai, indicated that his organisation might review its participation in the talks in the light of Friday's rampage (11A)

He said he and other delegates were trapped inside the building for almost three hours during the right-wing siege.

"Our call for a neutral venue under neutral chairmanship with the participation of the international community has been vindicated by today's events," Desai said.

Mandela lashed out at

Hartzenberg for participating in the march and said as the leader of an official opposition in parliament and a signatory to Tuesday's declaration of cessation of hostilities, he should have known better. (334A)

Mandela said the ANC had declared Thursday, July 1, a national day of action in defence of democracy. (344)

## Hooded

"On this day we call on all our people, from every walk of life ... to join us in nationwide demonstra-

tions, rallies and marches," Mandela said.

During Friday's fracas several delegates to the planning committee of the Negotiating Council, including the National People's Party leader, Amichand Rajbansi, were assaulted by hooded rightwingers.

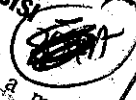
ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and the leader of the SACP at the talks, Joe Slovo, sought refuge at the government offices in the building.

Journalists, mainly black, were also subjected to harassment.

Political comment and news items by K Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by B Kwaas, both of 2 Harb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

# Today CP... tomorrow ANC!

By **MONWABISI  
NOMADOLO**



UNTIL about a month ago he was a CP diehard, now — after dining with black leader Dr. Nthato Motlana — he intends joining the ANC.

"That is a great son of SA. I was impressed by him," he said about Motlana this week.

For Helmut Lachmann the change of heart has been incredibly dramatic.

Firstly, he never allowed blacks into his "whites only" Studio One Furniture shop on the East Rand, but has since reversed his decision.

Like Paul from Damascus, he later denounced his "hatred for blacks" as being "unjustifiable".

"I want to uplift people's lives in Daveyton and Soweto by job creation and housing. I want to promote communal farming," Lachmann said, adding that self-reliance was significant.

## Interested

"If we want to live in this country, we must live together," he said authoritatively.

He said emphasis should be put on educating blacks in skills like plumbing.

"You can't say to a man he stinks when he does not have warm water," Lachmann said.

"We must reconcile, see value in each other. Hatred has no place in a nation."

About his political past in the CP?

"I'm not interested anymore," he said.

"What about right-wing friends?"

"I don't care a damn if they cannot take it," said Lachmann.

He intends joining the ANC to "create peace" in the country.

"Peace is easy to achieve if you want peace," he said, adding that he intended phoning ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba to tell him to stop shouting the "Kill the farmer. Kill the boer" slogan and change it to something like "Love the farmer. Kiss the boer".

# MK men slam 'ANC nepotism'

CIPRESS 27/6/95

By ZANELE VUTELA

**W**ARNING signals flashed for the ANC leadership this week

after disgruntled Umkhonto weSizwe leaders on the East Rand broke open a can of complaints, bringing simmering internal dissent into the open.

Dumisani Mjekula (alias Zonile Didike) the commander of MK's KwaThema, Duduza and Tsakane zone on the East Rand, told City Press a "special message" containing complaints and demands had been delivered to Nelson Mandela.

The MK officer was interviewed in the company of five other MK members including Andrew Phiri, a member of the zonal command structure.

Mjekula described the men as "dedicated members of the ANC". He said the press had been approached because the soldiers "wanted people to know what was happening".

His group had demanded that:

- Winnie Mandela be returned to the ANC leadership;
- The ANC addresses the plight of MK members; and
- The ANC holds a conference prior to the general election.

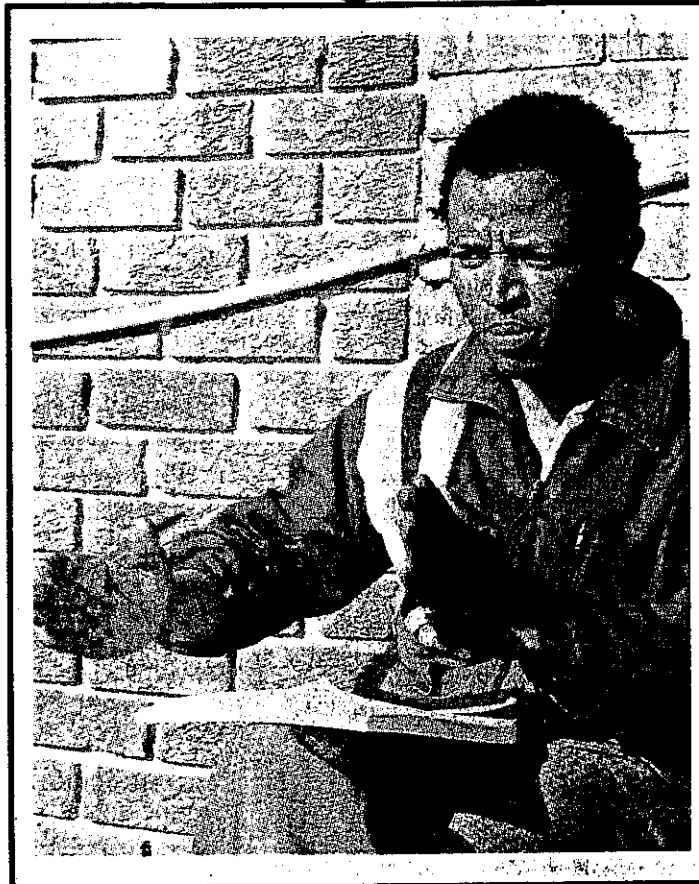
He said that going public could be costly as there were "people who will try to harm us".

He said: "We are speaking out because we value life and these are realities that must be addressed."

He said: "The ANC's position towards Winnie Mandela is very unfair. She was forced out of the National Executive Committee when there are people within the ANC, indeed in most parties, who have authorised killings, but still maintain positions of leadership and are negotiating SA's future."

In the past 27 years Winnie Mandela had increased the membership of the ANC and that of MK and had "helped so many families who were destitute, homeless and whose children could not go to school. Her position at this stage must be in the struggle and in the leadership".

"When Nelson Mandela came out of prison he glorified the role of the youth in the struggle, especially that of MK and, when the leadership took the decision to suspend the armed struggle, the cadres were



**DISCARDED ... East Rand MK leader Dumisani Mjekula protested to Nelson Mandela.** ■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

promised that they would be given the necessary help to resettle if they came home.

"Now its different, the people who are being accommodated are in the leadership and they live a luxurious life that even the white working class cannot afford. They take their children to the most expensive schools while we are hungry and cold. Two years after coming home we still wear the second-hand clothes that we wore in exile."

"When soldiers come back from war they are given something. Even blacks got matchbox houses when they came back from World War 2 and our grandfathers got red bicycles, boots and coats when they returned from the First World War."

He said some cadres had died and their destitute families had been given no help with the burials. Instead, they were told the ANC was "not a burial society".

The ANC had only provided cash for the burial of one cadre whose family were destitute but only after the cadres had threatened to take the body to the ANC's Jo'burg headquarters.

He said it took three weeks to bury one Mazambane of Thembisa - and only after neighbours had donated money.

He said members of his zone had staged a sit-in at the ANC's Shell House head office on May 13 where they met with Nelson Mandela, Joe Nhlanhla and Joe Modise. The MK men had presented Mandela with a 10-point memorandum which dealt with their lack of accommodation, housing, food, shelter, employment and reintegration into their communities.

The leaders had promised to look into their problems. "We are still waiting," he said.

"The ANC leadership has been sharing among itself the millions that were collected for returning exiles."

"The leadership and its surrogates are living in the suburbs because they are running away from the violence."

"They only want to come in the morning when the dust has settled and the corpses are lying all over and say: 'We condemn ...'"

"They live in town because they have become rich ... they don't want people to see that they have become bourgeois."

However, ANC information department official Ronnie Mamoepa rejected the allegations.

He told City Press it was untrue the ANC was doing nothing for returned exiles.

The ANC had emphasised skills training for those who did not have the opportunity to acquire skills in exile.

Mamoepa said the ANC had also placed emphasis on educating the children of returned exiles. It had placed 1 992 of their kids in primary schools, 721 in secondary schools, 192 at technical and vocational institutes and 255 at universities.

He said the ANC had also assisted people in getting jobs and accommodation for those who did not have families.

Mamoepa said the ANC had set up self-help projects. There were sewing projects in Soweto, Germiston and Springs. After training, the women were provided with sewing machines to start their own businesses.

He said following the NCCR's collapse, the ANC's welfare department had provided financial assistance for those whose who needed it, although he said: "We expected the UN High Commission for Refugees to assume its task of resettling returning exiles."

Mjekula also alleged that the ANC had a tendency "to put people it has confirmed as agents of the government in top positions without explanation".

He mentioned the name of one Mshengu whom he said was denounced officially by Oliver Tambo as having been "a highly trained enemy agent since 1975".

"When we were repatriated, this man was made Chris Hani's secretary when Chris was Chief of Staff. There are many like him."

The ANC's security department declined to comment on this claim.

Mjekula maintained that the country could not afford to go into the future while some NEC members still held office.

He said the ANC had to hold a conference before the elections where changes had to be made to the leadership and departments had to be restructured in order to end rampant nepotism.

Mamoepa said a national conference was due to be held next June, which was "the regular time for conferences, unless the NEC decides otherwise".

By SEKOLA SELLO

**A**NC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi tried hard to exude an air of camaraderie this week.

They shook hands, beamed heartily for the cameras and tried to be as happy as punch as they stood before a phalanx of media corps and observers at the Lutheran Church conference hall in Bonaero Park, Kempton Park, this week.

But even the best choreographed act could not hide the strains, nay, the widening gulf between the two at both a personal and inter-party level.

Although both organisations renewed their commitment to political tolerance and peaceful co-existence at the end of this week's peace summit, the second in as many years, hopes of both organisations' members smoking the peace-pipe look dimmer.

Scratching a little deeper into the impeccable veneer of reasonableness both leaders displayed at the summit, the unpalatable reality is that differences between the two organisations are getting deeper, wider and more complex.

The 10-member negotiations planning committee had a full grasp of these deepening differences when it proposed, a few hours after the inconclusive Mandela-Buthelezi meeting, the postponement of a crucial Multi-Party Negotiating Forum meeting.

The forum meeting, which would have come two days after the Mandela-Buthelezi talks, was expected to endorse April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic elections.

The date, proposed by the Multi-Party Negotiating Council and favoured by the ANC and its Patriotic Front allies, is strongly opposed by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group.

The Inkatha leader warned on TV soon after his meeting with Mandela of an Angolan-type civil war in this country if the issue of federalism (which Inkatha and Cosag favour) was not resolved before elections.

There was no mistaking Buthelezi's move. It was calculated to pre-empt any decision the forum was expected to make on the election date and clearly challenged Mandela's assertion at their joint press conference



**WIDE GAP . . .** Hours after the Mandela-Buthelezi summit the Inkatha leader was warning on TV of an "Angolan-type situation".

■ Pic: ANDRIES MCINEKA

# ALL TALK, NO ACTION

that the ANC and its allies were in a "strong position to carry the day on this issue".

Even the government, which is in agreement with the ANC on the provisional election date, seems to sense this deepening problem. Following the postponement of the forum meeting, a government spokesman is reported to have stated that "there could not have been fruitful discussions on Friday (election D Day) as no meaning-

ful proposals could have been made to the forum".

With the country's first democratic elections already on the horizon, the gap between Inkatha and the ANC can only widen. This, tragically, is likely to express itself in more bloodshed.

The extent of this gap, and the growing complexity of their relations, was illustrated when both sides admitted that merely meeting - even without an

agreement being made - was a great achievement.

Yet any agreement would have sent a powerful message to the soldiers on the ground that a new understanding is emerging between the senior political leadership.

No one expected that the conclusion of the talks would usher in a new spirit of friendship, but there had been a ray of hope that at least there could be agreement on a few important

served.

The undertaking calls on the two parties to - among other things - refrain from vilifying each other, recognising the right of each party to exist and holding joint political rallies.

In spite of the good intentions of the Durban agreement, the last two years since it was signed have seen an estimated 7 000 people perish in political violence attributed largely to the rivalry between the two parties.

Such is the fragile nature of the undertaking that Buthelezi could easily ignore it a few hours after it was made and, in what has become customary of him, warn TV viewers of impending civil war in the country if federalism was not entrenched in the constitution before elections.

Talk of civil war flies in the face of this week's principles, which, among other things, state that "none among us should see it necessary, no matter how serious the point of disagreement, to resort to violence".

Some of the issues on the

agenda at the Mandela-Buthelezi talks were equally illuminating. To outsiders, the summit was principally about peace and reducing the level of violence between the two parties.

It does not seem like a lot of time and energy was expended on these issues. Instead, extraneous subjects which rightly belong to the forum, such as an election date, seem to have taken up much of the discussions.

Mandela acknowledged that the most contentious issue had been the question of an election. He said the two parties would have to hammer out this question in order to obtain a position.

"Although there was no breakthrough in this respect we hope that in the next few weeks we will increase movement in sorting out this problem."

It will take a lot more than a few good words from the leadership of the two parties to resolve these deepening differences. As things stand, the best that can be said about the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting is that it took place. To credit it with anything more would be misleading.

C/Press 27/6/93

(IIP) (BIB)

(SSETT)

# SA's first black Nat gets his stamp of approval

CIPress 27/6/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO

HAVING traversed almost the entire political landscape - from the ANC, to the Liberal Party, to Inkatha and recently the NP - Daniel Makhanya finally has something to show for it.

This week Makhanya was capped as the first black person to be a member of the Natal Executive Committee (NEC) - thanks to his membership of the National Party.

Makhanya, who runs an industrial relations firm in Isipingo near Durban, was appointed to his new position by State President FW de Klerk and inducted this week by the Judge president of Natal, Justice Howards, in Maritzburg.

The 57-year-old Makhanya, who signed up for the NP in 1991, says his



**DANIEL MAKHANYA**

■ Pic: SUNDAY TRIBUNE

appointment shows the NP's commitment to a future government comprising blacks and whites.

"This is putting their words into action. This is a challenge because I see myself as an ambassador of blacks in the province. These people (blacks) have been neglected for

years and now they are going to be attended to," he told City Press.

He said: "I think my visibility has come about because I understand the policies of the Nats and I am able to explain them to people in a way they will understand."

The Natal executive committee runs the province as an arm of the government operating at a regional level.

It provides a vast range of essential services to Natalians and attempts to assist in the regional economy.

Makhanya, who has a business background, sees his role as an MEC as one of integrating blacks into the mainstream of business.

"It is a pity that blacks are not as aggressive on economics as they are in politics. I want to focus on

economic upliftment."

At the time of going to press Makhanya had not been informed of what portfolio he would receive.

Makhanya cut his teeth in politics with the ANC Youth League in the '50s. He joined the Liberal Party in the '60s after the banning of the ANC.

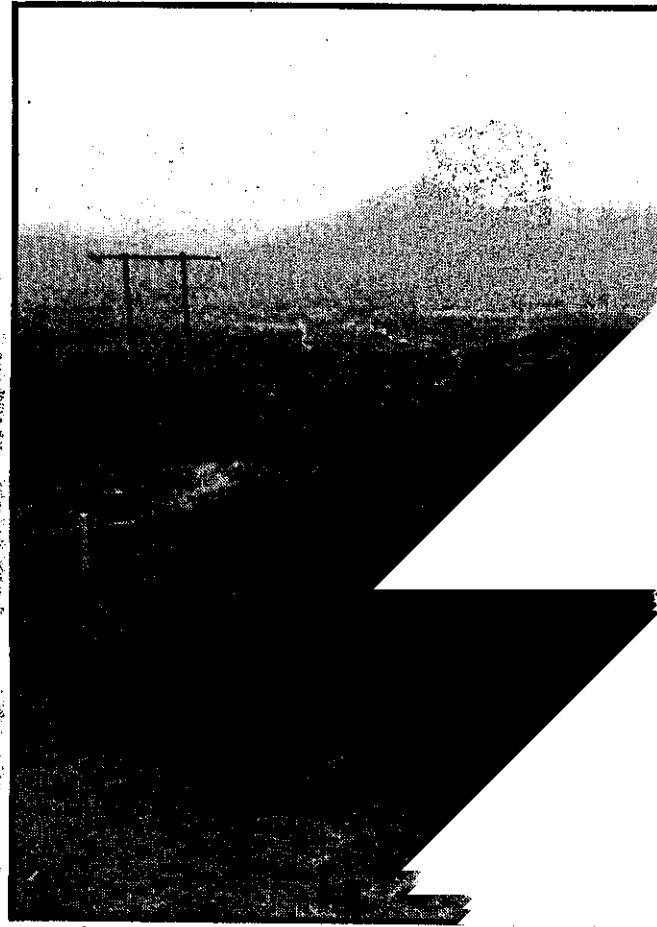
In the '70s he threw in his lot with Inkatha and in the '90s became one of the first blacks to switch to the NP.

He said: "I do not support the NP because of their past 45 years, but rather for their planned future changes. They have also admitted that they made mistakes. I also want a party that is experienced."

Makhanya says he has been fairly well received by Nats in Amanzimtoti.

# CHIEF WITH AN OPEN AGENDA

CIPress 27/6/93



ALLIES ... KwaXimba chief Zibuse Mlaba (forefront) Inkatha-supporting neighbouring KwaNyevu clan.

By SIPHO KHUMALO

DIMUNITIVE chief Zibuse Mlaba, who reigns over the hilly Ximba tribal valley in the Natal Midlands, is a different kind of ruler.

While chiefs in Natal have often been seen as symbols of the old order and a bulwark against the ANC's growing influence in the region, Mlaba is not like that at all.

The 33-year-old Mlaba, chief of more than 70 000 tribespeople, does not subscribe to those views. Instead, he sees himself as an agent of peace and progress in his area.

Mlaba is not popular with the KwaZulu government because he has not only associated himself with the ANC, but also holds a position in its Natal Midlands executive committee.

Mlaba is also Natal secretary for the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa). KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has recently warned chiefs about Contralesa, calling it an "ANC front".

Mlaba's neighbour, chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo of Table Mountain, who was also a prime mover behind Contralesa, was assassinated in 1991. Mlaba took over from his brother, Bhekumsinga Mlaba, who was hacked to death in 1988.

'My  
people  
learned  
how to  
develop  
on their  
own'

However, despite being an active ANC leader, Mlaba lives in harmony with neighbouring Inkatha chiefs.

Because Mlaba is an ANC supporter, he receives no support from the KwaZulu government.

He said: "The people of KwaXimba have learnt to develop themselves through their efforts. We

are a strong community who believe in self-reliance. People have learnt to be on their own," says Mlaba.

Mlaba is not only concerned with organising chiefs for both Contralesa and ANC, but he also cares about the development of his people.

A fortnight ago Mlaba officially unveiled a water project he brokered with the Umgeni Water Board and the Joint Services Board. The project, to pump clean water into the valley, will cost R10-million. Mlaba has also negotiated with the Independent Development Trust to help finance development of the area.

Eskom is currently busy with the electrification of the area while Telkom has installed more than 3 000 telephones.

Senior tribesman Kwenza Mlaba, an attorney, said: "He is the most popular chief in this area. This is because when he was enthroned there was a lot of violence in the area, but he worked tirelessly to stop it.

"Now he has been concentrating on developing the community. This has endeared him to the people."

For the ceremony to celebrate fresh and clean water, Mlaba chose a very symbolic venue - a small strip of land which used to be the battlefield between his people and those of neighbouring KwaNyevu and its Inkatha chief Bangubukhosi Mdluli.

Fighting is now a thing of the past between the two groups.

Mlaba had arranged a peace meeting with Mdluli and a long-lasting deal was worked out.

At the water ceremony Mdluli, who was at Ulundi, sent a delegation of his senior headmen to represent him.

Why does Mlaba want chiefs to join the ANC?

He said: "I think it is important that chiefs should be exposed to all political views. For the ANC it is also crucial that their position is explained to the chiefs. We need to map out a possible role that they could play in a new South Africa."

S. Times 27/1/69  
**ANC rapped**

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said a threat by Mr Matthew Phosa that an ANC government would "purge" the SAP was "unfortunate and irresponsible".

Mr Kriel was commenting on a report in the Sunday Times last weekend, in which Mr Phosa said one of the first acts of an ANC government would be to draw the files of all policemen to identify "those who have blood on their hands". (11A) (S)

Mr Kriel said the threat of a "witch hunt" was "certainly not the way to ensure loyalty" and could "jeopardise our endeavours to attain a democracy".

porters, Daily Telegraph and



# A sweet and



SMILES AND SCOWLS . . . Nelson Mandela and Magosuthu Buthelezi at the summit Pictures: JOE SEFALE

S Times 27/6/93

# sour summit

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE nine-hour summit behind closed doors this week between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to establish a peace truce between their warring parties was conducted in an atmosphere of gracious cordiality.

But the two leaders, who addressed each other throughout as Madiba (Mandela) and Shenge (Buthelezi) — terms of great respect — failed to reach agreement on three crucial issues which would have strengthened constitutional talks.

## Powers

A thick file of past complaints and grievances against the ANC was tabled and then ignored after a reconciliatory statement by Mr Mandela.

But while the meeting established more cordial terms between the leaders, buried the past and laid parameters for establishing a peaceful relationship, three issues need to be resolved.

Despite a proposal by Mr Mandela that Mr Buthelezi agree to a conditional election date of April 27 next year, Mr Buthelezi insisted the thorny question of region-

alism had to be resolved first.

This was despite hours of argument which left Mr Mandela hoarse.

Mr Buthelezi would also not agree to the principle of establishing a transitional executive council until its powers and functions had been agreed to.

But delegates were confident the outstanding constitutional issues which would have contributed to breaking the deadlock at multi-party talks would be resolved in the agreed-to bilateral talks between the parties' negotiators.

A third issue still disputed concerned dangerous weapons.

While the two agreed that dangerous weapons should be banned at political rallies, Mr Buthelezi

could not agree that traditional weapons were part of this category.

A delegate at the talks said Mr Mandela asked Mr Buthelezi why it was now necessary to carry traditional weapons when it had not been necessary when they addressed meetings together in the 50s.

Mr Buthelezi's response was that a Zulu could not be deprived of his traditional weapon.

Peace negotiator and ANC executive committee member Sydney Mufamadi said he believed the successes of the meeting were downplayed by disappointment over the failure to reach agreement on the April 27 election date.

Eleven crucial issues that set the parameters for building peace among the

members of the two parties included:

- Commitment to strengthening the Peace Accord and an endorsement of a meeting of signatories to ratify new proposals on peace;

- Commitment to free political activity and the rejection of no-go areas;

- Commitment to the principle of freedom of assembly in the framework of guidelines set for mass action by the Peace Accord. This was particularly significant, given Inkatha's opposition to mass action;

## Disputes

- Agreement in principle to reach agreement on a constitutional framework for dealing with armed formations. This was also important for both parties as it was an agreement to resolve their dispute over the existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Kwazulu Police;

- Commitment to resolving disputes in the Peace Accord;

- Commitment in principle to the concept of a peace corps;

- Commitment to strengthening and establishing joint liaison structures;

- Commitment to symbolic visits and joint rallies; and

- Bilateral constitutional talks.

# Running around the rules

SI Times 27/6/93

11A  
~~203~~

AMEEN AKHALWAYA reports on a new fad sweeping SA

INSTEAD of roasting him, we should be toasting Herman Mathee. The Belville runner (easy rider?) has unwittingly given us a hitherto elusive word to describe an infectious South African fad. It's called Matheeism.

Matheeism, more refined than jumping on the bandwagon, means joining the treasure hunt when it's nearly over to pick up gold at the end of the rainbow.

Herman Mathee, it will be recalled, has been stripped of his Comrades gold medal for alleged cheating. Organisers claim he slipped into the race two-thirds of the way to the finishing line in Durban.

Mathee insists he ran the race from Maritzburg.

Well, if he didn't, shouldn't we honour him? After all, substantially more individuals and organisations than Comrades participants are involved in Matheeism.

Let's start with white

Matheeists. Except for those to the right of the National Party, finding anyone who flirted with apartheid, never mind supported it, is as difficult as picking out Mathee at the half-way mark of the Comrades.

Progs or DPs, who swear they fought apartheid step by step while propping up apartheid institutions such as Parliament, will not admit they served in the SADF. They were conscientious objectors or dodged the call-up.

All these white Matheeists have been sprinting towards a non-racial democracy since the starter's gun was fired a century or so ago, if we believe them.

In the mid-80s, black consciousness fell out of favour when the United Democratic Front took the lead with its ethnic affiliations, brandishing the ANC's baton of non-racialism. Such is the I've-always-been-non-racial fervour that these Matheeists

are known to have omitted their BC membership from their CVs.

The PAC was never going to talk to the settler regime unless the indaba was to negotiate handing power to the blacks and was held abroad. The PAC Matheeists have joined the multi-party talks because they aren't Codesa — and the World Trade Centre is aptly named as an international venue, isn't it?

Bantustan Matheeists never supported apartheid. Naturally. They were coerced into accepting ethnic legislative assemblies (and the attendant big bucks) by those horrid Nats.

SACP Matheeists, who applauded Stalin, his anti-democratic successors and their self-enriching economic bureaucracy and then condemned Gorbachev for selling out, are among the most vociferous champions of a liberal South African democracy and a mixed economy.

Matheeism is everywhere. Big business Matheeists, who exploited black workers and did little to promote them to senior positions on merit, are gold medal favourites for championing affirmative action.

They are also said to be tripping over themselves as they beat a path to the ANC's door to offer help with post-race celebrations.

Behind the door, ANC Matheeists, having sipped the sponsor's refreshments at remotely located watering holes, are linking hands with big business as they run around the cake of a democratic economy.

We're becoming a nation of Matheeists. So come on, you Comrades spoil sports. Give Herman Mathee back his gold medal. He deserves it as the symbol of the Matheist new South Africa.

□ Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of *The Indicator*

# SABC: FW 31 Times 2-11-93 sees Mandela

By CHARIS PERKINS

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are locked in debate on how to solve the new SABC board's legitimacy crisis.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said on Friday he had held separate discussions with Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to convey the board's suggestion that the crisis be referred to a technical committee at the multi-party forum.

"They were not keen on the idea and said they would talk to one another about the situation," Dr Slabbert said.

However, 20 minutes before the second board meeting on Friday, Dr Slabbert learnt the two leaders were still continuing discussions.

He denied a Campaign for Independent Broadcasting statement that he had sought Mr Mandela's approval to stay on as board chairman.

At the SABC board meeting this week, members decided to invite Dr Enos Mabuza and Mr Franklin Sonn to reconsider their decisions to stand down. Dr Mabuza and Mr Sonn refused to serve on the board because they were only nominated after Mr de Klerk's intervention.

Acting chairman Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri said the board had not discussed the legitimacy crisis during Friday's meeting.

The CIB said it was "profoundly concerned" the board had not discussed this issue as requested by the CIB.

● See Page 21

# Military men agree to form peace force

SI Times 27/6/93

(11A)

By EDYTH BULBRING

The SADF's top generals and Umkhonto we Sizwe military commanders have already agreed to a key demand by political parties following the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre this week.

In a series of secret meetings in recent weeks, delegations led by SADF chief Kat Liebenberg and MK Commander Joe Modise agreed to the establishment of a national peace-keeping force which will police the run-up to elections.

Several of the participants at the World Trade Centre talks have insisted on multi-party control of the SADF and all the country's armed formations in the period leading up to elections.

They reiterated this demand following the SAP's perceived unwillingness or inability to prevent the right-wing assault on the World Trade Centre.

While the generals have agreed that the peace force, a body of possibly 5 000 to 7 000 people, will comprise the best personnel from all the country's police forces and armed formations, their proposals first need to be endorsed by the multi-party forum.

The generals are discussing the involvement of an international agency in an intensive training programme for the peace force and its involvement in the command structure, which would include senior

□ To Page 2

## SI Times Peace force

□ From Page 1 (11A)

officials of all the participating formations.

The generals have agreed the peace-keeping force will fall under the multi-party sub-council of defence. This sub-council will have political executive control over all armed formations in the country.

While they have ruled out operational control, or interference in the day-to-day running of the individual armies, the generals have agreed there will be a code of conduct for armed formations in the run-up to elections.

The sub-council on defence will also be able to control policy of the armed formations and ensure they are subordinate to the sub-council rather than individual political parties.

Once the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-council on defence have been established, various "confidence-building" measures will be taken to prepare the armed forces for integration into a new defence force.

General Liebenberg confirmed yesterday he was holding bilateral meetings with MK but declined to comment further.

Mr Modise also declined to comment. 27/6/93

# Tricks and tips to help win votes

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

SMOKING, eating or chewing are out for vote canvassers, and some dirty tricks are fine against "the enemy" — the NP.

So says the ANC in a 130-page manifesto of advice on winning the forthcoming elections.

In the document's etiquette section, the ANC has banned the use of "struggle" words such as "dynamics" or "regime" by party workers.

Canvassers have also been told not to drink before going out to win votes as the smell of alcohol creates a bad impression, and to accept any food or non-alcoholic drinks offered by the people they are visiting.

## Puppets

"Never lose your temper, never use bad language and never use physical force unless you have to defend yourself," the ANC advises.

Tricks to be used against the opposition include "overloading" by, for example, getting 500 people to descend on a health clinic "to show how inadequate the service is" — and exposing opposition candidates with a history of corruption or who have been "puppets".

However, the manifesto warns party workers to avoid a favourite old NP electioneering trick — disrupting meetings and using violence.

# ANC is new home to former loyal AWB supporter

By JOHANNES NGCOBO

A FEW years ago, Mrs Petra Burrill was an AWB member at war with the ANC. Today, she proudly carries the ANC's membership card.

"The ANC is my new home," said Mrs Burrill of Kempton Park. "I have realised that for years I was swimming in a bath full of hatred and racism."

She told this week how she had changed her loyalties after meeting members of the ANC's Kempton Park branch.

She said that for years, whites had been "denied an opportunity to listen to reasonable people" like ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

"But since I joined the ANC at the beginning of the year, I have discovered that black people are very kind and more religious than AWB members," she added.

## Sacked

Mrs Burrill said an incident in which AWB members chanted racist slogans in her neighbourhood last December was the last straw.

The incident happened while she and her husband were in a meeting with SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union officials.

Her husband has since been sacked from Bophuthatswana's airline, Bopair, because he refused to accept changes in his conditions of service.



PETRA BURRILL  
Indoctrinated

Mrs Burrill is now on an indefinite hunger strike to protest against the sacking.

She said that during her days as a staunch AWB member, she was "indoctrinated to hate blacks and Jews".

Now she was scared that the AWB would seek revenge for her move. "Once you join the AWB, you are not allowed to resign."

Mrs Burrill was among those who protested against a visit to the ANC in Dakar in 1987 by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

The ANC was banned at the time and Mrs Burrill was among those who called on Dr Slabbert and his entourage to be charged with treason "for meeting communists".

But that is all in the past now and Mrs Burrill is optimistic about the new South Africa.

27/6/87

# ANC youth 'must learn to shoot'

Councillor pays tribute at funeral

Staff Reporter

CITY councillor Mrs Eulalie Stott was one of the speakers at the funeral of ANC veteran Mrs Nellie Jibiliza in Guguletu yesterday.

Mrs Stott said she had known Mrs Jibiliza since the early 1950s, when she (Mrs Stott) had been in the Black Sash and Mrs Jibiliza had fought against the introduction of passes for women.

"I am sure Nellie's life was not in vain," she said.

Mr Roseberry Sonto, secretary-general of the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) in the Western Cape, said at the funeral that Mrs Winnie Mandela had joined Sanco as an ordinary member and had been elected to its highest echelons.

By PETER DENNEHY

ANC Youth League members must learn to shoot so they could defend the government of national unity and the constituent assembly, ANC regional general secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said yesterday.

He was addressing a Youth League rally in the Mbekweni Stadium, Paarl, attended by at least 5 000 people who had gathered partly in the hope of hearing Sanco leader Mrs Winnie Mandela, Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba, and Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala.

These three had still not arrived at the rally after 5pm, when the crowd was dispersing, although their names appeared on posters advertising the "2pm" event. Various speakers said during the afternoon that the reason for the "delay" was not known.

In his speech, Mr Yengeni said the state's reaction to Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park by armed Afrikaner Volksfront

members would have been very different had they been MK members.

"We must not wait until the Boers come and kill us. It is clear they are preparing for war. We must also prepare ourselves to defend our negotiations and our leadership," Mr Yengeni said.

"All the (youth league) structures should have programmes of teaching people how to use guns," Mr Yengeni said. "There is a possibility that tomorrow our leadership will be arrested again, that there will be a state of emergency again."

Mr Yengeni did not sing the controversial "Kill the Boer, the farmer" song, even when the audience started to sing it spontaneously themselves. Just before that, Mr Yengeni had said the phrase was part of a song that came from the people. He also said: "We in the Western Cape say, 'Hands off Peter Mokaba'."

A moment's silence was observed at the rally as a mark of respect for ANC Women's League veteran "Aunty Nellie" Jibiliza, who died recently.

# Battle of the 'cr

■ ON August 8, the ANC National Executive Committee will meet behind closed doors to consider a request by the ANC Youth League that deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu make way for international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki. But there are others who stand in the wings ... DENNIS

CRUYWAGEN of the Political Staff, examines the 'crown princes'.

**F**OUR of the ANC's Young Turks, each with loads of charm, charisma and confidence, have been thrown into a leadership battle which will culminate in one becoming the second most powerful man in the movement.

On August 8, the ANC National Executive Committee will meet behind closed doors to consider a request by the ANC Youth League that deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu make way for international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Sisulu, at 80 one of the grand old men of liberation politics, is a founder member of the league which has thrown its weight behind Mr Mbeki.

But he is not the only player in the political power game which the league has started.

**O**THER front-runners, according to ANC insiders, are Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak, general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

Outsiders include ANC education head Ms Cheryl Carolus, information chief Dr

Pallo Jordan and treasurer Mr Jacob Zuma.

The real battle for Mr Sisulu's position, though, will be between Mr Mbeki, Mr Sexwale, Dr Boesak and Mr Ramaphosa.

Serious lobbying on behalf of each is understood to have started and the tempo is likely to increase as August draws nearer.

Of the four, Mr Mbeki has been involved in a previous election battle at national level. Two years ago he and the late Mr Chris Hani emerged as the favourites for the deputy leadership.

The battleground was the campus of the University of Durban-Westville, where the ANC was holding its first legal conference in South Africa since Mr De Klerk legalised it in 1990.

**B**UT an election showdown, which would have pitted various factions against one another, was avoided and Rivonia Trialist Mr Sisulu was nominated and elected deputy to Mr Nelson Mandela, one of the men with whom he founded the ANC Youth League in the 1950s.

At the time his election was seen as a compromise. But he is held in high esteem in the ANC for uniting the movement's exiles, underground personnel, Robben Island and internal leadership which helped to form the United Democratic Front.

Effective as Mr Sisulu might have been, it is generally agreed in the ANC that a younger man should take over as the movement prepares to face the National Party and others in next year's election.

His successor will be Mr Mandela's heir apparent and much more than a figurehead. He will be expected to

be a livewire personality who will lessen Mr Mandela's heavy workload and play a key role in elections.

Above all, the new deputy president must come from the younger generation, and be able to bridge the gap between the exiles, Mass Democratic Movement leadership and the older generation.

He will also be charged with the responsibility of leading the ANC once Mr Mandela goes.

Thus he would have to be comfortable with the Press and able to reach out to other race groups and assure them they have nothing to fear from an ANC-led government.

It was the sort of role seemingly cut out for Chris Hani. But an assassin robbed him of the chance to become Mr Mandela's right hand man, a position which some say was rightfully his.

**O**F the four crown princes, Mr Mbeki seems to have been groomed for power by former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo for whom he often wrote speeches.

Said to be South Africa's next foreign minister, the suave, sharp and friendly Mr Mbeki has all the right credentials to be a serious challenge for the deputy leader position.

He was born into a struggle family. His father, Rivonia Trialist Mr Govan Mbeki was incarcerated on Robben Island, and he chose to join the ANC in exile.

But correct political lineage should not count too much these days in a movement at pains to show it is fully democratic. Also, in some circles, it is said Mr Mbeki is seldom seen on the ground when it comes to the

struggles of ordinary people.

It is also claimed he is too intellectual and a high-flyer without a constituency.

Mr Sexwale has become probably the most popular and visible ANC leader since Mr Hani's death on Easter Saturday. He is often seen on television, loudhailer in one hand, trying to defuse a flashpoint.

Confident and handsome, his is the kind of personality which many find reassuring.

He is also a seasoned guerrilla who was imprisoned on Robben Island for more than a decade. He can be tough if the occasion demands it. His stakes should have risen following the rightwing's audacity at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

**A**T a time when the militant Pan Africanist Congress refuses to renounce armed struggle, he has the military presence and background to counter the PAC making inroads into the militant black youth.

There was a time when it appeared that the political sun would not go down on former UDF patron Dr Boesak. But he lost a powerful position when he resigned as head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Moderator of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk following a personal crisis.

But he has carefully rebuilt his political career which got the kiss of life from Mr Mandela two years ago when he advised delegates at an ANC (Western Cape) conference to elect a chairman who reflected the majority of the population here.

That man turned out to be Dr Boesak. He was re-elected last year.

If ever Mr Mandela's words

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# 'own princes'

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(11A)

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onally, black men ed the upper echelons in the ANC.

since his days with tional Union of

Mineworkers, Mr Ramaphosa has shown himself to be a shrewd negotiator.

He has made constitutional negotiations his forte and it is thought the ANC can ill-afford to lose a negotiator of his calibre at this stage. This sentiment could rule him out of the race.

Of the outsiders, Ms Cheryl

Carolus proved to be the most popular woman politician in the ANC. But the movement, despite its commitment to building a non-sexist, non-racial and democratic society, has yet to show it is ready to trust a position as powerful as that of deputy president to a woman.

Dr Jordan and Mr Zuma,

the ANC's former intelligence head, should not be written off, but the real contenders waiting in the wings to take over Mr Sisulu's mantle are Mr Sexwale, Dr Boesak, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mbeki.

● Should Mr Sisulu be ousted, he is likely to become ANC chairman in place of Mr Tambo.

than was bakery location. He found that permarmarkets in shopping centers could en 5 percent and 7 percent of the gross nselves. A large number of executives eved that retail bakeries so located ime. Moreover, many of these execu-

tant with an industrial firm in l when he opened his first retail ed to go into business for himself, is opportunities, he concluded that e very favorable profit opportunities, ven with his limited personal savings. our of some high-technology com- that he had discovered the formula

id president of Phillips Bakeries, ers would consider a pleasant ; financial statements for fiscal al sales growth goal of 20 per- at of 4 percent, and the return n achieved. The problem was that ere maintained and the debt and ;cess cash would be generated; le to continue to achieve its lyps knew that his fellow stock- growth, probably 30 percent per at opportunities were certainly isition program, begun only in n the industry that the firm had l acquisition candidates in 19 states s agreed that opportunities were the 20-percent target should be

Phillips Bakeries, financial statements for fiscal year goal of 20 percent, and the return on investment was maintained and the debt and excess cash would be generated; Phillips knew that his fellow stockholders probably 30 percent per cent opportunities were certainly an acquisition program, begun only in the industry that the firm had agreed that opportunities were the 20-percent target should be

tives preferred to rely on an independent bakery, like Phillips, rather than operate their own bakery.

In selecting locations, Phillips had to be aware of two critical factors. The first was the competitive environment in which the supermarkets operated. If the supermarket became involved in a tough, competitive battle and lost some of its volume, the bakery located next to it would also suffer. The second factor was competition from other bakeries. A tough, competitive environment could prevent a supermarket bakery from achieving the normal percentage of the supermarket's volume. A bakery located next to a supermarket was protected from competition within the shopping center. However, well-managed bakeries located within the community, especially those with low rental costs, could compete quite effectively with bakeries located within shopping centers. (Phillips found that many bakery owners learned, to their dismay, that people were indeed willing to shop in a supermarket, ignore the bakery located next to it, and drive several miles to purchase their bakery products.) Fortunately, Phillips's study of the industry revealed that there were many areas with a favorable competitive environment. Phillips calculated that with cash equal to about 1 percent of sales, inventory of 5 percent, equipment and fixtures of 28 percent, and accounts payable and accruals of approximately 9 percent and 1 percent respectively, such sales volume could be supported. If he could find lenders willing to sustain a long-term debt to equity ratio of 50 percent, profit after taxes (PAT) for such an operation would equal 4 percent on sales, and return on equity would equal 25 percent (assuming a 9-percent interest rate and a 50-percent tax rate). Phillips's commercial banker advised that if management kept careful control over costs and profit margins, the bank would be willing to supply term debt equal to 50 percent of equity.

Budgeting and cost control were Phillips's specialties, and he was confident that all his targets were feasible. And so they were in the first operation; he attained sales of \$150,000 in his first year, and although after-tax profits were below the desired 4-percent level for the first two years, the target was surpassed in the third year, when after-tax profits reached \$7,500. The lower profit levels for the first two years were a result of Phillips's lack of experience. It took two years of very hard work to learn the bakery business, to experiment with his fresh bakery product mix, and to develop appropriate controls, advertising and promotion programs, and personnel policies.

## EXPANSION BEGINS

The experience Phillips accumulated in his first three years of operation could be used, he believed, to expand the scope of his operations far



# focus on BCM

Sowetan 28/6/93

**W**HEN THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS Movement came into existence in the late '60s, there was something it did for which it would be hounded, bludgeoned, persecuted and harassed for the rest of its political life and long after its death (assuming that it indeed died).

And this was that not only did the BCM dare the power of white liberalism but it also engineered a process by which the leadership, the control and the pace of the liberation of black people was wrested out of the hands of white liberals and placed firmly into the hands of the oppressed people — black people.

White liberalism, from that time on, was plunged into a political dungeon — it became a political nothing. For this, white liberals will never forgive the BCM.

And when in the early '80s the Charterist movement announced its arrival on the political map of our country, white liberalism saw an opportunity and latched on to it. It supported the Charterist movement both materially and intellectually.

## Ideological trenches

And in order to get even with the BCM, it assumed the front trenches, at least ideologically, of the battle between us and the Charterist movement.

The ideological base from which white liberalism launched the war was nonracialism. It decreed that the BCM was not nonracial and therefore not part of the democratic forces. The consequences of this war, both in terms of loss of life and vandalism of property, is well-known and well documented.

What is not so well-known is that white liberalism proceeded to ensure that funding institutions provided assistance only to those organisations in whose constitutions was entrenched the concept of nonracialism.

What is also not so well known and so well documented is that white liberalism never saw fit to mete out the same treatment to organisations such as the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and similar political outfits.

Today, white liberalism is again in control. It provides political direction from supposedly liberal institutions of learning. It prepares various charters on a variety of subjects; it determines appropriate strategies and which manner and direction the anger of the oppressed should be channelled. It is indeed involved in very careful and cautious struggle.

White liberalism has and continues to create and recreate a social reality of its choice, in terms of which political relevance is defined. To be sure, this social reality is beginning to make us feel guilty for calling ourselves black. We're all

This is an edited version of a speech given by **Nkosi Molala**, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, at the Northern Transvaal congress of the movement:

**There is no talk of reconquest of our land. Nor is there a pretence to dabble with property relations of capital. The system of capital is non-negotiable - there is no trading that relates to it**

supposed to be nonracials.

But the greatest tragedy of it is that white liberalism no longer does this job itself. It has recruited some among us who, like the born-again Christians, continue to remind us that we are not black people but nonracials. And under the guise of political relevance, white liberalism has usurped the political centre-stage once more and is successfully situating itself, albeit not in person but ideologically, in the corridors of power.

But what and who is white liberalism? In a word, white liberalism is the intellectual and ideological representative of capital. It is that person whose job it is to show systematically how rational the capitalist system is and how natural and immutable the values are which underpin it. It is that person, therefore, who, consciously or unconsciously, justifies and defends the capitalist system and the values that derive from it.

## Fight white liberalism

Everybody who is involved in the struggle for the liberation of black people has no choice but to fight white liberalism as well. And to fight white liberalism is, in the final analysis, to fight the system it represents, justifies and defends.

And lest we fall prey to the intellectual subtleties and pervasive trappings of white liberalism, black people should cultivate the practice of revisiting the philosophy of BC.

For it is the only philosophy that asserts our



humanity. It is the only philosophy that graduates us from perennial students of white liberals to worthy teachers of white people.

It is the only philosophy that tells us that we also have a contribution to make in the ongoing building of knowledge for the benefit of mankind as a whole. And it asserts that we can make such contribution only as teachers and not as never-ending students.

Our country today stands on the threshold of the greatest sell-out in the history of struggle the world over. The World Trade Centre, as the name indicates, is indeed a place where people engage in trading. However, the objects of trade here are not ordinary lifeless commodities but the real life and blood of black people.

To be sure, the things for which many of our martyrs laid down their lives do not form part of the trading activity.

There is no talk about the reconquest of our land. Nor is there a pretence to dabble with property relations of capital. The system of capital is non-negotiable — there is no trading that relates to it.

At the end of the day, the whole struggle of our people for liberation has been reduced and equated to the struggle for the vote. But you and I, comrades, know that the vote is but a tiny expression of liberation and not liberation itself.

## Dormats of white people

The fact of the matter, however, is that this colossal hoax, this treachery, is going on unhindered and unless something is done, black people will continue to be dormats of the owners of capital — of white people.

What is to be done will not be decided by this paper but by the collective mind of this congress. What this paper seeks to emphasise is that the BCM can no longer afford to give the political affront taking place at Kempton Park undue respect by making it dominate our forums.

What should dominate our forums is the BCM itself and the way forward to the real liberation of black people. This is the real challenge facing our movement.

And it is the extent to which we are equal to this challenge that ONE AZANIA, ONE NATION will be born.

# Apla to fight on, 'even if we lose 5-m'

Star 28/6/93

**S**ABELO PHAMA, PAC secretary for defence and Apla commander, believes the armed struggle must be intensified rather than abandoned. He calls those who have abandoned it "a bunch of opportunists".

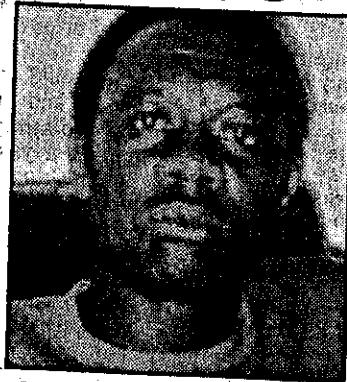
Phama (44), born in Umtata, Transkei, describes himself as the custodian of Apla unity. He sees it as his responsibility to ensure that the military policy of Apla is maintained, that the strategic objectives are clearly defined and that the military priorities of the movement are carried out.

Phama says it is necessary for the PAC to press on with the struggle even if more lives are lost. "Even if we lose 5 million out of the 30 million, we must make sure that the other 25 million will be free. Then it will be

**RUTH BHENGU** of The Star Africa Service interviewed the PAC's defence secretary in Dar es Salaam.

a sacrifice worth making," he said in an interview in Dar es Salaam.

Asked whether the PAC's ideals have changed over the years, Phama said: "As far as I know the PAC has not changed. That is why it is being accused of being rigid, militant and so on. It is simply because the ideas of decolonisation in the continent are still paramount. If you look at the strategic goals of the PAC, the issue of politi-



Sabelo Phama ... "armed struggle must be intensified."

cal power, the issue of land, there is no change.

"There has been a tactical change, however. There was a time when we had to have some

of our cadres in the urban areas because the enemy was pushing its own serious onslaught on the townships. Our tactical offensive was still very weak. But now we are moving towards a strategically offensive position because we are moving straight into the countryside. This has always been our basic approach, because that is where the enemy is at his weakest and where we are able to replenish ourselves."

Phama accuses the media of not presenting a true picture of the political situation and of suggesting that independence is just around the corner.

"But it does not mean that when people are freed from the small prison of Robben Island and put in the bigger prison of South Africa they are free.

After a few months people were able to see from the action of the enemy that there was absolutely no change in the lives of our people.

"Some people are saying they are going to be in Parliament. Even if it is the kitchen of the Parliament. They say it is better than being outside.

"What we are going to do is maintain the pressure and let the minority who are prepared to accept crumbs go ahead as they did with the bantustans. Some of them even opted for independence but there was no change. Instead they moved from bad to worse.

"And others even refused independence but continued to take crumbs from the master's table and that still did not work out." □

# Yengeni in call to arms at rally

11A  
APR 28/6/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff

TOP ANC official Mr Tony Yengeni, claiming it was clear the right wing was ready for war, called on the movement's Youth League not only to arm its members but to train them to use the guns.

At a rally in Mbekweni, Paarl, yesterday he slated the rightwing-organised occupation of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday.

"There would have been a bloodbath if members of (the ANC's military wing) Umkhonto we Sizwe had forced their way into the building, broken down doors and assaulted people," he said.

"But because it was Boers, not a single one was arrested."

Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa, Mrs Winnie Mandela, Natal Midlands ANC head Mr Harry Gwala and ANC Youth League chief Mr Peter Mokaba were also to have spoken at the rally, but Mr Yengeni was the only advertised speaker to turn up.

Soon after 4pm Mr Yengeni led the big crowd, who had waited for more than two hours for events to begin, in chanting "Down with the



**WAITING:** Part of the huge crowd which waited more than two hours in Mbekweni, Paarl for Mrs Winnie Mandela, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba, Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa and Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala to arrive for a rally. The four did not turn up.

right wing, down with Eugene TerreBlanche".

He said black youths should not only be armed, but they should be taught how to use the guns.

"So when the Boers try to hold a government of national unity or constituent assembly to hostage they can join MK in defending our leaders and democracy."

The ANC should not wait "for the Boers to kill one of us" because it was clear the rightwing was ready for war.

"We must be ready to defend our leaders and organisations. We are tired of being threatened and embarrassed by the right wing. We are

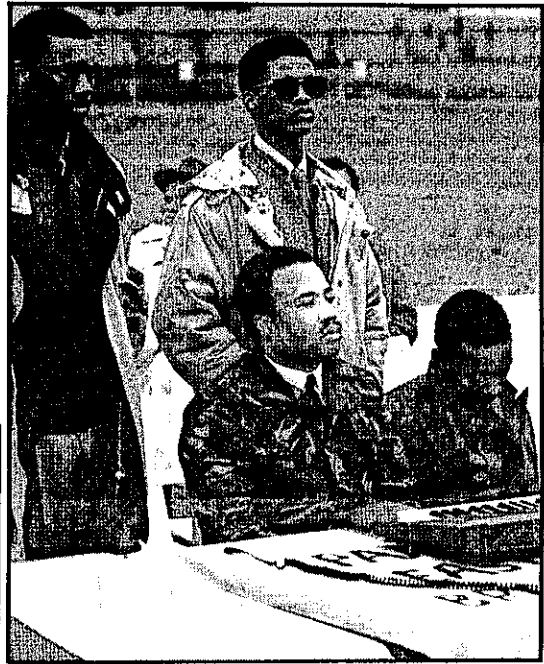
saying you must be prepared to fight back. We are not free yet."

Mr Yengeni said the Cape Provincial Administration would hand over hundreds of homes to Langa, Guguletu and Nyanga residents on Wednesday.

"These homes will be handed over free. It's a victory for us."

He said the victory was achieved through pressure on the CPA by the ANC Women's League's sit-in at the Ikapa Town Council offices.

Campaigns by the ANC and other organisations had also played a part.



Pictures: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus.

**ARM THEM:** Militant ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni, who called for youths to be trained and armed to defend ANC leaders.

# ANC, Apla linked says UK paper

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Damaging claims that the ANC was perpetrating violence and had forged links with the PAC's Apla were carried in a report based on documents leaked to the Sunday Telegraph yesterday. (S) (U)

Under the headline "Dark Forces", the report gave details

of a purported intelligence dossier said to have been compiled by senior South African security personnel. CT28/6/93

The report alleged that:

- The ANC was storing weapons in Shell House.
- Mr Tokyo Sexwale, senior ANC officer, had called on members last year to use intimidation to recruit voters.
- Members of MK and Apla met

a year ago and decided to launch combined attacks.

- The ANC had breached its 1990 commitment to control military activity and had been clandestinely building its underground structures.

- Murdered SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani had been one of the architects of violence and had met former Apla

commander Mr Vumankosi Ntinkinca to decide on dates for a combined offensive.

- ANC/SACP activists posing as security force members had been behind townships attacks.

In a front-page news report, the ANC dismissed the claims as another "dirty trick" by right-wing whites wanting to obstruct progress to majority rule.

# ANC reaffirms confidence in national leadership

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The powerful ANC PWV region has reaffirmed its confidence in the ANC's national leadership, with ANC PWV regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale accusing ANC Youth League chairman Mr Peter Mokaba of engaging in "pendulum politics".

In an interview with The Star newspaper yesterday — hours before he left South Africa as head of a three-man ANC delegation on an official week-long visit to France — Mr Sexwale said the PWV region's confidence in the ANC leadership as elected at the 1991 congress in Durban remained unshakeable, and the region wanted Mr Walter Sisulu to remain deputy president.

He was commenting on Mr

Mokaba's disclosure in an exclusive interview last week that the ANC Youth League had requested the ANC's NEC to elevate international affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki to the organisation's deputy presidency with immediate effect, with Mr Sisulu replacing the late Mr Oliver Tambo as national chairman.

Mr Mokaba — who described Mr Mbeki as a key strategist in the ANC and "the best candidate suitable for the job" — said the ANC Youth League wanted this to happen as soon as the next time the NEC met, which would be in August.

This, he argued, would strengthen the ANC considerably in the run-up to the country's first all-in election next year.



Mr Tokyo Sexwale

Mr Sexwale strongly denied that ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa — until last week widely regarded as the organisation's "Crown Prince" — had met the PWV regional executive committee (REC) in an attempt to get it to back him for the deputy presidency.

Mr Sexwale said in his meeting with the PWV REC last Wednesday that Mr Ramaphosa — who was invited by the region — had briefed the regional leadership about latest developments in negotiations.

He said the PWV regional leadership had asked for a briefing from Negotiations Commission member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, because it had thought Mr Ramaphosa — who made time to address

them — was too busy.

"It is wrong to seek to play one leader against the other, and it is incorrect to try to run very sensitive elections to top structures of the ANC in newspapers.

"What was conveniently left out (in Mr Mokaba's interview) was the fact that the NEC deliberated on the Youth League's request (for Mr Mbeki to be deputy president) for a short time and then set it aside. We reaffirmed our satisfaction with the fact that Sisulu stays on as deputy president," Mr Sexwale said.

He said the PWV region reaffirmed its confidence in:

- "The entire (national) leadership" as elected at the 1991 congress;
- The octogenarian Mr Sisulu as deputy president;

ARC 28/6/93 (11A)  
 ● Both Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mbeki as leaders.

Mr Sexwale took issue with Mr Mokaba's statements that he would not be opposed to the country's vice-presidency being offered to President De Klerk and to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's inclusion in a multiparty Cabinet if they agreed to serve under an ANC government.

He said Mr Mokaba, who had moved from chanting the controversial "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan to agreeing to these concessions, was engaging in "pendulum politics".

He also took issue with statements attributed to Mr Mokaba in Sunday newspapers that he wanted the youth to grow flowers in the townships to attract tourists. South Africa, he said, was in the grip

of a very fierce struggle, as was shown by the attack on the democratic process at the World Trade Centre on Friday".

"I understand that the young man (Mr Mokaba) is trying to be constructive and to give himself a new image and to be in line with decisions of the NEC. I respect that, but I think his new proposals are frivolous, especially after Nelson Mandela called for countrywide marches on July 1 to protest against the invasion of the World Trade Centre by the right wingers.

"The leadership of the ANC is a collective, and the sooner we all realise that a collective is far better than anyone of us then we will move from frivolous politics to realpolitik," Mr Sexwale said.



Mr Peter Mokaba

# A 'puppet' with pull?

Star 28/6/93

**T**HE disclosure that an electronic sweep of the Thebe Investment Corporation's Johannesburg head office last week had revealed a whole series of bugging devices came as no surprise to several big segments of the business world.

Scores of companies — big multinationals as well as smaller fry — admit in private they would love the chance to eavesdrop on the deals being struck at the Thebe HQ on the 18th floor of Glencairn in the city centre.

The fascination revolves around persistent rumours that Thebe, which was created less than a year ago, is the investment wing of the ANC.

Taking a realistic appraisal of who will hold the political reins when the first post-apartheid elections are over, lots of businessmen reckon that hand-in-glove close relations with Thebe could provide the keys to unlock treasure chests worth millions of rands — even billions — in future government contracts.

How much potential political as well as financial clout may be wielded by Thebe when the timing is right?

Thebe executives issue repeated repudiations of suggestions that the whole operation is under strict ANC control.

Fine, but anyone analysing the who's who behind the corporation is conscious of a credibility gap.

The chain of command begins inside the top ANC hierarchy. The sole shareholder with ultimate control of Thebe is the Batho-Batho Trust, which was founded by ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, who on recent accounts remain the sole trustees.

Observers can only guess about the origin of the funds used to establish the trust.

The ANC connections flow through into the Thebe boardroom, where former KaNgwane chief minister and ANC sympathiser Enos Mabuza sits as chairman. The managing director is Vusi Khanyile, who

The Thebe Investment Corporation firmly denies it is the puppet business arm of the ANC. While speculation persists about political links, Thebe spreads its wings wider and wider, reports MICHAEL CHESTER.

~~(11A)~~ ~~(291)~~ ~~(11A)~~ ~~(291)~~  
moved from the ANC finance department. Also on the Thebe executive is regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

Thebe was swept into the headlines when heated controversy broke out around news that it was thinking about a joint venture with the huge multinational publisher Macmillan.

The prize promised to be a foothold in the multi-million-rand business of publishing school textbooks.

Proposals envisaged that Macmillan would use subsidiary Macmillan Boleswa to move back into SA.

Temperatures rose when rumours circulated — in turn denied — that Thebe was negotiating about "a regular line of communications with the relevant government structures in the New South Africa", in exchange for a free gift from Macmillan of a 20 percent shareholding in the proposed venture.

True or false, the proposals appear to have been put on ice following the uproar of rival publishers who made plain their fears that the Thebe/Macmillan foothold in school books would turn into a stranglehold on the educational book market once the ANC started to use its clout in the allocation of contracts.

No deal has been struck, but that may not mean Thebe has abandoned its ambition.

The burst of criticisms over the Macmillan joint venture has clearly angered Khanyile.

"To suggest that a black publishing company would only gain a position with a democratic government through corruption," he says, "sounds very much like another way to keep black business out of the market."

Thebe had a far smoother passage when it ventured into

the computer market with a 45 percent stake in Bhekisizwe Computer Systems, which claims to be the first black-controlled company in the field.

It promises to be a lucrative investment. Bhekisizwe has been named as one of only two South African distributors of products from the vast Digital Equipment Corporation based in the United States.

Thebe's operations are spreading wider and wider. Also under its wing:

- Oriole Travel, in the holiday and tourism market, which lists diplomatic missions, trade delegations and corporate customers among regular clients.

- Three property companies.

- Movement Marketing Enterprises, a division involved everywhere from selling ANC T-shirts, acting as wholesaler to hawkers and street vendors, to running an arts and crafts centre.

- Thebe Trading, created as an import-export company in readiness for the removal of sanctions.

Thebe found itself in heavy seas when it was about to strike a big deal with Viking Fishing, one of the biggest fishing companies on the Cape west coast, to apply for a quota to bring in a stunning 2 900 tons of hake.

Thebe was hit by a whirlwind of criticism from members of the local fishing community, which had been pledged support from local ANC leaders in applying for quotas to win a stake of their own in the market.

Thebe, red-faced over the gaff, scuttled its quota plan.

The investment corporation has lots more fish to fry. Khanyile confirms that once Thebe has proved a sound track record it intends seeking a listing on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. □

Star 28/6/93

## ANC plan on self-rule put to the Right

By Chris Whitfield

ANC president Nelson Mandela has made a proposal on self-determination for Afrikaners in a regional dispensation.

But he warned that if ultra-right organisations resorted to violence "we are ready for that" (U)

Although he did not spell out details, he said on SABC's Agenda programme last night he had put a proposal on self-determination to Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers.

"If they address it seriously we might be able to solve this problem," said Mandela.

He was adamant the ANC would not accept an Afrikaner state within a confederation. (U)

"We can't split South Africa up into fragments. We are prepared ... to consider giving certain powers to the regions."

Mandela said 90 percent of Afrikaners "are decent people who would like peace and to resolve problems with their black brothers".

# Sexwale takes swipe at Mokaba

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The powerful ANC PWV region has reaffirmed its confidence in the organisation's national leadership.

(11A)  
In an interview with The Star yesterday — hours before he left South Africa as head of a three-person ANC delegation on an official week-long visit to France — ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the region's confidence in the leadership as elected at the 1991 congress in Durban remained unshakable, and it wanted Walter Sisulu to remain deputy president.

He was commenting on disclosures by ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba, in an interview with The Star last week, that the ANC's national executive committee to elevate international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to the post of deputy president immediately, with Sisulu replacing the late Oliver

Star 28/6/93  
Tambo as national chairman.

Mokaba — who described Mbeki as a key strategist in the ANC and "the best candidate suitable for the job" — said the ANCYL wanted this to happen at the next NEC meeting in August. This, he argued, would strengthen the ANC considerably in the run-up to the country's first all-in election.

Sexwale strongly denied that ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa — until last week widely regarded as the organisation's crown prince — had met the PWV regional executive committee in a bid to get it to back him for the deputy presidency.

Sexwale said that at his meeting with the regional executive committee on Wednesday, Ramaphosa — who had been invited by the region — had briefed the PWV leadership about the latest developments in negotiations.

"It is wrong to seek to play one leader against the other,

and it is incorrect to try to run very sensitive elections to top structures of the ANC in newspapers," said Sexwale.

He took issue with Mokaba's statements that he would not be opposed to the country's vice-presidency being offered to President de Klerk and to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's inclusion in a multiparty Cabinet if they agreed to serve under an ANC government.

He said Mokaba, who had moved from chanting the controversial "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan to agreeing to these concessions, was engaging in "pendulum politics".

Sexwale added that he was unhappy with those who sought "to put the mantle of (assassinated ANC and SACP leader) Chris Hani" on his shoulders, saying Hani was "beyond Tokyo and beyond many".

He said he had no ambitions for personal power, but wanted to continue to serve his people, for whom he had taken up arms against apartheid.



# SADF-MK merger talks hit obstacles

Star 28/6/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

Top Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers have been discussing a national peacekeeping force, but talks have hit a snag. Sources yesterday revealed that obstacles had arisen but declined to give details.

The MK and SADF delegations have met at least three times since the beginning of April but sources on both sides have kept a tight lid on the talks. However, they have indicated that discussions were at a "sensitive" stage and progress was being made.

Demands for joint con-

trol of the security forces increased after Friday's right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre and criticism of the police handling of the incident.

SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg told The Star yesterday that a peacekeeping force — to police the run-up to elections — was "one of the aspects" discussed during bilateral talks with a number of parties. But he said "there has been no finalisation" on the issue, which would have to go to the multiparty negotiations for a decision anyway.

The main thrust of the bilateral discussions was

"the rationalisation of military and paramilitary forces".

MK commander Joe Modise yesterday refused to comment.

A negotiations technical committee on violence last week proposed a national peacekeeping force to the constitutional talks. But the idea was immediately opposed by some delegates, who argued that such a multiparty force would undermine the SAP.

It is understood that the SADF and ANC are in the process of identifying members for a national peacekeeping force. Talks have not been concluded.

## Interim constitution target mid-August

Star 28/6/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

An interim constitution for South Africa's transition could be completed by mid-August, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

In an interview with The Star, Meyer said he would propose this week that the 26-party Negotiating Council agree to a declaration of intent on the target date for the interim constitution.

The Government would want the council to agree to constitutional principles, the transition process and a framework of a constitution for the transition before Friday's important meeting of the Negotiating Forum, he said.

The Government and the ANC have both said that Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers has underscored the need for urgency in the process.

The Government and PAC meet again today to clarify the latter's position on the armed strug-

gle. After first agreeing to the declaration, the PAC told the press that it had not suspended the armed struggle, but had taken a political decision to do so. The implementation of a "cessation of hostilities" was, however, still to be discussed with the Government.

On Thursday the Government refused to discuss an earlier Negotiating Council resolution urging it to return PAC property until the organisation had clarified its position on the struggle.

Tomorrow the Conservative Party faces the crunch on its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland. The issue was extensively debated in the council on Thursday, 24 hours before the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre.

The CP agreed to provide, by tomorrow, details of the "external features" of its proposed separate state. All other parties in the talks appear opposed to the demand for a confederal Afrikaner state.

## ANC plan on self-rule put to the Right

Star 28/6/93

By Chris Whitfield

ANC president Nelson Mandela has made a proposal on self-determination for Afrikaners in a regional dispensation.

But he warned that if ultra-right organisations resorted to violence "we are ready for that".

Although he did not spell out details, he said on SABC's Agenda programme last night he had put a proposal on self-determination to Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers.

"If they address it seriously we might be able to solve this problem," said Mandela.

He was adamant the ANC would not accept an Afrikaner state within a confederation.

"We can't split South Africa up into fragments. We are prepared ... to consider giving certain powers to the regions."

Mandela said 90 per cent of Afrikaners "are decent people who would like peace and to resolve problems with their black brothers".

# Sanctions must stay — Mandela

SANCTIONS had to remain in place because not enough progress had been made to scrap apartheid, ANC president Nelson Mandela said before leaving for Egypt and the US.

He said he had hoped that two key issues would be settled before he and President F W de Klerk jointly received the Liberty Award from US President Bill Clinton on July 4 (1991).

"These were creation of a transitional executive council and the setting of a date for an election. (11A)

"Depending on those developments we would have called for the lifting of sanctions," Mandela said.

"I am confident that April 27 next year will be confirmed, but as for the transitional executive, we depend on Mr De Klerk because there must be legislation installing it. (220)

"We can't take any major decision before a Bill or legislation is published which defines the powers and functions of the transitional executive... we cannot make any statement with regard to sanctions before that is completed."

He said he would invite US businessmen to do feasibility studies and that he would ask the World Bank to prepare for development programmes.

"I will also, in meeting President Clinton, ask for massive assistance (to address) some of our major socioeconomic problems."

Mandela left for Cairo on Saturday night to attend an OAU summit before going on to the US.

Sapa reports that on Saturday the OAU repeated its call for SA to withdraw from Walvis Bay and the offshore islands.

**I**F PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela do not bring an election date and a transitional executive to lay before President Bill Clinton this week, they will be wasting a modest opportunity but the sky will not fall.

Mandela will still be able to raise money for the ANC's campaign coffers and De Klerk will still get to play golf with a couple of senators and take in a show at the Kennedy Centre. He looks as though he could use the rest.

There are better choices than Washington and Philadelphia for a holiday at this time of year, but blame ambassador Harry Schwarz for that. The Freedom Medal business was his brainchild, and it was he who nagged all concerned to make it happen. At least in Philadelphia, the South Africans will have something to remind them of home. Police there have just rounded up the leaders of a particularly vicious gang that calls itself Zulu Nation.

The truth is, even if the two leaders do have an agreement for Clinton, his response is not going to be earth-shaking. The new policy Clinton wants to unveil, once you get down to the fine print, will demonstrate chiefly that what politicians bill as bold and innovative departures are often little more than simulations thereof. With regard to SA, there is not very much the US government can do in the near term that has not already been done, or whose practical implementation must await the establishment of an elected government in SA.

**T**he administration's plan is essentially the same as that laid out in legislation drafted by senators Nancy Kassebaum and Paul Simon. What it amounts to is this: once Mandela gives the word, Washington will assist and reward SA's "transition to democracy" by ceasing, with the ANC's permission, to be deliberately unhelpful.

The principal reward will be the dropping of the Gramm Amendment. Washington's executive director on

# Cash will not flow into SA simply at Clinton's behest

Bill Day 29/6/93

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

the boards of the IMF and World Bank will no longer automatically have to oppose all loans and facilities for SA. Indeed, the proposed legislation would have the Treasury secretary actively encourage him to lobby for such lending.

Lovely, but this does not mean the floodgates will open the next day. Before any funds begin to flow — let alone the \$1bn mentioned by the bank's vice-president for Africa Edward Jaycox — a new government in SA will have to make hard choices about what it wants from the institutions and whether it is prepared to meet their terms. And IMF and World Bank finance offers no guarantees the recipient will prosper. Just look at the track record.

Neither is it worth getting too excited about what might emerge from the G-7 summit in Tokyo next week. Clinton will urge his partners to "mobilise" resources for SA's reconstruction. No doubt there will be mention of the subject in the summit communiqué, probably closer to the bottom than the top. This would not be the first time the G-7 has spoken of the need to help SA. Hitherto the practical results have not been obvious. Even now, as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George

Moose has admitted, "specific mechanisms" to translate the communiqué's language into practical effect have yet to be discussed.

The removal of the Gramm Amendment is the most concrete card Clinton and Congress have to play. Virtually everything else they propose will be hortatory.

There will be two main exhortations. The first will be to local and state governments to stop penalising investment in SA. The idea of trying to pre-empt local sanctions by federal force majeure has been weighed and abandoned, although the Kassebaum-Simon Bill does imply that federal funding for local road construction could be denied to authorities who insist on retaining contracting rules that discriminate against bidders with SA investments.

**T**he second appeal will go to the US private sector: please go and invest. Nice words — and pragmatic, too. The federal budget has no fat left to finance official aid much above the current \$80m a year (thank goodness). But the US private sector can only help SA if SA helps itself. The US government cannot tell investors

where to put their money — although it is very good at doing the opposite — and its ability to influence investors' choices is at best marginal.

There are a number of steps the president and Congress will say they are taking to help, but most have long since been taken.

Do not be fooled if you hear Clinton pledging the active participation of entities like the Export-Import Bank, the Trade and Development Agency and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. This is not especially new.

SA importers of US capital goods are already eligible for Exim loans and guarantees. The Trade and Development Agency recently announced that it would help Afrox finance the planning of a new penicillin plant in return for US firms getting engineering and supply contracts. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation has been anxious for some time to sign a bilateral agreement that would enable it to provide insurance cover for American investors.

Something Congress could do, but will not unless the ANC specifically gives it the go-ahead, is to stop requiring US companies in SA to register with the State Department and

submit detailed annual reports to prove that their employment practices and expenditures on social upliftment meet certain mandatory criteria.

This is the one aspect of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act Congress does not intend to repeal immediately, although Kassebaum and Simon have agreed to make elections the cut-off point rather than waiting for a new government to write its own "fair labour standards".

The retention of this policy vitiates the call for US companies to invest. The hassle factor places US firms at a competitive disadvantage in SA vis-à-vis other companies, domestic and foreign. It discourages the very kind of investment that SA most needs — the sort that creates jobs. At a deeper level, it tells US companies that involvement in SA, unlike anywhere else, is even now potentially wicked and must therefore be specially regulated.

It is up to South Africans to decide if they want this to continue. Just as they must decide whether, or when, they want to proceed with negotiations on a new tax treaty to replace that cancelled by the CAAA; whether they want to sign a bilateral investment agreement establishing the rights and responsibilities of US investors; and whether they want to describe themselves as a developing or developed country for trade purposes. The Kassebaum-Simon Bill makes SA eligible to benefit from the Generalised System of Preferences, which grants reduced tariffs to certain labour-intensive exports of developing nations.

This could help the SA textile industry, but only if congressional protectionists can be held at bay.

**T**he bottom line is that whatever Mandela and De Klerk bring with them to the US this week, the best "reward" SA can expect for moving to multiracial rule is the normalisation of its economic relations with the US and the rest of the world. There will be no special favours.

Furthermore, as a practical matter, the normalisation will not occur until there has been an election.

# Mbeki's foothold steps on Ramaphosa's toes

BIDNEY 29/6/92

ALAN FINE

CYRIL Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki make an unlikely pair of enemies. Both are urbane diplomats, skilled negotiators and represent what is, to the SA establishment, the "acceptable face" of the ANC. It would make more sense if they were allies.

But the enmity, signified by ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba's punting last week of Mbeki for the post of ANC deputy president, has its origins precisely in those similarities.

(11A)

The deputy presidency is not necessarily the number two post in the ANC, as some have suggested. It certainly would not make Mbeki the automatic successor to Mandela. There is some ambiguity as to whether secretary-general or deputy president is the more senior post. Nevertheless, it would allow Mbeki to recover the foothold he lost in July 1991.

Mbeki was, until Ramaphosa's election as secretary-general at the ANC's July 1991 congress, the ANC's senior negotiator. He was central in preparing the ground for the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute in April 1990 and the Pretoria Minute in August that year. And even before the ANC's unbanning, Mbeki was the primary ANC representative in the organisation's dealings with SA businessmen, academics and others who

established contact with the organisation in the '80s.

However, when Ramaphosa shifted from trade unionism to politics and took up the top administrative post in the ANC, he also took over Mbeki's mantle as senior negotiator. Mbeki remained involved in negotiations at Codesa, though not as the director of the process from the ANC's point of view. Now, with far smaller negotiating teams involved in the current round of talks, Mbeki is effectively out of it. And these developments have, ANC insiders say, caused considerable friction between the two.

In the period after the unbanning of the ANC, Mbeki's work cost him dearly in terms of building a constituency within the ANC. With his focus on making compromises at negotiations and dealing with local businessmen and foreign dignitaries, he developed the reputation, especially among more militant ANC cadres, of being "soft" and distant from "the masses".

More recently, though, he has worked at correcting this deficiency — to the extent that the militant Youth League is now prepared to back him for a senior post in the ANC. Mbeki has, reportedly, been courting Youth League leaders with vigour.

Nevertheless, the Youth League

nomination of Mbeki as deputy president is especially ironic given that Mbeki and Chris Hani withdrew from a contest for the deputy presidency at the July 1991 congress in order to pre-empt a potentially divisive contest between "hawks" and "doves". Now the dove Mbeki appears to be taking over from Hani as the Youth League's spiritual leader on the national executive — or at least that is what the latest move implies.

However, the truth is probably more cynical, and the marriage between Mokaba and Mbeki — if that is what it is — will be a short-lived one of convenience.

The motives of Mokaba and his supporters in the Youth League are not altogether clear. The key pointer, though, is probably that it is only a matter of weeks since Ramaphosa upbraided and humiliated Mokaba in public over the latter's sloganeering on public platforms.

Mbeki's motives — if he has been an active participant in the Youth League machinations which led to the surprise proposal at the last NEC meeting — are less clear. While, as suggested, a "promotion" to deputy president would give him a new foot-



□ MBEKI

hold, it is difficult to contemplate the idea of Mbeki as the leader of the ANC left in the longer term. That grouping — roughly consist-

ing of militants and unrepentant socialists (not necessarily the same thing) — is establishing as its havens the Youth League and the SA National Civics Organisation. It is in the latter where Winnie Mandela is re-establishing her political career. While that grouping may be seeking a new charismatic leader to replace the murdered Chris Hani, Mbeki is an unlikely candidate. While the plan may have short-term appeal all round on the basis that "my enemy's enemy is my friend", Mbeki's undoubted charisma is unlikely to survive with that grouping for long.

In the short term, the Mokaba initiative has turned into a public relations fiasco for Mbeki — whether or not he helped to engineer it. By suggesting that the highly respected, if ageing, Walter Sisulu step down from the deputy presidency, it has insulted him and angered many in the NEC.

Nelson Mandela, in particular, as Sisulu's long-time close associate, is said to be highly disturbed at the development and worried at the divisions that the whole affair signifies. Who can blame him? It is difficult enough for him to hold together the diverse ideological factions within his organisation. When divisions arise between like-thinkers based on purely personal enmities, the task becomes that much more difficult.

LETTERS

# We can't work miracles — Sisulu

Sowetan 29/6/93

(11A)

Sowetan Foreign News Service

■ **KEEPING FAITH** For some ANC fol-

lowers the 'best' may not be enough:

**L**ONDON — Mr Walter Sisulu has admitted that "unrealistic expectations" of some ANC followers could be a problem in achieving reconciliation and democracy in South Africa.

The deputy president of the ANC said in London: "We've got to get across to people that we cannot work miracles, that we cannot overnight 'provide a house and job for everyone — yet somehow we must keep their trust that we will try our best to improve their lives."

Sisulu was speaking in London to former South African journalist Donald Woods in an interview published in *The Guardian* yesterday.

And he called on the international community — Britain in particular —

to help right the wrongs of apartheid with positive, financial aid.

Before any substantial changes could be made, the ANC had to get its supporters to the polls, he said. "To do that, we need a lot of help from our friends all over the world, and especially here in Britain.

"Although we have the clear support of most South Africans, we have to translate that into votes, and we don't have the economic resources the South African Government has."

Delegations pleading with the British not to deliver the majority over to the white minority dated back eight decades, and had largely gone unheeded.

The consequence was almost a century of injustice toward blacks, including 40 years of apartheid. "That's why we hope the British people will have a special feeling of obligation to help us to right these wrongs," he said.

Despite fears of a backlash against the ANC's moderate leadership, the ANC was hopeful that the more militant youth would continue to heed its call for negotiation through peaceful means.

Likewise, he believed that inclusion of all the country's disparate forces — including the Far Left and Right — in the negotiating process would have a positive outcome, and avoid the alienation of any part of the population.

# Mandela hopes for R100m

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela hopes to raise about R100 million for his organisation's election campaign on a 10-day fund-raising tour of the United States starting on Friday.

Mr Mandela is attending an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Egypt.

He arrives in Washington on Friday for a meeting with President Bill Clinton, who meets President F W de Klerk on the same day — and will receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with Mr De Klerk on July 4.

It is believed Mr Mandela will be fund-raising in Washington, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Atlanta.

Meanwhile, the ANC's PWV and southern Natal chairmen, Mr Tokyo Sexwale and Mr Jeff Radebe, are visiting France to strengthen party links.

● The ANC has hired American strategists fresh from the Bill Clinton campaign to help in their election run-up.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus confirmed the ANC had hired consultant Mr Stan Greenberg.

# focus on elections

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress, hitting the campaign trail for the first time in its 80-year history, has launched a high-powered bid to sweep South Africa's historic elections next year.

"Their elections programme has been up and running for about 18 months already," said Wim Booysse, policy analyst at the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries. "They're going to catch everyone else with their pants down."

The ANC, led by Nelson Mandela — probably its main asset in the elections provisionally set for April 27 — has brought in US strategists fresh from Bill Clinton's successful presidential campaign.

It has also hired one of South Africa's top advertising agencies.

Final ratification of the date for the country's first all-race elections was expected on June 25 at a high-level meeting of the 26 groups involved in negotiating a new constitution.

**Slice of the vote** *INA*

It is virtually a foregone conclusion the ANC will emerge as the party with most electoral support, but it will need a sizable slice of the vote to get its constitutional principles accepted.

The ANC alliance and the Government of President FW de Klerk envisage the parliament elected in April as being the body which drafts a final constitution.

"The ANC are taking this election very seriously," said Tom Lodge, an authority on the movement at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"They're fighting it as if they feel there's a chance they might lose."

He said the ANC needed to work hard on wooing voters in ethnic groups other than its traditional black constituency — coloureds, who form about 10 percent of the 21 million electorate, and whites and Indians who make up about 15 percent.

## Low turnout

"If it is content to rely on its black support, it would obtain only a narrow margin of victory, especially if there's a low turnout," Lodge said.

"It cannot take black support for granted — it has probably reached a ceiling in this area, while parties like the PAC and Inkatha could make inroads."

He said the ANC, with the backing of about one percent of the three million white voters, was not trying to win white votes as much as reassure them an ANC victory would not spell disaster.

"They're spending a lot of money on improving their image."

This month the ANC took out a full-page advertisement in the country's biggest circula-

Despite the signs that the ANC could be out in front even before elections begin, it is taking no chances. It has gone to great lengths and is taking the run-up to the elections seriously. Other parties could be caught with their pants down. *Sapa-Reuter reports:*

*Sowetan 29/6/93*



**Tom Lodge ... an authority on the ANC says they're taking the election seriously.**

tion paper, *The Sunday Times*, explaining its education policy to the largely white readership.

It has obtained the services of US consultant Stan Greenberg, who helped Clinton defeat George Bush last year.

ANC sources said Greenberg, a political scientist who closely follows events in South Africa, had advised the movement to choose two issues and two slogans to focus on as voting nears.

## Radical youth

The slogan "Now is the time" is emblazoned on most ANC posters, while the leadership is trying to eradicate chants like "Kill the farmer" which are popular among radical youth but alienate whites.

Booyse, estimating that the ANC had budgeted R2 million for campaign expenses such as computers, fax machines and four-wheel-drive vehicles, said Greenberg was part of the "high end" aspect of the campaign.

"But they are also pursuing traditional meth-

**They ANC are taking this election very seriously ... they're fighting it as if they feel there's a chance they might lose ... If it is content to rely on its black support, it would obtain only a narrow margin of victory, especially if there's a low turnout ...**

ods like knocking on doors. They've had billboards and placards up in the townships since March — nobody else has."

Booyse said the ANC's main black rivals, the radical PAC and Inkatha, had done little or nothing to prepare for an election while the rightwing white Conservative Party has not decided if it will take part.

## Limited success

De Klerk's National Party is trying to attract black voters with limited success. Recent opinion polls show it losing white support to the rightwing.

Among coloureds, support for the ANC is running at about 15 percent, against 68 percent for the National Party.

Booyse said a weakness in the ANC campaign was its failure to address the concerns of coloureds.

"Their objective is to win 66 percent of the total vote," he said. "But that is a best-case scenario. They won't get it unless they expand support among coloureds, whites and Indians."

Lodge said coloureds, largely concentrated in Cape Town and the surrounding Western Cape, were put off by what they perceived as the indiscipline of the ANC, its leftwing leanings and the domination of youth in the movement.

"The ANC needs to do more to reach moderates," he said. — *Sapa-Reuter.*



# 'Intensify armed struggle'

Sowetan 29/6/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ **PRESS ON** *Even if we lose 5 million*

*lives we ensure other 25 million will be free:*

**D**AR ES SALAAM — Mr Sabelo Phama, PAC secretary for defence and Apla commander, believes that the armed struggle must be intensified rather than abandoned.

He calls those who have abandoned it "a bunch of opportunists".

Phama (44) born in Umtata, Transkei, describes himself as the custodian of Apla unity. He sees it as his responsibility to ensure that the military policy of Apla is maintained, that the strategic objectives are clearly defined and that the military priorities of the movement are carried out.

According to Phama it is necessary for the PAC to press on with the struggle even if more lives are lost.

"Even if we lose five million out of the 30 million, we must make sure that the other 25 million will be free. Then it will be a sacrifice worth making," he said in an interview here.

Asked whether the PAC's ideals have changed over the years, Phama said: "As far as I know the PAC has not changed. That is why it is being accused of being rigid, militant and so on. It is simply because the ideas of decolonisation in the continent are still paramount. If you look at the strategic goals of the PAC, the issue of political power, the issue of land, there is no change.

"There has been a tactical change, however. For instance there was a timewhen we had to have some of our cadres in the urban areas because the enemy was pushing its own serious onslaught on the townships. So we had to push deterrent operations because we were at the time in a strategically defensive position.



## Basic approach

"Our tactical offensive was still very weak. But now we are moving towards a strategically offensive position because we are moving straight into the countryside. This has always been our basic approach, because that is where the enemy is at its weakest and at we are able to replenish ourselves."

Phama accuses the media of not presenting a true picture of the political situation.

"For instance, when there was the euphoria of the unbanning (of liberation movements) many people, including the media, were saying that independence is just around the corner.

"But it does not mean that when people are freed from the small prison of Robben Island and put in a bigger prison of South Africa they are free. After a few months people were able to see from the action of the enemy that there was absolutely no change in the

lives of our people.

"Some people are saying they are going to be in Parliament. Even if it is the kitchen of the Parliament. They say it is better than being outside.

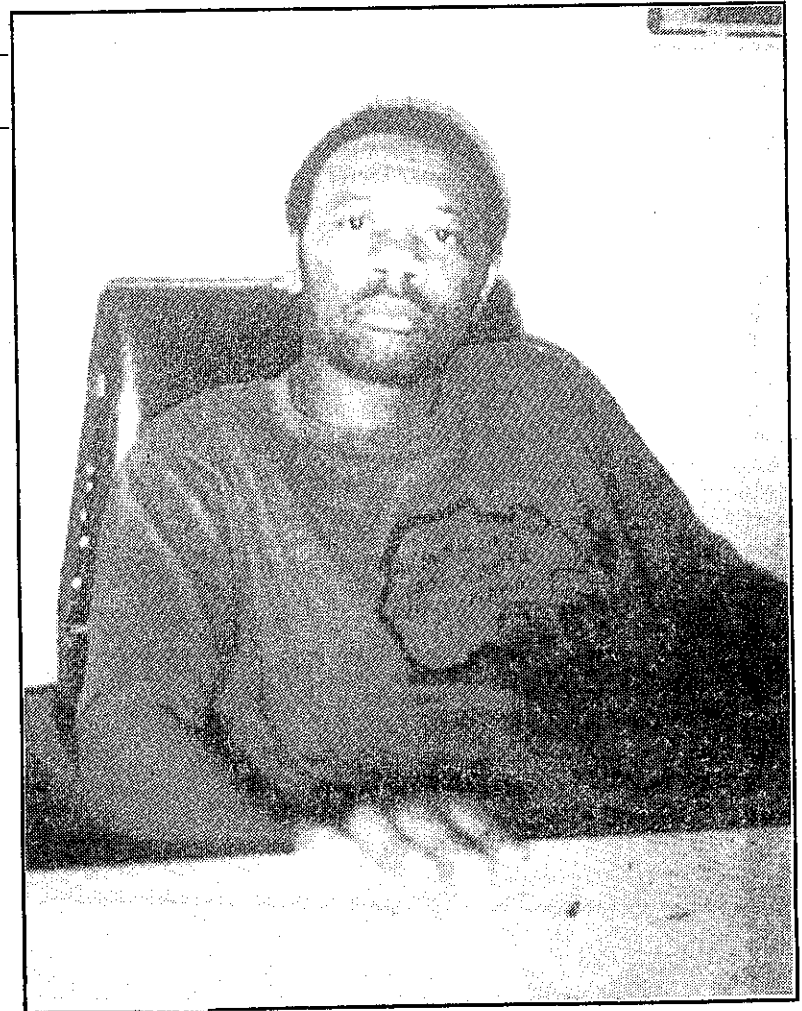
"We as Apla could say let them go through the charade only to say: 'You see, we told you'. But to call those people again and ask them to take up arms would be a big problem.

"What we are going to do is maintain the pressure and let the minority who are prepared to accept crumbs go ahead as they did with the Bantustans. Some of them even opted for independence but there was no change, instead they moved from bad to worse.

"And others even refused independence but continued to take crumbs from the master's table and that still did not work out."

Asked to explain the idea behind the Year of The Great Storm, Phama said: "This is called the stormy year because this is when people will see the serious clash (between Apla and Government forces) and a clear polarisation of the reactionary, moderate line and the revolutionary, progressive one.

"Though some people were talking of an interim government, saying come 1993 we are going to have elections, there are no elections even this year and they are still a long way off," said Phama.



Sabelo Phama - 'the PAC has not changed'.



# Yengeni denies fleeing

CT 29/6/93  
11A

**Staff Reporter**

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni claimed yesterday he had simply "left" a peace initiative meeting in Crossroads last Thursday and did not flee.

He said he had left of his own accord and had not been aware of being threatened during the tour by 20 clergymen.

The Cape Times reported that as Mr Yengeni entered Section Four, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe's stronghold, youths carrying weapons said "Here is the dog that is killing us, we must also kill him" and "he must not leave Crossroads alive".

Sanco's Mr Johnson Mpukumpa said he advised Mr Yengeni to leave.

Mr Nongwe said his supporters did not chase Mr Yengeni away.

# Bid to backtrack on Clifton bungalows

By PETER DENNEHY

CAPE TOWN City Council's executive committee is to recommend today that the council backtrack on last year's decision to sell the Clifton bungalow sites to the current lessees.

At today's monthly council meeting the executive committee wants the September 1992 decision to be rescinded, new authority to be sought from the Administrator and the whole process of objections to be started again from scratch.

Since the African National Congress indicated that it might take the matter to court the council wishes to ensure that its actions are procedurally and legally correct.

A complicating factor has been that while the council was considering objections to the sale of the land, the "ground rules have shifted".

Control over sales of public land reverted from the government to the provincial administration.

Revised directives were issued in the middle of May this year by the Deputy Director-General: Community Services.

Previously the decision to sell to lessees had been taken "as an exceptional case", under a procedure provided for in a 1991 circular from the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works: House of Assembly.

The council sought legal opinion on whether the change in directives made any difference and senior counsel believed the council could complete the sale under the original directives.

However, legal counsel also believed that if in the council's view there were "exceptional circumstances" and were challenged in this case, a court would probably uphold an application to review that council decision.

The council was advised it should "abort the present process" and start again under the authority of the new circular.

CT 29/6/93

## Govt breaks off talks with PAC

JOHANNESBURG. — The government yesterday terminated further bilateral meetings with the PAC and said it would ask the multi-party negotiating council to "limit" PAC participation in the process.

Speaking after a meeting with the PAC last night, government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said the PAC's position that it would cease hostilities only when there was an agreement on the transitional authority was unacceptable.

PAC members told a news conference it would be a "terrible mistake" on the government's part to ask the council to expel it from the talks.

The PAC said its doors were open to anyone who wanted to talk peace, including the government, but emphasised it would not jettison its prerequisites for the cessation of hostilities.

These were agreements on transitional authority and a constituent assembly.

● Multi-party negotiations resumed — Page 2

CT 29/6/93

## Millard tradition to uphold

TONY MILLARD, son of retired trainer Terrance Millard, will try to uphold the family tradition on Saturday in the Rothmans July when he sends out the "galloping goldmine" Empress Club, a winner of R3 115 725 in stakes, and the three-year-old Dancing Duel.

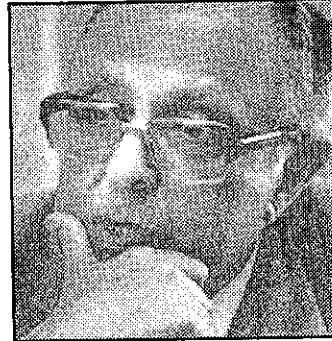
From 1983 to 1990, Millard sen saddled six winners.

Betting yesterday was: **ROTHMANS JULY** (Greyville, 2 200 m, Saturday)

3— 1 Dancing Duel



Cape Times



Politicians . . . Pallo Jordan (left) and Ahmed Kathrada are among the new listings in *The International Who's Who*.

## SA VIPs chosen for world's Who's Who

Star Bureau

(11A) (3947)

LONDON — Eleven South Africans have joined the ranks of prominent people featured in the 57th edition of *The International Who's Who*, to be published tomorrow.

The entrants — selected entirely on merit and achievement in a particular field — include sportsmen, academics, scientists, economists and politicians.

In the latter category, Pallo Jordan, Ahmed Kathrada and Tokyo Sexwale top the list, while cricketer Allan Lamb is this year's sporting personality.

Academics include University of the Western Cape vice-chancellor Jakes Gerwel and philosopher John McDowell. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has been included, together with biologist David Hall, agricultural scientist Daniel Joubert, banker Jacobus van Vuuren and insurance executive Michael Levett.

Editor Richard Fitzwilliams describes *International Who's Who* as "ideal for finding unusual snippets of information on the rich and famous". For instance, it reveals that actress Nicole Kidman's real name is Claire Lewicki and Clint Eastwood began his career as a lumberjack.

**NEWS** Roelf Meyer warns P

# Armed struggle under focus

Sowetan 29/6/93

**Sowetan Correspondent**

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THE armed struggle will come under sharp focus at a two-day seminar in Johannesburg tomorrow and on Thursday.

Organised by the Community Development Foundation, the "Armed struggle/action: its relevance to the transitional period and the post-apartheid era" seminar comes barely a week after rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park where they abused delegates and threatened war if their demand for a white homeland were not accepted.

The seminar will bring together renowned political analysts, academics and speakers from a wide range of organisations, including the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and the African National Congress.

Also represented will be the South African Communist Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party and the newly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront, which spear-headed Friday's attack at the World Trade Centre.

Speakers at the seminar will include analysts Mr Eugene Nyathi, Mr Siphon Maseko of the University of the Western Cape and Mr Phil Mthimkulu of Unisa.

# PAC sticks to guns

Sowetan 29/1/93

## ■ ARMED STRUGGLE Apla set to continue

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, would continue its armed struggle, the PAC said after its latest bilateral meeting with the Government broke down last night.

"We will cease armed action only when agreement has been reached on a constituent assembly and a transitional authority," PAC negotiator Ms Patricia de Lille told a Press conference at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

"Once we go for elections, there will be no need for armed struggle," she said.

Chief Government negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told a Press conference that the PAC's position was "unacceptable to the South African Govern-

armed action, says PAC:

(IIA)



ment. "It means they would want to continue with their policy of killing policemen and civilians and at the same time continue with negotiations for the next few weeks and months," he said. The Government, he said, would therefore ask the 26-party negotiating council, which had instructed the two parties to meet bilaterally in a bid to resolve their differences, "to take relevant steps as far as their (the PAC's) continued participation (in negotiations) is concerned".

Meyer would not hint on what exact steps the

Government had in mind, except to say it would prepare a "package of relevant measures" for the negotiating council to consider.

The PAC accused the Government of trying to have the organisation kicked out of the talks.

"The political process and armed struggle go hand in hand," De Lille said. The latest round of bilaterals were held to, clarify the PAC's position on a declaration on the cessation/suspension of armed struggle it agreed to "in principle" last week. — *Sapa*.

Sowetan 29/6/93

## ANC's day of action

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday endorsed the ANC's call for a "Day of Action" on Thursday in protest against the rightwing siege at the World Trade Centre on Friday ~~(11/5)~~ (11/6).

The union federation also urged employers to join in the protests.

It said employers should participate individually and through their organisations to register their support for peace and democracy.

Cosatu said South African of all walks of life reserved the right to demonstrate their anger and refusal to be intimidated. — *Sapa*.

## Cosatu backs day of action

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU yesterday endorsed ANC president Nelson Mandela's call for a "day of action" on July 1. The federation was unable to give details of what action would be taken, saying its regions, alliance partners and other members of the "mass democratic movement" were meeting to discuss strategy. (11A)

Cosatu spokesman Keith Madonsela said it was not up to the national office to prescribe to participants how to express their anger at right-wing action on Friday at the World Trade Centre negotiations. (11A)

Some regions might call for stayaways, others for marches, demonstrations and pickets, Madonsela said. (11A)

# Govt ceases its talks with PAC

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT yesterday terminated further bilateral meetings with the PAC and said it would ask the multiparty negotiating council to take relevant steps to "limit" PAC participation in the negotiating process.

*B/Days*  
Speaking after a meeting with the PAC last night, government negotiator Roelf Meyer said the PAC's position that it would cease hostilities only when there was an agreement on the transitional authority was unacceptable to government.

A proposal calling on the council to take steps regarding the PAC's participation would be formulated and tabled as soon as possible, said Meyer. *29/6/93*

He added that police would, of necessity, continue to act against the PAC within the parameters of the law.

PAC members told a news conference it would be a "terrible mistake" on government's part to ask the council to expel it from the talks. They said government did not own the process. *(117)*

It said its doors were open to anyone who wanted to talk peace and it was prepared to meet government anywhere and at anytime, but it emphasised it would not jettison its prerequisites for the cessation of hostilities.

These were agreements on transitional authority and a constituent assembly.

The organisation also accused government of renegeing on the multiparty council's resolution which, among other things, called on government to return goods seized during the recent swoop on PAC offices.

LLOYD COUTTS reports the national peace committee is to invite the AWB, the

To Page 2

## PAC

*B/Days 29/6/93*  
PAC and the CP to a meeting within the next three weeks in a bid to persuade them to sign the peace accord. *(117) (200)*

A committee statement said yesterday it was hoped signatories to the accord would meet soon after this to recommit themselves to the accord's principles.

The decision to call a meeting of committee members was taken at a weekend meeting of the committee's executive following a proposal by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela last week.

"A decision was also taken to invite all political parties who have not signed the document — including the CP, PAC and AWB — to attend the meeting, with a view to their becoming signatories of the national peace accord. The occasion is also seen as an opportunity for non-signatories

From Page 1  
to give their input in this regard and to discuss their reservations and objections." Proposed amendments to the accord, to improve its efficacy, will top the agenda, following the acceptance by the multiparty negotiating council of a technical committee recommendation on conditions for eliminating violence.

The peace committee executive also accepted at the weekend that the ANC had distanced itself from the slogan "kill the boer, kill the farmer". The statement said the committee expected a formal response from the ANC within days.

The idea of a youth peace corps under the peace committee was also accepted in principle. "What will now follow is an information-gathering, consultative phase on the practicalities of the implementation of such a body," the statement said.



PAC's 'shoot'  
claim absurd

PRETORIA. — The Pan-Africanist Congress claim that the security forces followed a policy of "shoot first, ask questions later" was "absurd", according to Major-General Leon Mellet, head of the SA Police's public relations department.

General Mellet was commenting in a statement yesterday on an accusation by the PAC that the security forces were biased and "whenever our people engage in peaceful protest, they are brutally beaten up".

"This statement is devoid of all truth. For instance last week the PAC held an illegal protest outside the World Trade Centre for several hours," he said. — Sapa



**CONFRONTATION . . .** Police quiz members of the Pan-Africanist Congress who staged a demonstration outside Parliament yesterday. Eight men and two women were arrested and held at Sea Point police station.

Picture: FANIE JASON

## 10 PAC members arrested at Parliament

11A  
20/6/92

Staff Reporter

**EIGHT** men and two women — members of the Pan-Africanist Congress — were arrested for staging an illegal demonstration outside the main entrance to the Houses of Parliament yesterday.

Police said the members of the group, who were displaying placards saying "Free Azania" and "Stick to the 'gun'", were arrested after being unable to prove they had permission to hold the demonstration.

A police spokesman said they were being held at Sea Point police station pending the payment of R100 bail each.

They were still in detention late last night.

# PAC call for a neutral venue

Sowetan 30/6/93

THE Pan Africanist Congress has called a rally at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today to highlight the need for a neutral negotiations venue and neutral convener.

Addressing a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday, the PAC's deputy president, Mr Johnson Mlambo, said security force action at the rightwing siege of the negotiations venue last week was unacceptable.

"In dealing with the oppressed, the security forces follow the policy of 'shoot first, ask questions later'." (IIA)

"But in dealing with crimes committed in full view of their rightwing buddies, they follow a different policy. To bring these double standards to an end the PAC calls on the oppressed masses and justice loving people to attend a rally tomorrow at 12 o'clock outside the World Trade Centre to strengthen our call for a neutral venue and neutral chairperson for the talks." — Sapa

SOWETAN Wednesday June 30 1993



# Day of mass action

Sowetan 20/6/93

By Joe Mdhlela

**A** NATIONAL "day of action" is planned for tomorrow which will involve marches and other action in protest against the siege by rightwingers at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last Friday.

And at a Press conference yesterday, the African National Congress and its allies said they would decide today whether there should also be a stayaway.

Today's talks, which will involve the ANC, Congress of SA Trade Unions and SA Communist Party, will focus on the failure by the Government to act against the rightwingers and the lack of response by the police.

The alliance will also call for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe.

The statement by the tripartite alliance questioned the failure of the Government to act on information of an imminent rightwing assault on the Trade centre.

"The attack has exposed the true character of the ultra-rightwing, their clear intention is to hold the process of transition to democracy to ransom," the statement said.

The situation demanded that all South Africans, black and white, including Afrikaners, to rise to the occasion and to take a stand against ultra-rightwing elements, the statement said.

However, Inkatha Freedom Party commit-

tee member and KwaZulu Minister Velaphi Ndlovu said the economy was in bad shape and it was unwise to embark on a stayaway.

Ndlovu said the organisers of the stayaway, should grant those who wanted to go to work that right.

However, Azapo's ~~assistant~~ general secretary Lybon Mabasa, said the storming of the World Trade Centre by the AWB vindicated their position that negotiations should be taking place at a neutral venue.

Although they had not been formally informed about tomorrow's stayaway, Mabasa said they were not prepared to legitimise the process of multiparty talks by supporting calls for a stayaway.

"Any meaningful negotiations will have to take place at a neutral place, convened by neutral mediators," Mabasa said.

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa yesterday appealed to all parties to ensure the day of action programme remained non-disruptive and did not promote further violence.

In a statement, Seifa said it believed that protest actions taken by any party had the capacity to disrupt the economy and this would be harmful to a rapid and peaceful transition to a democratic government.

"This would also be harmful to investor confidence," the statement said.

Seifa has encouraged its members to try and agree with union officials at company level on "appropriate, non-disruptive forms of action such as lunchtime meetings."

Time running out at Forum

# 3 crucial days for S Africa

Steir 30/6/93

(B0400) (11A)

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

South Africa faces three crucial days of tough talking and protests which should determine whether the timetable for change is reached — and if sanctions are to be lifted soon.

Vital to progress are developments in the multiparty talks which suffered another setback yesterday when negotiators deadlocked on what process should be followed to the writing of a new constitution.

Time is rapidly running out for participants to bridge their differences before Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Forum — the body called together to ratify agreements in the Negotiating Council.

The talks over the next three days between 26 parties forging the country's future will take place against a backdrop of:

- Continuing arrests of rightwingers — with 17 appearing in court yesterday. A further 14 will appear today.
- A protest rally by the Pan African Congress outside the World Trade Centre today.
- An ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance "day of action" tomorrow to protest over the storming of the centre. A stayaway has been called in

## Latest on arrests

- So far 35 people have been arrested in connection with events at the World Trade Centre on Friday.
- Of those, 17 have appeared in court.
- A further 14 are expected to appear today.
- Four people have been released.
- Full report — Page 3

the PWV region, Natal Midlands and Northern Cape.

- An extended Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) meeting.

Those around the negotiating table need to agree on principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body, what that body will be, and what process will be followed in forging a new constitution.

The wide gulf on some issues, particularly on the process to be followed, was highlighted last night with the Concerned South Africans Group favouring the crafting of the constitution by negotiators and others calling for an elected Constituent Assembly to do the job. Negotiators will continue the search for a compromise today.

Also imminent is a decision by the Negotiating Council on self-determination, with rightwingers increasingly warning that Afrikaners will go to war if they do not get an independent state.

Government and ANC negotiators had hoped these issues would be resolved by Friday, when decisions could be taken on a transitional executive council, effectively the first step to interim government, and an election date.

This weekend ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk meet US President Bill Clinton, and progress in these areas is vital if financial and other sanctions are to be removed.

However Mandela has already reportedly said in the US that it is too early to call for a lifting of embargoes.

A Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled for last Friday was postponed for a week because of insufficient progress having been made since the Negotiating Council began sitting in April.

Meanwhile, the storm continues over the right-wing invasion of the Trade Centre.

It is understood there was some straight talking in a lengthy, emergency AVF executive meeting last night on the lack of discipline of mainly AWB members.

# PAC rally over police 'complicity'

Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress will hold a rally outside the World Trade Centre today to protest against the police's "double standards" and demand that negotiations take place at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

ARG 30/6/73  
PAC deputy-president Johnson Mlambo told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the rally would be peaceful, as opposed to rightwingers' protest action at the same venue last Friday.

"We will be going there in a peaceful manner. We have never carried out protests in any other manner. Of course, nobody can stop the security forces from resorting to the old (way) in which they have behaved towards our people.

"We are not going to storm the World Trade Centre, because that is the monopoly of the rightwing and we would like the copyright (of that kind of action) left to them," said Mr Mlambo.

He hit at the police's failure to arrest the rightwingers at the scene of the "crime" on Friday, and accused them of complicity with the right wing.

He said that while the police followed a policy of "shoot first and ask questions later" when they dealt with blacks, they behaved differently when dealing with "their rightwing buddies".

# PAC call

## for rally

## at talks

## venue

~~11A~~  
11A  
CT30/6/93

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The PAC called for a rally at the World Trade Centre today to highlight what it said was the need for both a neutral negotiating venue and a neutral party to convene the talks.

The PAC announcement yesterday came at the same time as the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance called all South Africans to "show their support for democracy" by staging demonstrations in protest against Friday's right-wing siege of the World Trade Centre.

The ANC-led alliance said action could include the picketing of police stations and other government buildings.

And ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus warned that the organisation would mobilise uMkhonto weSizwe forces if the right-wing carried-out its threat of going to war against democracy talks.

The CP has hinted that if its demand for an Afrikaner state was rejected at the negotiating council there could be a civil war.

Mr Niehaus said this threat "has already put our people on alert". But he added that the ANC did not want to "put South Africa in a state of readiness for war".

Mr Niehaus said the ANC would far rather negotiate with the CP. He said "both the ANC and the CP have to make compromises".

### Shoot first

PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo said security force action at the right-wing siege of the talks venue last week was unacceptable.

"In dealing with the oppressed, the security forces follow the policy of 'shoot first, ask questions later'.

"But in dealing with crimes committed in full view of their right-wing buddies, they follow a different policy.

"To bring these double standards to an end the PAC calls on the oppressed masses and justice loving people to attend a rally tomorrow at noon outside the World Trade Centre to strengthen our call for a neutral venue and neutral chairperson for the talks."

Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the alliance was not calling for a national stayaway, but he said individual regions could decide to call one.

The Western Cape branch of the ANC is expected to announce what action it planned for the region at a press conference today.

In Johannesburg yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu gave an assurance that the demonstrations, planned by the alliance, would be conducted in a disciplined manner. — Own Correspondent

Star 30/6/93

# ANC criticises two NP appointments

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC has severely criticised the appointment of prominent National Party politicians as Transvaal Provincial Administration Members of the Executive Council (MEC), and has called on the auditor-general to urgently investigate the abuse of Government resources for party-political purposes.

Commenting on President F W de Klerk's recent appointment of Springs MP Piet Coetzer and former Pan Africanist Congress member David Chuenyane as Transvaal MECs, the ANC said the

two men would continue to actively promote the NP's election strategy in structures such as the National Co-ordinating Mechanism.

This, said the ANC, would be done at the expense of other parties and organisations while the two men received salaries paid with taxpayers' money.

Nothing has changed since the Information Scandal. The NP does not draw any distinction between its own resources and those of the State.

"As the ANC warned with the appointment of (NP MP) Chris Fischmer as political assistant to the State Presi-

dent, this state of affairs is able to continue because there is no accountability in the current apartheid parliamentary and provincial administration structures," the ANC said.

The organisation said the auditor-general had to urgently investigate Pretoria's abuse of "Government resources for party-political purposes", and demanded that a code of conduct be determined for all political organisations.

It said the Independent Elections Commission yet to be established would have to ensure strict adherence to such a code.



Star 30/6/93

# Deadlock over ~~30/6/93~~ (1A) new constitution

By Esther Waugh

The negotiating council has reached a deadlock over who will write and adopt the new constitution. A compromise — whether regional governments can be elected at the same time as a national government — will be discussed in the council today.

The stalemate arose between those — including the Government and ANC — wanting an elected constitution-making body and the parties — mostly Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members — demanding that the multiparty negotiating process draft the new constitution.

The gauntlet was thrown down yesterday by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa who said his organisation rejected as "undemocratic" the idea of negotia-



Ramaphosa . . . threw down the gauntlet.

tors drafting the new constitution.

He was supported by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who urged the IFP and its allies to consider an "equilibrium" between the two views.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo warned that: "If there

has to be a parting of ways, so be it."

In an attempt to defuse the deadlock, Ramaphosa formally proposed the compromise contained in a negotiations technical committee report tabled and discussed yesterday in the council.

A decision on the proposal will be taken today.

Slovo told the council the crunch issue that should be determined within the next 48 hours was whether "we are going to accept a democratic process or the kind of abortion of a process proposed by the other side (Cosag)".

Ramaphosa said the multiparty negotiations process was incapable of drafting a constitution to introduce a democratic dispensation.

"We have reached the time where all of us have to state quite clearly where we stand."

Star 30/6/93

# National stayaway feared

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
and Paul Bell

South Africa appears headed for a potentially crippling national stayaway tomorrow, despite the reluctance of the national leadership of the ANC-led tripartite alliance to specifically call for a countrywide stayaway to mark its "day of action in defence of democracy".

But some ANC regions — including the powerful PWV body — have already indicated they will be calling for regional stayaways.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said yesterday that the "day of action", called by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance in protest against Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers, would include marches and pickets on

police stations, rallies, mass meetings, church services, demonstrations, ringing of church bells and driving with lights on.

Various regions of the alliance would decide whether or not regional stayaways would be staged.

However, Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo said the giant labour federation had called on employers to support "the forces of democracy".

So far the PWV, the Natal Midlands and the northern Cape regions of the alliance have called for regional stayaways, and many more regions were expected to do the same today.

Yesterday the alliance said the Government's failure to act on warnings of an imminent assault on the World Trade Cen-

tre, coupled with the security forces' lack of response, had exposed Pretoria's inability or unwillingness to defend the peace process.

The alliance demanded the finalisation of the election date, formation of a transitional executive council, multiparty control over the security forces and the arrest and prosecution of the rightwingers responsible and their leaders.

The organisations also called for the resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe.

Sisulu emphasised that tomorrow's protests were intended to be peaceful.

"We call on all South Africans, workers, business and religious bodies, as well as civil society, to organise peaceful demonstrations," he said.

Ken  
S.  
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11A Warnings (100) (204)

# PAC to hold Star 30/6/93 protest rally

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Pan Africanist Congress will hold a rally outside the World Trade Centre today to protest against the police's "double standards" and demand that negotiations take place at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

(CIA)  
PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo yesterday said the rally would be peaceful, as opposed to the rightwingers' protest action on Friday.

He condemned the police's failure to arrest the rightwingers on Friday, and accused them of complicity.

He said the Government's suspension of talks with the PAC was in line with Pretoria's "long-standing position".

The PAC, he said, had "given a clear indication of its intention to suspend the armed struggle", but refused to do so unilaterally.

# There can be no miracles – Sisulu

By Garner Thomson  
Star Bureau



Walter Sisulu . . . plea to UK.

LONDON — Walter Sisulu has admitted that “unrealistic expectations” of some ANC followers could be a problem in achieving reconciliation and democracy in South Africa.

The deputy president of the ANC said in London: “We’ve got to get across to people that we cannot work miracles, that we cannot overnight provide a house and job for everyone — yet somehow we must keep their trust that we will try our best to improve their lives.”

## ANC leader warns against unrealistic expectations

Sisulu was speaking in London to former South African journalist Donald Woods in an interview in *The Guardian*.

And he called on the international community — Britain in particular — to help right the wrongs of apartheid with positive, financial aid.

Before any substantial changes could be made, the ANC had to get its supporters to the polls, he said. “To do that, we need a lot of help from our friends all

over the world, and especially here in Britain.

“Although we have the clear support of most South Africans, we have to translate that into votes, and we don’t have the economic resources the South African Government has.”

Delegations pleading with the British not to deliver the majority over to the white minority dated back eight decades, and had largely gone unheeded. The consequence was almost a cen-

tury of injustice toward blacks, including 40 years of apartheid. “That’s why we hope the British people will have a special feeling of obligation to help us to right these wrongs,” he said.

Despite fears of a backlash against the ANC’s moderate leadership, the ANC was hopeful that the more militant youth would continue to heed its call for negotiation through peaceful means.

Likewise, he believed that inclusion of all the country’s disparate forces — including the far Left and Right — in the negotiating process would have a positive outcome, and avoid the alienation of any part of the population.

Star 30/6/93  
(11A)

# Negotiating parties declare a deadlock

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BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) declared yesterday that they were in deadlock over the process of drafting a new constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We reject out of hand the single-phase process in which this undemocratic, unelected body drafts a constitution. And in our rejection we have introduced a deadlock of major proportions."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said: "We say 'no' to an elected constituent assembly writing a constitution. We have a deadlock."

He said: "Today for the first time we are starting to face the real issues. There is no way out but to find a compromise, but we cannot do it at this stage of the process."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer intervened and said the technical committee on constitutional issues had proposed that the parties seek equilibrium. "I appeal to Inkatha that they have no choice but to consider the equilibrium proposal."

In its report, the committee said the two opposing positions were incompatible and could be bridged only by compromise.

The report reinforces a two-phased transition in which the negotiating forum decides on binding constitutional principles which have a justiciable basis as a mandate to the constitution-making body. It binds the constitution-making body to drafting the final constitution within the

limitations it imposes.

At the same time, it stills the fears of Cosag parties by providing for regional constitutions with their own legislatures and executives.

Ramaphosa tabled a motion stating that the equilibrium proposal "offers the best possible basis for finding agreement on the constitution-making process."

The negotiating council decided it would debate, but not decide on the resolution until today, allowing parties to discuss the issue and consult their principals.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the DP was prepared to compromise because the principles would be binding on an elected body and the powers and functions of regions would be determined by the negotiating body.

He said those parties like the ANC, which had wanted an elected body to draft the new constitution, had made considerable concessions over the past weeks. Referring to Cosag and Inkatha, he said: "I would like to ask, what are you prepared to compromise on in bridging the gap?"

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said: "If there has to be a parting of the ways, so be it." He said Inkatha was clearly afraid of placing the future of the country in the hands of the people by facing an election.

He said negotiators had to resolve the deadlock within the next 48 hours.

# ANC alliance calls for mass demonstrations over right-wing action

Wing action

THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance yesterday called on all South Africans to show their support for democracy by staging demonstrations tomorrow in protest against the storming of the World Trade Centre by the right-wingers last week.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said although the alliance was not calling for a national stayaway, regions "where there is capacity and where there has been proper consultation" could call for stayaways. Naidoo said the alliance would show today which of its regions would do so. Sources said the PWV region would be

among those calling for a stayaway.

Naidoo said the alliance met employers yesterday to elicit from them what steps they were prepared to take to "defend" democracy. An employers' response was expected today, he said. (IA) (11A)

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that Saccola said Cosatu had told it that its action would be aimed at the minimal disruption of the economy. Saccola vice-president Johann Liebenberg said Cosatu did not view the right-wing display of force as merely the occupation of a building but as "an attack on democracy and negotiations". As

## WILSON ZWANE

such, Saccola was prepared to support the initiative, "but only if disruption of work was kept to an absolute minimum".

Seifsa encouraged its members to try to agree with worker representatives at company level on appropriate and non-disruptive forms of action, such as lunchtime meetings. The federation emphasised, however, that the policy of no work, no pay should — as in the past — be applied to any unauthorised absences from work. (IA) (11A)

To highlight the campaign the ANC has

taken, a series of newspaper advertisements urging all South Africans to take "action in whatever form" tomorrow to protest against the right-wing's action.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu gave an assurance that planned demonstrations would be conducted in a disciplined manner. Sisulu and Naidoo were at pains to explain that the decision to declare tomorrow a day of action was taken only after a series of consultations with various formations, including churches.

The National Council of Trade of Unions (Nactu) said although none of its leaders

were participating in negotiations, it supported mass action against the bias shown by police in their handling of the World Trade Centre affair. "We, therefore, urge workers and other liberation forces not to go to work (tomorrow)," Nactu said.

Inkatha has, however, slated a stayaway, saying it would damage the economy. Inkatha central committee member Velaphi Ndlovu said those who wanted to go to work should be allowed to do so.

DIRK VAN EEDEN reports that the PAC will stage a demonstration at the

## Alliance

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World Trade Centre today.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo gave the assurance that his organisation was going there to "talk, not storm" and that the march would be peaceful. The aim was to highlight PAC concerns about security forces and to strengthen PAC calls for a neutral venue and chairman. (IA) (11A)

Meanwhile, the AHI said the cause of the

Afrikaner had not been served by Friday's actions, Sapa reports. AHI vice-president P A Olivier said groups opposed to negotiations should not be prevented from expressing their democratic right to protest against them, but there were limits on how this could be done. (IA) (11A)

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