

BLACK POLITICS - 1993

AUGUST.

FW faces tough choice on Inkatha walkout

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will have to make one of the most important decisions of his career in the next month if desperate efforts to woo Inkatha back to negotiations do not succeed.

He will have to decide whether to:

- Press ahead without Inkatha and risk an almost certain split in his cabinet, or,
- Delay the installation of a Transitional Executive Council, thereby risking the entire negotiating process.

Desperate attempts are under way to woo Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party back to the talks so the August 30 deadline set by negotiators for finalising the new constitution, bill of rights and a body to oversee the elections can be met.

These include attempts at bilateral meetings between Inkatha and the NP and the ANC, pressure from the diplomatic community and interventions by Peace Accord chairman John Hall.

The government is seeking to accommodate Inkatha's demand for Zulu self-determination and its opposition to the manner in which decisions are made at the talks.

Decisions

Inkatha is demanding that an inviolate regional constitution be drawn up before national elections. It also wants exclusive powers for the region which cannot be overruled by a future government.

This week saw government negotiators meeting the IFP on two occasions in an attempt to solve the impasse which saw the IFP walking out of talks.

Both meetings ended inconclusively. Even a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Buthelezi on Thursday failed to stop Inkatha's court action to contest the use of sufficient consensus in making decisions at the talks.

Ambassadors from Germany, the United States and Britain will meet with Mr Buthelezi soon as part of the diplomatic pressure being brought to bear on

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De Klerk's Inkatha dilemma

the agreement will be the establishment of the TEC, which is particularly important because it will open the doors to foreign funding, the normalisation of SA's relations with the rest of the world and the lifting of sanctions.

But, more importantly, it appears the only legitimate possibility for limiting violence.

If Inkatha is not on board by August 30, Mr de Klerk will have to either go ahead without it and risk splitting his cabinet or lose these benefits — and possibly jeopardise the entire peace process.

Natal leader George Bartlett, Home Affairs Minister Dannie Schutte and Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman, who show a deep sympathy for Mr Buthelezi, are some of the senior NP members who could leave should the president press on without Inkatha.

lezi in Ulundi, he said Parliament meets on September 13 to pass the legislation based on decisions made at the World Trade centre. The August 30 deadline has been set to allow parliamentary committees time to study the vital legislation.

The first visible sign of

four occasions to hold meetings with Inkatha, but all have been cancelled. However, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said further attempts would be made to meet Inkatha. The ANC also wanted to arrange a meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Buthelezi.

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Inkatha to return to the talks.

A possible meeting with US President Bill Clinton is being held out to Mr Buthelezi — provided he is part of a democratic settlement. The ANC has tried on

Give us the price of a beer, asks the ANC

THE price of just one beer in Tokyo — that's what ANC electoral commission chairman Popo Molefe is asking Japanese workers to contribute to the education of South African voters. (11A)

Mr Molefe is spending six days in the world's most productive country to mobilise support and financial assistance for the ANC as the campaign for the April 27 election heats up.

"We are asking Japanese workers to contribute just R10 each towards the education of South African voters — I believe that's about the cost of a beer here in Tokyo," Mr Molefe said.

The ANC official is to address an African cultural festival and fair in Tokyo today before leaving for Australia as part of his campaign to drum up support and

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funds for the ANC.

Meanwhile, British trade unions are expected to swell the ANC's election coffers substantially following a meeting between union officials and ANC foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki in London this week, reports PETER MALHERBE.

Representatives of Britain's Trade Union Congress said the major unions had given "enthusiastic support" to requests from the ANC for financial aid.

The officials will now consult members before deciding on their contribution to the election campaign.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, on the organisation's first official trip to Taiwan, has promised that Taiwanese business interests in South Africa would be safe with an ANC government

Mandela in Taipei storm

C/P news 118/92

By THEMBA KHUMALO in Taiwan

ANC leader Nelson Mandela caused a storm in Taipei when he said an ANC government would not readily recognise Taiwan - and then proceeded to ask for a R43 million donation from his hosts

Mar-de-la, who arrived in the Far East to a tumultuous welcome on Friday, told a press conference at the airport shortly after his arrival that although an ANC government would recognise mainland China, it would not readily recognise Taiwan internationally

Mandela then asked the Taiwanese government to donate R43-million to the ANC to meet the forthcoming election costs

There was widespread criticism of the ANC leader, the sharpest coming from the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Wei Yung

He said "Our government should not accept Mandela's proposal to build future relations on the basis of UN resolutions. He has shown no respect for Taiwan, although he is a guest of a government that maintains full diplomatic ties with Pretoria."

Mandela and his delegation jetted in on Friday to campaign for funds to prepare for the April general election

They were met by Taiwan premier Lien Chan at CKS Airport and the two leaders later addressed a brief press conference before the ANC delegation was whisked off to Taipei's prestigious Grand Hotel

On Friday evening Chan hosted a dinner for Mandela at which the ANC leader addressed local wealthy businessmen

ANC leader snubs ROC on arrival

(11#)

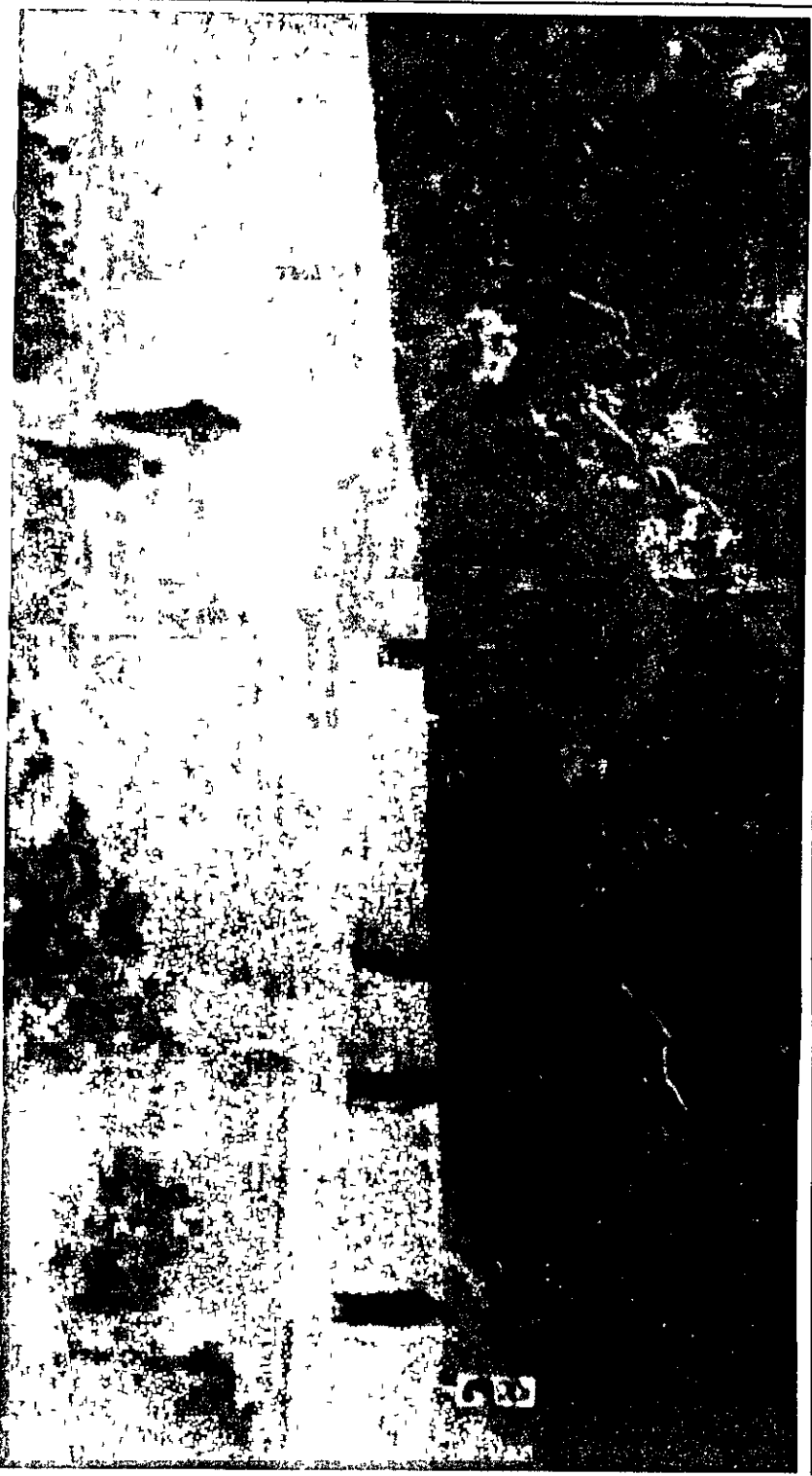
The Taiwanese leader said his country's business people were ready to do anything to help in the economic reconstruction of a new SA

Said Chan "If there is anything my government can do to help, all you need to do is to give the word. We are ready to extend assistance to a new South Africa because we believe in you, your wisdom and your statesmanship. Your reputation as the champion of freedom and democracy for all peoples precedes you"

"My guests are here tonight because they have boundless admiration for you personally and they are all yours"

The densely populated city of Taipei came to a virtual standstill on Friday as thousands of Chinese lined the streets to watch a cavalcade of about 50 state limousines and army vehicles escort Mandela through the city. Last night Mandela was honoured with the Brilliant Star Award by Chan at another dinner at a local hotel

Mandela, whom the Taiwanese have tipped as the next president of SA, said his government would strive towards uniting Taiwan and its neighbour the People's Republic of China



Mandela in middle as two Chinas lay claim to be rightful rulers

By KEVIN DAVIE

ANC president Nelson Mandela, visiting Taiwan this weekend, is now centre stage in the 40-year struggle between the Taipei and Beijing governments

Both China (People's Republic of China) and Taiwan (Republic of China) are wooing the ANC as part of their struggle that began in 1949 to claim to be the legitimate government of China.

Most countries afford diplomatic status to China (population 1.2-billion) But SA is now the most significant country which has diplomatic links with Taiwan (20-million).

China and SA have established missions in both countries, but full diplomatic links will not be possible while Pretoria recognises Taipei.

Some diplomats believe that an ANC-dominated government might wish to switch allegiances. But others argue that the ANC has had almost no relationship with Beijing

As part of Beijing's assertion that it was the true leader of world communism, it backed rival liberation movements to those supported by Moscow. So the ANC was supported by the Soviet Union and China backed the PAC.

Factories

A courtship began in recent years as Mr Mandela and senior ANC officials visited China

Although some diplomats argue that an ANC government would move with other nations and recognise China, Taiwan's ambassador, I-Cheng Loh, believes that economics will decide the issue.

Taiwan does not monitor direct foreign investment in SA (every Taiwanese citizen is allowed to take out NT\$5-million (about \$190 000) a year without clearance). There are 285 Taiwanese-owned factories in SA, mostly in regional growth points.

Figures from the Board for Regional Industrial Development show that foreign investors placed R558-million in the scheme in the past two



TAIWAN'S I-CHENG LOH: Economics will decide issue.

years. The Taiwanese invested R328-million, the next biggest national investment being R70-million from the UK.

Taiwanese factories in SA employ between 40 000 and 45 000 people.

Mr Loh says Taiwanese investment in SA is by small investors: "We have tried hard, but have not managed to hook any big fish."

Taiwan is a big fish in terms of SA's trade, being its fifth-largest trading partner. But SA is a minnow in terms of Taiwan's trade.

SA trade has slipped since 1990 from 1.3% of Taiwan's total to an expected 1% this year.

Taiwan's trade last year was \$153-billion, its chief partners being the US, Hong Kong and the EEC

Mr Loh doubts that a new SA government will attract Taiwan's big fish.

"The Chinese go out and invest for cheaper wages, to be close to source material or to get around quota restrictions.

"Your wages are higher, much higher than in South-East Asia. You have resources such as gold and diamonds, but we don't have expertise in them."

Mr Loh says that where projects, such as the proposed naphtha cracker off Mossel Bay, have been studied, high input prices have made other destinations like

Texas more attractive.

He says Taiwan wishes China well in its economic reform, but believes the mainland economy is severely overheated. He thinks the bubble will burst.

SA's direct trade with China (\$232-million in 1992) has been boosted by the export of VW Jettas last year and this year. But this export is likely to dry up because China intends producing its own Jettas in a joint venture with VW.

SA's total trade with China is estimated at \$1.3-billion if business going through Hong Kong and Singapore is included. This puts China in sixth spot behind trade of \$1.7-billion with Taiwan, but Mr Loh doubts these estimates.

"Safmarine now calls at mainland Chinese ports. I can't think of any trade which is cleared through Hong Kong."

Taiwan and China have recently had talks through front organisations on possible reunification.

Mr Loh says if the mainland reforms sufficiently to allow a true market economy ("not a socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics") and free political activity, reunification will be possible.

"We will win an election and there will once again be one China," he says.

Big 'Heroes Day' turn-out expected

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Correspondent

THE national president of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr Clarence Makwetu, will be the main speaker at a PAC "Heroes' Day" rally to be held at Athlone Stadium today, starting at noon.

According to some reports, Mr Makwetu will use the occasion to launch the PAC's elec-

tion campaign, but a PAC spokesman told Weekend Argus the main purpose was to observe the movement's "Heroes' Day".

Large crowds are expected.

PAC director of publicity Mr Waters Toboti said yesterday that copies of a list of some PAC heroes who had died since 1959 would be distributed at the rally. The list contained

more than 120 names, but many more had died over the years.

Mr Toboti said the concept of July 31 as "Heroes' Day" was derived from the death of Anton Lembende on July 31 1947. He was the first president of the ANC Youth League (from 1944 to 1947) and was the first person to articulate the Africanist tendency within the ANC.

(11A) ARG 1/8/93

Federalists won't

CLAIRE ROBERTSON reports on the swaying battle at the multi-party talks over regional powers



LEFT The constitutional issues technical committee prepares to lead the negotiating council through the draft constitution. They are, from left, Unisa rector Professor Marinus Wiechers, Pretoria advocate Dikgang Moseleme, Sc, Foreign Affairs legal adviser Michelle Olivier, Dr Francois Verster of Potchefstroom University, Pretoria advocate Bernard Mgepe, and Arthur Chaskalson, SC, of the Legal Resources Centre

Settle for fig leaves

In 1991, Prime Minister of Natal FR Moor returned victorious from the National Convention, where he had gone to fight the good fight for federalism in the proposed Union of South Africa.

He assured the Natal colonial legislature that he had secured federalism — in the form of provincial councils.

“Our central Parliament would not dare to interfere with these provincial rights unless it was the will of the people that that should come about.”

But when the National Party closed its iron grip on the country in the 50s, it treated the provinces as nothing more than handmaids charged with carrying out the will of the central government — and in 1983 Parliament abolished them entirely.

Engaged in the second redefinition of this country since Union, negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week debated the core of a system of government that will make the constitution, and not Parliament, the supreme authority.

Important players — the National Party, the Democratic Party and the Congress Party, and the Constitutional Commission, which includes Inkatha, want to lock a federal structure and regional powers into that document.

The first step — and the most important — is to guarantee these powers in the interim constitution, building in a constitutional DNA which will affect the form of the constitution to be adopted after the elections.

This week Rowan Crojale, chief negotiator for Bophuthatswana and regarded as the reasonable foil to Cosag stabiliser Inkatha’s hubris at the talks, asked again and again: “Where are the guarantees?”

Regional powers could not be specified in the draft constitution because of a “practical

problem”, rector of Unisa Professor Marinus Wiechers said in his capacity as a member of the technical committee charged with drafting the council’s wishes into concrete clauses.

“The regions will include bits and pieces of the present (provincial, homeland and regional) structures. In re-constructing the regional dispensation for the country, the technical committee suggested this way of combining functions by a process of consultation.”

He was referring to a proposed regional commission whose task it will be to advise the regionally composed Senate, on the final division of powers between the regions and the national government — after the election.

Not for the last time during the debate, fellow committee member Arthur Chaskalson hastened to reassure the federalists in the negotiating council that even if regional powers were not spelled out in the interim constitution, they were guaranteed in the constitution to be adopted after the elections.

“The constitutional principles guarantee the end product. Our draft ensures that the regions will have autonomy.”

Mr Chaskalson referred to sections of the constitution to back this up.

“The National Executive shall determine the extent of the legislative and executive competence of each region.”

“The competence of a region shall be determined after the consideration of the region’s financial, administrative and infrastructural capability” and such details (constitutional principles) (constitutional principles) And the constitutional principles that guarantee autonomy.”

One crucial principle states that regions shall have

“rather exclusive or concurrent powers. Not good enough, say the federalists. This does not guarantee exclusive regional powers, leaving regions open to being mere conveyor belts” mechanisms for carrying out central government policy.

The DP will propose beefing up the constitutional principles to specify that the regions shall have substantial exclusive powers in such vital fields as housing, health, police, welfare and education, among others.

And the powers must be spelled out now say the federalists. It is only addressed after the election, Mr Crojale said this week, regional governments would be dependent on the goodwill of the central government.

Professor David Welsh of Cape Town University’s political studies department concurs. Now is the time to stake federal claims. The evolution of a federal system (after the election) depends crucially on the political outcome not only on the letter of the constitution.

“It could be that the most voracious protagonists of federalism are knocked off their perches in the election.”

But is that not democracy, change the system?”

Not if the ANC has committed itself to strong regional government, as it has either from conviction or for the sake of an easier passage to power.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa went out of his way this week to partly allay these fears by stressing the need for regional representation at central government level.

SA Communist Party chief negotiator Joe Slovo pointed out that increasing regional representation at central

government level would “go a long way to ensuring that the regions feel they are part of the power structures. This will help to cement South Africa rather than fragment it.”

But the federalists want that fragmentation, seeking not so much effective representation at the centre as autonomy for the regions, and mere assurances that the ANC alliance stands for strong regional government are not enough.

task of the court will be to test whether the constitutional adheres to the constitutional principles adopted by the negotiators last month.

Here the technical committee was firm.

The constitution-making body should be allowed to develop a new constitution but those “political passions must be checked by the blind justice of the constitutional court”, said committee member Dr Francois Verster.

The ANC will not let go of this one, finding unacceptable the implication that there is a higher body than the constituent assembly, one which could overturn its constitution.

Inkatha lies on the extreme fringe of the federalist debate, seeking to emasculate the central government by grinding it only those powers necessary to act on behalf of regions as a group when dealing with other nations.

And Inkatha insists that its curious definition of federalism be the one that shapes the future dispensation — or it will not attend talks.

An exasperated politician remarked recently: “If they want confederalism, why don’t they just say so?”

Inkatha often refers to its proposed constitution for

“Some principles appear to be created in the next breath underfoot, or so they could be construed.”

“The tone and direction of the draft constitution are acceptable,” says DP talks delegate Ken Andrew. “But there are loopholes in critical places that could render the whole thing ineffective in the face of a determined central government.”

These are being seized upon as federalists, frustrated by 1991, fight hard not to repeat being “kidded into accepting a few federal fig leaves”, as Professor Welsh put it.

Sowetan 2/8/92

Aid blacks for past wrongs - Mandela

(11A) (11A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION 'Biggest

challenge is losing legacy of apartheid':

TAIPEI — A new government in South Africa will have to apply affirmative action to address the effects apartheid has had on black lives, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at Soochong University in Taipei, where he received an honorary doctorate in law, Mandela said the greatest challenge which faces the legislature and executive of the next South Africa was the question of how to address the legacy of apartheid.

State and public authorities would have to adopt policies which would have to give priority to the rights of the victims and legateses of apartheid.

"It is in this context that we will have to give careful attention to the need for

action to undo the legacy of apartheid and sexism.

"Affirmative action is not a threat either to standards or to individuals. It is an internationally recognised method of redressing past wrongs.

"To reject this method is to accept the status quo and to ensure that the fruits of war, colonialism, racism and sexism and oppression continue to be nurtured in society," Mandela said.

Since his arrival on the island last Friday, Mandela was treated like a head of state and was constantly referred to as "Mr President".

He was accompanied to Taiwan by Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC's head of information and publicity; Mr Trevor

Manuel, economics chief, and Mr Thomas Nkobi, the ANC's treasurer. Mandela yesterday described the excursion as successful. He spent the past three days meeting Taiwan's top business people and political and economic decision-makers to try and attract investment in a post-apartheid South Africa. "We are confident that by investing in a democratic South Africa, building and expanding trade links, effecting technology transfers and assisting with human resource development, you will make a significant contribution to that new agenda of building a vibrant economy in a stable, democratic and peaceful society," Mandela said yesterday at a luncheon hosted by the Taiwanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

NEWS Makwetu says multiparty negotiations will perpetuate white domination in SA

Trade Centre talks slammed

Sowetan 2/8/93

PEOPLE who thought liberation would come from the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park should banish the thought from their minds, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said at the weekend.

Multiparty constitutional talks at Kempton Park were not intended for liberation, but perpetuating white domination he told supporters at the Athlone Stadium near Cape Town.

Addressing an enthusiastic but incipient-free Heroes' Day rally, he said the Transitional Executive Council was "basically a toothless, dummy institution with the main task of advising FW de Klerk".

The PAC demanded a transitional authority with executive powers leading to elections for a constituent assembly

Makwetu said the PAC was concerned when people died, but calls to mourn victims of the Kentworth church massacre had not been matched when 47 people died violently in Transvaal townships last weekend.

"Are some people more equal than others?"

The Kempton Park talks were out to implement power-sharing and "dangerous balkanisation" of the country.

"The interim might turn out to be permanent. All members of the oppressed must stand together and fight against this fraud."

The "reg me" and the African National Congress headed a World Trade Centre grouping that supported sunset clauses and had given rise to the "strange animal, the TEC" — *Sapa*



Miss Zanele Mahlangu, 19, of Ishawele, is presented to the cheering crowd after she was crowned the fairest of them all during the 15th annual Miss Soweto pageant at the Standard Bank Arena, Johannesburg, at the weekend.

Pic: MBUZENI ZULU

News in brief

Sowetan 2/8/93
Rhodes workers in sit-in

RHODES University workers are staging a sit-in in the campus' administration offices to back their demand for a minimum across-the-board R200 a month increase.

The workers are believed to be members of the Congress of SA Trade Unions-affiliated National Education Health and Allied Workers Union, which has about 500 members at the university

Azapo meets next week

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to hold its second national council from August 14 to 16 in Durban

Sowetan 2/8/93
Announcing this, Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng said the council would focus on the coming elections, the interim constitution, the Biko Week campaign from September 6 to 12, violence and the education crisis

(I/A)
Nkadimeng said delegates were expected to pay a R120 registration fee. He said about 500 delegates were expected to attend the council whose venue was still to be announced

Thomas' departing plea

Patrick Laurence argues that President de Klerk is losing both white support and black sympathy

Stars 218/93

Violence wounds FW most

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THE July death toll in political violence spiralled to the 550-mark — the highest total since the bloodletting of August 1990 — to cast a pall of gloom over the negotiating table.

There is little consolation that the July total is well below the August 1990 tally, when more than 700 people died. The overall trend in the past few months has been upward and campaigning for the pending election is certain to generate more heat than light.

It requires no great perspicacity to realise that political violence is a serious threat to the quest for a negotiated settlement: resolution of political differences by bullets and bombs is manifestly inimical to free and fair elections.

As Robin Carlisle of the Democratic Party observed after anonymous gunmen fired on worshippers at St James's Church, Cape Town, people will not feel safe going to the polls if they are liable to be murdered while at prayer.

The attack on the suburban church represents a new dimension in South Africa, the public, having had to endure the spectacle of innocent civilians being butchered by

faceless assailants, now has to ponder a crime that combines mass murder with desecration.

The attack came less than a week after another brutal episode of an ambushed minibus, of seven members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) for execution.

The random slaughter of church-goers on the southern tip of South Africa, and the calculated execution of IFP members on the East Rand, more than 1 000 km away, share a common trait, both were provocative acts seemingly calibrated to provoke intense anger and a desire for revenge.

For that reason several at the negotiating table, notably Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and F W de Klerk's National Party, suspected a plan to sabotage the negotiations.

They knew that if the attacks provoked indiscriminate retaliation, South Africa's political violence would soon lead to civil war on a scale far greater than the conflict of the 1980s which the negotiations were designed to end.

As the violence intensifies it becomes more difficult for the political

leaders to control their followers. As feelings harden on the ground, the risk of spontaneous retaliation increases. In that atmosphere, the appeals for peace and tolerance risk dismissal as effete and worthless ploy.

So far, mercifully, the attack on St James's Church has not led to a senseless revenge attack on worshippers in a black township, although white traisis opened fire on black women at a Johannesburg taxi-rank, killing one, and stabbed a black man to death.

Unfortunately, however, the execution of the IFP men near Wadeville in Germiston increased tensions in the already volatile East Rand and apparently triggered a marked upsurge in the killing rate.

According to figures compiled by the Human Rights Commission, 284 people were killed in East Rand townships between July 1 and July 31, of these, 142 were killed on or after July 19, the date the executions took place.

It is hard to imagine how a free and fair election can be held in the East Rand townships, where the IFP, outnumbered and besieged, has survived by retreating into min-

grant worker hostels and turning them into fortresses.

A recent RPG rocket attack by anti-IFP militants on Kwesine Hostel in Kaitlengong — one of the troubled East Rand townships — seems to have been an attempt to turn a fortress into a death trap. The impact was to raise the political temperature even higher.

The main political casualty of the continuing violence appears to be De Klerk's NP. De Klerk, rightly or wrongly, is blamed for the violence. It is associated with the reform process which he started on February 2 1990.

The white right wing accuses him of being too weak to take decisive action to end the violence. His perceived weakness is manifest in the eyes of the political foes in the Afrikaner Volkfront and the Conservative Party — in his refusal to outlaw Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's underground army, and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA).

APLA is the prime corporate suspect in the white community for the series of attacks on white civilians, starting with a murderous assault in King William's Town late

last year and ending with the July 25 attack on the church.

An equally vehement black left wing accuses De Klerk of hypocrisy, of publicly expressing unctuous disgust at the violence while privately conniving with — or, at the best, turning a blind eye to — the machinations of State security agents bent on destabilising the ANC and on demoralising the black community.

The decline of Klerk's NP is reflected in the sharp drop in its support in the white community — according to one recent poll, it is down to 25 percent — and in the fall in De Klerk's personal appeal to black people as the brave reforming president.

"Comrade de Klerk" has been metamorphosed by the popular black perceptions of the genesis of violence into "Tricky Frickie".

The erosion of NP support has serious implications for hopes of a durable settlement: a strong NP in the proposed transitional government of national unity would help to bolster white morale and forestall a reaction of flight or fight, mass emigration or armed rebellion.

Defections from the NP strengthen Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volkfront or Mangosuthu Buthezi's IFP, both of which have withdrawn from the negotiations and are preparing for possible resistance to an ANC-led government.

The ANC has been vociferous in accusing De Klerk of fomenting violence to disrupt its plans to mobilise its supporters for the election. Ironically, however, the ANC may be the main beneficiary of the violence if an election is held, as scheduled, next year.

Investigation by Chris de Kock, of the Human Science Research Council, into the political attitudes of black people in the hostels, squatter camps and the rural areas shows that ANC members are the less intimidated by violence. They are, consequently, likely to vote even if there is a risk of violence at or en route to the polls.

His findings show that 56 percent of these mainly poor people — who he says account for nearly 80 percent of the black population — will vote for the ANC, against a mere 9 percent for the IFP and 2 percent for the Pan Africanist Congress. □

Leaders call for action to stem violence

Star 2/18/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday strongly condemned the latest massacre in the East Rand township of Tembisa, and said something concrete had to be done to end the violence.

In a statement issued shortly after his return from Zambia, De Klerk expressed his horror and outrage at the murders, and called on all South Africans to help the police to bring the perpetrators of violence to book.

Combating violence, De Klerk said, was not the responsibility of only the Government and the security forces.

But in Taipei, where he is on a week-long official visit, Mandela yet again laid into the police, saying it was alarming that the SAP was unable to prevent the latest killings in Tembisa.

The ANC, Mandela said, expected the National Intelligence Service, the SAP and the South African Defence Force to have taken "proper precautions" to prevent such deaths.

He reiterated the ANC's demand for joint control of the security forces, and described the

killings as a sad commentary on the National Party and the Government about their attitude towards black lives.

The ANC leader said that when five whites were killed in an attack in King William's Town in December, the entire eastern Cape was turned into a battlefield. Almost 60 000 blacks had been killed and yet Pretoria did not "appear to move at all".

"This is a tragedy. It is clear we are not only dealing with black-on-black violence. This has ramifications that boggle one's mind," Mandela said.

In his statement, De Klerk said verbal condemnations were not enough, and urged all South Africans and their leaders to play a role in combating violence.

They had to speak out against violence and co-operate with the police, he said. Leaders had "to show the moral courage to discipline those within their organisations who stir up hatred through words and actions."

"The future of all South Africans depends on all of us, as individuals, joining hands with one another and with the SAP to combat violence," he said.

Like De Klerk, the ANC yesterday extended its sympathies to all the residents of Tembisa and those families who had lost loved ones in the violence.

Negotiators Star 2/8/93 square up for debates

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Wrangling over the draft Interim Constitution unveiled last week and fundamental rights during the transition is expected to continue when the multiparty Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre today.

Failure

The meeting — which will again continue without the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and Conservative Party — will revisit the 12-chapter Interim Constitution and deliberate on fundamental rights during the transition.

The three have suspended their participation in the talks, with the IFP taking the negotiators to court so that some of the NC's decisions taken through sufficient consensus could be invalidated.

Negotiators have vowed to defend the court action.

The long-awaited report of the commission on states, provinces and regions — asked to make recommendations on new regional boundaries for the country — is also to be tabled before the Negotiating Council today.

Debate on the Interim Constitution has so far centred on the document's failure to clearly spell out regional governments' exclusive — as opposed to concurrent — powers, and a number of parties and organisations have said these would have to be agreed upon.

Although the Interim Constitution spells out at least 20

functional areas — including education, policing and health services — on which regional governments will be entitled to some legislative and executive powers, it leaves the final decision on the extent of these powers to the central government. (11A)

Debate on fundamental rights during the transition was also bogged down on Friday by traditional leaders who objected to their subordination to a proposed Bill of Rights.

The proposed Bill, traditional leaders argued, had "a pro-urban bias" and ignored traditional leaders' submissions to the relevant technical committee.

Others, such as the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, expressed extreme unhappiness about the proposed Bill's lack of "horizontalty" and about the fact that its interpretation would be left to "white-dominated courts"

Harmonise

The ad hoc committee on fundamental rights during the transition — made up of political representatives — was asked to harmonise the various parties' positions on whether a Bill of Rights or parts thereof should be horizontally applicable as well.

In an attempt to conclude agreements which could be passed into legislation when Parliament reconvenes for a short session next month, the NC will meet four days — except on Fridays — a week for the next few weeks.

Efforts to bring the IFP and KwaZulu back into the talks are also continuing.

ANC, Govt Star 218193 lead poll

The two major negotiating parties at the World Trade Centre — the ANC and the Government — command the support of 70 percent of voters on the Witwatersrand, a new poll by The Star, and Radio 702 shows.

Of this, the ANC can claim the lion's share of 54 percent, the survey conducted last month by Marketing and Media Research shows.

The IFP on the Reef registers just seven percentage points less than the NP, at 9 percent. More than eight out of 10 respondents who declared they would vote for the IFP were white and overwhelmingly English-speaking.

In another shuffling-off of old race-bound allegiances, President de Klerk had substantially higher support among the coloured community of the Witwatersrand than among whites.

● Full results Page 9

cent of Indian support, 15 percent of coloured and four percent of whites.

The NP has three percent of black voters but for the rest has a racially mixed Reef constituency. Results suggest it would command four out of 10 white Reef voters, and five out of every 10 coloured and Indian voters.

Close to two out of every three coloured women headed to the polls would have the NP's sunny new logo in mind when considering where to make their crosses.

Overall, seven out of 10 respondents — irrespective of their own sympathies — feel that the ANC will emerge as the strongest party in the first democratic election.

NEWS FEATURE Mandela in tug of war • Missionaries dedicated to averting bloodshed

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

TAIWAN — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela last Friday walked into a fight between two brothers and was asked to choose a side

He had barely passed through Taipei's Chiang Kai-Shek International Airport as a guest of the Taiwanese government when the local media pounced on him with their guns blazing

The fight into which Mandela walked was the perennial gripe on the island of Taiwan — which prefers to be known as the Republic of China (RoC) — the ongoing feud with the People's Republic of China on the mainland

As a recipient of largesse and military aid from the mainland, Mandela's visit to Taiwan and future diplomatic relations between an ANC-led government in South Africa and the island were questioned

It was put to Mandela bluntly would a future ANC government, which has been a recipient of aid from Beijing for decades, continue its links with the mainland or would the new South Africa retain its diplomatic links with Taipei?

There is no easy answer to this question and the way it was put to Mandela made it difficult to choose between the two — especially since the feud between the mainland and the island goes back decades, to when the nationalists on the mainland were defeated by Mao Tse Tung's communists and retreated to the island the Portuguese seafarers called Formosa

This protracted acrimony has manifested itself in various ways since the civil war of the 1930s. It became part, too, of the Cold War

The South African component of this situation was clear-cut as it was cold

Mandela on the spot in Taiwan

Southern 2/8/92

■ TWO CHINAS Hosts eager to know

where ANC leader's affinities lie:

(IFA)



Nelson Mandela

Pretoria ended up in the bunker with Taipei and Beijing supported the South African liberation movements against apartheid

Today the ANC is being courted by the countries which, in the old Cold War order, would not have associated with it

question again with a different approach

The president of the ANC explained that Beijing had supported the ANC in many ways against the Pretoria regime

In fact, as Mandela fielded questions, his colleague on the ANC's National Executive Committee, Mr Joe Slovo, was reportedly being received in the capital of the People's Republic of China

Beijing's support for the ANC dated back to the 1950s and "a democratic South Africa will not abandon its long-term friend who assisted the ANC during its worst time

"But we are building friendship with the Republic of China. We are impressed with the economic achievements and we would like to share the wisdom for such achievements with the government here," Mandela said

"I have confidence that the leaders of the governments of the mainland and here will be able to use their wisdom to solve their problems before we have to step in"

Mandela's unwavering support for Beijing did not sit well with the local media and opposition parties which criticised the ruling Kuomintang for inviting the ANC leader to Taiwan

Members of Taiwan's Legislative Committee on Foreign Affairs attacked Mandela for making what they called inappropriate remarks and criticised its

Ministry (of Foreign Affairs) for inviting the ANC leader to the island

The chairman of the committee, Mr Wei Yung, said "Our government should not accept Mandela's proposal to build future relations between our two countries on the basis of UN resolutions"

The United Nations does not recognise Taiwan. It recognises the People's Republic on the mainland

In a move that smacked of damage control, "a senior ANC source on the journey with Mandela" reportedly told a journalist from the Sunday paper *The China Post*, that "the ties between Beijing and the ANC were not as strong as people in Taiwan think"

The anonymous source reportedly said that Mandela had received the invitation from the RoC foreign ministry despite opposition from Beijing and from within the ANC

"But he (Mandela) is very uneasy about people's response and some media reports that South Africa will break ties with the RoC next year

"Mandela has never said that he will propose to cut formal diplomatic ties with the RoC after taking the office," the source told *The China Post*

The ANC leader himself cleared the air on Saturday, when he received a citation from the president of the RoC, Mr Lee Teng-hui

He said "After next year's election, and interim government of national unity would (jointly) make the decisions"

Diplomats and foreign ministry officials in Taiwan yesterday said that the local media had been "irresponsible" and "unfair"

One senior foreign affairs official said "When you first date a girl you don't expect her to give up all her old friends and pledge marriage immediately"

Leaving the city in a mess
workers in Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC in call for joint force

Star 3/18/93

Staff Reporters

As violence continued to rage on the East Rand yesterday, the ANC called on constitutional negotiators to set up a joint peacekeeping force as a matter of urgency to stop the carnage.

Police said today at least 87 people had been killed on the East Rand since Saturday afternoon and the toll was expected to rise as more bodies are found.

ANC president Nelson Mandela says he is planning to contact President F W de Klerk later today about the raging violence, reports Political Correspondent Esther Waugh from Kuala Lumpur.

Mandela said he would be asking De Klerk "what the police were doing about the violence".

The ANC leader contacted the organisation's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, in Johannesburg early today for a briefing.

The violence topped the agenda at the constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

Ramaphosa said the situation called for the urgent establishment of a joint peacekeeping force.

"This council must bring into being a joint policing force with credibility. We are duty-bound to install a peacekeeping force within a matter of weeks.

"That will send a ray of hope through this country."

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said last night such a "peace corps" would hopefully be trained and ready by January.

Townships are no-go areas as toll soars



The agony ... ambulance workers offload yet another casualty at Kattlehong's Natsalspruit Hospital yesterday. Picture: George Mashinini

Agreement on the structure and functions of the corps should be agreed to by next month, he added.

Sexwale said in an interview with The Star that joint control of security forces and the creation of the peacekeeping force should go hand-in-hand.

All military forces, be they homeland, right-wing or liberation armies needed to be amalgamated under joint control.

From these forces, an elite group would be picked and retrained for deployment in trouble spots where they would take over from the army and police.

And, in a statement yesterday, Archbishop Desmond Tutu called for urgent international intervention to help restore peace in violence-racked areas.

He said the strife on the East Rand "demonstrates beyond doubt that we are incapable of restoring law and order ourselves" (IIP)

Sapa reports Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel was sceptical about Tutu's idea, saying it would treat the symptoms but not the causes of the violence.

"By bringing a peacekeeping force here, would it stop the weapons from killing people?" he asked a television interviewer.

"Would it stop the fighting between the ANC and IFP? Would it stop the violence in this country? No. We must address the root causes of violence in this country."

He denied that police were not acting decisively enough to end the violence.

Facing a barrage of questions from journalists, Kriel repeatedly blamed political leaders for the violence.

IFP MP Hennie Becker expressed concern that the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would be over-represented on the corps.

He pointed out that the IFP did not have an army equivalent to MK. While IFP members could turn to the KwaZulu Police for protection while in Natal, they were almost defenceless outside the province.

Statistics released by police showed that 665 people had died in unrest-related attacks in East Rand townships since July 3.

Most of the deaths (over 400) occurred in Kattlehong. In Tokoza, 170 people were killed in the same period, 45 in Daveyton, 45 in Tembisa and one in Wattville.

Numerous attacks on police were reported in the area yesterday.

Police reported that they came under automatic gunfire and petrol bomb attacks throughout the night.

Several houses and three buses were gutted.

The policeman who was shot dead on Sunday while alighting from a police Casper in Phola Park squatter camp to negotiate with a mob of rioters has been identified as Constable Steven Lubbe (19).

Sowetan 3/8/93

Call to counter claims

Sowetan Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma at the weekend called on people in Natal to counter claims that Zulus did not want elections to take place next year.

Speaking at a commemoration service in Stanger marking the 26th anniversary of the death of former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, Zuma said the time had come for Natal to show the world that it was in favour of elections. "Foreigners only hear that Zulus

don't want to vote or to live with other people. If we don't agree with this claim then we must express a contrary view. (11A)

"We are being misread by the world who don't know how we feel. "If we are silent then we are giving our silent agreement that these claims are true," Zuma said

Decision

He called on all ANC structures to discuss whether or not they wanted elections to take place and to an-

nounce their decision to the rest of the world

He also called on people to counteract the intimidation and tribalism emerging in the run-up to elections

Fear

"We are voting for the whole nation, not just for our tribe

"We need to remove people's fear so that they can vote ANC"

ANC regional Youth League chairman Mr Nathi Mthetwa said that elections must be strictly monitored to avoid intimidation "so that no one can say that the elections did not go well"

Mandela's hopes high

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

11A

TAIPEI — Mr Nelson Mandela left Taiwan yesterday encouraged by the response of the Chinese administration on the island to future economic development in South Africa

3/8/93
Before he left Taipei for Kuala Lumpur where he will meet the Malaysian leader, Prime Minister Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Mandela commended the government of the Republic of China for its economic achievements

"We anticipate that the government of the Republic of China and the business community on the island of Taiwan will become important partners in the developmental programmes in a democratic South Africa," Mandela said

During his visit to the island republic, Mandela visited a vocational training college for senior high school students in Taichung and was similarly impressed

Sowetan 8/8/93

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News in brief



Socialist revolution set to follow election — Gwala

Billay 3/8/93

MARITZBURG — ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala is looking beyond the April elections to the socialist revolution which he is convinced will follow

To be considering the post-election era in the Natal Midlands, where the campaign seems doomed to a wave of bloodletting between ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, might seem premature (11A)

However, Gwala believes that in the long term socialism will prove the only acceptable future for most black South Africans

"Winning the election is no problem, but that's only the beginning," he says. Maintaining power is the real issue at stake.

"After April, power — namely the control of the means of production, the army, the police, the civil service — will remain in the hands of the establishment and that won't vanish in a day. It will be a long process."

Gwala accepts the ANC consensus that free-enterprise is essential for the new SA to encourage big business interests to remain. However, he is adamant that a new ANC-dominated

Own Correspondent

government will be unable to fulfil black expectations and will be replaced by a more radical alternative.

"People who live in shacks are voting for the ANC for one good reason — to make their lives better. But can the ANC produce jobs and houses and roads and medical care for all?"

"I accept that capitalism has its role. You can't have socialism until it is able to support society. You don't force it, you encourage it to develop. Then, as time goes on, the workers will take the leading role and take over the means of production."

Despite the conviction in the white suburbs that blacks are expecting to inherit white perks, the aspirations of many township dwellers seem to be more moderate — merely the basic human desires for peace and quiet and a little more money.

But if disillusion does grow, Gwala will be ready to channel it. "My place is at the grass-roots level. I will march with the people in the streets, I will march against myself, if that's what they want." — Daily Telegraph

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Sowetan 4/8/92

ANC motion surprises Inkatha

A MEMBER of the Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee and KwaZulu minister without portfolio Chief NJ Ngubane has expressed surprise that the African National Congress was calling for urgent steps to deal with political violence

Ngubane was reacting yesterday to a call made by ANC secretary-general Mr

Cyril Ramaphosa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Monday that a joint peace force be established to curb violence in the townships

Ngubane said one of the reasons leading to the IFP's withdrawal from negotiations was that its suggestion that issues such as violence be addressed first had been ignored

He said IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had repeatedly emphasised that violence and the constitution should be first on the agenda.

He said now that the idea had come from the ANC and its partners, everybody, including the Government, was in favour of it. — Sapa

PAC upset over police crackdown

Star 4/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

At least 22 members of the Pan Africanist Congress were arrested — and later released — in connection with activities of the PAC's military wing, police confirmed yesterday.

The latest crackdown on PAC members took place in Soweto around 3 am on Monday, about three months after the SAP's countrywide swoop on the PAC.

Many of those arrested were released without being charged, and a few are still facing charges — mostly for illegal possession of arms.

Police spokesman Warrant-Officer Andy Pieke said the 22 were detained in continuing investigations into

the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

PAC West Rand regional leader Ntsundeni Madzunya called the raids a sign of an intensifying campaign against the PAC by "the South African illegitimate regime". (11A)

"Many of those taken in for alleged questioning were assaulted, the majority of whom are still in custody," he said.

Police denied yesterday that any of the PAC members were still being held.

Pieke said charges should be laid if PAC members had been assaulted.

● PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Stowe Seroke (33) — arrested in May — appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of illegally possessing arms.

'It cannot go on like this' - FW

Joint peace force likely

Star 4/8/93

By Chris Whitfield
and Esther Waugh

The Cabinet will today look at ways of curbing violence on the East Rand, after President de Klerk's positive reaction last night to fresh calls for the formation of a joint peacekeeping force.

ANC president Nelson Mandela telephoned De Klerk from Malaysia yesterday to discuss the latest wave of killings (11A)

Mandela said he had told the President he believed the security forces were "deeply involved" in the violence

Trauma of violence - Page 3

At a press conference in Malaysia before his return to South Africa last night, Mandela said responsible ANC officials and press reports he had read indicated security force involvement.

Mandela had asked the President to brief him on the East Rand violence. "According to his information, this violence was sparked off by criminal gangs with no political affiliations," Mandela said

Referring to the violence, De Klerk said last night "It cannot go on like this. The East Rand must now come to order"

At a media conference he defended police efforts under what he said were extremely difficult circumstances, but said the Government "will not hesitate" to send in more manpower.

Asked about renewed calls for the creation of a joint peacekeeping force, he said the Government had "come forward with an initiative a long time ago" and that talks with various paramilitary forces had already given rise to a convergence of opinion

He said such a force would never replace the security forces but could go a long way in an "auxiliary role", assisting in situations such as crowd control (247)

He expected it would fall under the political control of the proposed transitional executive council (248)

De Klerk also said.

● The NP was not about to ditch the Inkatha Freedom Party, refusing even to speculate on whether a time could arrive when the Government contemplated pressing on towards a new order without the IFP

● The Government had misgivings about some of the delimitation commission's proposed borders and wanted "the people" to have input (See Page 3)

● The Cabinet and caucus were not divided

● Before he flew out of Malaysia, Mandela held discussions with Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohammad, whom he described as "one of our strongest supporters"

Mandela said Mohammad had responded "very positively and very constructively to all the problems raised and requests we made"

● The ANC raised more than \$10 million (R33 million) for its election campaign from the Taiwanese government, ANC sources said



Cocktail hour . . . Miss South Africa finalists Ma rehearsals for Saturday night's event at Sun City

Tito's 'reconstruction levy' alarms investors, reports Stanley Uys in London

Spicer 4/8/93

Musings or ANC Policy?

SO THE row over the reconstruction levy has subsided — or has it?

It all started when Tito Mboweni, acting deputy head of the ANC's economic planning department, proposed the introduction of a levy on both the income and assets of those who could afford it, meaning of course a redistribution of wealth from whites to blacks. The white business community exploded in wrath.

In a subsequent article in *The Star*, Mboweni said the alternative to a reconstruction levy was to increase either the tax burden or the budget deficit. He explained that he was expressing only his personal view, not ANC policy.

In an interview with *Die Beeld* on July 21, the ANC's information chief, Dr. Pallo Jordan, said the reconstruction levy "was not ANC policy," but just "a thought that has been raised" as one of the many

ways of financing a corporate levy." So far, so good.

But then Mboweni came to London where, before an assembly of attentive bankers and businessmen, he repeated the proposal for a reconstruction levy almost word for word. Only this time he did not say he was speaking in his private capacity, and in his carefully prepared speech, he made it quite clear that it was absolutely necessary that political change be accompanied by serious economic restructuring, encompassing the transformation of the institutional structure of the economy.

The assembled businessmen were not to be blamed for leaving the forum convinced that if not a reconstruction levy, then something equally radical is in the ANC's pipeline. As Anglo-American's Michael Spicer, told a seminar gathering in London three weeks later, rhetoric has its con-

sequences. Mr. Mboweni, after all, is acting deputy head of the ANC's economic planning department.

At that point do his private musings become potentially official ANC policy?

Spicer, group public affairs consultant to Anglo American and De Beers and adviser to Anglo's chairman, made several points. One was that he agreed that South African businessmen should not react with knee-jerk hostility to every idea floated by the ANC.

But, he added, there were just too many ideas in free-fall around the ANC corridors. "One cannot go on indefinitely discussing new ideas," said Spicer. "At some point, there must be certainty."

This, of course, is what all potential investors want, whether they live in South Africa or abroad. They need to know what they are letting themselves in for

if they are going to invest in South Africa.

Spicer for his part was perfectly frank on Anglo's attitude. He referred the audience to the latest annual statement by Anglo's chairman, Julian Olivevie Thompson. This statement merits careful reading. It is the most comprehensive corporate response to the various economic ideas that the ANC has floated that I have yet come across.

But if Spicer expects the ANC to respond with equal frankness, I fear he will wait in vain. The ANC cannot give businessmen the "certainty" they want on economic policy for the simple reason that an internal debate on that "certainty" would tear the ANC apart — on the eve of elections from which the ANC expects to emerge as the dominant party. Not, if seems to me, will there be much "certainty" after the



elections — for two reasons. First, a debate on economic policy will still tear the ANC apart. Second, it will bring the new transitional government of national unity grinding to a halt.

It will be safe to assume that one of the first decisions facing the TGNU will be how to meet black expectations. When Mboweni said that it is absolutely necessary that political change be accompanied by serious economic restructuring, encompassing the transformation of the institutional structure of the economy, he was not voicing a personal opinion. This is what all ANC leaders have said at one time or another.

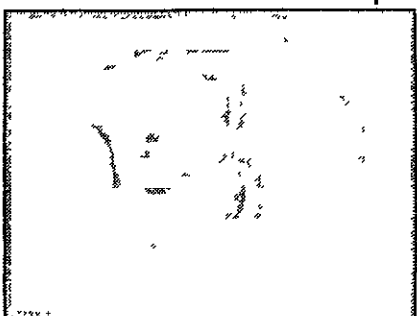
What will the TGNU do? All the experts have warned us that there will not be enough money in the kitty to meet black expectations. The debate then will be on how to find new resources, and the ANC's solution, "obviously," will be to

transfer them from the white community.

That will put the cat among the pigeons in the TGNU as the white members, and perhaps even coloured and Indian members, rise to defend their constituencies. If the ANC overrides its TGNU partners, the whole concept of a TGNU could bite the dust. If it probes for a compromise, the probing could last indefinitely.

Certainty? I cannot see it emerging in the foreseeable future, and investors will have to bite this bullet. Either they will decide to walk away and place their investments elsewhere, or they will have to walk to the edge of the murky South African economic pond, shut their eyes, close their noses and — jump in.

Or am I misreading the situation, Mr. Spicer? I would welcome a reply so that we can continue this debate. □



Let's keep cool — Mandela

KUALA LUMPUR — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela held urgent talks by telephone from Malaysia yesterday with ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on the latest situation on the violence-racked East Rand **30 OCT 4813**

He also called President F W de Klerk about the latest killings

Speaking here on the eve of his return tomorrow to South

Africa from a one-week fact-finding and fund-raising trip to Taiwan and Malaysia, he said "None of us should lose his cool

it is necessary for us to approach all the questions very calmly"

He had indicated to Mr De Klerk yesterday that according to his information, from responsible officials of the ANC and press reports, the security forces were deeply involved in

the East Rand violence

"I asked him (De Klerk) to brief me," Mr Mandela said "He (De Klerk) pointed out (that) according to his information this violence was sparked off in a certain area by criminal gangs with no political affiliation"

However, the ANC leader said he couldn't take the issue further at this stage because of the two versions of events — Sapa

NEWS Army likely for medically fit matriculants ● IFP's claims challenged

Sowetan 5/8/93

W

HITES ONLY NATIONAL service is to be scrapped soon in favour of a non-racial conscription system

This was confirmed yesterday by senior military sources following Chief of the Air Force Lieutenant-General James Kriel's admission at a seminar in Pretoria that the end of national service was imminent

Following his statement, defence headquarters sources said the current whites-only system was "almost sure to be replaced" before the next intake in January when it would be replaced by another compulsory conscription system

One senior officer said the most likely replacement would be a ballot system in which South African males of all races

Conscription for all

■ NATIONAL SERVICE The current whites-only system is to be scrapped:

would be randomly chosen to serve one year's national service

The draft system would be necessary to provide about 30 000 troops needed annually in the SAIDF

However, a number of new options are still under negotiation and no final decision of a replacement system has yet been made

The source said the draft system would probably be aimed at medically fit matriculants because the numbers of possible candidates allowed the Defence Force to be selective

One unanswered question, however, is that of the future of the Citizen Force which would also have to be addressed shortly, he said

He said some future National Servicemen would have to join the Citizen Force to bolster force levels when needed

It is likely the draft system will include compensation for those drafted for one year's service to the state

One possible compensation could be free study bursaries, one military expert said

The statement by Kriel at the Sir Pieter van Rynveld Air Power Conference was the first definite indication from the South African Defence Force hierarchy that conscription was ending

— *Owini Correspondent*

Sowetan

ANC to test Zulu support

THE African National Congress will hold a rally at King's Park Stadium, Durban, on September 13 to test Zulu support for a united South Africa and next year's elections

Regional leaders will meet today to plan rallies in Northern Natal and in the Natal Midlands

The ANC's Southern Natal region announced last week it would host a rally in Durban to counter Inkatha Freedom Party claims it represented most Zulus, and that Zulus were opposed to next year's elections

The rally would also demonstrate Zulu support for a united South Africa as opposed to the IFP's federal demand

— *Sapa*

Taiwan gives ANC R33m

Political Staff

KUALA LUMPUR — The ANC raised more than \$10 million (about R33m) for its election campaign during Mr Nelson Mandela's week-long trip to Taiwan and Malaysia, ANC sources said.

The sources, members of the ANC delegation accompanying Mr Mandela, confirmed the funds were from the Taiwanese government.

At a press conference here, Mr Mandela, pushed on the issue of what, if any, monies would be forthcoming

from the Malaysian government to the ANC, said "The prime minister was very positive and very constructive, and I get the certainty that he can never let us down in the request we have made."

The ANC was offered training facilities in both countries.

In the case of Malaysia, the ANC had already started making use of the offer.

Taiwan offered to train instructors in agricultural research and vocational training. — Sapa

NEWS Army likely for medically fit matriculants • IFP's claims challenged

W

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Victims to sue ANC, ministry

By Peter Davies

Eight people who lost everything when their houses were looted and razed on the day of Chris Hani's funeral intend launching a R2 million lawsuit against the ANC and the Ministry of Law and Order for failing to take preventive action.

Two men were killed, pets were hacked and burnt, and homes set alight at the cluster of houses opposite the FNB Stadium known as Shaft 16.

The complainants hold the ANC and SAP jointly responsible for the damage because of a treaty they signed a few days before Hani's funeral.

Carpenter Norman Mankowitz, who lived at Shaft 16 for 13 years, was left with just a charred toolbox and a cross-colie named Watha, who suffered third-degree burns after being thrown into the flames.

He said the police had been phoned repeatedly by victims while looting and burning carried on around them. There had been no response until late afternoon.

"Perhaps the police

had decided to sacrifice us. On TV that night they were saying things like 'only two people were killed, only eight houses burnt,'" he added.

The agreement signed by police and the ANC was specific: "The SAP will not interfere (with crowd control) unless the efforts of ANC marshals, monitors, the Regional Peace Secretariat and observers fail and the SAP are called in to intervene. The SAP reserve the right to enforce law and order in emergency situations."

Mankowitz believes the ANC was confident it could control the crowds, but failed.

"They are now looking for loopholes in the agreement. This is not the spirit in which it was signed. The ANC had a chance to show the nation they are prepared to be accountable by compensating us."

The loophole through which the ANC is allegedly trying to squeeze also appears in the agreement: "Parties are committed to conduct themselves in a peaceful manner and recognise their accountability in law in respect of any illegal action on the part of their supporters or members. The parties

also commit themselves to ensure the safety of individuals as well as the security of property."

ANC legal head Mathew Phosa said it was up to Mankowitz and other claimants to prove the looting mob were ANC supporters.

"Our approach is simple. If anyone is alleging a claim against the ANC, we think they are obliged to prove the claim, not us. We are not going to expose ourselves to wild, unfounded claims. We will fight them all the way."

He said that if the ANC was found culpable "it goes without saying that we will pay compensation."

Driving instructor Jeff Howes, who lost everything in the inferno, said: "Our claim is far from wild and unfounded. The ANC undertook to control the crowd. Phosa's response seems to say that because some members of the crowd were there to loot, they didn't fall under the control of ANC marshals."

He added: "I feel strongly about the police as well. At the end of the day, ultimate responsibility for law and order falls to the police."

SAP investigations into the April events are continuing.

IFP and ANC try for accord

Star 5/8/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have agreed to set up sub-committees on constitutional issues and on violence in an effort to bridge their differences and pave the way for the IFP's return to multiparty negotiations (11A)

At a meeting held at a hotel close to the World Trade Centre yesterday, the ANC and the IFP said much progress had been made, and IFP executive officer and chief negotiator Joe Matthews intimated his party might return to the multiparty talks soon (11A)

"We are having such wonderful bilaterals that so much progress is being made and we might be able to return to negotiations," he said.

However, Matthews would not give any indication of how soon the party might return

He said his party was "mindful of deadlines in negotiations and it hoped the next session of Parliament will make movement in a certain direction".

However, the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthele-

zi, took a stern line in Ulundi yesterday.

He warned of civil war if the draft Interim Constitution were adopted and criticised the United States for interfering in South Africa's domestic affairs, Sapa reports.

He said the US would be held accountable if civil war broke out as a result of the ANC "getting its way" at the talks.

The IFP leader accused the US government of wanting a political settlement at any price and warned this could "thrust this country into civil war".

Buthelezi was addressing US Consul-General Bismarck Myrick at a function in Ulundi marking the end of his term of office in Durban

On the future constitution, Buthelezi said bluntly. "There shall not be a unitary state.

"There shall not be a constituent assembly to write a new constitution."

Regional powers, boundaries and structures should be finalised before elections, he demanded.

● Passed by "general consensus" Page 6

AST weekend the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) joined the queue of Cosatu affiliates which have used their regular conferences to ponder on the future of Cosatu's relationship with the ANC. While early publicity on this debate has suggested a clean break between Cosatu and the ANC is likely after the election, the reality is more complicated.

Political debate within Cosatu has always revolved around the question of its relationship with the nationalist political movement — first the United Democratic Front and, overtly since 1990, the ANC.

Cosatu has always maintained close relationships with those groups. The strategic goal has been simple — liberation from apartheid. April 27 could mark the achievement of that goal, and hence the debate about the future relationship. These issues will be among those up for debate at a special Cosatu congress in five weeks' time. The range of opinions suggests that a final decision may be postponed, although Cosatu is now sufficiently well established to avert a damaging split on the issue.

For now, the alliance remains intact. Cosatu is offering substantial financial and logistical support to the ANC's election effort. The second leg of the Cosatu election strategy is the negotiation with the ANC of the proposed, still skeletal "reconstruction accord" (to be fleshed out at the congress) which the ANC would make part of its election platform.

The CWIU, unlike some other unions, chose to postpone, and thereby avoid, taking a position. This has been the union's traditional approach to the basic political question. It is a reflection of the divergent views within the CWIU and its determination not to permit ideological disputes to fragment it, a more mature approach than that of certain other Cosatu affiliates. It also illustrates the dilemma any union faces in deciding whether to ally itself with a political party. However, the three largest affil-

Cosatu ties with ANNC will survive beyond election

ALAN FINE

Bibury 6/8/93

ates have taken distinctly different positions on the issue. And a fifth position will doubtless soon be heard.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA — Cosatu's second largest affiliate — set the ball rolling in July. Numsa resolved that the ANC/Cosatu alliance should be ended after the election next year. The labour movement should thereafter relate to the ANC through tripartite institutions such as the National Economic Forum and the National Manpower Commission.

In addition, Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso spoke of the possibility of establishing a special relationship or alliance with a "workers' party" — either the SACP or whose central committee Mayekiso serves, or a new independent party. The purpose would be to advance the cause of socialism which Numsa (whose congress also advocated large-scale nationalisation) believes the ANC does not do.

The second union to state its position — in mid-July — was the Southern Africa Clothing and Textile Workers' Union. Sactwu has always been suspicious of any kind of alliance with a political party. So it was not surprising when it, too, called for the ending of the Cosatu/ANC alliance after the election. It, too, would like to deal with an ANC government

(CIP)

through tripartite institutions. Unlike Numsa, however, Sactwu does not envisage an alliance with any other party. It takes a purist stand in favour of union independence. Also in contrast to Numsa, Sactwu has explicitly stated its social democratic leanings on economic policy — favouring "co-determination between labour and capital rather than nationalisation".

Sactwu's general antipathy towards party politics was contained in its resolution on support for the ANC's election effort. It made support conditional on a number of points, including fair representation of unionists on the ANC party list, and the incorporation in the ANC election manifesto of a commitment to tripartism and a range of union rights, from the right to belong to unions to the right to strike without fear of dismissal.

The NUM offers a more subtle position. It favours a continued alliance with the ANC. But, assistant general secretary Marcel Golding explains, "this does not mean losing our independence. We have to follow through on the reconstruction programme to ensure it is satisfactory

implemented. We must support the ANC, but also put pressure on them when necessary. And we must ensure that labour is well-represented among their MPs."

Thus "allied but independent" approach is one which Cosatu has always attempted to uphold in its relationship with the ANC. While it has often complained about a lack of consultation by the ANC with its alliance partners, Cosatu has also often taken the lead. For example, last year's mass action campaign was a Cosatu initiative, as is the reconstruction accord idea.

A further complication in the debate is that, despite their divergent views on the ANC, Sactwu and NUM essentially the same.

The final position has traditionally been held by affiliates such as the Food and Allied Workers' Union and some of the small public sector unions. They have tended to opt for an unconditional, unquestioning alliance with the ANC. This view has never been generally accepted in Cosatu ranks, though, and is unlikely to become part of mainstream thinking in future.

So how does one assess the remaining different positions? Numsa is, of course, correct in believing that the ANC cannot be relied on to ad-

vance the cause of socialism — as the term is conventionally understood. Shifts in ANC economic policy over the past three years have removed any doubts about that.

Support for a socialist "workers' party" may strike a chord among those who believe the ANC has sold them out. And there is real frustration among rank-and-file unionists at the effects of the recession and a recognition that an ANC government will be unable, even if it was willing, to do much about it.

But it is an unrealistic approach. The SACP is not interested in an independent existence from the ANC — it would probably be humiliated in an election if it chose to go it alone. It has decided to continue as the ANC's "socialist" conscience, although its more recent definitions of socialism are a far cry from the real thing which collapsed in 1989. Even then, its influence on ANC policy is diminishing. And an independent socialist party would have no better prospects here than the "loony left" parties, of say, the UK.

Sactwu's position is attractive to pluralists who believe union members should not feel that they are identified with any particular party. But this approach appears untenable for other reasons. For a start, there is a seeming contradiction between demanding that the ANC adopt union-friendly policies and accommodate a large number of union leaders among its MPs, and then breaking the relationship with the ANC.

In addition, the practical reality — as opinion polls have shown — is that an overwhelming majority of Cosatu-affiliated union members will vote for the ANC whatever their union leaders say.

Further, if tripartite dealmaking at the National Economic Forum and elsewhere continues as the dominant trend, it may be contrary to the unions' own interests to take a step which would reduce their influence with the new government.

And this, arguably, is why, despite its imperfections, contradictions and tensions, the NUM position is the one most likely eventually to be supported by Cosatu.

ANC's Samuel slammed

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — ANC education spokesman Mr John Samuel has been criticised for hinting at unilateral restructuring of education in his statement this week that an ANC government would abolish the state-aided Model C schools.

At a public meeting in the Cape, he also said private schools would only be allowed to operate if they did not discriminate on the basis of race, religion or gender. Even if they met these criteria they would not receive

government funding.

National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais said that on the eve of the launch of the National Education and Training Forum, Mr Samuel had "made the ANC guilty of what it accuses others of doing — attempting to restructure education unilaterally".

The multi-party forum, which will be launched tomorrow, aims to review all aspects of education policy.

Mr Marais said the Model C schools, of which there are more than 2 000 run by the House of Assembly, had proved successful.

Q111 (32) CT 6/8/93



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ANC probes Thebe deal

Staff Reporter

The ANC is investigating claims that Thebe Investment Corporation contravened ANC policy on sanctions, international affairs deputy head Aziz Pahad confirmed yesterday.

Pahad said he was trying to discover whether the corporation had contravened policy guidelines.

Bhekisizwe Computer Systems, a subsidiary of Thebe,

is reported to have signed a deal with the US corporation Digital Equipment to sell its computers from the beginning of last month ~~(2000)~~

He said that while many corporations were discussing setting up local subsidiaries, it was important to ensure that no group used its political position to gain unfair advantage.

ANC policy is that sanctions cannot be lifted until a transitional executive council is in place.

Mandela, FW in talks to curb violence

Biday 6/8/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday, rushed from a tour of the strife-torn East Rand townships to an urgent meeting with President F W de Klerk in Pretoria to discuss ways of curbing the latest tide of violence.

In a statement after the four-hour meeting last night De Klerk's office said: "A fundamental discussion of the problems of violence on the East Rand took place and both sides expressed their serious concerns about the critical situation that exists. The President emphasised government's responsibility to ensure the maintenance of law and order."

"The necessity of the involvement of political leaders in the defusing of the violence in the affected areas was emphasised by the President. It was agreed that ways and means of ensuring this will be pursued in further discussions."

De Klerk was accompanied by Ministers Kobie Coetsee, Hennis Kriel and Roelf Meyer. Mandela was accompanied by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

After a rally in Katlehong earlier, Mandela said a joint tour of the East Rand was being set up with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Last night Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said although the details of the proposed rallies had to be arranged, the peace programme would "most certainly" include embattled Natal and KwaZulu townships, our political staff reports.

She said the two leaders would discuss the details of the trips.

LLOYD COUTTS and JOHANNES NGCOBO report that Mandela conveyed a strong message of peace, tolerance and reconciliation to supporters in Katlehong

yesterday, but also accused police of complicity in the violence that has killed nearly 130 people since last Friday

He said the ANC understood the anger and frustration of people mourning the deaths of relatives, but called for discipline and a spirit of reconciliation. ANC supporters who participated in the murder of innocent people did not belong in the organisation

Fighting on the East Rand was not a feud between Zulus and other ethnic groups "The ANC has more Zulu supporters than Inkatha on the East Rand."

Mandela said a major problem for the ANC was the unwillingness of government and the security forces to protect people in the townships.

"We don't want anybody to be killed, but when five whites were killed earlier this year, the whole eastern Cape was turned into a battlefield. They mobilised every policeman in that area to defend whites.

"By then no less than 15 000 blacks had been killed in this violence. To the police and the SADF, the lives of black people are cheap. Whether one dies, or 10 die, it makes no difference to whites," he said

Mandela said he had asked De Klerk to use the army and police to surround the hostels to prevent residents launching attacks. "He said he believed this was already taking place. I returned and the first thing I asked was 'What happened last night? Were the army and the police around the hostels? I was told 'No'."

Police were also insisting on unilaterally declaring unrest areas, even if this had disastrous consequences. Joint operations centres were rendered ineffective because

To Page 2

Violence

Biday 6/8/93

From Page 1

of the deployment of junior police officers, and police were refusing to co-operate with ANC and other peace monitors

Mandela said security forces were seen in large numbers during the day, but at night "they simply disappear"

But he said the responsibility for ending the violence lay not only with government and security forces, but also with black leaders.

Katlehong and Thokoza appeared tense yesterday, and police reinforcements were highly visible. More than 2 000 extra policemen were deployed in the townships yesterday (IA 304A)

SA Army headquarters said army reinforcements would be moved into the Witwatersrand "in the coming hours and days" to help police stabilise the area.

Regional police commissioner Lt-Gen Koois Calitz said police used heavy con-

struction vehicles to clear barricades and cover ambush trenches yesterday, while trains were heavily guarded.

Nyala armoured vehicles - some fitted with mounted light machine guns - appeared throughout Katlehong and Thokoza in large numbers.

Peace monitors said only one death was recorded in Katlehong yesterday, but Natalspruit Hospital sources said five people had been shot and injured.

Meanwhile, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said some of the 14 suspects arrested in connection with Wednesday's shootout in Katlehong were ANC and ANG Youth League members. He said preliminary investigations had shown that the weapons - two hand grenades and three firearms - seized by police during the incident were to be used against police.

Comment: Page 10

MK cadres besiege ANC offices

About 25 MK dissidents have taken over the ANC's Durban offices, demanding money and clarity on their future, reports Farouk Chothia

In the biggest Umkhonto we Sizwe revolt since the unbanning of the African National Congress, 25 MK cadres have besieged the ANC's push new regional offices in Durban, forcing the organisation to shut down its operations.

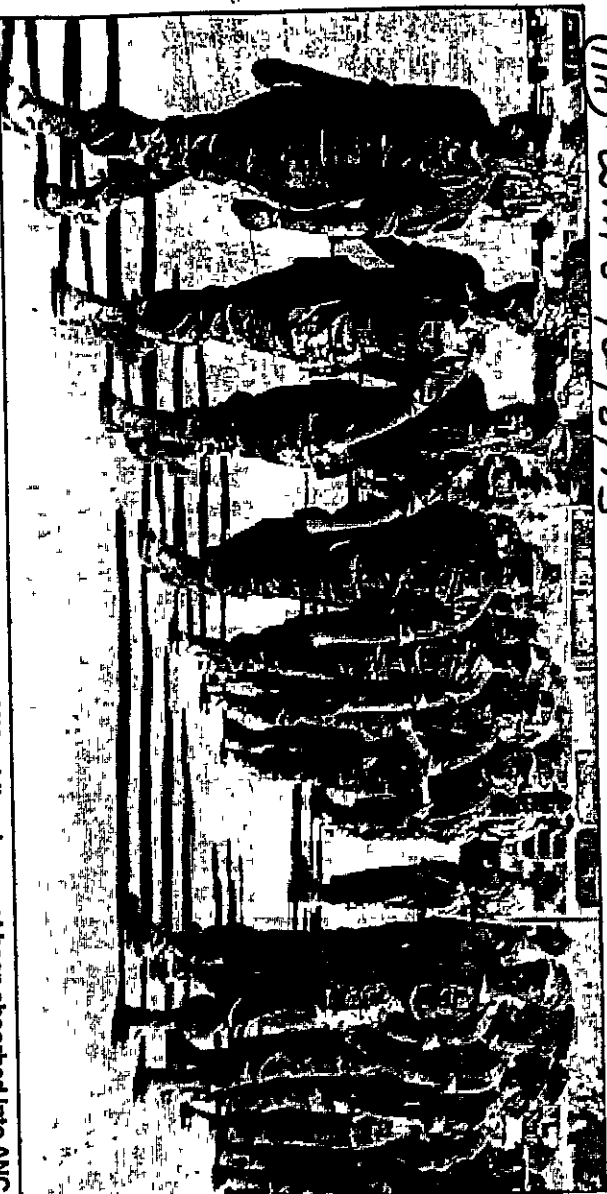
The protesters have threatened to take hostages; forced ANC staff to flee; had phone services disconnected; refused to back down in negotiations with senior MK and ANC leaders; and vowed to step up protest action if their demands are not met.

Entering its 10th day today, the crisis is expected to come to a head by Monday, when the ANC puts into effect "certain security measures" to re-open its offices.

Yesterday it was learnt that four of the dissidents have flown to Johannesburg, where they were locked in discussion with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The dissidents' grievances centre on the ANC's alleged failure to assist them financially and to include them in plans for the formation of a new, integrated defence force.

In a brief telephone call to the *Mail & Guardian*, a man claiming to be an MK cadre, who is part of the sit-in, said: "We are trained soldiers. We want employment. We want to be part of the new army. I doubt very much that this will happen through the Transitional Executive Council." "This action of the cadres undermines the growing discontent of MK



All dressed up and nowhere to go ... Unlike these cadres, many MK soldiers have not been absorbed into ANC structures and are now dissatisfied with the movement

fighters: rather than returning to their country as victorious soldiers, they have returned unheralded. In many cases destitute and vulnerable to their enemies, ANC sources said this week at least 40 MK cadres had been killed in the past three years.

Coming from the ANC strongholds of Chesterville and KwaMashu townships near Durban, the MK rebels do not seem to have been absorbed into MK structures in southern Natal.

Eloquent and calm throughout the conversation, the MK caller said: "We believe we have been neglected. The ANC used us and then dumped us." He then demanded the ANC give them money "We used to receive a stipend from the NCCR, but this stopped and no reason was given."

"It is not that we want charity but we cannot find jobs. The situation is so desperate that some people have

been tempted to get involved in armed robbery," said the MK caller.

The rebels are in control of the upper floors. ANC officials are still in charge of the reception area and the entrance to the building — but the MK rebels walk in and out freely.

Sources close to the ANC said the drama started last Wednesday when the angry cadres stormed the offices, threatening to take hostages and demanding to see regional chairman Jeff Radebe and secretary S'bu Ndebele. Neither were in the offices.

As panic-stricken staff fled the building, one of them telephoned the police, who arrived on the scene but were told to leave as the "matter was an internal problem."

The sources said ANC lawyers Kweza Maba and Bheka Shezi had met the rebels the next day and given them R2 000 to go to MK headquarter-

PHOTO: GUY ADAMS

ters in Johannesburg to air their grievances.

The MK caller said they had at first agreed and taken the money. They had then changed their minds about going, forcing MK chief of staff Sipho Nyanda and the national executive committee member Alfred Nzo to fly to Durban on Friday for a meeting with the dissidents.

"They promised to give us money," said the MK caller.

ANC sources said that this week deputy president Walter Sisulu and Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala — both of whom command immense respect in MK — had met the rebels. They, too, had failed to persuade the protesters to end their sit-in.

Warned the MK caller "if the leadership does not yield to our demands we'll have to do something else. It's not an empty threat."

The valiants are grovelling

Farouk Chothia

"I KNOW one cadre who still wears the clothes he received in prison. The valiants of MK are grovelling."

This was one of a litany of complaints by Derrick McBride, 61-year-old former Umkhonto we Sizwe member and father of erstwhile death row prisoner Robert.

In an interview, McBride said he had been separated from his wife, Doris, for four-and-a-half years by prison bars, and was now separated from her by poverty. Doris, who is wheelchair-bound, had been forced to move in with her daughter in Johannesburg because the couple could not survive in Durban.

Lying in his modest home in the coloured township of Wentworth, McBride said his electricity had been cut off a few weeks ago, as he did not have the money to pay the bill.

And while the African National Congress was not willing to help him, National Party members were. "One of them came to my house the other day and said: 'Here are some vegetables'. I refused to take them. How can I when we were bombing these people?"

He said his case was not an isolated one: other ex-political prisoners and exiles faced similar hardships but did not have the courage to speak out.

Ironically, Doris had an income — a disability grant from the state — but this was cut off after McBride's release from prison.

He insists that cadres do not want to survive on hand-outs. "Among us there are highly skilled people and some of the best artisans. I can give you the names of these people. The problem is that no one wants to employ us because we were in prison or in exile."

MK cadres besiege ANC offices

(11P) um 6-12p8/93

About 25 MK dissidents have taken over the ANC's Durban offices, demanding money and clarity on their future, reports **Farouk Chothia**

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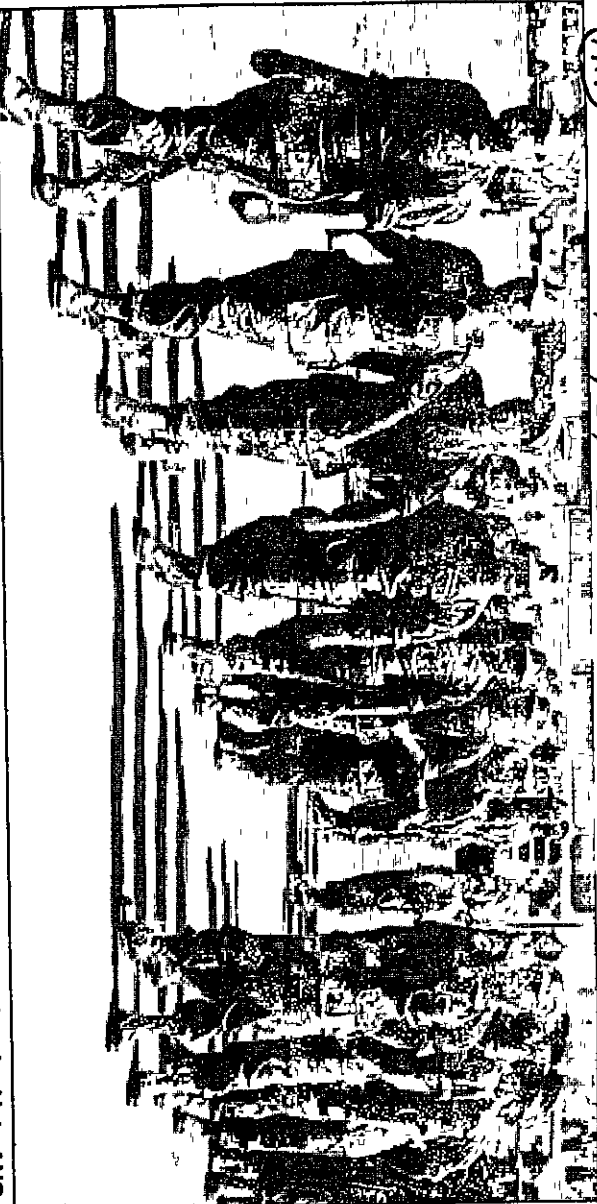
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PHOTO GUY ADAMS

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Farouk Chothia

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Powderkeg waiting for a spark

Alex Dodd and Paul Stober

FINANCIALLY squeezed and confused about their place in a future defence force, members of Umkhonto weSizwe are becoming increasingly desperate and volatile

"The situation is potentially dangerous. Discontented ex-soldiers pose a considerable security threat to the democratisation process," said Wits University sociology professor Jacklyn Cock, who recently interviewed 180 returned MK cadres about their problems "Their skills in the instruments of violence make them a potentially disruptive social category."

She pointed to precedents in Africa — notably Uganda, Burundi, Nigeria and Mozambique — where disgruntled, demobilised combatants had become a force for disruption.

The sit-in by MK dissidents at the African National Congress' Durban office is not the first protest by cadres frustrated by the ANC's perceived neglect of those in the firing line during its war against apartheid. In December last year, 27 MK returnees staged a public protest at the ANC's headquarters to demand rations and accommodation.

There are also signs that MK men are resorting to violent crime. In June, police shot dead five returned exiles in Berea, Durban, during an attempted armed robbery.

In Cock's research, one of the MK men is quoted as saying. "The ANC has stopped giving us money. How do they expect us to live? They do not care how we live or where we live. They only cared when they sent us to infiltrate the country. They must look after our needs now."

The ANC has told cadres who have approached it for assistance that it lacks the necessary funds, but MK



Jacklyn Cock ... Disruptive force

returnees cannot accept this "Just like Mandela went to get money for elections, he must get money for us," an ex-combatant told the *Mall & Guardian* this week

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the organisation was "obviously aware" of the problems MK cadres were experiencing "Within its limited resources the ANC is trying to address their needs. It is not only for the ANC to help them return into an environment fundamentally defined by apartheid. We thought the government had accepted the principle but they are doing nothing about it."

The organisation appears to be looking to the Transitional Executive Council for a solution. Once control of MK moves from the ANC to the TEC sub-council on security, the latter could use government resources to provide for MK members.

"It's the perfect way to do it," said Rocklyn Williams of the Military Research Group. "But they have to have psychological guarantees that they are part of a new army, rather than being swallowed by the South African Defence Force."

But the handing-over process threatens to raise even more prob-

lems among MK cadres. Talks between the MK and the SADF over the integration of the two armies are making slow progress, and MK members complain they are not kept abreast of what is happening in the negotiations. "There are no MK structures," said one Transvaal cadre. "We get no support from the command. We would like to know what is happening with the TEC."

Although he was confident MK members would submit to joint control if the ANC sanctioned it, the cadres involved in the Durban protest have serious doubts about the TEC. There is widespread concern about who qualifies as a soldier.

Williams suggested two criteria: formal military training, or a period of active duty. "We would not want to be too technical because we don't want disaffected people outside the process," he said.

The majority of the MK returnees surveyed by Cock were unemployed and said a lack of money was the major problem in their lives.

"I am very bitter," said an ex-cadre interviewed by Cock. "What makes it worse is to see people who have never gone to exile, some of whom never even cared about the ANC or were interested in the revolution, but today they are holding jobs in the organisation and are driving smart cars. At the same time those of us who have fought for the liberation have to start from scratch."

Once all armed forces in South Africa are under joint control, Cock proposes a demobilisation policy to deal with those who choose not to be part of the new army. She is pushing for the present SADF retrenchment package to be offered, along with access to skills training and psychological training to help former soldiers cope with civilian life.

(11A) wmb-12/8/93

Workers' party in the pipeline?

South 7/8 - 11/8/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

THE IDEA of a "workers party" is gaining ground amid claims of an emerging alliance of workers movements and unionists with socialist ideals. ~~SAC~~ (IA)

Dr Neville Alexander, chairperson of the Workers' Organisation for Social Rights (Wosa), confirmed there have been discussions with groups and individuals about an alliance.

"However, it will not immediately be launched into a party," Alexander said.

"The idea Wosa floated was for a broader front and some groups would only join the alliance informally."

Alexander saw the chances of launching a party before the election next year as remote. He also insists it is premature to give

the names of groups and individuals who would join forces with Wosa. "This might jeopardise our current discussions," he says

He dismisses recent criticism of the idea for a workers party, particularly by Jeremy Cronin of the South African Communist Party (SACP).

"It is nonsense that the interests of workers should only be represented by one movement. All over the world workers belong to different parties and organisations, in addition to unions.

"In as far as the SACP genuinely represents the interests of workers, both employed and unemployed, it finds its hands tied by the alliance with the ANC. It will most certainly compromise on things like nationalisation."

Alexander states that the Wosa-led movement would be "absolutely" in favour of a "completely anti-capitalist thrust".

"Of course, things are more complex than this and none of us

believe a workers party would stand any chance to be in a majority in the next couple of years," he explains.

"But we need to work on a clear programme. The launching of the party would depend on a number of factors, and not all of them are clear. It must be a very broad movement before it can be a party.

"People who dismiss the idea of a Wosa-led workers' party trivialise the need for a new organisation to represent specific interests."

Wosa, a socialist organisation, was co-founded by Alexander in the eighties after his involvement in the Cape Action League and various underground movements since the sixties. He cut his political teeth



NEVILLE ALEXANDER

in the Unity Movement and served several years on Robben Island.

Mr Brian Williams of the Metal and Electrical Workers Union of South Africa said hundreds of unionists and activists supported the idea for a movement or political party to specifically represent the interests of the working class.

He too believed the SACP was seen by some workers as "neglecting some fundamental questions affecting the political and other rights of workers".

Williams said other affiliates of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) were "fertile" ground for a new party. But Nactu's general-secretary, Mr Masamola Skosana, was adamant that no discussion had taken place in the council's central committee.

A spokesperson for Cosatu, Mr Bheki Nkosi welcomed the idea.

"We have always said this was a healthy debate, but as far as I know Cosatu will stay in the ANC/SACP alliance till after the election, when a realignment of forces might persuade us to redefine the alliance."

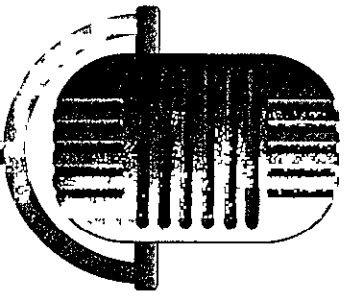
Gun goes off in E Cape election race

By Beverly Garson

THE BATTLE for votes in the election is already underway in the Eastern Cape. The region is seen as historically an ANC stronghold, but other parties are far from abandoning the fight.

The coloured community, particularly, is seen as still largely undecided, and campaigning is likely to be intense in these areas. And the PAC is a wild card "underdog" for his party. But he is hopeful the NP will get at least 10

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ANC's support.

The National Party's Eastern Cape spokesperson, Mr Johan Muller, concedes the region is an ANC stronghold and the "underdog" for his party. But he is hopeful the NP will get at least 10 percent of the black vote.

Muller also hopes the PAC will divide the black vote in the region, and reasons that if the NP makes the important "coloured" vote, this could deliver a majority in the region to his party.

Political analyst Mr Eugene Nyan believes this is a "real possibility". He says there is sufficient PAC support in the region to split the black vote with the ANC.

But the PAC's regional champion, Mr Knox Tsotsobe, and the ANC regional organiser, Mr Nceba Faku, are both optimistic that their parties will take the majority of black votes in the region.

With very little to show with respect to election campaigns and strategies, Tsotsobe says "The PAC is doing well in the Eastern Cape" but does not want to "make a noise" yet.

Faku explains that his region has already set up a regional elections task team - parallel to the regional structure of the ANC. He is adamant his party will take 80 percent of the votes in the region, with the PAC only getting six percent.

Democratic Party spokesperson for the region, Bobby Stevenson, is not too optimistic about his party gaining a large percentage of the black vote, but has some hopes pinned on the "coloured" electorate.

Nyan predicts that all parties will "seek to use 'coloureds' for their own interests". He describes the "coloured" vote as "fluid" since there is no political party which it gravitates towards. As a result, he predicts a hard fight between the NP and the ANC.

However, his prediction is that the "coloured" vote will swing in favour of the NP.

The DP's Stevenson believes the "coloured" vote will be fairly evenly divided between the parties with the DP getting more votes than both the NP and the ANC.

He says people in the community "are more literate and are well informed about the DP". He also says people are attracted to the DP because it is a "party of the moderate political centre".

The NP's Muller says the party has majority support among the "coloureds".

Tsotsobe of the PAC says his party already has great support in the "coloured" areas but still has lots of work to do there.

"People are coming to us (from coloured areas), but we want to follow a silent campaign," he says.

Faku from the ANC says his organisation's support is concentrated in the townships, but that they are confident of getting at least 40 percent of the "coloured" vote.

He stresses that the "coloured" vote is very important to the ANC in the Eastern Cape as they do not want to confirm the misconception that the elections are for the "African peoples".

"The majority of coloureds in the Eastern Cape are in Port Elizabeth, so in line with our deployment of resources the Northern areas is uppermost in our attentions," says Faku.

Nyan says the Eastern Cape is a "politically active region and has a 'political significance' which is out of proportion to its economic strength, and this is why he believes the region will be strongly contested by the parties.

Because the region is "extremely poor" and "economically vulnerable", he believes all the parties will be playing the economy up in their campaigns and make many promises to win votes.

This will be the strategy of both the ANC and the NP, and that closer to the elections the latter will implement regional development and shower the region with aid.

"All governments will do that," says Nyan.

The relative "good record" of stability in the Eastern Cape, compared to the violence on the Reef and Natal, could be spoiled as the election draws nearer.

He says if the stability continues throughout the pre-election phase it "could mean this region would be one of the few where there will be a truly 'free and fair' election.

However, he also cautions that on a national level there are still many unanswered questions. These include voter education and the reincorporation of the homelands, and he fears these could lead to an election result being contested for years to come after April 27 - P&M

Taiwan falls to Mandela charisma

How difficult was it for Nelson Mandela to forge ties with the Taiwanese government which has consistently supported the NP over the years? SOUTH reporter **QUENTIN WILSON** followed the ANC president during his four day trip to Taiwan this week:

(11A)

IT WAS a union not many matchmakers could have dreamt of. Theoretically, the couple should have bickered throughout their four-day courtship, scolding each other for moving in disreputable circles.

For the feverishly anti-communist government of Taiwan, the ANC alliance with the SACP, and worse, the People's Republic of China, would normally have been unpalatable.

From the ANC's side, the extent to which Taiwan's ruling Kuomintang Party (KMT) covets its relationship with Pretoria would normally have dampened any dinner table discussion between the two (Ties between the two governments were cemented two weeks after the 1976 Soweto uprisings began).

However, from the moment Mr Nelson Mandela stepped onto the red carpet at Taipei's Chiang Kai-Shek International Airport on Friday, he received seductive smiles, lavish banquets and financial promises

When Mandela was chauffeured to the Grand Hotel from the airport, a military escort ensured the route was cleared of traffic, cutting travelling time by over two thirds.

Mandela's final morning in Taipei included a tour around the World Trade Centre, where Taipei displays its mind-boggling quantity of export goods. The ANC chief merely had to show slight interest in an item and it automatically joined the growing pile of presents marked for him and his family.

But it won't just be Mandela's grandchildren who will give the Taiwanese trip a thumbs up because of their new battery-operated mini-motor cars.

Mandela, too, said he was "extremely pleased" with his diplomatic mission.

Conscious that his visit was disapproved of by ANC friends on China's mainland and back home, Mandela exercised caution in the signals he sent to the KMT.



BIG NEWS: Mandela's four day visit to Taiwan last week earned extensive news coverage in Taiwan's media
Photo: Quentin Wilson

Starting with his first press conference, he stated that the ANC's friendship with the PRC would not be abandoned — if Taiwan wanted to forge positive links with the ANC, it would have to be done in this context

It caused a bit of a stir in the local press and among some hardline government officials who were hoping that Mandela would pledge to help Taiwan win back their seat at the United Nations

Both Taiwan (which calls itself the Republic of China) and the PRC claim to be the sole government for the whole of China. In 1972 the UN seat for China was handed to the PRC, leaving Taiwan out in the cold.

The China Post went so far as to say that Mandela showed a "lack of understanding" about the political situation in Taiwan, and hoped that, as his trip progressed, he would eventually become "enlightened".

But despite the rumblings beneath the red carpet, President Lee Teng-hui and his allies within the KMT consistently followed their agenda of cheque-book diplomacy.

Lee pledged financial support for the economic reconstruction of South Africa once an interim government was in place.

Part of this programme is the building of a skills training centre in South Africa, which is to cost around \$US 10 million

But besides grovelling for ANC friendship, Lee did his best to pack Mandela's schedule with government propaganda.

Slick videos presenting the "Miracle of Tai-

wan" from every perspective were dished up. No mention was made of the KMT's embarrassing human rights record, which includes a massacre in 1949 of 10 000 locals who opposed them.

It was only after ANC jostling behind the scenes that a 30-minute meeting with Taiwan's largest opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was secured.

The DPP commands a third of voter support on the island, and have consistently supported the ANC's struggle.

But Mandela did not kick up a fuss at the predictable "arrangements" set up and controlled by his hosts. Instead he accepted it all with unflappable politeness and diplomacy.

But in between the nods of approval Mandela showed to the KMT, he also gently challenged them in a number of areas.

In all his speeches he castigated the South African government and explained the pains and injustices of apartheid, forcing the KMT to reassess its relationship with a white minority government

And his pitch for finances was not so much for ANC funding, but more for socially responsible investments for South Africa.

He refused to go into details when asked whether the KMT had agreed to contribute to ANC coffers, saying only that he was extremely pleased with the response of the KMT "to all the ANC's requests".

The beginnings of a fragile relationship took root last week in Taiwan.

South 718 - 11/8/93

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The beginnings of a fragile relationship took root last week in Taiwan.

ST Times

Mandela's high-speed vote chase

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

ANC leader Nelson Mandela hit the election trail in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage's coloured areas yesterday, speaking Afrikaans to supporters and zooming from venue to venue in a high-speed motorcade.

To rousing cries of "Kom in Mandela, kom in! Gaan uit Dé Klerk, gaan uit!" Mr Mandela appealed to thousands of prospective supporters not to be misled by the NP, which had disenfranchised them and was now calling them "broertjies".

8/1/93

● The Eastern Cape's Regional Commissioner of Police, Major-General Daan Huggett warned policemen taking part in an ANC-organised "reconciliation march" in Port Elizabeth today that they will face departmental action.

(11A)

About 500 policemen and prison wardens are expected to walk through Port Elizabeth's black townships to show solidarity with township residents.

ANC dismisses over 'fiddling'

By DAN DHLAMINI

City Press 8/8/93

THE ANC's entire western Transvaal regional executive committee (REC) has been dismissed.

This is the second REC in the region to be kicked out of office in two years following allegations of corruption and mismanagement of funds.

The REC has been replaced by an interim committee under the chairmanship of Rocky Malebana-Metsing, a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

Molefe told City Press the decision to relieve the REC of its responsibilities was taken at a special congress at Rustenburg on Sunday, July 25.

Molefe declined to elaborate on allegations that the REC had mismanaged funds raised during a R100-a-couple banquet attended by ANC president Nelson Mandela during a visit to the western Transvaal.

The previous REC was sacked last year at a congress in Rustenburg. It was alleged the officials had misused more than R190 000.

Previous chairman of the Western Transvaal REC, Solly Rasmeni, also declined to comment on the dismissal of his committee and referred City Press to the spokesman.

Malebana-Metsing said the REC had been relieved of their duties because of some irregularities due to lack of management skills and limited political exposure.

Seeking a vote of trust

C1 Reads 8/18/92

BY ZB MOLEFE

NON-PARTISAN is a word Billy Modise finds uncomfortable as he goes about his work

"The terrible thing in SA is when you say you are non-partisan. To some people it means you are anti-ANC," says the soft-spoken Modise

Modise's big challenge at the moment is educating the masses of predominantly black South Africans about the historic elections for a post-apartheid era which, hopefully, will dawn sometime in mid-April

Modise is the executive director of the Matla Trust, an initiative started by ANC president Nelson Mandela in 1990 when "he became aware of the need for a body that could attend to the needs of disadvantaged South Africans across the political spectrum"

The Bloemfontein-born father of two daughters cuts a dashing and trim figure

Modise says Mandela realised after his release that many South Africans looked up to him to solve their legion of problems

Modise is adamant that each political party or organisation has a duty to educate voters

"We are not campaigning for any party. Matla alone can't deliver votes on election day. On the other hand, SA cannot afford to miss this chance. We must make sure that we have a fair and free election. If we have 22-million voters, the more people we get to the polls the more difficult it will be for the spoilers"

He says "Of the 22-million potential voters, 17-million have never voted. The voting process is intimidating. The other problem is that our people are poor, illiterate or semi-literate. Others are in squatter areas and peri-urban areas. Many are captive employees"

Matla's Community and Citizen Education Programme (CCEP) has eight offices nationwide

Modise talks about Matla's mission and it is hard not to be touched by his zeal. Yet, he is self-effacing too. Instead of talking about himself he talks about how Matla came to be. After consulting with a wide-range of South Africans, it was decided that people whose community development work was widely-known in SA and people with a record of fighting apartheid would be employed to form Matla



VOTE MAN ... Matla Trust's Billy Modise.
Pic: TLADI KHUELE

The funds used to found Matla were raised by Mandela from overseas

Since then, funds have been donated to Matla from inside SA - from government and non-governmental organisations and businesses - and from concerned individuals worldwide

Prior to his appointment Modise lectured in sociology at Sweden's Lund University. Then he served at the Swedish International Development Authority's training centre as deputy director. He was a consultant to the UN's Habitat

Conference and the assistant director of its Institute for Namibia"

The Matla Trust was officially born on April 15 1991 as an educational and charitable trust under the chairmanship of Johannesburg lawyer Ismail Ayob. A 14-person board of trustees comprising prominent personalities was formed to control it

"The Board of Trustees then decided to do something concrete. After all, most of our people - black and white - have never experienced democracy. The new government will have a difficulty here. Now that we have a chance, we at Matla can play a role and try to inform about democracy and democratic practices," says Modise

He joined the trust in August 1991 - the year in which thousands of exiles returned, posing a huge challenge

Problems abounded. "It was thought Matla could help though, really, it was not our field," says Modise

Yet, he said Matla's helping hand had managed to see many exiles being offered vocational training and children of exiles being helped to adjust to their new homeland

LEADERS RUSH TO FLASHPOINT

Ulundi sends top man while ANC pleads for peace

By MONWABISI NOMADLO

KWAZULU Justice Minister CJ Mthethwa was sent to the trouble-torn East Rand by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week after reports that the violence was discrediting Inkatha.

The point of the visit was to obtain information from grassroots leadership on the levels of violence, and also to prepare for the proposed East Rand tour by Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela.

Mthethwa held a meeting behind closed doors with several leaders from violence-stricken areas such as Vosloorus, Thembisa, Thokoza and Katlehong.

Inkatha central committee member Humphrey Ndlovu confirmed the visit.

Ndlovu said the minister, accompanied by chiefs, wanted to get first-hand information on the ground instead of having to rely on newspaper, fax or telephone reports.

Violence in the area since last week has left more than 140 people dead.

Thembisa and Katlehong resembled war zones with hostels in both areas cut off from the townships after train services were stopped due to the drivers' endangered lives.

Plea

In an impassioned plea during an address on Thursday at Huntersfield Stadium, Mandela called on residents not to attack Zulus simply because they were Zulus.

He condemned killers within both Inkatha and the ANC who murdered innocent men, women and children.

He also lashed out at the conduct of police, especially members of the internal stability unit, saying they had no interest in the people they were supposed to protect.

Amid jeers, Mandela called on Katlehong residents to make friends with hostel dwellers.

He told the crowd that he understood their anger when their loved ones and relatives were killed by criminals.

Mandela congratulated the SDUs for their tireless work in protecting township residents.

Youths in Katlehong called for the withdrawal of police.

Most of the youths interviewed belonged to the PAC's student body Paso. They told City Press they were not fighting hostel dwellers but police, adding that hostel dwellers were being used by security forces.



PEACE PLEASE! ... Nelson Mandela made an impassioned plea for peace on Thursday at the Huntersfield stadium in Katlehong on the East Rand. ■ Pic: EVANS MBOWENI

Monday August 9, 1993

NEWS Police

Women ~~Sowetan~~ 'must be 9/8/93 self-reliant'

By Ruth Bhengu

AFRICAN women needed to start development projects to help them become economically self-reliant, Ms Ellen Ntuli of the African Women's Organisation said at the weekend.

Speaking at a meeting to celebrate the International Women's Solidarity Day held at the Rustéruaal Stadium in the Vaal, Ntuli said women should stop looking to whites for jobs. (IA)

She said black women had a responsibility to get into activities which would create wealth and liberate them from their dependence on whites. (SABA)

"As women who are part of an oppressed people, we have an obligation to start projects that will not only generate an income but also help our children who, because of the high rate of unemployment, find themselves loitering and getting into mischief," Ntuli said.

PEOPLE'S LIVES *How fateful day in 1956 shaped the destiny of women in South Africa*

Solid fighter for freedom

■ HEROIC PROTEST Some 20 000 women

marched on Pretoria to demand freedom —

and now their children are reaping the benefits:

By Sizakele Kooma

EFACTS 37 years ago today Lillian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Sophie De Bruin and Antoinette Cabaña led a heroic protest involving some 20 000 South African women of all colours.

Albertina Sisulu was also there on that historic winter's day. In fact, she led the Transvaal march that wreaked havoc at Johannesburg's Pritchard Street Bantu Affairs offices.

She was Accused Number One in the group of 2 000 women arrested in the province. The women stayed three weeks behind bars but were acquitted on all charges after a brilliant defence by lawyers Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

The protest did not persuade the Government to stop extending legislation for women to carry reference books but it was significant in bringing us together. The unity shown by women of all colours strengthened our cause," Sisulu says.

"We also did it for our children. We protested so that they would suffer as we did. We wanted to ensure them a bright future. It has happened. The Government played about with us but they cannot do the same with our children.

"Today's women know their rights and they want them embodied in the constitution. They can represent us in Parliament and are even capable of leading the country," she added.

August 9 1956, which is now marked as National Woman's Day was, Sisulu maintains also a starting point of women's political education — a campaign which the grandmother of 21 and mother of eight children, three of them adopted, has spearheaded ever since.

Her husband Walter's incarceration for 26 years her 10 years of house arrest, detention and police harassment did not deter Sisulu's commitment to grassroots politics.

The retired nursing sister's dedication to the struggle has been evident in the numerous protests she has led — against violence towards township tenants, the detention of pupils, political imprisonments and the campaign

for sanctions among others. At 75 she is deputy president of the ANC Women's League. She has also held leadership positions in the Federation of Transvaal Women and the United Democratic Front.

Over the years, she contends, women have fought countless battles, the recent one being the fight to be admitted to the talks as negotiators and not as advisers.

A flaw that has marred their emancipation, though, was that their achievement had not gone hand in hand with their unity, Sisulu says.

"There is a lot that still needs to be done that women have to co-operate on. We all come from different backgrounds but as women we have one thing in common. We are mothers. We have to address the issue of education, housing and street children, among others.

"I'm also worried about rural women. Most of them are illiterate. We have to ensure that they are educated so that they can participate in the coming elections."

Despite her work, Sisulu does not think herself worthy of being called the Mother of the Nation or being regarded as a role model.

"I haven't done anything that other women in the struggle did not do. If I had worked hard enough we would be free. Our children would not be called marginalised."

They cannot call me Mother of the Nation. I haven't done anything that other women in the struggle didn't do



Albertina Montshikolelo Sisulu

NEWS 12-hour meeting resolves to end conflict

IFP and ANC youths in peace pact

Sowetan 9/8/93

YOUTH leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party have declared a cessation of hostilities in Southern Natal and have called on their supporters to stop waging war.

"No member of one of our parties must from today onwards engage in conflict with members of either party," said a joint resolution yesterday.

The ANC's Southern Natal Youth League met the regional IFP Youth Brigade's leadership in a 12-hour meeting in Durban on Saturday aimed at bringing peace to Natal.

Reconciliation

The first-of-its-kind meeting ended with a strong call for peace and reconciliation and a joint condemnation of violence. Regional ANC Youth League chairman Mr Cyril Xaba and national IFP Youth Brigade organiser Mr Otto Kunene led delegations in what they both described as successful peace talks.

"We accept the challenge and

strongly commit ourselves to bring about peace in our land," they resolved.

While recommitting themselves to the June 23 peace pact between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the youth leaders pledged to form a joint liaison committee to maintain the momentum to peace and ensure agreements are not breached.

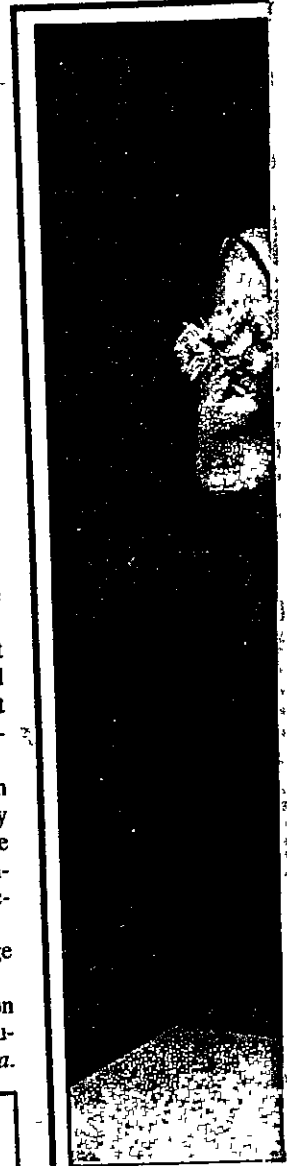
Calling for an end to violent conflict between their supporters, they resolved to "declare a cessation of hostilities, at least and in the main, among our constituency-membership".

The ANC and IFP shared a common objective — peace. To achieve this, they would try to ensure representation of the youth, who are at the forefront of political fighting, on all National Peace Accord structures.

Xaba and Kunene expressed outrage at continuing political bloodletting.

In a further message, they called on supporters to commit themselves to education and "remain in classes" — *Sapa*.

Today is National Women's Day. See page 7 for a special interview with Albertina Sisulu.



Newly crowned Miss (left) and second prize





SA enters crucial week

Sowetan 9/8/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE country enters a crucial week today as politicians meet to finalise the draft interim constitution and tackle the burning issue of violence.

The issue on violence will be discussed as an addendum and will only be tabled when the multiparty planning committee is ready with recommendations for the negotiations council.

Negotiators agreed last week that a joint peacekeeping force should be established but how this force should be constituted remains a matter for intense debate as the Government and liberation movements — the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress — disagree on the issue.

On constitutional matters, the negotiating council is to focus mainly on regions and the delimitation of borders. A commission on boundaries has recommended nine regions for South Africa.

The council is also expected to consider a second draft of the draft interim constitution and start debating on it tomorrow.

SEMINAR COMMITTEES THAT WORK

C

Visit to troubled areas postponed

Sowetan 11/8/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

■ **LAST MINUTE** Politicians warned

their lives could be at risk:

A PLANNED VISIT TODAY to the strife-torn East Rand townships by the 23-party negotiating council was postponed at the last minute yesterday because of a mass funeral and stayaway in Tembisa

The question of security for the politicians had also not been adequately addressed, according to current multiparty planning committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan, who made the announcement late yesterday

This is the second postponement in two weeks by the negotiators, who were last week warned by the police and residents that their lives could be at risk

The politicians were to leave the World Trade Centre in two buses

Yesterday's talks at the World Trade Centre centred on the draft of

the interim constitution

The council decided to refer decisions on the demarcation of boundaries and regions "back to the people", especially in "sensitive" areas

The commission on boundaries, which earlier recommended nine regions for South Africa, has been charged with gathering oral evidence from people at grassroots level

It will further analyse submissions from participants in the constitutional talks and make recommendations.

The Pan Africanist Congress reserved its position on this resolution saying it was "against the cutting up of the country"

PAC negotiator Mrs Patricia de Lille said the organisation maintained that an elected constituent assembly was the only qualified body to decide on regions and not the present forum

The Afrikaner Volksunie put up a strong case for its demand for an Afrikaner state and the right to self-determination. On the other hand, the Government and African National Congress said constitutional principles already agreed upon provided for the self-determination of any group which had a majority in a particular region

In an attempt to reassure obviously angry AVU negotiators Mr Moolman Mentz and Mrs C Kruger, ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said self-determination was still a matter for debate and would continue to be tabled. Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer said the Government was not opposed to the concept of self-determination provided it was exercised within the confines of the constitution

ANC in bid to Sowetan 11/8/93 avert strike

By Bongani Mavuso

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THE African National Congress yesterday vowed to do everything in its power to avert the teachers' strike scheduled to begin on Monday

ANC national executive member Ms Cheryl Carolus said black education was about to be plunged into another crisis which the country could not afford

"We are determined to leave no stone unturned to avert this crisis," Carolus said

The South African Democratic Teachers Union announced this week that its members would embark on the strike after salary negotiations between the union and the Government had deadlocked.

Carolus said the ANC was convinced the crisis could be resolved "It (the crisis) centres on matters which had been resolved in principle. The only problem is the non-implementation of agreements on the part of the Government," she said

The strike could be averted if the agreements entered into between the Government and Sadtu on May 21 were implemented, she said

The ANC believed the situation could be defused if the proposed meeting between the Government and Sadtu, scheduled for August 18 and 19, was brought forward to this week

MIKE MURPHY, SADC SECRETARY GENERAL
Bosman and Mr Kobus Kleyhans and Minister of Man-

Ngakula reveals secret ANC operation

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

THE ANC's top-secret Operation Vula was aimed at armed insurrection against the government — and it had been planned to smuggle high-ranking leaders, including the late Mr Chris Hanu, into the country

This has been disclosed for the first time in an interview by the new secretary-general of the SA Communist Party, Mr Charles Ngakula.

Mr Ngakula was head of Operation Vula in the Western Cape, where he operated underground for three years without being detected, and without some of his closest

friends being able to recognise him because of his "clever" disguises.

He was sent to the Western Cape in 1988 after undergoing training in East Germany.

During the interview, Mr Ngakula, a former journalist on the East London Daily Dispatch, was guarded about Operation Vula but did say: "Our task, not only in the

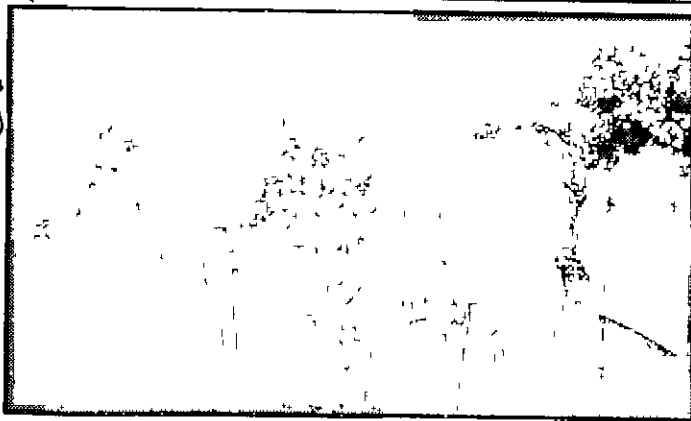
Western Cape, was quite clear. We were going for insurrection."

Political and military structures were set up, and prepared for the infiltration of leaders such as Mr Hanu.

Their operations included the infiltration of "weapons of war" — "but of course that is all I can say in that regard."

The Operation Vula structures in the Western Cape were so strong that none of them were exposed, but when they received information that the security apparatus knew about their operations in 1990 "we ran away".

Mr Ngakula did "many things" while underground, including attending a college course.



GREETINGS: Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, right, greets ANC leader Nelson Mandela before the two began their talks yesterday.

APR 11 1993

(11A)

Mandela collects R30-m in Far East

KUALA LUMPUR. — The African National Congress raised more than R30 million for its election campaign during ANC president Nelson Mandela's week-long trip to Taiwan and Malaysia, ANC sources said.

The sources — members of the ANC delegation accompanying Mr Mandela during the past week — confirmed that the Taiwanese government had agreed to give the amount to the organisation for the April 27 election campaign.

Before leaving for South Africa from here last night Mr Mandela told the Press that Malaysian Prime Minister Dr Mahathir Mohammad "can never let us down in the request we have made" — referring to an ANC request for campaign funds.

Head of the ANC media sec-

tion Palo Jordan said the ANC still needed more than R120 million for the election campaign.

After reports from Taipei that the ANC, on its first official visit there, had asked for at least R30 million, Dr Jordan and a Taiwanese Foreign Affairs official issued a joint statement denying it.

But sources in the ANC delegation later confirmed that the Taiwanese government had agreed to give the ANC R30 million.

● Malaysia has offered to give South Africans diplomatic training. A group of about 25, most of them ANC members including Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride, began a three-month diplomatic course in Kuala Lumpur last month.

— Sapa

Sipho and the DP meeting



Ransacked . . . Themba Mazibuko, an official of the Orange Farm Civic Association, inspects the damage caused by youths.

PICTURE JOHNNY ONVERWACHT

BY HAPPY NKHOMA

Sipho Zwane (not his real name) is an angry young man.

He told The Star yesterday that he took part in an attack on a Democratic Party meeting in Orange Farm on Saturday, and said he was prepared to do it again.

Sipho, who refused to give his identity, is about 19, unemployed and not very hopeful about the future. He shares a home with his large family, none of whom works

Sipho is very hostile to white

political organisations and does not believe blacks and whites share common political beliefs

He said he saw no reason why whites who had "enjoyed the luxury of apartheid should see themselves as compatriots of the suffering blacks". The DP members had enjoyed voting rights for years, but now that "their rule" was ending they wanted the support of their victims, he argued

Unwilling to be "used by op-

► To Page 3

Star 11/8/93

'I helped disrupt rally'

◀ From Page 1

portunists", the youths had disrupted the DP rally at the local stadium on Saturday, Sipho said

The anger the youths demonstrated towards the DP at the weekend has now shifted to the Orange Farm Civic Association

Yesterday militant youths gathered outside the office of the civic association, accusing it of allowing the DP to canvass in the area

The offices of the association were stoned and vandalised by the youths on Monday

The activists found DP membership cards in the offices and concluded that the association was recruiting for the DP

They gathered outside the offices yesterday to take "care of the traitors", some of the youths said

Sipho said the association was under fire from the community and the youths because it was perceived as collaborating with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and whites

In a heated meeting at a school yesterday, the local ANC, PAC, Azapo and other youths called for the disbanding of the civic association, saying it was not elected by the community

Goodman Godongwane, co-ordinator of the civic association, denied that his organisation supported the DP

He said the membership cards were given to the association by Orange Farm residents who had complained about DP canvassing in the area.

"From the minute I heard that the DP was organising in this area, I knew there would be fire," Godongwane said

Major jump from 'sellout' to PAC man

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

PILANI NTSIKO is one of a new breed — ousted black town councillors who are signing up with the PAC

The 47-year-old former mayor of Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township came out of the closet this week — and revealed he was not alone.

Since May when the South African National Civic Organisation's Kwanobuhle branch staged a sit-in to force councillors to quit, 11 former members of the 14-man council have signed up with the PAC, says East Cape PAC chairman Knox Tsotsobe.

And there has been a similar trend in Middelburg, Graaff-Reinet and Grahamstown's Rini township, Mr Tsotsobe said.

In Peddie in the Ciskei, local headmen tired of intimidation by hot-headed youths are also signing up with the PAC, as are Transkei's traditional leaders, he said.

For Mr Ntsiko — who has weathered attacks on his home during his 15 years as a councillor — the transition from the "enemy camp" to the PAC is a welcome relief.

"Councillors could never live as normal people, never move freely. We had

to calculate every move, let each other know where we were going and avoid dark, lonely places," he said.

He sees no contradiction in his quantum leap across the political spectrum.

"When black councils were introduced in 1978, black men were like dry bones, our leadership in jail or exile, our politics underground. I believed we had to learn to look after ourselves, so I joined the council.

Safer

"I see the PAC in the same light. It does not force boycott-breakers to swallow soap powder or make children boycott school.

"Two years ago we moved to a part of the township that is a PAC stronghold and feel much safer there."

He admits membership of the PAC is vital to his political career as the next council elections are likely to be fought on political grounds.

He feels he has no home in the ANC — although that movement is now also trying to recruit "those strong council members with potential", according to Uitenhage ANC spokesman Lekani Kwandile.

ANC 'appalled' by FW's threat of emergency rule

Biday

11/8/93

THE ANC yesterday condemned as irresponsible President F W de Klerk's reported threat to consider emergency rule as a last resort against violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that the ANC was appalled by De Klerk's suggestion, in an interview published by German newspaper Welt on Monday

Reuter reports Niehaus said "We accept it is necessary to use additional police and soldiers, but violence can be addressed only in full consultation with the community and by a multilateral peacekeeping force

"We consider it an irresponsible remark. It smacks of the old government attitude of unilateralism and baasskap and it reflects the bankruptcy of his rule," Niehaus said

However, government spokesman Dave Steward said yesterday De Klerk had mentioned emergency rule as a possibility, not as his choice of strategy, to control violence.

Police spokesman Gen Leon Mellet said he did not expect De Klerk to use his power to impose an emergency "At this stage it is an option, but it's

an inappropriate option because . . . emergency rule would put an artificial lid on the violence without addressing the roots of the trouble"

Meanwhile, the head of a woman was found in the veld near Kattelohong's Radebe section yesterday, bringing to 11 the number of dead discovered by police in East Rand townships after another night of violence, LLOYD COUTTS reports

This brings to 483 the number of people killed in the area since July 3

Police spokesman Lt Janne Smith said most of yesterday's victims had gunshot, hack, stab and burn wounds, and were found near the Thokoza, Byafati and Kwesim hostels, and in Radebe section

A man was shot dead in Vosloorus after opening fire on police with an AK-47 Two policemen were injured in the incident

Violence appeared to spread to Alexandra near Sandton yesterday, with three deaths reported in the area One man was discovered with seven bullet wounds in his body, another was stabbed in the neck and a third shot in the neck, police said

The SA Red Cross Society said yes-

terday it had called in psychiatrists to counsel its southern Transvaal branch staffers who had been doing relief work in the East Rand and Vaal regions

Sapa reports the society said its staffers in conflict areas had been working non-stop since the April 10 assassination of SACP leader Chris Ham and had been "traumatised by the gruesome killings, especially in recent fighting in Thokoza, Kattelohong, Daveyton and Tembisa"

In northern Natal police reported five people had died since Saturday in renewed violence in the township of Sundumbili

In Durban yesterday the Inkatha Freedom Party accused Transkei Defence Force soldiers of involvement in the conflict which left eight people dead at Bhambayi at the weekend Inkatha leader and Kwa-Zulu government minister Thomas Shabalala told a news conference evidence to this effect would be forwarded to the Goldstone commission

Transkei's military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa challenged Inkatha to substantiate its claims in order to bring guilty parties to court

Death month

PATRICK BULGER

JULY was a disastrous month for peace in SA with 580 politically related deaths, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) said

It was the highest death toll since August 1990 when 709 people died in township violence. Biday

The HRC said yesterday that violence on the East Rand accounted for 50% of the deaths 11/8/93

So far this year, political violence had claimed 1 983 lives and caused 2 710 injuries.

ANC asked to address police rally

Biday

11/8/93

LLOYD COUTTS

THE ANC has been approached by PWV-based policemen to address a rally similar to one held in Port Elizabeth at the weekend at which 300 policemen and prison wardens dedicated themselves to impartial community policing in a new SA

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, who addressed Sunday's rally, said yesterday the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Poperu) intended "activating" police in the PWV region, and had requested the

ANC's co-operation

However, he understood policemen in the PWV were being intimidated into not attending such a rally, and were being told they would lose their jobs if they did so

It is the same form of intimidation meted out to police in the eastern Cape But they braved the storm and came in large numbers, he said

Sexwale denied that the ANC was forming an alliance with the police, and said police were instead recommitting themselves to their communities

"Even the ANC should not be able to misuse anyone in the police force," Sexwale said

He said policemen and wardens had read a declaration at Sunday's rally in which they committed

themselves to community-based policing, reconciliation and cutting links with police methods of operating under apartheid.

"They are committing themselves to a democratic police force, to a new constitution, to a new SA and to proper policing methods in conjunction with the community One other thing they are saying is 'no' to police apartheid practices of the past"

A date for the rally has not been finalised

An ANC spokesman said Sexwale had also been approached by striking policemen based in Tembisa

SAP spokesman Col Johan Mostert denied there was a strike He said he had no knowledge of a forthcoming rally, but the ANC should present evidence of intimidation of police wishing to attend

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'Warlord' Nongwe is still an ANC member

By BARRY STREEK

CONTROVERSIAL Crossroads squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe was still an ANC member, the ANC's Western Cape chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, said yesterday.

However, the days of his membership are numbered and his suspension from the ANC is to be announced as soon as a meeting of the organisation's Crossroads

branches can be organised. Mr Nongwe, an alleged "warlord" in Crossroads, is still chairman of the ANC in the area, but his continued membership is an embarrassment to the organisation.

When he was arrested last month, the ANC issued a statement saying this action was justified and that he should be denied bail. Mr Nongwe was "greatly feared"

in Crossroads and his continued detention could open the way for a more frank investigation into the violence, the ANC said.

Dr Boesak said decisions taken by the ANC's regional general council at the weekend about the situation in Crossroads would be released to the press as soon as the branches had been informed about the decisions.

The council's decision to suspend Mr Nongwe follows the appointment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the allegations against him and his executive committee.

He could not be expelled from the ANC because of provisions of its constitution. However, he has been strongly criticised within the organisation.

Mr Nongwe is chairman of the Western Cape United Squatters' Association, which has clashed with the South African National Civics Organisation, and his suspension from the ANC could exacerbate tensions between the two bodies.

Dr Boesak said yesterday "Mr Nongwe is still a member of the ANC as far as we know".

CT 11/8/93

Talks take big step forward

Sowetan 12/12/93

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

Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiations at the World Trade Centre took another step forward yesterday when the parties agreed that regions should have some exclusive powers during transition.

Deliberations on the draft outline of the interim constitution were completed and will resume after recommendations have been made to the multiparty planning committee.

During the debate, some of the nominally independent TBVC states and the Afrikaner Volksunie felt that some concurrent powers should remain exclusive to the regions without being influenced by the central government.

However, there was a lengthy debate on the right of regions to have their own tax bases.

The Concerned South Africans Group, represented in the debate by Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the AVU,

argued that this would enable regions to render adequate services to their communities.

The African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance argued that services should be made available to all South Africans regardless of their origin.

Another form of apartheid

SACP negotiator Mr Essop Pahad said "We cannot allow regions to become another form of apartheid by letting legislation stop our people from moving anywhere where services are available in the country."

Proposals that regional governments should have exclusive powers to functional areas, such as education, health services, welfare, housing and local government, were referred to the multiparty planning committee for recommendation.

Delegates were requested to make submissions to this committee on additional exclusive and concurrent powers.

Discussion on fundamental human rights and violence continues today.

ANC to raise R160m offshore

THE ANC intends raising at least R160m from foreign sources for next year's election, ANC elections co-ordinator Popo Molefe says in the latest issue of ANC journal Mayibuye. *Biday*

Molefe said the ANC needed about R200m to fight a campaign *12/8/93*

"We are going to be relying largely on foreign funding, but we believe we can raise more than 10% of our budget inside the country. We should strive to raise up to 20%," he said *(IA)*

Molefe said fundraising would be difficult

"It is becoming increas-

PATRICK BULGER

ingly difficult because some of the political parties and governments that supported us during the difficult days of the armed struggle and underground operations are now saying we are about to become a political party"

Molefe said voter education would cost the ANC at least R57m

"We are a national liberation movement with a history of exclusion from the democratic process"

He said the ANC would need about 2 000 fulltime workers and "hundreds of

thousands" of volunteers throughout the country

Molefe said the ANC accepted the April 27 election date as final. He said 79% of African voters had indicated they would vote for the ANC and there had been an upsurge in white support after former SACP chief Chris Ham was assassinated in April. Nationally, the ANC would capture 60% of the vote, he said

NEWS FEATURE *A young woman has vowed to improve the lot of women*

A bold fighter for women's rights

Sowetan 13/8/93

By Sizakele Kooma

UNITED SISTERHOOD *Tackling the*

daunting problems of the future:

ELLEN MOTHOPENG was only 31 when she was elected president of the African Women's Organisation, the women's wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. The Orlando West, Soweto, woman does not see conquering political heights at a youthful age as something extraordinary, even though the names of some of her colleagues have been connected with the struggle since its beginning.

"Sobukwe was young when he was elected president of the PAC and Phillip Kgosana was 21 when he led the 1960 anti-pass march in the Cape," she explains.

Mothopeng is also the daughter-in-law of the late PAC President Zephania Mothopeng, but she does not want to dwell on that either. It gives, she says, a false impression of the organisation.

"It was certainly not through family connections that I got elected," she says. "I earned the position."

Founder members

"I was one of the founder members of AWO. When it was established in 1986 I was not on the executive committee. I worked in the background organising members in Soweto and on the East Rand."

"I was reluctant each time I was called on to serve on the executive until four years later when I was appointed publicity secretary."

The mother of three's involvement in the struggle is one that most young politicians can easily relate to.

Her first contact with politics was in 1976 while still a pupil at the Orlando North High School.

Zeph Mothopeng was the main influence behind her involvement in politics. In those days, heavily involved in educational matters, he would go and address schoolchildren.

"He used to encourage us to carry on both struggles — to fight colonialism but still get an education," Mothopeng says.

When AWO was formed in 1986, she had had enough time to assess the South African political scene and decide which path best suited her.

In 1992, after serving two years in her first executive post, Mothopeng was appointed president. At the time she was working at the South African Council of Churches as an administrator in the justice and social ministries department. She held the job for six months before taking up a full-time post at the PAC offices in the Johannesburg CBD.

She still feels uncomfortable being referred to as a president, she admits, and awkward about handling issues involving older women.

Her office handles everything from the members' social problems to community programmes and serious politics. But the two main issues on her agenda at present are violence and voter education.

"We are trying to get women to work together in curbing the violence that is gripping the country. It has been difficult."

"We have first to get through political ideologies and convince women that women's issues don't need political tags."

— Ellen Mothopeng

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Ellen Mothopeng on the march inset. Zeph Mothopeng.

Her organisation is experiencing problems in educating rural women on voter education because they cannot relate to the subject.

"A more daunting problem that we have to work together on involves the future," she points out.

"Expectations are high but productivity is very low. At the rate at which things are going, a lot of us will be left widowed, jobless and poverty-stricken."

"We are aware of the facts but we are not doing anything about it."

"I personally, feel cheated that issues that affect 54 percent of the population are being relegated. Nothing is being said about the status of women."

"All we hear coming out of the talks are technical issues that none but the people in the negotiations council themselves can relate to."

Mothopeng says women are known for being tough and enduring.

They are also gradually becoming known for carrying whatever load is put on their shoulders.

"The majority of women don't care about politics. If the ordinary woman could be given that little bit of education, it would be easy for all to reflect on issues and challenge the politicians."

Mothopeng, who mentions Margaret Thatcher and Albertina Sisulu as among those women she holds in high regard, insists that she will not rest until she is convinced that all women are self-reliant and working together.

STOP SUFFERING

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Accused ANC camps abuser made MK commissar (1A)

WWM 13-19/8/93

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE African National Congress has appointed a man named as one of the chief abusers of detainees in its camps as political commissar of its armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

MK headquarters confirmed the appointment of Amos Masondo, but a spokesman declined to comment.

Described as a hardliner, Masondo has been repeatedly named by former ANC detainees as being implicated in incidents of torture in the organisation's detention camps in exile. In 1985, he was removed from

the ANC's national executive after the organisation investigated human rights abuses in its camps in Angola.

From 1961 to 1975, Masondo served time on Robben Island. After his release, he was sent to the Soviet Union for military training. On completing this, he was appointed ANC political commissar and became part of the national executive committee.

In 1978 he was brought into the ANC's security structures by the head of security, Mzwai Piliso. Around this time he also joined the South African Communist Party's central executive committee.

Masondo and Piliso have been repeatedly accused by former ANC detainees of ordering the detention and torture of ANC members throughout the 1980s. Within the ANC, Masondo is widely held to be responsible for the conditions in the camps in Angola which led to the minority by MK cadres in 1984.

At the ANC's national conference, held in Kabwe, Tanzania in 1985, Masondo was removed from his positions after the report of the Stuart Commission into the conditions in the Angola camps became known. After the ANC's Angolan camps

were closed, as part of the package of deals which led to Namibian independence, the organisation's cadres were moved to Uganda. In 1990, Masondo was transferred and became the ANC's chief representative in Uganda, much to the dissatisfaction of the cadres there. He recently returned to South Africa to take up his present appointment.

As commissar, he is likely to be responsible for keeping MK cadres abreast of political developments and training them for their new role under the transitional arrangements and a democratic constitution.

Still in amorphous.



Truth commission plea by ANC chief

(11A) APR 13/8/93

□ 'Past must be exorcised for the sake of peace'

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

AN African National Congress leader has called for the establishment of a "national commission of truth" to identify the "horrors of the past" and smooth the transition from the old South Africa to the new.

Kader Asmal, an ANC national executive member, said "In order to build for the future, it is necessary that the past violence — the killings, torture and disappearances — be dealt with by the establishment of a commission of truth"

Professor Asmal, a constitutional expert based at the University of the Western Cape, was speaking at the annual meeting of the Institute of Race Relations last night at Mowbray Town Hall

Uganda, Bolivia, Argentina,

Uruguay, Zimbabwe and eight other African and Latin American countries successfully established commissions of truth shortly after attaining democracy, he said

"The establishment of the truth is an acknowledgment by all parties of what went wrong

"We must break with the past record of human rights abuses and in this way promote national reconciliation and obtain political legitimacy for our new structures, without which democracy will be built on sand"

For example, Professor Asmal said Nyameka Goniwe, the widow of slain activist Matthew Goniwe, was entitled to know exactly how her husband was killed

"She doesn't want revenge, she just needs to know"

Earlier, he called on South Africans "to prepare ourselves for a massive peace initiative"

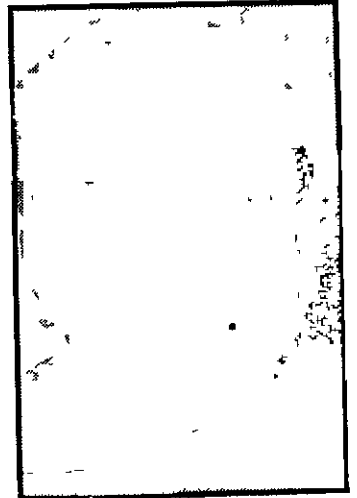
Professor Asmal said "Paradoxical as it may sound, we need to act as soldiers of peace

"The current level of violence has not only cost the lives of countless numbers of our countrymen and women but is also a direct threat to the negotiation process, which is inextricably bound to our path to democracy"

Statistical studies showed "direct correlations" between levels of violence and "the imminence of a political breakthrough or a dramatic initiative"

It was no coincidence that just 100 people a month were killed violently between January and the end of June, whereas 640 people were killed in July

Quoting United Nations figures, Professor Asmal said 16 000 people had been killed so



Kader Asmal

far in South Africa's struggle for democracy

El Salvador's transition cost 83 000 lives between 1983 and 1990, Guatemala's 120 000 in the same period, 80 000 Argentinians died and more than 100 000 former Yugoslavs had died so far

● Professor Asmal criticised the police for using "maximum force" when they ought to have learned the habit of conciliation and community policing

"We are obsessed with capital punishment when we ought to respect life and learn to deal with crime in a rational and humane spirit," he said



AT LOGGERHEADS . . . ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni (left) and PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander, deep in discussion yesterday at the Perseverance High School in Belhar

Picture FANIE JASON

Yengeni lets fly at PAC in debate

Staff Reporter

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni yesterday lambasted the PAC for killing "innocent people in church".

Speaking in a public debate between himself and PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander in front of pupils and teachers at Perseverance High School in Belhar, Mr Yengeni said he was commander of uMkhonto weSizwe in the Western Cape but they had never attacked civilians as targets, be they white or black.

The youth should be aware of organisations which claim to fight for the people yet killed innocent civilians and children, he said.

In his response, Mr Alexander charged that the only armed attack that involved children was the Eikenhof attack in Johannesburg for which ANC members were presently appearing in court.

Mr Yengeni then took him to task for calling the ANC "sellouts" for advocating the formation of a Transitional Executive Council.

Mr Alexander responded that the PAC never said the ANC were sellouts but that the TEC would be a sellout settlement and a dummy if it did not have legislative and executive powers.

Use bullets against De Klerk — Mokaba

JOHANNESBURG — "Comrades, direct your bullets against De Klerk," ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba told a crowd of about 10 000 people yesterday

Addressing residents of the East Rand township of Tembisa at a funeral for eight people killed in a massacre two weeks ago, Mr Mokaba, who initially struggled to make himself heard against AK-47 and small arms gunfire, added. "We do not have enough bullets. Rather drive the police and army from the township."

He said there would never be peace in the area until this was done and added that white farmers who were arming themselves to fight a racist war, were being treated like saints.

"I'm saying we can no longer wait. The time is now for us to defend our people, arm our people, not for the purposes of waging a racial war, but to deal a hammer blow against the enemy."

"We are not afraid of them. We have

got our own guns. Starting tomorrow, you must drive the police and soldiers out of this township (and) follow them into their towns, take the struggle to them."

In his address to mourners, ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said "Our people have the right to hunt those people (responsible for the violence), find them and hit them back."

● National Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall said in a statement that "such utterances," would clearly constitute a breach of the National Peace Accord and would if necessary, "be referred to adjudication."

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa declined to comment until the ANC had seen Mr Mokaba's speech in full.

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said the comments were "political arson" which "will contribute greatly to the already unacceptably high level of violence on the East Rand" — Sapa

A FIGHT for powerful political positions in transitional government structures is already taking place within the African National Congress, and its causing internal concern about the divisions it is creating.

The arguments are no longer about strategy or tactics, but who will get the positions available for the first time ever to ANC members.

An internal assessment of the ANC, detailed in documents seen by the *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, warns of the resultant "factionalism and cliques", of "empire building" and the organisation's departments being "too autonomous".

The office of the organisation's secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, comes under heavy criticism for failing to sort out the ramshackle administration of the organisation.

Ramaphosa's office is criticised for poor co-ordination between the ANC head office and its departments and regions, paying insufficient attention to regional reports and having too little control of hiring and firing by the personnel section.

It pointed out there was no official link between the secretary general and the ANC's Women's and Youth leagues, both a source of embarrass-

ANC leaders jostle for top state jobs

Remarkably frank internal ANC documents warn of 'empire building' as leaders jostle for future government posts. Paul Stober reports

Ramaphosa is described as being "inaccessible" to the regions. "The briefing of regional secretary generals has stopped. National executive committee visits to the regions are more theoretical than practical and national working committee reports to the NEC are inconsistent and unclear."

However, according to sources close to the ANC, the complaints about the administration are a cover for an attempt to pull Ramaphosa out of his position as head of the ANC's negotiating team and the him to administrative tasks, leaving the way open for others to take his place at the multi-party forum. Ramaphosa's efforts at the World Trade Centre have earned him the name of "Comrade Breakthrough"

1/11/81
M113/8-19/8/81

In some quarters of the ANC.

Sources pointed out that the secretary general is a political appointment and Ramaphosa should actually have very little to do with the day-to-day running of the organisation.

In any case, the document recognises the ANC has a bloated bureaucracy in which there are "too many departments... and structures which have outlived their purposes, that there is a lack of financial planning and management, there is not enough accountability of staff at headquarters and a lack of discipline among the NEC and staff."

Asking Ramaphosa to make the organisation more efficient places him in an impossible position. To succeed he would have to fire personnel who are long-time ANC supporters and

who, for political reasons, the organisation cannot afford to cut loose in the run-up to the elections.

If Ramaphosa is moved out of the negotiations process, the ANC position in the transitional executive council, which Ramaphosa is expected to fill, will be open for other ANC candidates.

The head of the ANC's Department of International Affairs, Thabo Mbeki, is considered a prime candidate to take over from Ramaphosa. Mbeki is said to have the support of ANC president Nelson Mandela for the position of the organisation's vice-president.

According to the documents, besides its representative on the transitional executive council, the ANC is preparing to provide each sub-council with one representative, who will have at least three experts to back him up.

The organisation expects to have to provide 24 government ministers and at least 240 representatives in the constituent assembly if it wins 60 per cent of the vote. The ANC is also eyeing 500 top civil servant positions, of which a number would be director generals of government departments, positions in regional governments and government posts on the board of parastatals. "At this stage people who are likely to become ministers and



Cyril Ramaphosa - sharply criticised

director generals should be preparing themselves to be effective," said the document.

The ANC's list of nominees for the constituent assembly must still be drawn up and people for key bodies like the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Electoral Commission must still be earmarked.

Mokaba calls on mourners to drive police and army from Tembisa

By **Elroy** 13/8/93

**LLOYD CUTTS and
JOHANNES NGCOBO**

(IIP)

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba yesterday called on Tembisa residents to drive the police and army from the East Rand township, saying that this was the only way to ensure peace.

Addressing about 10 000 mourners at the funeral of eight of the 33 people killed in a massacre in Tembisa two weeks ago, he said residents should not allow President F W de Klerk to send the army and police into Tembisa to "wreak more havoc". White farmers were arming themselves to fight a racist war and were being treated like saints.

"I'm saying we can no longer wait. The time is now for us to arm our people, not to wage a racial war, but to deal a hammer blow against the enemy. We are not afraid of them. We have got our own guns. There will never be peace in the township until we drive the police and soldiers out and follow them into their towns, take the struggle to them."

Mokaba also called on residents to remove the Vusi Mushi hostel, alleged hangout of the "Toaster" gang, which residents said was responsible for the violence. But he did caution that not all hostel dwellers were

"enemies"

He said the third force did not exist, and government was to blame for the violence.

Mokaba, who struggled to make himself heard above the volleys of AK-47 and small arms fire in the stadium, called on the crowd to stop wasting ammunition. "Comrades, direct your bullets against De Klerk. We do not have enough bullets."

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo called for a united front against violence,

and also warned that not all hostel residents were necessarily "the enemy".

Quoting poet Breyten Breytenbach, Mlambo said the planned horrors of apartheid were continuing, but violence was being portrayed as black on black.

"Who is behind the massacre? How much more blood must flow before the carnage will stop? We must pause and seriously answer the question," he said. ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the right wing was training "our own people" in hostels.

He said policemen had decamped at a

rally in Port Elizabeth on Sunday that they would turn their guns on white officers if they were ordered by them to shoot people in townships. He said police should be encouraged to "get close to the people".

Sexwale said the ANC wanted next year's election to be peaceful, but was prepared to duck bullets on the way to ballot boxes if need be.

Responding to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's opposition to the inclusion of ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe in a national peacekeeping

□ To Page 2

Mokaba

Elroy 13/8/93

□ From Page 1

force, Sexwale said liberation movements would have to be included "whether Gatscha likes it or not". He accused Buthelezi of talking peace "with one mouth", while giving party members instructions to attack township residents with the other. (IIP)

ANC NEC member Rommie Kasrils said residents had the right to defend themselves. "We say to (AWB leader Eugene) TerreBlanche, that fat bully on that horse he keeps falling off, and to De Klerk, you are not the only people entitled to guns."

Mokaba's speech was condemned by the national peace committee, the NP, the Law and Order Ministry and the police. Sapa reports that the peace committee

said "such utterances, if accurately reported, would clearly constitute a breach of the national peace accord".

The Ministry said Mokaba's statements were political arson of the worst kind and would "contribute greatly" to violence.

Police spokesman Col Johan Mostert said it was regrettable that a political leader should appeal for attacks against security force members, who were risking their lives to serve the public.

The NP said this was an example of "the radical faction of the ANC" continuing with its own agenda while "more responsible leaders" were trying to calm their followers.



Heavy metal soldiers in Ratels patrol the East Rand township of Tembisa yesterday

PICTURE KEN OOSTERBROEK

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA

Speaker after speaker at an emotion-charged funeral for eight victims of East Rand violence yesterday called for the creation of a peace corps and the removal of white policemen and SADF troops from the violence-hit townships.

Controversial ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba took the stage as youths in the 15 000-strong crowd at Tembisa's Jan Lubbe stadium fired shots into the air.

"Stop wasting bullets," he said. "Direct those bullets at De Klerk. We don't have enough ammunition." **Clara**

He urged residents to "drive the SADF and police out of the townships" and to take "the struggle" into their towns. He also called on the people to dismantle the nearby Vusumuzi hostel "brick by brick". Despite shots being fired into

the air intermittently throughout the six-hour service, no cases of violence were reported and the large contingent of security force members kept a low profile throughout the day.

In reaction Ministry of Law and Order Captain Craig Kotze said Mokaba's statements illustrated the need for political organisations to control their supporters and to urge their leaders

or any other thing," he said. ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the April 27 election would not be peaceful because the IFP's Walter Felgate had threatened to "unleash 2 million Zulus to make sure the elections do not take place."

■ National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said last night he was surprised by Mokaba's remarks, which "if accurately reported, would clearly constitute a breach of the National Peace Accord". The matter should be taken up, he said

Save bullets for FW - Mokaba

13/18/93

Nongwe to face ANC suspension

(11A) Staff Reporter (2/15)

THE regional executive committee of the ANC is expected to meet with controversial Crossroads squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and his executive to inform them of their pending suspension from the organisation, regional vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako said yesterday. CT 13/8/93

Last month the ANC criticised the government for releasing Mr Nongwe on bail after being arrested in connection with kidnapping, saying he was "greatly feared" in Crossroads.

Teachers march over salary cuts

LEBOWAKGONO — Lebowa police and South African soldiers manned roadblocks as about 2 000 South African Democratic Teacher's Union members marched on the homeland's legislative assembly building. **APG**
The marchers were demanding a refund of salaries deducted after a strike in 1991. **14/8/93**
No violence was reported. — Sapa

Call to curb ANC torturers
APG 14/8/93

JOHANNESBURG — African National Congress leaders and others implicated in breaches of human rights, should be prevented from holding office in the ANC or in a future government of South Africa. **(IIM)**
The International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) said this in a statement from London yesterday in an independent assessment of the ANC's Motsenyane commission of inquiry into human rights violations in ANC detention camps.
The ISHR statement said it was a major flaw that the decision of whether or not the accused were guilty of violations was taken by the ANC itself and not by the independent commission — "the ANC is judge and jury in this matter".
The ISHR said its sources found that violations of human rights were "systematic, not sporadic".
The human rights organisation criticised the proceedings of the inquiry and said the selection of witnesses called to testify was haphazard "and many key individuals, both accused and accusers, were omitted from the original published list of witnesses". — Sapa.

YOU ALWAYS
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WITH

Wembley



De Klerk enemy, says Mokaba

Sowetan 13/8/92

By Abbey Makoe

■ BRICK BY BRICK ANCYL leader

ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba said that it was about time black people pointed their guns at the head of State President Mr FW de Klerk

He said this to more than 30 000 Tembisa residents in the strife-torn East Rand township Mokaba raised tensions when he called on residents to destroy all the hostels, "brick by brick", if necessary

"The hostels must go, and now," Mokaba told the mourners who packed the Jan Lubbe Stadium

Scores of PAC supporters wearing "Africa for Africans" T-shirts chanted "One settler, one bullet" as Mokaba called on residents to point their guns at De Klerk

Among the mourners was five-year-

calls for destruction of all hostels:

old Mzukisi Mashobane, who escaped death when he was thrown out of the window of a kombi in which 13 people, including his parents, Wiseman and Sello Mashobane, were shot dead and set alight

Eight victims

The eight victims were given a heroes' burial, with a AK-47 and shotgun salute as their coffins were lowered

Six other victims buried yesterday were Selby Malatsi (15) Ronald Phalane (9) Patrick Gumede (age unknown)

The other three were burnt beyond recognition. However, they were certainly members of our community," said Mr Timothy Mahena, official of the

newly formed Tembisa Disaster Fund Among the other political figures who gave speeches was PAC first deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo, who called on a joint approach by the liberation movements to quell the violence

Other speakers were South African Communist Party politburo member Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Tokyo Sexwale of the African National Congress' PWV executive committee

Troops in tanks and police in armoured vehicles kept a low profile outside the Jan Lubbe Stadium where the funeral service was held

There were no incidents of violence when mourners left the cemetery shortly after 4pm yesterday

New communist party leader backs away from wealth tax

**MICHAEL MORRIS
and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**
Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party does not believe a new tax should be unilaterally introduced to pay for post-election "reconstruction" projects, but should be debated urgently, says SACP general-secretary Charles Nqakula

Mr Nqakula, successor to slain communist leader Chris Hani, also said in a wide-ranging interview that

- The National Economic Forum (NEF) would be vital in generating consensus on economic policy between the State, business and labour, and should remain an advisory body,

- Nationalisation is no longer viewed as the key to correcting the economic ills and exploitation of the past,

- Affirmative action projects to improve living conditions of the disadvantaged would generate business opportunities on a wide front, and

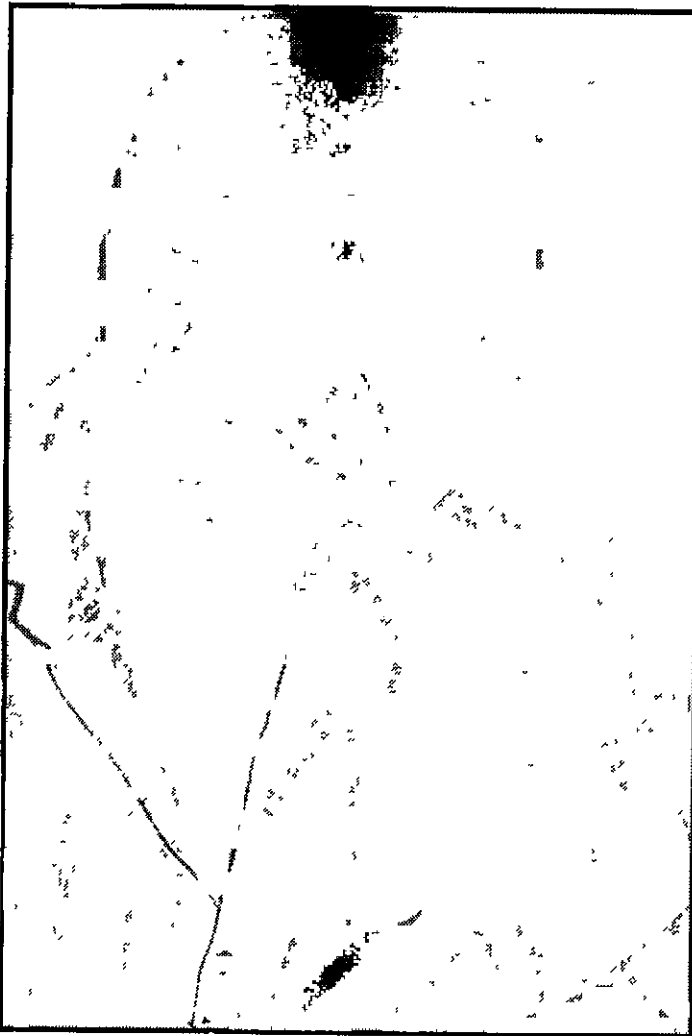
- Businesses which remained in South Africa would reap the benefits of "a new vista that will open for all" in southern Africa and the rest of the continent after democratic elections. Businessmen and women who left would lose out

On the party's political future, Mr Nqakula believed the SACP was the natural home of workers, and that its power-base resided in the unions.

Any move to breakaway from its alliance with the ANC would result only from a democratic decision within the alliance.

He said the SACP might consider — but was not committed to — breaking away from the alliance after next year's election.

Asked for the party's view on the controversial "reconstruction levy" mooted by ANC economics planner Tito Mboweni, Mr Nqakula said "We do not want to prescribe how people should contribute to reconstruction, but the item on the agenda should be



SACP general-secretary Charles Nqakula

reconstruction, and how to do it

"Everybody should make an input in the discussion. We should ask ourselves whether a reconstruction tax is the answer, or how else it could be done

"We in the SACP cannot come out and say 'This is the only way it can be done

"Let's have a discussion and see what is best," he said

It was as a result of this sort of debate that the concept of nationalisation had declined in prominence

"We are now saying there are many ways in which the distortions of apartheid can be tackled and how we can end the exploitation of the

person on the factory floor. It is a question of putting these things on the table and discussing them"

Emphasising the importance of the NEF, he said while the SACP did not believe "it is the product we would ideally like to have it is a very important beginning".

Tripartite discussions between the state, business and labour were the key to consensus economic planning and economic growth

Mr Nqakula said the role of the state "must be that of formulating guidelines, but not in the sense of ramming things down the throats of unions and business there must be discussion"

AFRICAN National Congress hot-head "Kill the Boer" Peter Mokaba has again unleashed outrage with his call to take the "struggle" into white areas.

And once again an outburst by the ANC's youth leader on racial violence has been hastily repudiated "unequivocally" by the organisation's senior leadership.

Meanwhile, hot on his latest controversial speech at a funeral service in Tembisa of victims of violence on the East Rand, more than 3 000 students at the University of the Western Cape left the university's Great Hall centre after Mr Mokaba failed to arrive for a meeting yesterday afternoon. All attempts to locate him failed.

Western Cape ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni said later that Mr Mokaba could not come to Cape Town because he had to attend an impromptu press conference in Johannesburg.

Following Mr Mokaba's funeral speech, the ANC said the organisation was opposed to violence, "especially when it is used against innocent people, be they black or white".

In response to Mr Mokaba's call to township residents to drive the police and army from the townships, the ANC said it had never called for the indiscriminate removal of security forces.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the police had launched an investigation into Mr Mokaba's statements at the funeral, including that bullets should be saved for President F W de Klerk.

Mr Kriel said the matter would be discussed urgently with the Attorney-General.

"I trust that this action will demonstrate the strong disapproval of the SAP and the Ministry of Law and Order of Mr Mokaba's alleged statements," he said in a statement.

DP leader Zach de Beer warned the ANC leadership that Mr Mokaba would do great harm "to the South Africa we are trying to build" if they did not control him.

He understood the ANC leadership had allowed Mr Mokaba "to make thoroughly irresponsible statements because they think this will enable the ANC to retain the loyalty of a certain part of their constituency".

"But we Democrats also understand the feelings of ordinary white people. Mr Mokaba is sending a message to such people that they have no future in South Africa, that they might as well emigrate or join forces with the Conservative Party and the AWB."

Cosatu last night distanced itself from comments Mr Mokaba made about the destruction of hostels.

Mr Mokaba told supporters at a funeral for eight of 33 victims killed by hostel dwellers in Tembisa last month to remove Vusumusi Hostel brick-by-brick.

Cosatu said the "total destruction of hostels only plays into the hands of those who orchestrate the present violence".

"We must identify who the enemy of democracy is. Not all hostel dwellers support Inkatha or perpetrate violence," Cosatu said in a statement.

"Our enemies are forces in the intelligence and other covert forces."

Mr Humphrey Ndlovu of the Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal committee warned "If one brick of a hostel or house where IFP supporters are living is taken down by rampaging ANC youths, I myself will go and take down the houses of Mokaba and Sexwale brick by brick."

Mr Mokaba meanwhile remained defiant. Of the State President as a person, the firebrand youth leader said "I don't care a bit about De Klerk. In fact, I think I hate him".

ANC Youth leader slams

■ PETER MOKABA: His call to remove security forces from townships repudiated by ANC



Interviewed after a news conference in Johannesburg, Mr Mokaba accused Mr De Klerk of planning violence "He is a criminal. His hands are dripping with the blood of our people," Mr Mokaba charged.

In his defence, ANC Youth league secre-

■ To page 3

APC 14/8/93

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P.T.C

■ In a splurge of publicity the ANC announced this week that it had suspended the membership of controversial Crossroads leader and local chairman Jeffrey Nongwe. However, Mr Nongwe says his branch is working as usual and says those boasting about his suspension are "skollies". Weekend Argus Reporter VUYO BAVUMA discusses the controversy.

Nongwe defies ANC 'skollies'



AR 14/8/93

BOWING to the roars of the "Young Lions" of Crossroads, the African National Congress this week suspended controversial Jeffrey Nongwe as the movement's chairman in the violence-torn squatter camp

The move also signalled that the organisation was finally conceding that Mr Nongwe had become a millstone round the ANC's neck, despite his power-base of thousands of squatters

According to the ANC, the step was taken because of a litany of complaints from residents about Mr Nongwe and the role he played in township violence.

The 66-year-old leader of the Western Cape United Squatters Association is facing charges of

assault and kidnapping and is out on R2 000 bail

Approached for comment yesterday, Mr Nongwe retorted "If I was suspended, someone must come to me. I regard the people who speak about suspension without coming to me as skollies. My branch is still working as usual. Dr Allan Boesak doesn't know what is happening in the squatter areas."

Mr Nongwe said he had met ANC Western Cape regional officials earlier in the day and they had told him the organisation's national office had given the region a month to resolve disputes in Crossroads

Mr Nongwe's days in the ANC seemed numbered after the movement said his arrest last month was justified in the

"light of very serious allegations against him"

This week's axing of Mr Nongwe and his executive also put a stop to behind-the-scenes debates among impatient youths who claim Mr Nongwe is not a true democrat

On the other hand, ANC pragmatists felt that Mr Nongwe's alleged "uncomradely" behaviour should be changed from within — and argued that if he was isolated this might drive into wrong hands

They also felt the hasty step might fuel violence

But ANC members, who had moved to Unathi and set up a new branch claiming Mr Nongwe had made it impossible for them to work in Section Four, opposed this stance

They said Mr Nongwe was unsuitable to be a member of the democratic movement, let alone a branch chairman

Discontent against Mr Nongwe, who is also a leader in the New Zion Christian Church, emerged after he toppled the unpopular Johnson Nxobongwana who later fled the camp and is now living in Driftsand with hundreds of his followers

During Mr Nxobongwana's reign, Mr Nongwe was a chairman of the headmen who allegedly brutally enforced their will on the community

In 1991 a bout of violence flared over houses in the camp

Some of the Unathi activists became disgruntled about the lack of action taken with regard to Mr Nongwe and were on the verge of quitting the movement

Probe of ANC camps 'flawed'

Political Staff

ASPECTS of the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into alleged abuses in ANC camps were cause for concern, the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) in Frankfurt said yesterday. (1A)

The selection of witnesses seemed haphazard and the commission had failed to visit camps in Uganda, it said.

Also, the ANC, and not the commission, would decide whether officials were guilty. CT14/8/93

However, it was commendable that the ANC had made witnesses attend if they held office in the organisation.

The SA Communist Party is taking a back seat to the African National Congress, say some commentators.

SA communists face 'strategic conundrum'

GARNER THOMSON
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

COMMUNISM no longer represents the future of South Africa — the African National Congress does

This is the conclusion of the British-based political journal *Africa Confidential* in a cover story on the changing fortunes of the SACP since the assassination of its leader, Chris Hani

It reports "The struggle for a socialist South Africa, which was the *raison d'être* of the South African Communist Party's existence, is taking second place to the exigencies of positioning in an African National Congress-dominated government next year"

And, it adds, party officials from the late Hani to Jeremy Cronin have seen the SACP's new role as that of "praetorian guard of ideological correctness within the ANC" The SACP now sees its main role as "guarantor of the ANC's continuing commitment to a revolutionary programme" to "ensure that it stays true to its historical vocation", as Mr Cronin has it.

"The ANC would then reciprocate by enacting worker-friendly social and industrial legislation," *Africa*

(11A) ARG 14/8/93
Confidential continues. "Following its earlier hardline response to the fall of socialism in the Soviet Union, its public positions increasingly resemble those of Western European-style social democrats"

The journal says one consequence of this revisionism is that leading cadres are now solely engaged in ANC projects and "keeping their distance from party activity".

This "strategic conundrum" comes at a time when the SACP is still reeling from the loss of Hani's inspirational leadership. The party is now in dire need of such political skills

This does not mean the SACP should be written off, however

Before the SACP stood to benefit by providing a natural home for the disgruntled after it was shown that the ANC would not be in a position to meet the high expectations of millions. Even now, if the ANC does not deliver on issues such as affordable housing and social benefits such as pensions, and free health care ("gospel to the unions"), there will be anger in the two crucial constitutions, Sanco and Cosatu, and the SACP can only benefit

Nevertheless, the SACP has lost the exalted status it enjoyed in exile, *Africa Analysis* concludes

THE African National Congress last night strongly repudiated its controversial youth league leader Peter Mokaba in a dramatic statement distancing itself from his calls for hostels to be destroyed and township guns turned on President F W de Klerk.

The statement followed a high-powered ANC meeting yesterday afternoon at which the rogue youth leader was called to account for his inflammatory address at a Tembisa funeral for unrest victims this week.

STAR 14/8/93 (IIA)
Rapped over knuckles

He was reportedly severely rapped over the knuckles for his speech. Then late last night the ANC issued its statement to the media to "put the record straight".

In the organisation said it had "never called for the physical demolition of hostels" and "completely distanced itself from any statement, or alleged statement, that may indicate that we will condone attacks on President de Klerk or any other person".

Addressing Mokaba's call for the war to be taken into white areas, the ANC said it wanted to "distance itself unequivocally from any impression that it would consider fostering violence in any area of our country".

Finally, the organisation said that it had never called for the "indiscriminate removal" of security forces from the townships, saying that while they (the security forces) had no legitimacy with the majority of residents, "we have accepted that there is a need for their deployment".

The ANC statement followed yesterday's unprecedented statement by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which also dissociated itself from Mokaba's call to take the Vusumusi Hostel apart "brick by brick". This "played into the hands of those who orchestrated the present violence", it said, adding that "it also gives carte blanche to those who are using the hostel dwellers to wage war".

MOKABA IS READ RIOT ACT BY ANC

Side battles

Not all hostel dwellers supported the IFP or perpetrated violence, the organisation added, saying "we believe that we should not be diverted into side battles. We must identify who the enemy of democracy is".

The effect of the two statements is to leave Mokaba in the political wilderness. At this year's youth league annual congress, he will be ineligible for re-election because he will be too old.

Last night's ANC
TO PAGE 2.

Star 14/8/93

Mokaba

FROM PAGE 1.

statement stopped short of disowning Mokaba, whose previous calls to "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" seriously embarrassed the ANC's attempts to present itself internationally as a government-in-waiting.

It said that in his discussions with the ANC, Mokaba had said he had "never intended" his call for guns to be aimed at De Klerk to be interpreted as incitement to actually attack the president.

Symbol

However, yesterday, Mokaba — in trouble with the Government, the police, COSATU, the IFP, the NP, the DP, and now the ANC — remained defiant, declaring "I think I hate De Klerk".

Mokaba said at a press conference that De Klerk was a symbol of white minority supremacy. "I don't care a bit about De Klerk. In fact, I think I hate him".

At the hastily called press conference, the youth league claimed that Mokaba had been misrepresented by the press.

The league said it found it strange that, with the exception of Beeld, no South African newspaper had published "the qualifications and explanations" Moka-

ba gave in his speech. Asked at the news conference whether he was intentionally fanning the flames of violence and racial hatred, Mokaba replied "We have explained over and over again that we hate the system of white supremacy and we are determined to destroy it".

"We belong to an organisation with a track record of nonracialism. When I say taking the struggle to the white areas, it means the involvement of these whites against apartheid, the regime and those who act for it".

However, Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel yesterday said the police had launched an investigation into Mokaba's statements and would discuss the matter urgently with the Attorney-General.

'Buffoon'

The IFP accused the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference of not responding to Mokaba's "inflammatory utterances" because they hoped to be looked upon benevolently when Mokaba became president of South Africa.

Democratic Party MP Tony Leon said Mokaba was "a dangerous buffoon", and "the ANC's answer to Eugene Terre-Blanche". Mokaba's speech reeked of racial hatred and constituted an incitement to violence, he said.



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He faces 10
ure ANNE LAING

Defiant Mokaba slammed

11A

CT14/8/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CONTROVERSIAL ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba was slammed yesterday by a wide spectrum of organisations, including the ANC and Cosatu — and the police are investigating charges after his latest outburst

Mr Mokaba told mourners at a funeral in Tembisa on the East Rand on Thursday that they should direct their bullets at President F W de Klerk, force the police and army out of the area and remove a local hostel brick-by-brick.

Senior Transvaal IFP member Mr Humphrey Ndlovu warned. "If one brick of a hostel or house where IFP supporters are living is taken down by rampaging ANC youths, I myself will go and take down the houses of Mokaba and (Tokyo) Sexwale brick-by-brick."

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that "it completely dissociates itself from any statement, or alleged statement, that may indicate that we will condone attacks on President De Klerk or any other person."

In discussions with the ANC leadership Mr Mokaba has reiterated that he had never intended that this remark should be interpreted as incitement to attack President De Klerk.

But Mr Mokaba has remained defiant. He said at a press conference in Johannesburg that Mr De Klerk was a symbol of white minority supremacy and added: "I don't care a bit about De Klerk. In fact, I think I hate him."

"He is a criminal. His hands are dripping with the blood of our people."

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said the police had launched an investigation into Mr Mokaba's statements

In an unusual move, Cosatu "completely dissociated" itself from Mr Mokaba's statement calling for the destruction of the local hostel and said this call played into the hands of those who orchestrated violence.



Mokaba: I'm still waiting for police

By EZRA MANTINI

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba says he is prepared to tell the police all they want to know about his "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan. But he has not been questioned.

Beeld reporter Andries Cornelissen, however, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment under section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act for refusing to testify about Mr Mokaba's statements at a meeting at Wits University in May. (213) (11A)

Cornelissen was contacted by police after Beeld published his report on the meeting. He refused to make a statement and was then charged.

"The police know where

I am," Mr Mokaba said yesterday "I could have given them the truth of what I said — and why. I feel pity for the reporter and, if possible, I am prepared to go to jail for him."

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Warrant Officer Andy Pieke, said it was not necessary to question Mr Mokaba because the police had all his speeches on tape and film.

"It is the attorney-general who should decide whether we should question Mr Mokaba," he added.

"The situation about the reporter does not concern us. The court decided to sentence him — not us."

Witwatersrand attorney-general Klaus von Lieres was not available for comment.

'ANC's torture' report imminent

SI Times 15/8/93

11A
By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE long-awaited Motsuenyane commission report on alleged human rights abuses in ANC detention camps is expected to be released within days.

It will be accompanied by a flurry of independent reports from observers at the hearings

An organisation based in Germany — the International Society for Human Rights — has released its own report in anticipation of the commission findings, ascribing guilt to a number of ANC officials and criticising the way the hearings were conducted.

The ISHR — described by Lawyers for Human Rights, national director Brian Currin as "not regarded as part of the bona fide human rights movement" — attended the Motsuenyane commission hearings from mid-

May to June 19 this year

This was the ANC's third inquiry into alleged abuses in its prison camps, and the first to be held in public

The commission comprised South African businessman Sam Motsuenyane, Zimbabwean barrister David Zamchiya and former US judge Margaret Burnham

The ISHR concluded

that several aspects of the conduct of the commission were "of grave concern to the ISHR"

However, the ISHR report itself does not wholly coincide with the views of others who observed the hearings

The report, written by Marc Gordon, a "freelance writer on African affairs", mentions that, although

international and local observers were invited to attend, this was "a very limited exercise"

For example, "we were unaware of the attendance of Lawyers for Human Rights", Mr Gordon notes

But LHR "was there every single day", Mr Currin said yesterday

And an account of a witness's testimony differs from that observed by the Sunday Times when it attended the hearing

LHR is compiling its own report in response to the commission report. It is expected to concur with the ISHR report on one point — that bringing those accused of violations to the witness stand before those who were to make the allegations had even appeared was a serious flaw in the procedure

This led to the "absurd dismissal" from the witness stand of ANC national executive committee member Jacob Zuma, who "quite legitimately pointed out that he could not answer charges that had not yet been made to the commission", Mr Gordon wrote

"We felt that was wrong," Mr Currin said — but added that the ISHR comments seemed premature

The ISHR was concerned that the commission did not visit existing ANC camps in Uganda.

ANC clams up about action on Mokaba

By EZRA MANTINI
and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE African National Congress has refused to disclose what steps, if any, it intends taking against Youth League leader Peter Mokaba despite a strongly worded statement that clearly repudiates his latest utterances.

Mr Mokaba himself claimed — before colleagues met to discuss his latest outburst — that he was not concerned about his incendiary speech as he had “said nothing new” and had the support of ANC president Nelson Mandela and leading NEC members.

Hours after saying this, the national executive committee — of which he is a member — met to discuss reports of a speech he had made at a funeral in Tembisa on the East Rand the day before.

In a statement issued on

Friday night, the NEC said the ANC “completely dissociates itself” and “distances itself unequivocally from” his statements — and refuted any “misrepresentation of ANC policy”.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said police would investigate Mr Mokaba's statement.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said he “wouldn't say Mr Mokaba had actually been censured by the NEC”.

Meanwhile, Mr Kgabisi Mosunkutu, deputy president of the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) released a statement supporting Mr Mokaba this weekend.

● Mr Mokaba will answer for his statements in an interview on CCV's *Newsline* at 7.30 tonight

The Youth League leader will respond to viewers' questions in a phone in.

Peter Mokaba sticks to his guns

By THEMBA KHUMALO

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba was yesterday defiant about his remarks made at a mass funeral in Thembisa on Thursday.

He also maintained that State President FW De Klerk was "an enemy". (11A)

He scoffed at Saturday's media reports stating the ANC expressed anger towards his behaviour, and denied that the ANC leadership had chastised him and distanced themselves from the speech.

He said he asked the youth at the funeral when they started firing into the air to save their bullets for the enemy rather than wasting them. By asking the angry youth to direct their guns at De Klerk, he did not mean they should kill him, but should rather identify him as the man whose government was behind the township carnage.

He also denied he asked mourners to demolish all township hostels "brick by brick", saying he only identified Vusumuzi Hostel, which housed the killers of township people.

Azapo: We'll take part IF ...

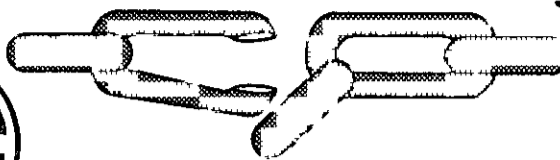
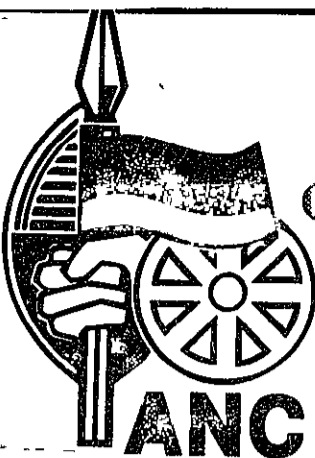
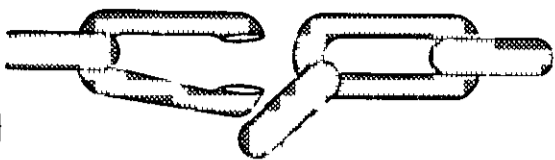
CIPress 15/8/93

AZAPO said yesterday it would only take part in democratic elections aimed at the transfer of power from "a white minority to a black majority"

The organisation also ruled out participation in the current constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre

At a press conference after opening the organisation's national executive meeting in Durban, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said the election provisionally set for April 27 next year remained unclear about its mandate. - Sapa

(11A)



Casting off their chains

11A 15/8/93

S Times

15/8/93

IT WAS a marriage made in political heaven in the mid-80s, South Africa's giant union federation, Cosatu, tied the knot with the ANC-aligned United Democratic Front and "the alliance" was forged

Almost a decade later, when the ANC and SACP were unbanned in 1990, the revolutionary pact was celebrated again as "the tripartite alliance"

But the stresses and strains of wedlock have begun to show, and old tensions — suppressed in the interests of unity against apartheid — are starting to resurface

Foremost on the minds of alliance strategists is the ANC's impending role in government, which it is likely to dominate after next April's elections. The day after the election, the ANC will leave the anti-establishment club to take its place in the corridors of power

Suddenly the ANC will have a controlling interest in the single biggest employer in SA — the public service — and the power dynamics in the alliance will alter dramatically

Loyalties forged in the heat of the anti-apartheid struggle will be discarded in favour of hard bargaining over the shape of the economy and workers' rights

THE first horses are already being traded. The ANC has endorsed a Cosatu-initiated "reconstruction programme" which spells out how the ANC will tackle housing, education and job creation

The programme, in its second draft with a third in the pipeline, effectively binds the ANC to massive state spending on basic services and commits it to a transformation timetable

In exchange, Cosatu has pledged to back the ANC's election campaign with its organisational infrastructure and money collected from a one-off voluntary levy from trade unions

For its part, the SACP pledged to "bring one million extra working-class votes for the ANC ticket" at its national election workshop in July.

The bonds that held together the unbanned political movements and organised labour are coming under stress. RAY HARTLEY reports

The relationship extends far beyond mere support, however, and Cosatu and the SACP will also enjoy a physical presence in government if a deal currently being hammered out is adopted

In terms of an arrangement currently under discussion, high profile vote-getters such as Cosatu's general secretary Jay Naidoo and SACP chairman Joe Slovo will stand for election on the ANC's list, but retain their loyalty to their organisations by forming a caucus advancing socialism within the ANC

The caucus is expected to wield enormous influence on matters of economic policy and legislation affecting workers' rights

Moreover, it is likely to be more than just a faction. It will bring mass expectations of redistribution into the centre of political power

The alliance will also be sorely tested on the labour front. The ANC is expected to extend the right to organise and to strike to public sector workers

Cosatu, meanwhile, is planning to launch a public sector workers' union in May next year. The federation's organising secretary, Zwelanzima Vavi, says the union will be Cosatu's largest affiliate with about 500 000 members by the end of 1994

The prospect of ANC government officials facing Cosatu public sector unionists over the bargaining table with a nationwide strike in the offing must send cold shivers down the spines of alliance strategists

The significance of this possibility is not lost on National Union of Mineworkers' acting general-secretary Kgalema Motlale

"Once apartheid is gone, this will lay bare the differences and lead to a realignment of forces," he says

This will extend to all labour matters in which the state plays a role. But, he adds, such "contradictions" are a necessary part of the

struggle and should be seen as taking transformation forward

Debates between "workerists" — who favour a working class-led transition to socialism — and nationalists within the alliance have already begun to re-emerge

Having reluctantly swallowed the ANC's promise of a two-stage transformation — democracy followed by socialism — the workerists are now calling the ANC's bluff. The second stage will arrive on April 27, they say

THE ultra-leftist National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) went as far as calling for an end to the alliance after democratic elections

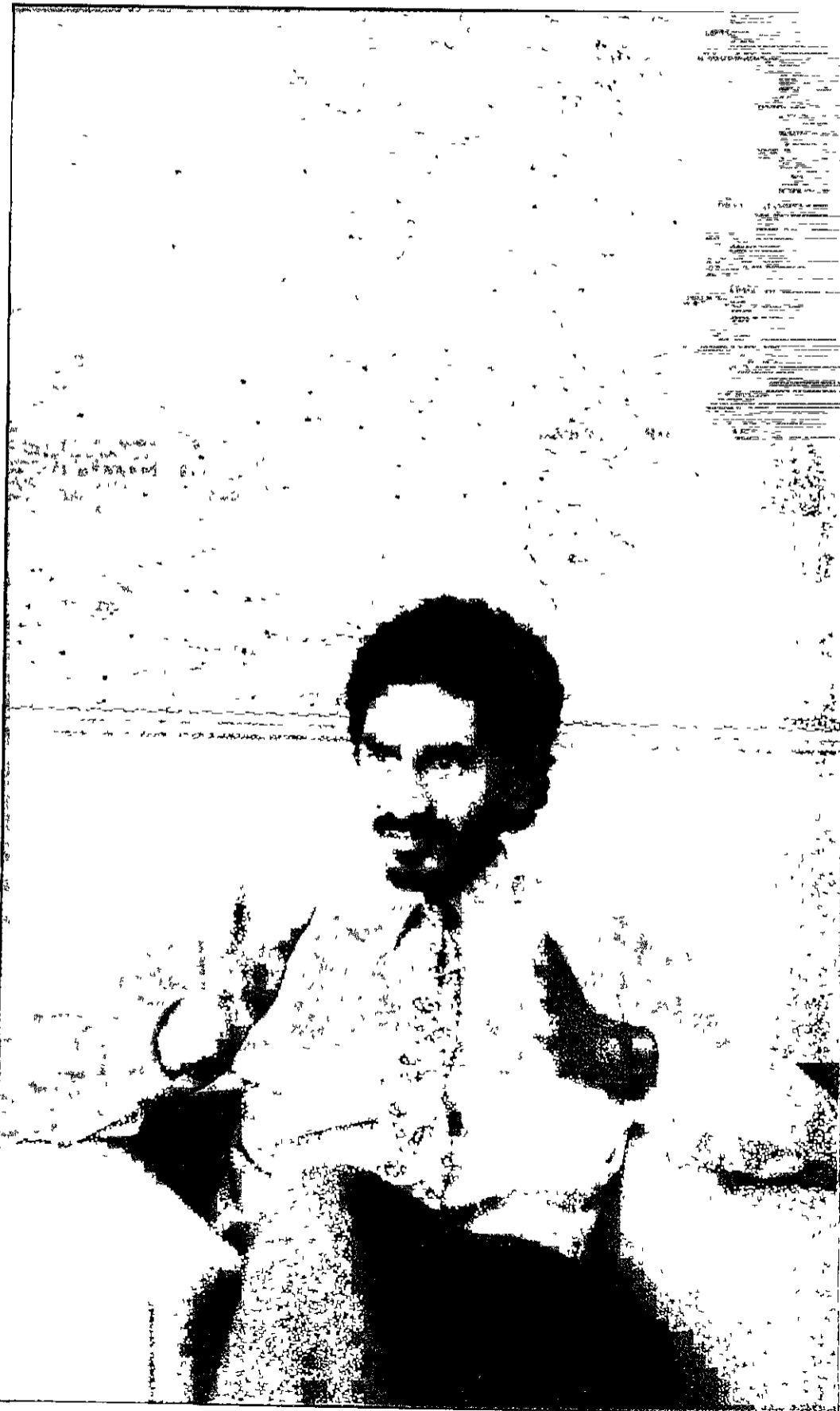
At the other end of the spectrum, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is openly in favour of the continuation of the alliance and strongly opposed to the idea of a workers' party

The workerists argue that trade unions need to pressurise the new government into adopting socialist or "worker-friendly" policies from the outside, reserving the right to mobilise opposition and possibly even contest the ANC in future elections

The notion of a workers' party, first raised by workerists in the mid-80s as a counter to the Stalinist SACP, is gaining ground and Numsa has supported the idea tentatively

Cosatu is scheduled to make its mind up on the future of the alliance at its September special congress, where Numsa and NUM are expected to table contradictory resolutions on the future of the alliance

While most commentators expect the NUM-led call for the continuation of the alliance to win the day, the debate will nonetheless serve as a warning to the ANC not to take its labour allies for granted



HIGH PROFILE: Jay Naidoo may be part of an ANC socialist caucus. Picture: DAVID SANDISON

Doing the Thebe side-step

THEBE Investment Corporation, the ANC-linked business group, has hardly been out of the news in recent weeks as just about everything it touches turns to controversy. **SI Times**

First there was the proposed deal between publisher Macmillan and Thebe — it has Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu as trustees — aimed at winning a chunk of the R500-million-a-year schoolbook business.

Thebe's finances have also been subject to much speculation, but suggestions that it was on the rocks have been countered by Thebe, which says its businesses are either profitable or soon will be.

Now questions are being asked about the Digital-Thebe deal whereby computer giant Digital Electronics has been able to begin operations in SA while the ANC still supports sanctions.

Thebe's controversial reputation stretches beyond SA's borders. One plugged-in investment adviser in the US says there is a general opinion there that to enter the SA

The toy-toy used to be the only dance in town. But what is this Thebe side-step?
COMMENT by KEVIN DAVIE.

market "you first have to deal with Thebe"

"The ANC appears to have an interest in maintaining sanctions. The only way you can get into the market is if you deal through Thebe," this adviser says. **(Buss)**

Companies which have had stalled discussions with Thebe include some of the best-known brand names in the world. **16/8/93**

One is said to be a famous-name computer company. It chose not to deal with Thebe and is still waiting to enter the SA market while a competitor (Digital) has set up shop.

ANC officials have said that Digital is not really in SA, but has only established an office on a look-see basis, sort of getting ready for the real thing.

But Digital spokesman Vikkee Love told Associated

Press that full operations, including sales, began on July 1. Ms Love did not return Business Times' calls.

Other ANC officials are not buying the look-see line. ANC international affairs spokesman Aziz Pahad has asked Thebe to explain how Digital has opened for business while sanctions are still in place.

Mr Pahad is not the first to question Thebe. ANC education department officials Cheryl Carolus and Lindelwe Mabandla voiced strong concern about the proposed deal with Macmillan.

The robust criticism from the ranks of the ANC is a welcome departure from the track record of the National Party, where ranks have closed while brazening out public criticism.

How does Thebe respond to its critics? Managing director Vusi Khanyile, an anti-

apartheid veteran, insists Thebe does not represent the ANC.

Digital SA has appointed two resellers in SA. Thebe has an equity stake in one of these resellers, Bhekisizwe Digital. Digital does not have an equity position in Bhekisizwe, nor is there any exclusivity in the relationship, says Thebe.

It says Thebe is one of four equity partners in Bhekisizwe, the others being Perasetech, a trust representing future staff; and Vela International, a private company representing black investors.

Mr Khanyile says Thebe is fostering black empowerment. Critics, he says, are jealous of the deals Thebe has struck.

But the critics are unconvinced. With sanctions still in place, the Thebe side-step appears to be the new dance in town.

Investors are trying to find out what the steps are. Is this a dance which can only take place with the say-so of a political party?

If it is there'll be many who won't come to the party.

FW Straining at the Leash

Star 16/8/92

Has President de Klerk changed gear? And is he giving vent to long-suppressed kragdadigheid?

Signals in the past few days are that he has grown tired of straining against a leash imposed by the need to consult the country's other major player during what has been a sensitive and extremely delicate phase of the transition.

As April gets closer, the President flexes his muscles, reports Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield

Certainly what he sees as the batle-lines for the projected April 27 election next year are becoming clearer, and they contain interesting implications — not least being an acknowledgement that it is with the IFP that the National Party once again feels it should form some sort of election partnership.

When De Klerk and Nelson Mandela came face-to-face in Pretoria two weeks ago, the exchanges were, according to insiders from both the ANC and Government, particularly tough. The issue at hand during the meeting in the Presidency was almost exclusively the violence on the

East Rand. The four-hour talks were held against the backdrop of a Cabinet decision to pour troops and heavily armoured vehicles into the troubled townships.

In what one senior politician described as their most bitter exchanges yet, Mandela argued that the decision had been taken without sufficient consultation. De Klerk countered that the crisis was of such a nature that the time for talking had passed.

Returned

Given the pressures from their constituencies, the clash was probably inevitable. Mandela had just returned from addressing a crowd at Kaitlhoong's Huntersfield Stadium. Scrawled on a school desk in front of him as he spoke was a blunt message from an anonymous supporter: "No peace. Don't talk about peace. We have heard enough of peace. Please, Mr Mandela, no peace. Give us weapons."

With the threat of haemorrhaging support to those who have no reservations about talking through the

barrel of a gun — not to mention concern about his supporters' safety — Mandela's sensitivity on the issue of violence grows. (WA)

De Klerk, on the other hand, has his own problems. He has been highly prickly of late to charges that his is a "lame duck" government. In a country which likes its leaders to be tough, the perception of ineffectuality has damaged his standing both among existing supporters and among black, Indian and coloured communities who may have been tempted to back him in an election.

Fresh indications

Until last week he had resisted the temptation to answer those perceptions by indulging in anything that smacked of overtly strong-arm activity. The nature of the East Rand crisis provided an opportunity to act decisively and, the Government believes, justifiably.

Speaking in Durban last Wednesday night, De Klerk, on the eve of the Natal NP congress, gave fresh indications of his thinking. He effectively acknowledged grassroots grumbles

when he admitted the National Party has been relatively silent over a long period. However, the "time for silence" had passed, and he indicated that his speech amounted to the first shots in the NP's election campaign.

Obviously such a campaign is by nature aggressive. Clearly conscious of the row over sending more troops to the East Rand, he also announced that "where necessary" the Government would continue to strengthen the hand of the security forces. But perhaps most revealing in a blunt speech was his characterisation of his political opponents.

Cut down

The ANC was a "dangerous and untrustworthy party" that needed to be cut down to size in elections. It lacked the guts or courage to eliminate the communist beast in its midst. "In the coming election the ANC will be the National Party's main opponent," he told supporters.

In sharp contrast, the Inkatha Freedom Party was a natural partner against a natural opponent, the ANC. "On my part, I shall continue to

try to remove obstacles in the way of better co-operation between the National Party and the IFP. On behalf of the National Party, therefore, I extend the hand of friendship anew tonight." In doing so he also made what may prove to be a significant concession to the IFP's position on negotiations, telling the people of KwaZulu/Natal that they would get their "regional constitution." Criticism directed against the IFP was about "procedures" and not policies or principles.

The days and weeks ahead will no doubt prove illuminating, but the signs are that De Klerk now feels negotiations have reached a stage where he can ignore the ANC's sensibilities and settle back into what his political past suggests is a more natural role. In other words, the reformist President feels he no longer needs to shepherd the process to the extent that he has in the past.

The dangers inherent in mustering a shift back to political in-fighting are huge, but the current equation suggests he may be positioned to get away with it.

Mokaba: A-G set to make decision

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba will hear this week whether action will be taken against him for his controversial statements in Tembisa last week.

At a funeral in the township, Mokaba called for the demolition of the local hostel "brick by brick" and for residents to "direct (their) bullets against (President) De Klerk".

His speech drew harsh criticism from the ANC on Friday, but it was unclear yesterday whether the organisation would take steps against him.

But in a television interview

Last night, Mokaba denied that his statements made at the Tembisa funeral had been repudiated by the ANC.

He said the ANC had distanced itself only from "impressions created...".

A police report on his remarks is due to reach Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres today, when a decision whether to prosecute may be made.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday: "I can't say whether action will be taken."

The ANC statement on Friday, repeated yesterday, denied ever calling "for the physical demolitions of hostels" and "completely distanced itself from any state-

ment, or alleged statement, that may indicate that we will condone attacks on President de Klerk or any other person".

Cosatu also dissociated itself from Mokaba's statements.

Mokaba said last night that the ANC was aware of Government strategies to demonise certain ANC leaders before they were assassinated.

He said he "had nothing" against De Klerk but was opposed to the system he represented. Later, in a second television interview, he said De Klerk has not yet answered allegations that he was directly responsible for death squads. He added that he had not called for De Klerk's assassination.

Mokaba denied saying violence should be taken to white areas. "I said: 'Let's take the struggle into the white areas.'"

Asked about the Democratic Party, which had likened him to "the Eugene Terreblanche of the ANC", Mokaba said the DP was "nothing but fronts for the Broderbond".

Meanwhile, Mokaba has said he is puzzled by the conviction of Beeld reporter Andries Cornelissen for refusing to testify about Mokaba's "kill the boer" chant made at Wits University in May.

Mokaba said he had always been willing to provide police with information about his slogan, but he had never been questioned about it.

ANC women Sowetan 16/3/93 want Winnie back

(11A)

By Lulama Luti

TWENTY eight of the 64 branches of the African National Congress Women's League PWV region yesterday called for the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela and four others

At a meeting held in Soweto, representatives from the 28 branches said they had met as concerned women and members of the ANCWL

They said they would meet the ANCWL national executive committee soon where they would call for the lifting of the suspension of Mandela and four other executive committee members suspended by the national leader-

ship of the ANCWL

Spokesman for the group Mrs Damarice Myaluza dismissed as untrue reports that they had met to form a "Winnie Mandela faction" and said they had met as concerned members of the league

The ANCWL's national executive committee suspended the entire PWV regional executive committee in May 1992 after Mandela was removed as head of the social welfare department

The suspension on the regional committee was lifted last month, but those on Mandela, Ms Gwen Mahlangu, Ms Majorie Nkomo, Ms Sally Peterson and Ms Nompumelelo Madlala were extended for a year

Sowetan 16/8/93
Vote debate goes on
THE Azanian People's Organisation was by late yesterday still locked in debate over whether or not to take part in the coming general election. (WA)

Sowetan 16/8/93
Most of the 800 delegates who met in Durban at Azapo's National Council over the weekend said the organisation would only take part in elections for a Constituent Assembly that would draw up the constitution of a free Azania. (WA)

Azapo: let blacks take reins of power

Sowetan 16/9/93

(WA)

THE Azanian People's Organisation said on Saturday that it would take part in democratic elections only if they were aimed at the transfer of power from "a white minority to a black majority"

In setting out its terms for a negotiated political settlement, the organisation also ruled out participation in the current constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre because "the talks lacked political purpose"

At a Press conference after opening of the organisation's national executive meeting in Durban, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said the election provisionally set for April 27 next year was not substantial in content because the poll remained unclear about its mandate

He said Azapo would contest democratic elections on condition the polls

KEEP OUT Call for international observers to stay out of the townships:

are intended for the election of a Constituent Assembly that would draw up a new constitution for South Africa

Mosala expressed Azapo's readiness to contest democratic elections aimed at a transfer of power from "a white minority to a black majority"

Referring to the conflict engulfing parts of the country, Mosala said the time had come for blacks to chart a national strategy to defend themselves and to unilaterally end the violent crisis Liberalism, said Mosala, also promised that Azapo's national council would formulate a real strategy for blacks to

end violence themselves
Attacking black and white liberalism, he told council members that the international community had a moral responsibility to give blacks resources to end violence their own way

Without specifying what resources were needed, he said "outsiders" like international observers should stay out of townships and leave peace-loving parties to resolve the conflict

The expulsion of the security forces from the townships was "central to Azapo's strategy to end the carnage"
Sapa

SELECTION NO	HOUSEHOLD OR LISTING UNIT TO	BE SELECTED	SELECTION NO	HOUSEHOLD OR LISTING UNIT TO	BE SELECTED	SELECTION NO	HOUSEHOLD OR LISTING UNIT TO	BE SELECTED
1			26	131		4		
2			27	136		9		
3			28	141		14		
4			29	146		19		
5			30	151		24		
6			31			29		
7								

REPLACEMENTS

ORIGINAL SELECTIONS

PROVINCE:	CAPE	STRIP NO.:	3
STAT REGION:	020	PHOTO NO.:	2934
MAG DISTRICT:	KIMBERLEY	TYPE OF HOUSING:	FORMAL SCHEME
M.D. CODE:	097	NO. OF STRUCTURES:	106
E.S.D. NAME:	GALESHEWE	ESTIMATED HH - SIZE:	5.7
E.S.D. CODE:	4195	ESTIMATED POPULATION:	606
CLUSTER:	38		
R21:	4.1		
I21:	5.1		

HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE SELECTION INFORMATION

NOT

Mokaba 'being set up as target'

(1A) (S)

21/6/81
Staff Reporter

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said last night he was being "demonised" and set up as a target for assassination like Mr Chris Ham by having his statements misconstrued and taken out of context.

He said his appeal to township-dwellers last week to "Save your bullets for De Klerk" had been misconstrued.

In interviews on CCV's Newsline and TV1's Agenda, Mr Mokaba said that in his latest statement he had merely been calling for his people to stop killing one another and to save their bullets for President F W de Klerk's "armed forces of apartheid", which had to be driven out of the townships.

He said he held President De Klerk directly responsible for killings in the townships — including the Borpatong massacre — and he (Mr De Klerk) and the "raging criminal forces" he represented had to be "fought against and defeated".

He said his calls for further violence in an already violent climate were "meant as a call for defensive action".

Mr Mokaba said he was not convinced that Mr De Klerk wanted to change the apartheid system.

Mokaba in about-turn

Star 17/8/93

■ BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba last night retracted his calls last week for Tembisa mourners to direct their bullets at President de Klerk.

On Thursday he asked mourners attending a mass funeral for people killed in East Rand violence to "save your bullets" for De Klerk. (IA)

He also told them to demolish the Vusumuzi Hostel "brick by brick", to run the security forces out of the townships and take "the struggle" to their areas. (278)

Yesterday he said: "I retract any statement that might have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack.

"My organisation and I are

► To Page 3

Mokaba

retracts statement

Star 17/8/93

◄ From Page 1

committed to the suspension of armed actions and we will continue to pursue the path of a negotiated and peaceful resolution of the country's problems."

Mokaba's retraction came hours after a Sapa story quoted him as saying he did not regret his statements.

Just before making the retraction yesterday, Mokaba's secretary said he was in an urgent meeting at the office of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The ANC earlier distanced itself from "impressions created" by Mokaba's controversial statements, but it is not known whether Mokaba was pressured into making the retraction.

He said the ANC was committed to the right of the people to defend themselves against violent attacks "wherever such attacks come from". (IA)

■ National Party media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday that ANC leaders did not have the courage to discipline Mokaba. (278)

And the University of Pretoria's Conservative Party branch challenged Mokaba to repeat his slogans on their campus and face the consequences of their "symbolism".

A police spokesman said last night an intensive investigation had been launched into Mokaba's statements in Tembisa. Police would submit a docket to the Attorney-General once the investigation was completed.

ANC camps report soon

The findings of the Motswagole Commission into ANC detention camps would be released "as soon as they were available", ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday. **Star 17/8/93**

The commission, the third ANC probe into alleged human rights abuses in its prison camps, has already come under fire from the German-based International Society for Human Rights, which said its objectivity had to be doubted. **(IHA)**

The Star has learnt that the report has been submitted to ANC president Nelson Mandela. — Staff Reporters

Psychiatrists' alleged killer appears in court

The man alleged to have bludgeoned two Weskopies psychiatrists to death with a pick-axe handle has appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court.

No charges were, however, put to Paul Cornelius Griesel (25) of Bellavista, Johannesburg, yesterday and he was not asked to plead.

Magistrate W Gibbs postponed the case to August 27 to enable Griesel to obtain legal representation.

Griesel was arrested on Friday afternoon after allegedly killing Dr Leonardo Rech (45) and Rech's friend, Dr

Rodney Olivier (27), on Wednesday at Rech's Tamarisk townhouse in Frederick Street, Eldoraigne, Pretoria.

It is further alleged Griesel stole a Fiat Uno, a television set and an M-Net decoder from Rech's home.

Rech's body was found in a cupboard on Thursday.

Residents of the complex heard Olivier's screams as he was being attacked outside Rech's home at about 10 pm on Wednesday.

Olivier died on Thursday evening as a result of his head injuries — Pretoria Correspondent.

Airmail service phased out as trucks are faster

The domestic airmail service for standard letters has effectively been phased out over the past three years, a Post Office spokesman confirmed yesterday. **Star 17/8/93**

However, she said the greater reliance on road deliveries in recent years had resulted in an improved service.

Whereas in the past, letters sent by air had sometimes resulted in delays, these had now been eliminated using road deliveries. **(IHA)**

The Post Office said that since the privatisation of the delivery service, a closer watch had been kept on the

departure and arrival of trucks. This had resulted in a more efficient surface mail service.

The spokesman said letters sent by air were sometimes delayed because of the limited availability of aircraft.

A letter should now take two days to be delivered to an address in the same city, four days between provincial centres and five days between towns in different provinces.

People could continue sending standardised letters by airmail, but these would cost more than double the standard rate. — Staff Reporter.

Mokaba retracts 'attack' call

The Argus Correspondent (11A) (214)

JOHANNESBURG — ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba has retracted his call for Tembisa mourners to direct their bullets at President De Klerk. ARG 17/8/93

Mr Mokaba was thrust into the limelight last week when he asked mourners at an East Rand mass funeral to "save your bullets for De Klerk".

Yesterday he said: "I retract any statement that might have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack." He committed himself to negotiated peace.

Mokaba retracts his statements

Sowetan 17/8/93

ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba last night retracted his calls for blacks to direct their bullets at President FW de Klerk

Mokaba told mourners at a mass funeral in Tembisa last Thursday to save their bullets for De Klerk. He also told them to demolish Vusumuzi Hostel "brick by brick", to run the security forces out of the townships and take "the struggle" to white areas.

"I retract any statement that might have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack."

(11A)
"My organisation and I are committed to the suspension of armed actions and we will continue to pursue the path of a negotiated and peaceful resolution of the country's problems," Mokaba said last night.

Before making the retraction, Mokaba held an "urgent meeting" at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's office.

The ANC had earlier distanced itself from "impressions created" by Mokaba's controversial statements. It is not known whether Mokaba was pressured into making the retraction.

Azapo's peace call

Sowetan 17/8/93

NO POWER Making it impossible for security forces to stay in black areas:

THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION has called for the removal of the security forces from the townships and the formation of a national strategy against violence involving the African National Congress and "all other peace-loving organisations"

This came from a two-day council held by the organisation in Durban at the weekend

(11A)
Addressing a Press conference on Sunday, Azapo's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, said the SAP and the SADF now deployed in the townships were "exploiting the oppressed's ideological differences, tribal extractions to perpetuate the violence".

Mosala said the main cause of vio-

lence was "the minority racist regime" which was using its security machinery such as the SAP and the SADF

"What thus needs to be destroyed brick by brick is neither the hostels nor homes of the township residents but the white regime and its surrogates," he said

Asked how his organisation would ensure the removal of the police from the townships, Mosala said "Azapo does not have the military power to match the security forces, but we will make it

politically impossible for them to stay in our areas"

The Azapo council has also decided to launch a campaign against the "deficient and fraudulent" April 27 election

The forthcoming election fell short of even electing a constituent assembly, said Mosala. He said that, instead, the forthcoming election would be based on an undemocratic process where the constitution-making body was going to impose itself as the government of national unity

Mandela optimistic about elections

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was optimistic about the coming elections but warned that the situation should not be taken for granted until all parties moved to resolve current problems. **B/Say 17/8/93**

Speaking after meeting former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in Johannesburg, Mandela said he had briefed Whitlam about the SA situation and of his intention to persuade all political parties to return to talks

On Inkatha's refusal to return to negotiations, Mandela said the essence of negotiations was compromise and that construc-

THUNDI BOOI

tive discussions were being held "between those who are in the process and those outside"

Mandela said the danger existed of "parties who felt progress was too fast in the negotiation process"

He problems were likely to arise when dealing with 26 parties with different backgrounds and nobody should be alarmed by this happening. **(11A)**

Mandela said "In the right wing in this country, among them retired generals, there are men who are anxious for stability and a resolution in SA"

SADF chief gives nod to trained peace force

B/Say 17/8/93
PRETORIA — There was room for a specially trained peace force in SA, SADF chief designate Lt-Gen Georg Meiring said yesterday.

Meiring said a representative peace force was viable, and the SADF had made proposals on its make-up and responsibilities to the technical committee of the multiparty negotiating council.

As talks were still in progress "to say too much about it at this stage would be speculation Suffice to say, the major component of this force would have to be drawn from the police and SADF, complemented by sufficient representation from participants at the multiparty talks"

Commenting on speculation that his tenure as SADF chief would be short-lived because of political transition in SA, Meiring said the contract period was either three or five years — but he had not

signed a contract yet

Meiring said he regarded himself as a "non-political animal".

In the period leading up to next year's general election, and during the election itself, the SADF's role would be to ensure stability, but the SADF "was not to be seen as part of the election process".

He said there were no plans to scale down the national service system "although the dynamic rationalisation process in the armed forces continues and is under constant review"

"If we want to retain a part-time component we must keep some kind of national service system, and certain suggestions have been submitted. We expect these to be debated by the concerned parties"

Integrating other armed formations was still under discussion and talks had been of an "exploratory" nature. — Sapa

More than 200 buried

MORE than 200 unidentified bodies had been given pauper's funerals after the recent East Rand violence, police said yesterday

Police are nonetheless still calling on relatives to identify the dead through photographs taken before the burials. The photographs can be viewed at the Germiston mortuary.

Meanwhile yesterday, the body of Const Nkosinathi Alpheus Ntombela of Daveyton was found near Delmore station on the East Rand

The Wits/Vaal regional peace secretariat said yesterday Katorus Relief Aid Co-ordination had been formed to help victims of East Rand violence

Meanwhile in KwaZulu, four more deaths were reported yesterday, bringing the weekend toll to eight.

Two men were shot dead by gunmen in a vehicle near Esikhawini on the Natal North Coast on Sunday. Another two men were killed near Mandeni, also on the North Coast — Sapa

Home Affairs says ID documents were stolen

B/Say 17/8/93
ADRIAN HADLAND
PRETORIA — Hundreds of identity documents found burning in Emjundini township near Barberton at the weekend had been stolen from a Home Affairs Department office in February, a spokesman said.

Weekend reports suggested the department was destroying the documents to prevent some people from participating in the forthcoming election.

About 1 800 identity documents were stolen from the department's Barberton office on February 15 and police were still investigating the theft, a statement from Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn reported.

More than 500 documents found buried and burnt at the weekend belonged to the stolen batch, he said. The regional representative had been authorised earlier this year to replace the stolen documents free of charge.

The department's office at Barberton, as with all Home Affairs offices, had the authority "to destroy certain parts of identity documents as prescribed, for example where documents are reissued in order to include a driver's licence or where a woman got married", he said.

Identity documents that had been issued but not collected for two years were destroyed also, Colyn said.

Allegations that the the documents were destroyed to prevent people from voting next April were "utterly without foundation".

MO

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Mokaba backs down

JOHANNESBURG — ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba yesterday unreservedly retracted statements he made at a funeral in Tembisa last Thursday, despite a spirited attempt to justify the comments

He had urged mourners not to waste their bullets saying they should instead turn their weapons against President FW de Klerk.

He also withdrew his suggestion that township residents tear down the Vusumizi Hostel — al-

legedly the base of faceless attackers — “brick by brick”

In a statement yesterday, Mr Mokaba said he stood by the ANC's view that violence should not be employed against any individual or organisation

“I therefore retract any statement that might have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack.

“My organisation and I are committed to the suspension of armed actions and we will continue to pursue the path of a negoti-

ated and peaceful resolution of the country's problems”

Regarding hostels, he said he now believed such dwellings should be monitored and individuals prosecuted should they launch attacks from these bases

Mr Mokaba's retraction follows reports of a grilling by the ANC National Executive Committee when he was summoned before it on Friday.

The ANC subsequently dissociated itself from the fiery youth leader's statements, but stopped short of a public censure — Sapa

Mokaba turn-about after reprimand

Sowetan 18/8/93

(IIA) (2/11)

Sowetan Correspondent

■ PATENT DISPLEASURE ANCYL

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba's retraction of his controversial statements last week followed a tongue lashing from ANC president Nelson Mandela, say reliable sources within the ANC.

Mokaba's statement retracting his earlier utterances — which he defended and justified on television on Sunday — came shortly after he had been summoned for a meeting with Mandela in the ANC leader's office.

Speaking at the funeral of violence victims at the East Rand township of Tembisa last Thursday, Mokaba urged mourners not to waste their bullets but to "save" them for President FW de Klerk.

He called for the security forces to be driven out of the township and replaced with "resident police", said the struggle had to be taken to white areas and said the local Vusumuzi Hostel — believed to be the refuge of those who allegedly

attacked township residents — had to be taken apart "brick by brick".

In his television interviews on Sunday, Mokaba denied he had called for De Klerk's assassination and said his organisation was opposed to a racial war.

However, ANC sources said Mandela — who was apparently not satisfied with Mokaba's explanations — called the ANCYL leader to his office "and put him on the carpet".

Mandela said the sources made it plain to Mokaba he was far from pleased with his controversial statements and

president retracts militant statements:



Peter Mokaba

ordered him to immediately issue a statement retracting his earlier calls.

In that statement, Mokaba said "I retract any statement that might have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack."

"My organisation and I are committed to the suspension of armed actions and we will continue to pursue the path of a negotiated and peaceful resolution of the country's problems."

Neither Mokaba nor ANCYL spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana could be reached for comment yesterday.

Boesak on affirmative action

Sowetan

18/8/93

THE African National Congress has denounced affirmative action as a reason for employing Xhosa-speakers ahead of coloureds in the Western Cape

Regional ANC chairman the Reverend Allan Boesak said yesterday: "All disadvantaged groups must benefit from affirmative action. Using affirmative action as an excuse not to employ coloureds is not ANC policy," said Boesak

~~11A~~ 11A

He said some companies in the Western Cape were deliberately employing blacks to prove they were ready for the new South Africa. — Sapa

11/11/93



Torture Sowetan report — ANC 18/8/93 warned

RETURNED Exiles Com-
mittee president Mr Pat
Hlongwane has threatened
"physical action" against the
African National Congress
should it not release the
Motsuenyane Commission
report on alleged human
rights abuses in ANC deten-
tion camps.

The commission, which
sat under prominent South
African businessman Mr
Sam Motsuenyane earlier
this year, inquired into alle-
gations of torture and mur-
der in ANC detention camps
outside South Africa. Its re-
port was expected to be re-
leased earlier this month.

Speaking in Durban yes-
terday, Hlongwane said:
"We will take physical ac-
tion if the report is not re-
leased, because the ANC
only understands that lan-
guage."

He would not elaborate,
except to say the action
would follow pickets and
other demonstrations.

He said family and friends
of the alleged victims of the
camps were expecting com-
pensation to arise from the
report's recommendations.

Hlongwane accused the
ANC of delaying tactics and
said he would demand a
meeting with ANC president
Mr Nelson Mandela should
the report not be released
soon.

His statements came as
the Returned Exiles Com-
mittee, which claims to in-
clude 1 000 former ANC
detainees, prepared to cel-
ebrate "victory day" to com-
memorate the release of
ANC exiles two years ago
from the Quatro camp in
Uganda and to remember
those allegedly killed in de-
tention.

Hlongwane made head-
lines last year when he re-
portedly threatened senior
ANC leaders with death for
their alleged involvement in
torture. He withdrew the
threat later.

He caused a stir again last
month when he told report-
ers in Durban he was a mem-
ber of the Afrikaner
Weerstandsbeweging,
"militarily" — Sapa



Mandela Mokaba

Mandela's ire 'made Mokaba retract'

(IIP)

ARC 18/8/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba's retraction of his controversial statements in Tembisa followed a tongue-lashing from ANC president Nelson Mandela, according to reliable sources within the ANC.

Mr Mokaba's statement retracting his earlier utterances — which he defended and justified on TV on Sunday — came soon after he had been called for a meeting with Mr Mandela in the ANC leader's office.

Speaking at the funeral of violence victims at the East Rand township of Tembisa last Thursday, Mr Mokaba urged mourners not to waste their bullets, but to "save" them for President De Klerk.

He called for the security forces to be driven out of the township and replaced with "resident police", said the struggle had to be taken to white areas and said the local Vusimusi Hostel — believed to be the refuge of those who allegedly attacked township residents — had to be taken apart "brick by brick".

In his TV interview Mr Mokaba denied he had called for Mr De Klerk's assassination, and said his organisation was opposed to a racial war.

Mr Mandela, said the sources, made it plain to Mr Mokaba he was far from pleased with his controversial statements and ordered him to immediately retract.

In that statement, Mr Mokaba said "I retract any statement that might have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack.

"My organisation, and I are committed to the suspension of armed actions and we will continue to pursue the path of a negotiated and peaceful resolution of the country's problems."

ANC offices 'occupied'

CT 18/8/73 (11A)
Own Correspondent

DURBAN.— The regional headquarters of the ANC here has shut down, apparently after a group of dissatisfied uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) soldiers occupied the building, expelled the staff and barred entrance to it.

All telephone lines to the office have been out of order since Monday or earlier and it appears that no ANC officials have been at their desks.

Persistent efforts to confirm that unhappy MK members were responsible for disrupting business at the organisation's new offices in St George's

Street failed and ANC representatives who were contacted declined to comment.

Sources said the protest was mounted last week by disenchanted MK troops who were unemployed and complained that the ANC had not looked after their welfare since they returned from exile and prison.

Regional executive committee member Mr Mike Sutcliffe acknowledged there was a "problem" but refused to elaborate, saying that a statement would be issued later in the day.

No statement had been received by late last night.

Mokaba 'rebuked by Mandela'

Star 18/8/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba's retraction of his controversial statements in Tembisa last week followed a tongue-lashing from ANC president Nelson Mandela, according to reliable sources within the ANC.

Speaking at the funeral of violence victims at the East Rand township of Tembisa last Thurs-

day, Mokaba had urged mourners not to waste their bullets but to "save" them for President F W de Klerk.

He called for the security forces to be driven out of the township and replaced with "resident police", said the struggle had to be taken to white areas, and said the local Vusimusi Hostel had to be taken apart.

In his television interviews on Sunday, Mokaba denied he had called

for De Klerk's assassination, and said his organisation was opposed to a racial war. (11A)

However, ANC sources said Mandela called Mokaba to his office "and put him on the carpet". He made it plain to Mokaba that he was far from pleased, and ordered him to immediately issue a statement retracting his earlier calls.

In that statement, Mokaba said "I retract any statement that might

have created the impression that any individual should be targeted for physical attack.

"My organisation and I are committed to the suspension of armed actions and we will continue to pursue the path of a negotiated and peaceful resolution of the country's problems."

Neither Mokaba nor Youth League spokesman Parks Mankahlana could be reached for comment yesterday.

WELCOME ALL OF YOU to this National Council of the Azanian People's Organisation at yet another critical and painful moment in our country and especially for our people

Black people have once again had to bear the brunt of an ongoing strategy of brutalisation of Africa, and in this corner of the continent, a strategy of bleeding Azania and its people by white people

It is a sick black person who does not or cannot see the role and function of De Klerk on behalf of the white world, local and international

Black Consciousness must, now more than ever, strengthen itself for the most formidable challenge facing oppressed people all over the world, but particularly black people in Azania. I speak here of the challenge of liberalism. It is a powerful tool by means of which black people can be paralysed into perpetual slavery and dependence.

It is a useful and highly valued weapon in the hands of white people. They love it, it works for them, and they kill anybody who threatens to disarm them of this weapon.

Split blood

The spilt blood of BC stalwarts such as Onkgopotse Tiro, Mthuli Ka Shezi, Mapetla Mohapi, Bantu Steven Biko, Abu Asvat, Muntu Myeza and the stripes and marks inflicted indelibly on the bodies and souls of innumerable black activists, is eloquent testimony of the seriousness with which white people regard any threat to the weapon of liberalism.

On the whole our struggle against white liberalism has been successful. Otherwise, how does one explain the passion with which white people hate Azapo?

Of more danger to the freedom of black people, is black liberalism. Like all black diseases which emanate from white people, black liberalism is fatal.

There are of course different kinds of Black liberals. There is the classical category of black liberals. These are black people who are more English than the English, or more German than the Germans.

The BC philosophy dealt with this malady in the black community in the form of exorcising the political demons associated with it. BC served as an important political purgative to clean up the system in black people as it had been corrupted by western apartheid education, by religious brainwashing, and by cultural alienation.

This disease is not dead, but can easily be identified and ridiculed by black people. Its persistence must, however, make us vigilant and cause us to recall the warning sounded by Amílcar Cabral that in the complex business of

This is an edited version of a speech delivered by Azapo president **Professor Itumeleng Mosala** at the organisation's National Council in Durban at the weekend: *Sowetan 18/8/93*

(11A)

the liberation struggle, not all that glitters is gold.

There is a new breed of black liberals. This class of liberals is more than a cultural photocopy of Europe or the West. It is made up of political types who have their eyes on certain stakes in the future which white people are designing but for which there must be black signatures and endorsement.

In effect these are political prostitutes. BC threatens black liberals more than it does white liberals. The reason is that it takes away from them not only their source of self-definition, but their business.

Whenever you hear a black person say in response to the ruthless killing of our people, not how we should have defended that black person or how outraged we are that the black person has been killed, but that "the talks will remain on course", you must know that there is a black liberal in the air.

If things go according to the overall strategy of De Klerk and his imperialist paymasters, this black liberal will be in power next year and he will take over all the work of exploiting, brutalising, imprisoning, miseducating and undereducating black people on behalf of white people.

Liberalism

Azapo must intensify the struggle against liberalism, especially black liberalism, which makes life so much easier for white people. They now no longer need to be physically present in the black community. There are black people who speak and act for them, a motley army of technocrats who have moved from talking about liberation to talking about development without an independence day, without a country to develop.

They have moved away from an anti-apartheid industry to a development and voter education industry.

Since 1990 De Klerk has embarked upon a strategy of destabilisation of black communities through the SADF and the SAP using the effective tactic of peace talks and negotiations to get black people and the international allies of the

white community to endorse him and his programme.

By the time an election is held in this country, supposedly for a democratic state, there will be no country to run and power to exercise. This is a clear and deliberate part of the imperialist strategy which amounts to the Bosnification of our country.

Comrades, it is our people who are being killed. It is the blood of our people which is being wantonly spilt. Azapo must do more than has been done by the so-called peace lovers who come here to OBSERVE our people being named and killed.

Urgency

This meeting must devise as a matter of urgency a national strategy to eradicate violence. That strategy requires the expulsion of the SADF and SAP from the townships and the self-defence of black people through their national liberation movements and community organisations.

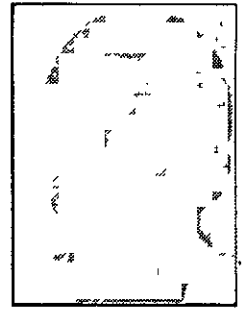
It is a lie that black people are killing one another. It is white people who are killing black people, even if the faces of those carrying out the actual acts are black.

The reality is that the system that white people have set up and the false rewards underpinning it is the fundamental source of violence. If we did not kill whites for stealing our land, raping our economy, why would we kill our own people in this senseless way?

Black people must stand up and defend themselves by any means necessary. No white person will do this for us. Unless black people eradicate this violence themselves, the road to the so-called April 27 elections will be littered with the dead bodies of our people. An election is being talked about in April next year.

Azapo's position is simple on this matter. The elections should have taken place yesterday, last year, ten years ago.

But Azapo is in the business of transferring power from a white minority regime to a black democratic majority. Any election which is intended to compromise this cause and betray the aspirations of our people cannot get Azapo's approval.



obility of women at negotiations

4 women appointed to technical body

By Sizakele Kooma

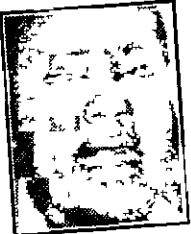
ONE of the aspirations of women delegates in the negotiations council was fulfilled this week when four women were appointed to two technical committees that were previously a male reserve

Sowetan 19/8/93
Stella Sigcau of the Cape Traditional Leaders and Corlia Kruger of the Afrikaner Volksunie were elected to the planning committee, while African National Congress delegate Baleka Kgositsile and the Democratic Party's Margaret Finnemore are now in the panel of chairpersons

The chairperson of the women's caucus and Transkei government delegate,

Nomsa Jajula, hailed the move as a sign of vertical mobility of women

"The four delegates will neutralise the male-dominated system of the council and will play an educative



Stella Sigcau

role among their male counterparts," said Jajula. *(11A)*

She said the appointments were a good start and would ensure women's involvement in all the subcouncils of the Transitional Electoral Council and, eventually, full participation in leadership positions of the future government.



news in brief

Sabta 'no' to indaba

THE Southern Africa Black Taxi Association steering committee has decided to distance itself from the "taxi indaba" starting next Monday in Johannesburg

Sabta said that although it endorsed the idea of a meeting of all taxi associations to take stock of taxi feuds, the final agenda by the National Transport Policy Forum was a far cry from the original concept

Azapo seeks funds

PRESIDENT of the Azanian People's Organisation Professor Itumeleng Mosala and his personal secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, are to embark on a fundraising tour of Europe and North America in October

Moodley said yesterday Azapo would use the opportunity to explain its position on violence, negotiations and elections to solidarity organisations and other groups

Cops seize weapons

FIVE men were arrested and an assortment of weapons confiscated after a shootout with police at Nongoma in Zululand on Monday

KwaZulu police spokesman Sergeant Malusi Mnguni said yesterday police came under fire from gunmen during a joint South African-KwaZulu police crime prevention operation in the area. Police confiscated a 303 rifle with 13 live rounds, a 38 Special revolver, an AK-47 rifle with 30 live rounds, 15 spears, three bush knives and an axe. They also seized five SA Defence Force jackets

Municipal strike ends

A TWO-WEEK strike by municipal workers in Pietersburg ended yesterday when agreement was reached on the reinstatement of about 700 workers dismissed after their participation in a strike on August 4 — *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa*

Revamp civil service first — Slabbert

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

IT would be a tragedy if South Africa negotiated a new constitution successfully without having a transformed state and civil service to give it effect, said Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

At the launch of the re-designed Suid Afrikaan magazine as the DSA, under the editorship of acclaimed poet Antjie Krog, Dr Slabbert said "reconstructing" the state was among the most critical challenges facing South Africa.

The new DSA comes with a special 50-page report, DSA in Depth, on reconstructing the state, edited by Dr Slabbert.

He said negotiations at the World Trade Centre focused almost entirely on a new constitution and little attention was being given to the economic policy, redistribution, meeting education, health and housing aspirations, and stability and order.

"The common theme here is: Who is going to deliver these things, who will give effect to the constitution?"

Negotiations in the constitutional sphere were proceeding while present state structures were "pursuing constitutional objectives we have already abandoned".

● Chairman of the trustees of DSA Franklin Sonn said it would be important in the new South Africa that "a readership who are not white and not National Party-supporting should feel that their views are represented in their mother-tongue, Afrikaans".

Labour challenges ANC over Boesak's remarks

Political Staff

THE Labour Party has launched a scathing attack on regional African National Congress chairman Allan Boesak and challenged the movement's national executive committee members to say publicly if they share his views about the party.

Dr Boesak said in an interview with The Argus that the ANC in the Western Cape was not in favour of entering into an election pact with Labour, adding that the ANC would lose votes if it did.

But, Labour regional secretary Tommy Abrahams said Dr Boesak's stance amounted to an "open and regrettable defiance of the agreements reached between the ANC and composite members of the Patriotic Front".

He said Dr Boesak could not be ignorant of the efforts by the leadership of the ANC and parties like Labour to unite the votes of the democratic anti-apartheid forces under the ANC in the April 27 election.

"His contrariness, therefore, must arise from some other motivation.

"Is it possible that the increased media coverage Dr Boesak is enjoying is going to his head? Does he feel the need to prove something to the national leadership of the ANC?"

Mr Abrahams said he wondered if Dr Boesak was trying to preserve his "United Democratic Front 'Don't Vote' leadership image while pursuing the votes of the very people he charismatically persuaded not to vote".

He said Labour had been engaged in programmes to promote

the ANC among its supporters. "This support must not be pooh-poohed away or taken for granted by anyone".

He warned that there were other options open to Labour, including a "Don't Vote" campaign, and urged the party's supporters to ignore the ill-conceived and divisive media strategies adopted by Dr Boesak.

● The Democratic Party has criticised Dr Boesak over "arrogant, prescriptive and threatening" remarks on affirmative action.

DP regional chairman Jasper Walsh's tough statement follows Dr Boesak's allegation that some Western Cape companies were deliberately employing blacks rather than others to prove they were ready for the new South Africa... and that coloureds were being told they were being discriminated against in an attempt to drive them into the arms of the National Party and DP.

Dr Boesak threatened to name companies he believed were turning coloureds away because they were not Xhosa-speakers.

Objecting "in the strongest terms" to Dr Boesak's claims, Mr Walsh said "To threaten naming organisations and making them do the right thing by legislative means in the post-apartheid South Africa does not help create a climate of social awareness from which positive affirmative action will result".

"To couple this with a cheap political side-swipe at the DP is contemptible," he said.

ANC women to discuss equality with Mandela

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

NELSON Mandela will find out just how serious the African National Congress's Women's League is about equal rights when he addresses women at a meeting in Samaj Centre, Rylands, on September 12

The first half of the ANC president's two-hour meeting will be behind closed doors and he is likely to be told that women, who represent the majority of voters, want equality

Regional Women's League secretary-general Lynne Brown said the meeting was part of a three-month campaign, kicking off in September, to raise the visibility of women in the movement and in society

The league also planned to engage the Democratic and National Parties in debates on issues like lobola

Ms Brown said debate with the Pan Africanist Congress around the "triple oppression of women", which she called women, blacks and workers, also was being planned

"Over and above this, we are planning to hold a voter-education weekend for women on September 17 and 18"

About 80 women, of whom a third would have to be from women's or-

ganisations, would be invited to attend

"We are saying we want women to vote ANC because the movement has been fighting for their rights since 1948. But, we want to teach them how to vote and make the right choice"

Ms Brown said the league did not have as many branches as it wanted in the coloured community and was to raise its profile in Cape Flats townships by tackling issues like wife-battering

● Mr Mandela's visit is part of a week-long trip to Cape Town in September

His schedule is still being worked out, but he is due to speak in Elsie's River and address a Cape Chamber of Commerce-organised lunch

Keep these first-aid hints

COPIES of the colour wall chart on first aid which appeared in The Argus are available at Newspaper House, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town

Bulk copies can be ordered from Allied Media Publishing ☎ 511 7105

● The ambulance emergency telephone number on the chart is wrong. The correct number is 10177

MK protesters
occupy close
ANC offices

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The ANC last night broke its silence on the sudden closure of its offices here and confirmed that 25 unhappy members of uMkhonto weSizwe had occupied the building.

"Sensitive negotiations" between ANC officials and the protesters were taking place last night in a bid to end the sit-in, which began last Wednesday, according to the ANC.

Senior national representatives of the ANC have been called on to help resolve the situation.

The MK protesters have apparently refused to leave the building until their demands for money and resources have been met.

ANC backs SAAU reaction

THE ANC has backed SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) condemnation of the World Bank's blueprint for land reform

The SAAU reacted angrily this week to the report which suggested that large numbers of subsistence farmers be settled on land now used for large-scale agriculture. Part of the World Bank's justification for such a move was that it believed existing commercial farming in SA was inefficient

ANC land affairs spokesman Derek Hanekom said yesterday that although the World Bank's report was "useful background information", it was also simplistic. He said it was not accurate to accuse SA's commercial farmers of inefficiency, an assessment which he said was "completely exaggerated"

The ANC supported the concept of small farmers and wanted to encourage their development. Subsistence farming could provide employment and a living for large numbers of people, he said. However, this did not mean the commercial sector should

GAVIN DU VENAGE

be taken apart. *BISay*

"We need to develop small farmers, but we cannot throw out the whole system," Hanekom said *19/8/93*

He said farmers were usually the first to be criticised for perceived inefficiencies, such as unchecked food price rises. But discussions with farmers had shown most were happy to operate in a free market environment, provided controls were lifted across the board ~~SAAU~~

This meant controls over fertilisers, fuel and machinery would also have to be lifted if farmers were to compete on an equal basis, Hanekom said. *(IA)*

He emphasised the ANC would support a policy that encouraged subsistence farmers, but would also assist the commercial sector. Hanekom said the ANC also agreed with the SAAU's assertion that local agriculture should be restructured by South Africans.

ANC backs down on cutting Taiwan ties

Political Staff

11/18/83 (119) (SP)

THE ANC has backed down over its plan to break ties with Taiwan in favour of mainland China

According to the official Chinese Xinhua news agency, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela made this pledge in a letter to China.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the ANC was ready to build "a new relationship" with Taiwan's government, but would not "abandon its longstanding friends".

IFP charges to be probed

LUSAKA. Zambia promised yesterday to probe charges by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the ANC still used Zambia as a conduit for uMkhonto weSizwe members trained in Uganda.

Information Minister Mr Remmy Mushota made the pledge at the end of Chief Buthelezi's three-day visit to Lusaka, former headquarters of the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi told a news conference yesterday that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela "has it in his power to stop his army from slaughtering thousands of my supporters." — Sapa-AFP

Guards foil attempt on Boesak's life

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

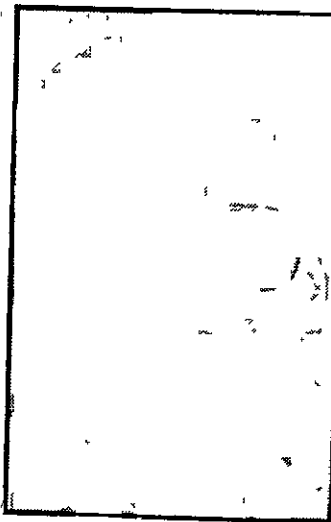
THE African National Congress's security division believes it has foiled "the most serious assassination attempt" on the life of Western Cape chairman Allan Boesak

At a public meeting in the Somerset West town hall this week, security guards said they put themselves in the line of fire between Dr Boesak and three armed white men before taking him to safety through a side door

The ANC's security head for the Western Cape, who asked to remain anonymous, said the three men appeared "very professional", wore side-arms in shoulder holsters, and body armour under their shirts

He said the men were at the exit, in the body of the hall and in the gallery, and had manoeuvred in a "most professional manner"

"As we moved to obstruct the line of fire, so the man in the gallery moved to get a clear sight"



Allan Boesak

Security guards moved behind the man in the gallery, "waiting to take him out if he went for his firearm"

"He did go for his firearm but realised he was being watched and dropped his hand"

Dr Boesak was moved to the back of the stage after speak-

ing and was then taken through of a side door

The men disappeared in the crowd

Taking a pragmatic view, Dr Boesak said he had had "more threats against my life than usual in the past few months"

He said he had noticed the three men while addressing the meeting, and had "got a strange feeling"

The matter was not reported to police, but to the ANC's national headquarters in Johannesburg

"I'm not being fatalistic, I've lived with these things for so long now, but I believe that if they want to, and try hard enough, they'll get me"

He said that the late Rajiv Gandhi, who was assassinated in a bomb explosion in May 1991, once remarked to him that he (Mr Gandhi) was probably the best protected man on earth

"I have placed my life in the hands of God. If He has any purpose for me in this country, I'll live to fulfill this purpose," Dr Boesak said

(11A)

ARG 20/8/93

Ex-MK troops end office sit-in

DURBAN — The 10-day sit-in by 27 former ANC exiles and MK members at the ANC offices here ended yesterday (11/9)

The sit-in began when the group protested a lack of resources and funds since they stood down as soldiers

An ANC spokesman said a national strategy was needed for the problems of former exiles and political prisoners

Why can't the ANC get rid of Mokababa? He's too powerful

He may be an embarrassment but Peter Mokababa is unlikely to be reined in as long as he is winning votes for the African National Congress

11/9 CSM 20-26 / 8/93

AFRICAN National Congress Youth League president Peter Mokababa is in too powerful a position to be challenged, much less effectively disciplined by the organisation's leadership.

Sources close to the ANC this week described Mokababa as "the powerbroker at the next consultative conference."

Since the conference may be held before the election for a constituent assembly, in order to decide on a list of ANC candidates, Mokababa's influence becomes particularly important.

"He has a constituency," said independent political scientist Eugene Nyati, explaining why the ANC has been unable to repudiate Mokababa completely during any of the controversies of the past months.

Mokababa is firmly in control of the ANCYL, and has the support of elements within the Women's League and Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

South Africa's youth, representing the majority of the ANC's support, is Mokababa's stamping ground. He is one of the few ANC leaders who have the unreserved respect of township militants. "With the collapse of their internal structures, the ANC needs Mokababa to keep the youth in line," said Nyati.

Mokababa's popularity within the Women's League and MK allows him to translate this mass support into important voting blocs in the organisational structures of the ANC.

Because of Mokababa's considerable influence, none of the ANC's national executive committee members is likely to take him on openly.

The last time Mokababa was challenged was after the ANC's unbanning in 1990, when the organisation's youth section was sent back into South Africa to help transform the South African Youth Congress into the ANCYL.

At the time, ANC intelligence officials were investigating allegations that Mokababa had links with the security police. Youth section members were asked to sideline him during the building of the League, but Mokababa retained his support and was elected, unopposed, as president at the first Youth League congress.

Democratic Party MP Tony Leon could not have been more wrong when he described Mokababa as a "dangerous buffoon", comment observers.

Few in the ANC would deny that Mokababa is a strategist with an agile mind. His explanations of his rhetoric this week were logical, if not particularly convincing.



Dangerous, maybe, but no buffoon .. Peter Mokababa

Mokababa's retraction this week of the remarks he made at a funeral in Tembisa is more likely the product of tactical consideration than genuine repentance.

According to reports, Mokababa issued the statement only after ANC president Nelson Mandela — the one person in the organisation whose position is assured — made it clear he was not happy about the backlash triggered by Mokababa.

"I have found it necessary to issue this statement to nip in the bud the concerted effort by the regime

to undermine the ANC," read Mokababa's retraction.

But Mokababa will remain at the centre of controversy because it suits his purposes, if not those of the ANC.

"Mokababa is a political asset," said Nyati. "The closer you get to an election, the more radical the ANC will get. Mokababa's language may affect whites and the Western media, but while ANC members are minimal and Western diplomats can't vote."

PAC, ANC 'united' at Tembisa funeral 20-26/8/93

The militant mood at the Tembisa funeral may have prompted Peter Mokaba's controversial address, reports **Amy Waldman**

A SURPRISING display of unity between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress marked last week's mass funeral for eight of the 33 people killed in Tembisa several weeks ago.

At the funeral, PAC and ANC flags framed the speakers. Marshalls of both organisations alternated in standing to attention next to the coffins and supporters cheered leaders of the other side.

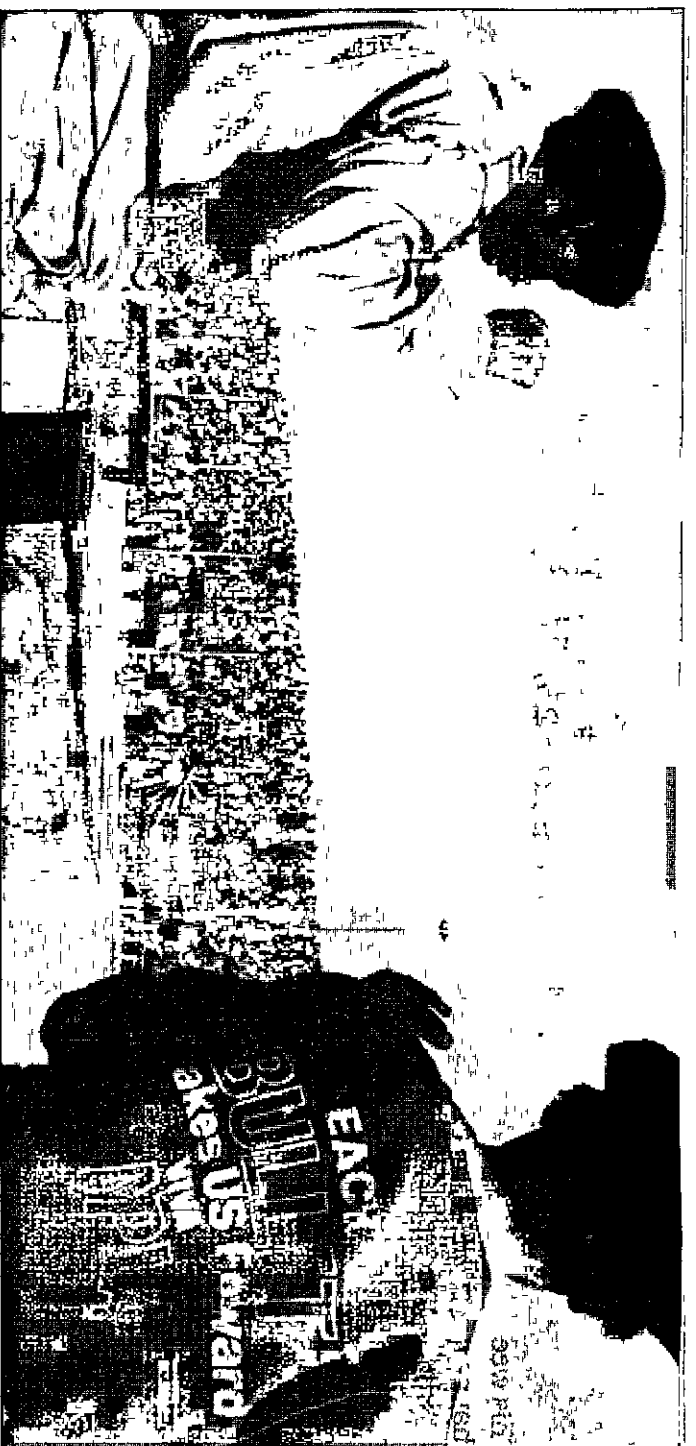
This may have prompted ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba's controversial address. With a heavy squatter camp contingent, and a PAC presence which was, initially at least, more numerous and vociferous than the ANC, Mokaba may have been looking to his left.

Mokaba's diatribe against the hostels, however, contradicted PAC philosophy in the area. According to PAC East Rand regional chairman Mandela Cebekhulu, the PAC — strong in Tembisa — sees itself as playing a peacemaking role between the ANC and IFP, in the name of Africanism.

"We have held meetings with those in the hostels, and our relationship is strong. We want to bring the two sides together."

Predictably, Cebekhulu sees the "regime" as a major cause of violence — but not the only one. "It's also this fighting for political turf," he said. The PAC, he added, wanted to combine forces. "It would be one thing if blacks were killing whites, but we are killing ourselves," he declared, rather chillingly.

After explaining that the PAC and ANC had decided to show a united front at the funeral, Cebekhulu excused himself to lead the crowd in chanting. "One settler one bullet".



PAC and ANC supporters stand side by side at the funeral of eight people killed in Tembisa

PHOTO: HANNERT FRANKENFELD
FOR THE PRESS

Opening road to a future SA

Star 2018/93

A new government would not mean harvest time for South Africans, rather, people should plough and develop the country, said ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale yesterday in Mamelodi, near Pretoria.

Speaking at the opening of a road built by township residents, Sexwale said the project should be an example to the future government. It should not overspend on machines but concentrate on training people and creating jobs. (11A)

The road was the initiative of the Mamelodi-based National Labour Intensive Trust, which is headed by Godfrey Motsepe and Moss Chikane.

When the project began last month, residents working on the road were paid R35 a day for two weeks, from a R500 000 donation by Heks, a Swiss Protestant outlet for development aid.

But the trust ran out of funds and residents worked for free — determined to see roads completed in the township's C2 Section.

Sexwale said the project should lead the way for more programmes such as the building of houses and bridges. — Staff Reporter and Sapa.

Star 20/8/93

Mandela olive branch to Right

■ BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

ANC president Nelson Mandela, calling the right wing a greater threat to the coming general election than "black surrogate organisations", has extended an olive branch to right-wing Afrikaners

He said yesterday "Laat ons die verlede begrawe. Wat verby is, is verby" (Let us bury the past. What is done, is done.)

Addressing the Trans-

port and General Workers' Union congress in Johannesburg, he said there were many in the democratic movement who believed opposition to the April 27 election was now so strong that it could not take place

Referring to threats by "black surrogate organisations", he said: "If the National Party were to say tomorrow to these organisations, 'Pay your own bills, they would all collapse like a pack of cards. They give trouble

because the NP wants them to give trouble"

But the right wing was strong because it did not rely on the NP for support, he said. (MIA)

"They have said if democracy is introduced against their wishes, they will take up arms against the democratic government. That is the real threat — not the black surrogates, who have become cry-babies"

The ANC had to find ways to allay white fears that a democratic govern-

ment would punish whites for the past.

On violence and the need to campaign for peace, Mandela said he had been jeered by East Rand youths when he had told them that they had been fighting the Inkatha Freedom Party since 1984, had not defeated it, and would never do so by force

But, he said, as long as he was their leader, he would correct them when they were mistaken.

Sexwale calls for audit of govt

JOHANNESBURG — The National Party should be audited so that the ANC could see what it would be taking over, ANC PWV regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale told an American Chamber of Commerce luncheon here yesterday (11/19) ~~(11/19)~~

"Before you buy a company you investigate its (account-

ing) books We want to do the same with this government We want to see if the family silver has been stolen "

He said the new constitution needed safeguards such as an auditor-general and an independent judiciary CT20/8/93

Mr Sexwale said he could not understand what the opposition in negotiations to such

safeguards were when they would act as a watchdog on a government of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and not of President F W de Klerk.

"The government has to be accountable," he said

He said South Africa had to have a new constitution in place when it emerged from the transitional mechanism If

not, "the lights will go out in the country"

Mr Sexwale said it was critical for the people, especially the youth, to understand the new South Africa was about ploughing and not harvesting so they did not expect too much

"To save the youth of this country we must create jobs in the formal sector" — Sapa

Videos for the poor

2018-2418193

THE ANC is taking television to the people — it has purchased two mobile video units to get its election message across in rural areas.

Two units will start trial runs in the Border and Northern Transvaal regions of the organisation this week.

The video unit arrives in the Border on Friday and will be put to work immediately.

"We will target areas where people have no access to television to give them our election message," said ANC Border region spokesperson Mr Mcebisi Bata. (11A)

Bata said operators would show films of speeches and election messages by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"A great interest has been shown by rural people in video films since most of them don't have television sets," said Bata.

Rural problems such as poverty, illiteracy and unemployment will be filmed in different areas and shown to communities. People would be given an opportunity to discuss the films, Bata said.

"We will discuss the videos with the audience. Then we will film the discussions and show them to people in other villages," he said.

A programme for the video work was drafted. — ECNA

Will the ANC deliver democracy?

Southern 2018 - 24/12/93

Recently leadership from the ANC, SACP and Cosatu gathered to assess the broad direction of the "National Democratic Revolution" and suggest a strategic perspective for members to chew on. **QUENTIN WILSON** summarises the discussion paper that emerged:

WILL election day be the long-awaited moment of national liberation? For many years the struggle against apartheid has equated freedom with a switch of governments, but will an ANC-dominated government and a new constitution really deliver "people's power" on its own?

In a discussion paper published in the latest edition of the SACP's journal, "The African Communist", it is argued that this is a dangerous perception for activists to have and one that could jeopardise a democratic future.

The paper, entitled "Strategic objectives of the National Liberation Struggle", attaches huge importance to an ANC election victory. But at the same time it stresses the need for mass involvement to ensure the country's development and reconstruction.

"The simple fact is that, without mass involvement and mass organisation, a future democratically-elected state will be relatively weak and isolated in the present global and national balance of forces.

"Without a mass movement for national democratic transformation,

even a concerted counter-revolutionary challenge.

"In such a situation, our alliance will certainly not condemn direct democratic action by the popular masses"

This point was illustrated by way of a scenario

"In the face of, let us say, a food production boycott by reactionary farmers, land occupations, with or without prior governmental sanction, will be more than legitimate

"Those who are tempted to undermine democratisation need to understand this very clearly

"A reconstruction programme will best achieve its objectives in a climate of peace and stability. We shall work hard to ensure this. Major destabilisation will not be of our choosing.

"But if we have to pursue reconstruction in the teeth of serious anti-democratic projects, we shall do so, and we shall call, among other things, for direct mass action in support of our efforts"

Participatory

The call to maintain the "participatory" character of South Africa's democratic struggle comes with certain "organisational implications", according to the paper.

"As the ANC, and jointly from within the Tripartite Alliance, we need to build an ANC that remains essentially a broad national liberation movement.

"It must remain an ANC that is anchored among the oppressed majority. It must be an ANC that is able to lead people in struggle for development and against the thousands of injustices and oppressions they encounter in their daily lives.

"This approach must in no way,

detract from the important tasks of winning elections on the ANC ticket and of governing. We believe that the ANC will discharge both tasks most effectively, in the concrete conditions of our country, precisely if it remains essentially a national liberation movement"

The paper also argued that it was vitally important for the alliance between the ANC, SACP and Cosatu to hold firm for an indefinite period after an election.

"We need to admit openly that, regardless of our intentions or traditions, the break-up of our Alliance would carry serious risks for each of the three components

"An ANC cut loose from independent working class formations, would find itself more easily dislodged from its historical and strategic vocation. Regardless of good intentions and an heroic track record, it would become ever more susceptible to the pressures of governmental office, and from the influence of non-popular strata — inside its ranks and beyond.

"An ANC without the alliance would be an ANC in which the confusion and sense of betrayal among its own grassroots membership would be increased," the paper says

It argues that if Cosatu breaks from the alliance and goes it alone, the trade union movement "runs the danger of declining into a narrow, economic unionism".

An SACP without the alliance could become "a defensive grievance party, cut adrift from the mainstream of positive transformation", the paper predicts

"In alliance, each of our formations has a powerful contribution to make, and each is able to carve out

a more effective role for itself. As an alliance, we are more than the sum of our parts. Alone, each of us is diminished

"It is no accident that our antagonists spend a great deal of energy attempting to undermine our unity," concludes the argument

Wiet jy ...

PAC panic

Patients at Groote Schuur hospital were told by staff on Friday to keep inside the building and away from windows because the "Aples are coming". The panic was caused by a demonstration outside the hospital during lunchtime. The "Aples" the staff feared were merely their colleagues protesting against working conditions. Seems people want to blame the PAC for everything these days

Praetjes' victory

Mark Praetjes, the South African born athlete who joined the chicken run a few years ago to compete in "normal sport", finally enjoyed victory at the world championships in Stuttgart this weekend. Unfortunately, it was as an American citizen. If he had just waited a bit longer, he could have joined his fellow South African athletes in Stuttgart.

'Terreblanche is a white tsotsi'

— Boesak
South 208 —

By Lovejoy Kweza and
Quentin Wilson 24/8/93

IF THE election scheduled for April next year is postponed, it will give the right wing courage and determination to continue scuttling democracy through violence,

Dr Allan Boesak, argued on Sunday (11A)

Speaking at the launch of the ANC's election campaign in

Guguletu, **Allan Boesak**

Boesak told

about 600 supporters that "postponing the election date won't solve the problems of violence".

"They want us to believe that the closer we come to democracy, the worse it will be for South Africa. They aim to stop negotiations and to scrap the date of this country's first real election

"But every time we postpone the date and announce a new one, they will only kill more people.

"We have seen that every time there is progress at the negotiating table, our people have to face a campaign of violence and we cannot allow this to happen any longer. We have waited too long for our freedom, we can't wait a minute longer," Boesak said.

Calling AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche, "a white tsotsi", Boesak said that he and others, including Bantustan leaders, must "understand the need for the April elections".

As part of ANC election preparations, 80 paid-up members from the Section Two branches have signed up to spearhead the campaign in the area.

THE ANC

Fm 20/8/93

Eye on the election

(11A)

The retraction by ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba of his latest warmongering salvo almost compounds his original statement. It was obviously made against his will and is not unequivocal. It comes hot on the heels of his denying any regrets about urging supporters at a mass funeral to save their bullets for President FW de Klerk instead of firing in the air.

Nor is the ANC's mealy-mouthed distancing of the organisation from Mokaba's dangerous utterances convincing enough. How does a party distance itself from one of its own leading lights? The ANC refuses to censure Mokaba publicly, despite his blatant contravention of the (toothless) National Peace Accord and the ANC's own policy.

It is hard to believe that ANC president Nelson Mandela could not, if he really wanted to, ensure that Mokaba watches his words — unless Mandela and the ANC, with an eye on the general election, hope to be everything to everybody.

That would amount to speaking with a forked tongue, which seems to be Mokaba's special talent. We see equivocation also in the ANC's stance on this week's teachers' strike, which it opportunistically refuses to condemn, saying only that the teachers have "some legitimate concerns" but are unfortunately not covered by the Labour Relations Act, that the issues must be speedily resolved and to urge government to negotiate in good faith.

What has happened to the disciplinary steps apparently set in motion the last time round? That was when Mokaba provocatively chanted the MK war slogan "kill the boer" which, arguably, precipitated the white Right's banding together under the threatening banner of the Afrikaner Volksfront, and some of the AWB's wilder excesses.

Similarly, disciplinary action was promised after ANC supporters broke up a DP township campaign meeting in the Cape, but it happened again. It would not be surprising if this becomes the pattern, in spite of ringing ANC declarations about free political activity. The principle cannot apply only to the ANC on Buthelezi's farm.

Yet again it seems as though Mandela the statesman is giving way to Mandela the party politician. Or perhaps it's a case of elders in the ANC, recalling their own mili-

tancy vis-à-vis the Old Guard in the Fifties, being indulgent towards impetuous youth (though when he turns 35 in a couple of months, Mokaba will have to give up his Youth League post). It should be remembered that militant rhetoric of the Mokaba kind was completely acceptable three years ago.

A more intriguing line of speculation is that there is also considerable personal factionalism in the ANC, which suggests that Mokaba and his ilk are not averse to firing shots across the bow of arch negotiator and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. Mokaba, who in a surprising move recently threw the Youth League's weight behind Thabo Mbeki (another moderate) as Mandela's eventual successor, is thought to have his own reasons for disliking Ramaphosa, who is perhaps not so well-liked by Mandela either.

Mokaba's use of the "kill the boer" slogan is incidentally still under investigation by the Witwatersrand attorney-general, the police are looking into his latest outburst.

At a mass funeral last week for eight victims of the carnage on the East Rand, Mokaba (who, strangely, is also chairman of the recently formed National Tourism Forum) urged the mourners at Tembisa — after gunfire had erupted, it should be noted — not to waste their bullets but to turn their weapons against De Klerk instead.

Presumably, in the heat of the moment, he also called on residents to take the war to white areas, not to allow De Klerk's police and army into the area where, he claimed, they wreak havoc, and that they should destroy "brick by brick" the hostel that allegedly houses a gang thought to be causing the violence. Mokaba reportedly said — in apparent contradiction of Mandela's standing charge — that a Third Force does not exist, but that blame for the violence rests with government.

Commenting on Mokaba's outburst, Wits political scientist Tom Lodge notes that whereas Mandela may have been angered at not having been consulted over the troop deployment on the East Rand, and would presumably have welcomed it under multi-lateral control, Mokaba made no such distinction.

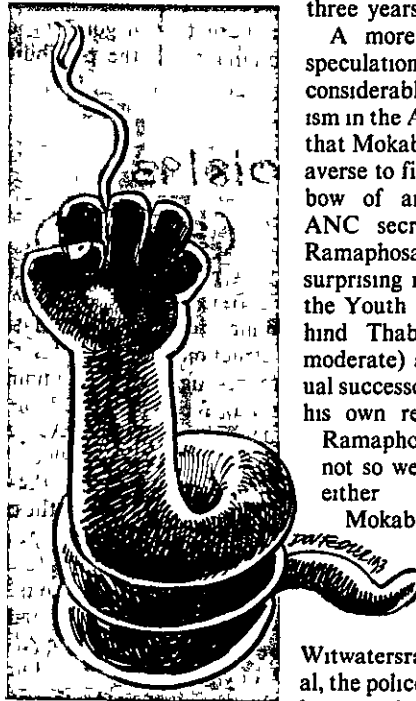
It has to be presumed that the ANC would

like to see more troops in the area in order to curb the shocking level of violence. The ANC cannot benefit from the violence and there is now a substantial risk of the election being delayed, which would make everyone losers, but more so the ANC, which would be hard pushed to tell its followers to hang on for a few more months. From this perspective it is therefore hard to believe that the ANC's strategic thinkers could welcome Mokaba's remarks.

However, Lodge points out that the tone of remarks at the funeral by the ANC's PWV regional chairman, Tokyo Sexwale, were hardly different to Mokaba's. The thrust of speakers' messages was that the violence has to do with outside forces. If this is so, the ANC is leaving itself open to rhetoric of the Mokaba kind. Thus none of the Tembisa funeral speeches contributed to a cooling of tensions and Mokaba was not wildly out of key, simply looser-tongued.

However, Mokaba's attempts to rationalise his remarks were pretty lame, says Lodge. Expressions such as Mokaba used are not codes to be interpreted. Urging supporters to take the struggle into white areas would hardly have been taken by the inflamed audience to mean launching a recruitment drive among whites. More important, it was not the kind of speech that would win votes for the ANC outside the black community.

According to Lodge, it would be difficult for the ANC simply to dismiss Mokaba, since he is an elected official. ■



THE SABC
Fm
New skin

Fm 20/8/93

The new SABC board is due to meet today for a strategic planning session. It also met on August 4 and apparently took an important initiative towards addressing criticism of SABC news coverage.

Firstly, a full-time ombudsman's office is to be established and headed by an "eminent person" commanding wide public respect. He will deal with, and arbitrate on, the merits of complaints and suggestions for news and current affairs programmes. He will report directly to the board and liaise with the editor-in-chief to ensure speedy resolution of disputes.

The SABC's editorial code will be revised and publicised and an internal process of monitoring all news and current affairs programmes will be established to ensure equity, particularly regarding party political matters in the general election campaign.

TV news production editor-in-chief Johan Pretorius told the *FM's* Election Countdown conference that three bodies are likely to be

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Election will lead to war — Buthelezi

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MARITZBURG — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday predicted civil war and restated his conditions for Inkatha's return to multiparty talks

Accusing government and the ANC of colluding to share power, he said civil war would result from next year's election

"I have never suggested that I am myself planning any such civil war but in these circumstances it seems inevitable," Buthelezi said at an Inkatha rally.

"Unless we can make the ANC and the government rethink their position, we will not rejoin negotiations" He said proposals for an elected constituent assembly were unacceptable and insisted that other delegations should accept his plan for a federation of ethnic states

Acknowledging for the first time that Buthelezi might not return to the talks, President F W de Klerk told a news conference on Wednesday that the transition to democracy could be mapped without Inkatha at the table

He said government would intensify bilateral negotiations with Inkatha and urged other major players to do the same.

But Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate rejected De Klerk's olive branch yesterday, saying the "two-table approach" was unacceptable

"I see (De Klerk) as completely trapped by commitments reached in bilateral talks with the ANC," he said

Buthelezi said Inkatha would boycott negotiations until key decisions backed by

at least 19 of the 26 parties were reversed

"The ANC can make as many so-called concessions as they like, but until they drop their insistence that a constituent assembly will have the final say on the writing of our final constitution, we will not return to multiparty talks. B/Say

"We are not prepared to accept responsibility for the civil war which we know will be the consequence of allowing a constituent assembly to write our constitution," Buthelezi said. 2018/93

Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday told the Transport and General Workers' Union's national congress in Johannesburg SA faced the very real danger of the right wing opposing a democratic government. (115)

The ANC was going to speak to the right wing to get it to join negotiations

The mistake countries such as Angola and Mozambique had made after independence was fighting instead of negotiating with the opposition, Mandela said.

However, liberation would happen with or without the right wing

Mandela said the ANC had to find ways of addressing whites' concerns They should not fear a "tit-for-tat" policy when the ANC came to power, he said

He dismissed calls for the dismantling of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, saying those who made the calls had not been part of the struggle.

"We will fight the election together and win it together." — Sapa-Reuter

Election course for PAC

SIMON BARBER

THE PAC is to receive US government-funded elections training, including advice on fundraising, "message development" and media relations, it was disclosed in Washington yesterday B/Say 2018/93

The support is to be provided by the National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute (IRI), subgroups of the National Endowment for Democracy, said IRI official Edward Stewart. (115)

The National Democratic Institute and IRI have already sent two four-person teams to advise the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party respectively, using money provided by the US Agency for International Development which has established a \$10m transitional assistance fund to support election preparation, violence mitigation and related objectives

One of the criteria is that parties receiving support must have "renounced violence"

The groups had "received assurances" from the PAC's national secretariat that the organisation met this condition, Stewart said The US embassy in Pretoria "agrees"

Training had been offered to Azapo, and there were plans to make it available to homeland parties as well.

Goldsto central

A COMMITTEE of the Goldston has listed intolerance, provocation and greed by tax the immediate cause of tax

Among other causes were apartheid laws on urbanisation factors, the Transport role, a lack of law enforcement, absence of facilities (115)

Political rivalry and affilia causes of tax violence, the

The committee's fifth in was released yesterday, mor after it began hearings into

The authorities' failure, apartheid laws, to provide e tary transportation facilities people on a daily basis, was factor in the violence build

'ANC out to smear police'

JOHANNESBURG —

The ANC was bent on discrediting police so as to hasten joint control of them, Mr Flip Hattingh, senior counsel for the police, said here yesterday.

Speaking at the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into attacks on police, Mr Hattingh referred to a commitment made by police to the ANC last year that police would patrol with the ANC and the civics. Nobody had come forward from these organisations.

Cross-examined by Mr Hattingh, ANC Vaal sub-region chairman Mr Kaizer Klaas replied that it was the police who were trying to discredit the ANC by releasing thugs turned over to them by the organisation.

Proceedings continue today — Sapa

ANC and SAP in c

Star 21/8/93

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Rampage victims seeking redress

PATRICK LAURENCE

A HIGH-POWERED team of lawyers is putting the finishing touches to a civil action which will secure a niche in legal history by seeking redress for victims of political violence from the SAP and ANC-led tripartite alliance

The pending action is being seen as a test of the ANC's willingness to practise as well as preach the doctrine of accountability

It arises from a homicidal attack by hundreds of young blacks on a cluster of houses near the FNB soccer stadium on April 19, the day of the funeral of the assassinated ANC and SACP leader, Chris Hani

Two men, Rudolph Botes and Alfred Dreyer, were burnt to death when the houses were set alight, another, Geoff Howes, escaped death at the hands of the rampaging attackers by running into the veld during a momentary lull in the looting and arson spree.

Houses and possessions were burnt and pets killed by marauding young blacks who felt so secure from the threat of intervention by police or ANC marshals that they brailed chickens and played on a tractor as flames consumed the houses and cars

The action, for R2 million in compensation against the SAP and the ANC alliance, is based in large measure on an agreement signed between them on the eve of Hani's funeral, in which they recognised "their accountability in law" of the illegal actions of their supporters and/or members

The signatories also committed themselves to ensuring "the safety of the individual as well as security of property"

The accord, signed by

Koos Calitz for the SAP and Thabo Mbeki for the ANC alliance, contained clauses of particular relevance to the SAP and the alliance.

The SAP undertook to maintain a low profile and to work through ANC marshals and peace monitors, but reserved the right "to enforce law and order in emergency situations", the ANC pledged to place "sufficient" marshals at each venue, and along the routes to them, to maintain strict control and discipline

Before Hani's funeral Law and Order Minister Kriel, speaking on TV, advised people living on march routes to stay in their homes, promising that the law would be "strictly enforced"

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa offered similar assurances, declaring the SAP-ANC accord facilitated the exercise of "accountability and responsibility"

Too late

But video footage and eyewitness accounts, including Howes's until his dramatic escape, show that neither the SAP nor the ANC made a concerted bid to intervene to halt the attack on the FNB houses and thus save the lives of the men who made the fatal mistake of listening to Kriel's advice and putting their trust in ANC assurances

Judging from video tapes and Howes's testimony, police intervention, when it eventually came, was too late and too half-hearted

At no point during the attack did police try to secure the homes and repulse the attackers, even though Howes pleaded desperately with police

to do so on the phone and a neighbour, Jean Taylor, exhorted a police general to take action

Ramaphosa, far from accepting responsibility for the homicidal attack, dissociated the ANC from it Standing on a rostrum in the stadium as a colossal column of black smoke billow from the houses, he blamed the attack on agents provocateurs

Videotape recordings show no attempt by ANC marshals to intervene to fulfil their pledge to prevent loss of life or destruction of property at the houses, which are not more than 150 m from the main entrance to the stadium

The buses parked outside the front of the houses and the rows of portable lavatories lined up against the yards of the homes indicates that they were on the route to the stadium and, arguably, part of the funeral venue which the ANC had promised to secure

While Ramaphosa was dissociating the ANC from the attack, some of the attackers were identifying themselves as ANC supporters, if not members They wore or carried an assortment of ANC regalia, scarves, hats, caps, posters and even one banner

So far the ANC's public response to the pending civil action has been defensive Mathew Phosa, of its legal department, has asked rhetorically "Do they think money grows on trees?"

Phosa asserts that the onus is on the claimants to prove that the attackers were ANC members or supporters, adding "We are not going to expose ourselves to wild, unfounded claims"

The victims believe the ANC's stance contradicts its oft-proclaimed commitment to justice They are puzzled, too, because it is common knowledge that the ANC has liability insurance

When the victims' action is heard in court — and before the bar of world opinion — the ANC may find their anger and disillusionment is endorsed by thousands of influential people throughout the world

ALLS week as striking
ing students shut down

'Assassins' stalked Boesak

SAPA and STAFF REPORTER

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress's security division says it foiled a "most serious assassination attempt" on the life of western Cape ANC chair- man Dr Allan Boesak this week.

The incident occurred at a public meet- ing in the Somerset West Town Hall.

The guards apparently put themselves in the line of fire between Boesak and three armed white men before taking him to safety through a side door.

The ANC security head for the western Cape, who asked to remain anonymous, said the men appeared "very profession- al", wore side-arms in shoulder holsters and had body armour under their shirts.

"As we moved to obstruct the line of

fire, so the man in the gallery moved to get a clear sight." Security guards moved behind the man in the gallery, "waiting to take him out if he went for his firearm."

"He did not go for his firearm. Realising he was being watched, he dropped his hand," the security chief said.

Boesak, who said he had a strange feel- ing after seeing the men, was escorted to the back of the stage after speaking and then taken through a side door. The men disappeared in the crowd.

The matter was not reported to police, but to the ANC's national headquarters in Johannesburg, the ANC said.



ALLAN BOESAK: Saw the men and "got a strange feeling".

Mugabe warns whites

GWANDA — Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Vice-President Joshua Nkomo said yesterday that if the country's whites did not abandon racist attitudes they risked deportation.

"If the whites do not change, they will be kicked out of this country," Mugabe told a rally.

Describing racism as Zimbabwe's "greatest enemy", he said whites who were not pleased, particularly with the Land Acquisition Act, were free to leave the country.

The whites were taking advantage of the government policy of reconciliation and considered blacks as second- class citizens. "They think they are more God's children than others and still look at their white skin as more precious and divine than ours," he said.

Nkomo, addressing the same rally, said whites were disrespectful of Mugabe. He accused whites of attaching greater importance to the Commercial Farmers' Union and the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industry — Sapa



Nat urges ANC to discipline youth

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

(1174)
ANST 21/8/93

NATIONAL Party minister Gerald Morkel has called on ANC president Nelson Mandela to stop just talking about peace and the cessation of violence and urged him to discipline the movement's youthful members

Mr Morkel, Minister of the Budget and Housing in the House of Representatives, made the call after his meeting ended in chaos in East London on Thursday night

He said the "barbaric" actions of ANC supporters proved the movement would continue to derail negotiations and the the peace process "by a constant abuse of the democratic rights of people"

He said the ANC had called for freedom of expression but "now that they have it, they deny others the same freedom"

"They might think they had achieved some sort of victory by disrupting the meeting, but it was a hollow victory

"Their main intention was to scare me into staying away from the meeting, but I've shown in no uncertain terms what I think of cowardly, threats and intimidation"

Mr Morkel said the NP would not allow itself to be threatened and blackmailed into submission

He called on Mr Mandela to stop his rhetoric about peace and address the upheaval in his organisation

ANC info in Claremont

FOR the Claremont branch of the African National Congress the election campaign begins at 10am today

(11A) AUG 21/8193

That is when the branch will open an information-desk positioned between Cavendish Square and The Link Patrick "Terror" Lekhota is one of the national ANC personalities who will be on hand to discuss the organisation's workings and policies until 11am

Trio spark fears for Boesak

THE behaviour of three armed men at a Somerset West meeting addressed by Dr Allan Boesak this week had provoked suspicions that they planned to assassinate the ANC Western Cape leader

They had been "highly professional" and one of the men had been used as a decoy, the ANC's assistant secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Willie

Hofmeyr said

Whenever the other two men's line of vision had been blocked by ANC security men, they moved to get clear sight of Dr Boesak, he said. The trio had side-arms and wore body armour

"In terms of their training, our security thought they were going through classic manoeuvres in preparation for an assassination attempt," Mr Hofmeyr said.

DT 2/8/93 (11A)

Mandela meeting ends MK siege in Durban

By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

A 10-day siege of the ANC's Durban offices ended this week after five disgruntled Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres were flown to Johannesburg for a meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela. *ST Times*

A group of 27 cadres had occupied the offices to protest against a lack of financial help from the ANC, and to press demands for inclusion in a new army.

The meeting at Mr Mandela's offices in Braamfontein on Wednesday night ended with him giving the MK members the assurance that he would "spare no effort" in trying to alleviate their financial plight.

The meeting followed secret visits to the besieged offices by top ANC officials, who tried to persuade the protesters to end their siege, but the former combatants refused to leave without relaying their demands for funds and resources directly to Mr Mandela.

Angry

Not even MK chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda and chief of personnel Tim Ngwenya could persuade the dissidents to leave the ANC's plush new offices in St George's Street.

They moved into the double-storey Chief Albert Luthuli building in Albert Park at lunch-time last Wednesday. 22/8/93

The siege began when the angry cadres — from MK's Chesterville cell — filed past security men in civilian clothes, walked up the Josiah Gumede stairway and demanded to see the ANC leadership.

As the sit-in dragged on, ANC staffers were forced to vacate their desks and stay at home for more than a week.

YOU'VE GOT ME WRONG!

C1 Rows 22/8/93

Firebrand Peter Mokaba is actually a gentle guy at heart

*I don't hate whites
... in fact I don't hate
anyone because of
his skin pigmentation.
I hate racial
supremacy
wholeheartedly. I've
been demonised by
the media which
projects me as a
senseless racist*

league's president at the annual congress later this year

"As a member of the NEC I want to serve my main organisation full time I know the press is going to think I'm quitting under pressure No, it's not so

"I think I'm going to stand for the forthcoming elections as a candidate in one of our regions. At this stage I'm not sure where I want to contest the elections, but I'm ready to do so in any part of SA because every town, city and rural area is the ANC's stronghold. The people will tell me where to contest because I'm their servant"

After the elections he wants to start his own family, so he can join his colleagues in the youth league who are married already. "I've devoted almost my entire life to the struggle and neglected my marriage. I'm yearning to come home to the comfort of my wife's arms and my child and feel like a father."

A trained guerrilla commander who operated undetected with his unit in northern Transvaal before he was arrested in the early 80s, he says personally he has not killed, in sharp contrast to the "kill the farmer, kill the boer" slogan which has earned him many enemies among whites. He does not hate the farmers, he says, and as a matter of fact he is scheduled to address them in Tzaneen, northern Transvaal next month.

"I'm prepared to go out of my way to save the life of a farmer who is being robbed or killed. My slogan on them is not an empty one. It's relevant to the days of our armed struggle when the farmers in the northern Transvaal borders with Zimbabwe were mobilised and armed as commandos against our people."

Although he withdrew his recent remarks at the funeral, he is unrepentant about his passionate hatred for the State President, for what he terms "his double agenda in the peace process."

"He speaks peace with our leaders on the one hand and unleashes violence on our people through his security forces on the other," he says

It is the same violence that has prompted the ANC to guard its vociferous leader around the clock.

Since his release from Robben Island he has never slept at his home or had a chance to chat for long hours with his mother and sister at Mankweng township in Pietersburg

What lies behind the bellicose image of ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, who recently evoked the ire of government officials and made Cosatu, one of the strongest ANC allies, distance themselves from his outbursts after he had called on the township youths to take the struggle to the white suburbs and to turn their guns on State President FW De Klerk? The man behind the words is a gentle and peace-loving personality who is ready to jump in and save the life of a white farmer or a boer. He revealed his other side to City Press during an interview with THEMBA KHUMALO this week.

FROM his war-talk when he addresses the youth it is easy for anyone to conclude that Peter Mokaba hates whites and that through his slogans at rallies he is actually encouraging his supporters to take up arms against whites, especially farmers

"I don't hate whites in fact I don't hate anyone because of his skin pigmentation. I hate racial supremacy wholeheartedly. I've been demonised by the media which projects me as a senseless racist," he says

Sitting on a reclining chair in his newly-furnished office on the 14th floor of the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, Mokaba gives the impression of a leader who wants to reach out to his people and be heard, but who has not the means of doing so

"The press has a vendetta against me. I'm always misquoted in the newspapers. They are doing the work of the system to discredit me."

He cites his utterances at the Themba funeral as a classical example of how the press can "go out of its way" to rouse passions against him

The newspapers, he says, chose to ignore a speech delivered by the ANC PVV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, which he says was not much different from his. Tokyo shared the platform with Mokaba and called on mourners to defend themselves when attacked

What steps will Mokaba take to stop the media from doing him more harm before it's too late?

"There's nothing I can do about it now. But the ANC government will have to overhaul the whole media system in this country. Our media is very destructive. It is not educative. All the newspapers are worried about increasing their profits at the expense of decaying our society

"We will restructure the media system without compromising the concept of the freedom of the press, because I believe in it," he says

Not only are the newspapers trying to consign him to the political wilderness, he says, but they are trying to put him at loggerheads with other leaders in the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC.

The tension that exists between him and ANCGen-eral secretary Cyril Ramaphosa is a figment of the imagination of journalists, he says. Not only are he and Ramaphosa the best of comrades, but they respect each others political views, he maintains

He says when he (Mokaba) recently tipped his organisation's head of international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, as the next deputy president of the ANC, effectively making him Nelson Mandela's successor, he did not say so to spite Ramaphosa, but because Mbeki was one of the many names the youth league thought of - and Ramaphosa was well informed about this before Mokaba mentioned it to the press.

He describes this as "an internationally accepted practice of canvassing and canvassing within democratic organisations". However, at 34, the chubby youth leader thinks he has done enough to serve the young lions and he will not stand for re-election as the youth

Sit-in at ANC offices

By FRED KHUMALO

C/PRESS 22/8/93
them.

THE 10-day sit-in at the ANC Durban offices by 27 MK members has brought to light deep-seated problems the ANC is likely to face as its fighters, who expected to come home to happiness, now find themselves jobless and penniless.

The soldiers have threatened a bloodbath should their demands not be met.

They ransacked the offices, breaking furniture and cutting off telephone lines. They also held staff members hostage until top-ranking officials scurried to the scene to give the soldiers a hearing. (11A)

ANC national chairman Walter Sisulu is understood to have gone to Natal to meet the soldiers who are demanding money from the organisation. (11A)

Although the ANC would not officially confirm it, City Press has learnt that ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and ANC official Tokyo Sexwale also met the disgruntled soldiers - but failed to placate

It appears that only ANC national executive member Jacob Zuma was successful in persuading the soldiers to leave the offices.

The ANC, which has been trying to hush the siege which started last Wednesday, finally had to break the silence and confirm that 27 unhappy MK members had been occupying the organisation's office in St George's Street in Durban.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the sit-in had arisen from "difficulties the soldiers have experienced since their return from exile, since returnees came back to a country where apartheid is still in place, and where unemployment was rife".

The soldiers demands included an allowance of R2 500 a month and that their families be supplied with clothing and food.

Up to now the Durban ANC offices are still cut off from the rest of the world, and the public have been denied access to the usually bustling offices.

Heavies make way for their reserves

CIPres 22/8/93

By THEMBA KHUMALO

FATIGUE took its toll among some seasoned negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week.

Keeping quiet were chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer and his ANC counterpart Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa, apparently exhausted by his heated verbal exchange on Monday with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha

during the debate on Walvis Bay, took a back seat to his colleague Pennuel Maduna (~~Botha~~)

So persuasive was Maduna in his arguments that Ramaphosa could not help but smile with satisfaction from his seat behind him. (I/A)

There was also the PAC's Barney Desai standing in for the garrulous Patricia de Lille. The staid professorial Desai represented his organisation impeccably.

McBride's dad hits out at ANC

By SIPHO KHUMALO

CI Redd 22/8/93

FATHER of popular Umkhonto weSizwe cadre Robert McBride, who himself served four-and-a-half years for MK activities, has bitterly attacked the ANC for failing to help ex-prisoners and returned exiles to integrate back into the community.

Sixty-one-year-old Derrick McBride said there was widespread dissatisfaction among ex-prisoners and returned exiles over the lack of assistance from the ANC.

Derrick was imprisoned in 1986 for springing ANC cadre Gordon Webster from Edendale Hospital near Mantsung, where he was recuperating under police guard.

He served four-and-a-half years for this while his son Robert survived the gallows by the skin of his teeth after being sentenced to death for the Magoo's Bar bombing on the Durban beachfront.

In an interview with City Press at his home in Wentworth, near Durban, Derrick said he was penniless and had just had his electricity cut off

because he could not afford to pay the bills

"The ANC is not helping me, but NP members are willing to help. One of them came to my house with some vegetables, but I refused to take them. How can I take them when we were bombing these people?"

Derrick said there was widespread dissatisfaction among the ex-prisoners, but they were afraid to speak out.

He now lives alone because he could not afford to support his wheelchair-bound wife, Doris, who now stays with their daughter in Johannesburg.

Derrick said he could not find employment with the ANC-aligned organisations because he was considered too "outspoken".

Derrick said ex-prisoners were not looking for handouts from the ANC, but they wanted the movement to facilitate things for them.

"Among the political prisoners there are some very skilled people, but the problem is that no-one wants to employ them because they are ex-political prisoners," he commented.

NEWS Inkatha hawks, doves squabble • TWGU throws its weight behind ANC

news in brief

Wife raped in robbery

THREE men took turns raping a woman in front of her husband before fleeing with R4 000 and other items at Thabong near Welkom in the Free State on Saturday.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel André van Deventer said the attacker, one armed with a firearm, broke into the couple's house while they were asleep around 2.30am. They also took a video recorder, a cassette player and two leather jackets.

7 on dagga charges

POLICE in Cape Town arrested seven people, including a woman, after dagga with a street value of R2.2 million was found at a house in Retreat on the Cape Peninsula on Friday night.

A police spokesman said the narcotics unit at Wynberg received a tip-off that bags were being loaded into a minibus at the house. When they arrived at the scene the minibus drove into the police van. Forty-seven bags of dagga were found in the minibus and a further 41 bags of dagga in the house.

Six men and a woman aged between 24 and 66 will appear in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court today.

Big business on tour

A HIGH-POWERED team of South African businessmen is currently

President FW de Klerk on his week-long visit to four South American countries during which the emphasis will be placed on trade and investment possibilities.

Among businessmen on the trip are Mr Willem de Kok, chief executive director of Premier Food Industries, Mr Leslie Boyd, deputy chairman of Anglo American Corporation, and Mr Gary Mordt, chairman of Gengold.

Jiyane speaks for IFP

THE Inkatha Freedom Party has appointed a former Pan Africanist Congress official and head of Radio Freedom in Tanzania as its new national spokesman and communications director.

Academic Dr Ziba Jiyane was officially introduced to the media at a weekend IFP leadership meeting with journalists at a Northern Natal game reserve.

Jiyane was a founder member of the IFP in the early '70s but left the country as a youth brigade leader and law student in 1978 following a security force crackdown on radical Inkatha youth.

He fled to Botswana and later moved to Tanzania where he joined the PAC due to "policy differences" with Inkatha. He then became head of Radio Freedom, the "voice" of African liberation movements in exile in Dar es Salaam.

IFP at loggerheads

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is facing a political showdown in its ranks over whether or not it should contest the April 27 election.

So-called "doves" or moderates claim they are in the majority and are determined to return to democracy talks soon and contest the country's first non-racial election.

They claim senior IFP negotiator Mr Walter Felgate, described as a "hawk" or hardliner who has the ear of IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, stands virtually alone in his "uncompromising" position on negotiations and steering Inkatha away from the April election.

Senior IFP sources said at the weekend at a "barbershop" with the media at the Ijala Game Reserve near Vryheid that it was "high time these matters were aired publicly".

"It is not a mistake that Walter Felgate is not here," a source said. "He was not invited."

The so-called moderates include the leader of the IFP team at the talks, Mr Joe Matthews, the head of the Kwazulu delegation, Dr Ben Ngubane, and IFP newcomers Mr Peter Miller, former Natal MEC, and Mr Mike Tarr MP, formerly of the Democratic Party.

The "doves" hope that Dr Ziba Jiyane, recently appointed as IFP na-

tional spokesman and director of communications, will eventually "replace" Felgate as a leading IFP spokesman.

The moderates claim warnings by the IFP that South Africa would degenerate into "civil war or worse" if the African National Congress and the Government implement their two-phase negotiations plan are penned by Felgate.

"The reality is that the IFP will never take up arms and go to the bush," a senior source said at the weekend, adding that the only option was to contest the April 27 election.

"History has shown that any party which does not participate in an election ends up sidelined." — Sapa.

Union to support ANC

By Ike Motsapi

THE Transport and General Workers' Union will mobilise its members for an African National Congress victory during next year's first elections for a democratic government.

This resolution is one of the many taken at the end of a four-day fourth national congress of TWGU held at Crown Mines, Johannesburg, yesterday.

And the union has called for the strengthening of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

The union has seconded Mr Stephen

Mothingoa to Cosatu to learn more about its voter education programme.

Mr Ntshie Ntshako has been nominated by TWGU as its representative to the ANC list of Cosatu people who will contest the elections.

The union also said it needed guarantees from the ANC that it would protect the rights of workers when it is in government.

The new office bearers of TWGU are Mr June Dube (first vice-president); Mr Paulus Mahlabha (second vice-president); Mr Randall Howard (general secretary); Mr Julius Matroos (deputy general secretary) and treasurer; Mr Monde Mthembu. Mr Alfred Ndlovu was re-elected president.



We need your skills, Mandela tells Jews

JOHANNESBURG — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela made a strong appeal at the weekend to South Africa's Jewry to commit themselves to establishing education programmes for disadvantaged blacks

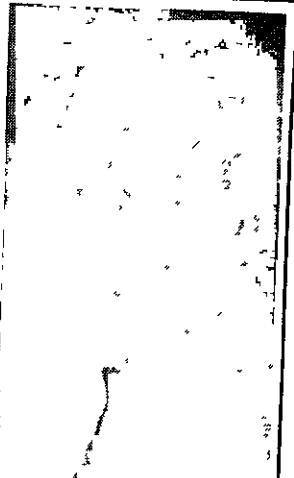
He further assured them they had nothing to fear from a future ANC government despite its links with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation

Delivering the key-note address at the 34th national congress of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, he said South Africa's Jews had

(11A) CT 23/8/93
the professional, commercial and industrial skills to help in developing the country

On Israel and the PLO, Mr Mandela said the ANC recognised the legitimacy of Palestinian nationalism "just as we recognise the legitimacy of the Zionism as Jewish nationalism"

But the ANC had been extremely unhappy about the military co-operation between Israel and the apartheid government, he said — Sapa



APPEAL ...
Mr Nelson Mandela

Mandela reassures South African Jewry

Shear 238193

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr. Nelson Mandela at the weekend appeared strongly to South African Jewry to commit themselves to establishing education programmes for disadvantaged blacks

He further assured them they had nothing to fear from a future ANC government despite its links with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation

Delivering the keynote address at the 34th national congress of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, he

said S.A.'s Jews had the professional, commercial and industrial skills to help the development of the country

"I believe those skills can and should be used both to help the development of the country and to mount programmes using your own knowledge and skills to contribute to the development of those who have been denied fair opportunities

"I believe that co-operation, commitment and imagination could ensure that more programmes for larger numbers

of people can be established," Mandela said

"The Jewish community must find a role for itself in such activity"

He pointed out that many blacks were indebted to Jewish philanthropists "who assisted them when opportunities in education, the professions and business were largely closed to them because of racist laws and practices"

The ANC leader named Helen Suzman, Ruth First, Max Gordon, Ray Alexander, Emul Sachs, Sam Kahn and

Leslie Rubin as Jews who had contributed to furthering either the labour movement or the human rights struggle.

On Israel and the PLO, Mandela said the ANC recognised the legitimacy of Palestinian nationalism "just as we recognise the legitimacy of Zionism as a Jewish nationalism"

"We insist on the right of the State of Israel to exist within secure borders, but with equal vigour support the Palestinian right to national self-determination" — *Sapa*

and during coming elections ● The likely contenders

Advantages of the Proportional Representation (PR) system are:

Every vote a party gets in the election counts.

It allows all parties with significant support, however small, to be represented in Parliament.

Every sector of the population gets a voice in Parliament.

The voice of the minority party can be heard without

Masters of the diplomatic arena

Sowetan 23/8/93

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THIS week we start our brief historical review of political parties likely to contest elections. The order is purely alphabetical. We start with the African National Congress.

Historical detail is legion and can be found elsewhere. We shall deal with the most salient facts, in particular, its efforts to fight apartheid.

The ANC has an erratic history in respect of the achievement of set goals.

Banned in 1960, the organisation only achieved successful sabotage attempts by the mid-seventies.

From 1985 and 1987 the National Party Government and industrial targets did suffer under their onslaught.

In 1986 there were, for example, 228 instances of sabotage. However, despite a period of unrest which began in September 1984 and lasted until 1987, the revolutionary aims of the ANC were not realised.

It is generally accepted that the armed struggle of the ANC was never a serious threat to the stability of the SA Government.

Stronger initiatives

It was this fact which prompted the ANC to undertake stronger initiatives in the diplomatic arena.

These included discussions, especially with Afrikaners, over a wide spectrum.

The Dakar visit in 1987, initiated by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA is a well-known example.

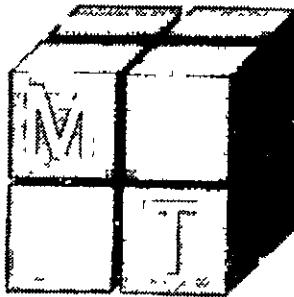
It therefore appears that in the last few years the ANC has had more success in the diplomatic than in the military field.

The discussions not only increased the stature of the ANC abroad, but helped to promote the image of the organisation among white South Africans, leading to a "de-demonisation" of the ANC.

ANC spokesmen were also more moderate in their statements.

Other initiatives included the forming of a unified opposition to apartheid.

The founding of the United Democratic Front in August 1983 and the Mass Democratic Movement in 1987 were results of these initiatives.



This voter education series is a joint project of Sowetan and MatlaTrust

11A

During the eighties the ANC was better organised than in the sixties and seventies.

The isolation of South Africa, largely organised by the ANC in co-operation with the international anti-apartheid movement, was particularly noticeable in the economic field in the form of sanctions and disinvestment.

Cultural and sports boycotts, too, were successful to a certain degree.

Some say this put pressure on the Government to shift away from apartheid.

Since 1989 international and local factors have contributed to a new climate of political accommodation in the country.

The accent the world placed on a diplomatic solution to the conflict suggested the possibility of a political settlement.

Other contributing factors were:

- The decline in the credibility of socialist models and the crumbling of the ideological and material support of East-bloc countries,

- The Government's increasing confidence that the ANC would be more receptive to a political settlement without the support of the Eastern bloc, and

- The Government's realisation that apartheid had failed and that further international isolation could irrevocably damage the economy.

The above factors, along with the unbanning of the ANC, SACP and the PAC, and the lifting of restrictions on 33 other organisations, heralded a new era for the ANC.

Since then the ANC has launched a

comprehensive image-building campaign within South Africa and abroad.

Mr Nelson Mandela, the once "mythical" leader, did his most important groundwork during his 14-nation tour in June.

This tour was followed by many other visits abroad.

The organisation struggled to reach its target of 200 000 signed-up members by the end of 1990.

The ANC has been criticised for its failure to consult ordinary members about decisions.

In its consultative conference in December 1990, the general impression was that the leaders were moving towards possible reconciliation with the Government at a faster pace than their followers were prepared to accept.

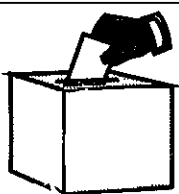
Political circle

It has taken the organisation nearly 80 years to come the full political circle, from its founding in 1912 to its unbanning in 1990, when it could function as a political movement inside the country.

In the process it has moved from a peaceful nationalistic movement through phases of protest and armed struggle to possible participation as a fully fledged political party.

While it wields much influence at multiparty talks, its detractors have accused it of selling out by acceding too much to sectional minority demands.

Nonetheless the organisation wields much influence at the talks and commands the respect of many participants with which it is expected to form election pacts in next year's elections.



This is the fifth in a series of pages aimed at preparing readers for the elections in April next year. The series will cover topics concerned with the meaning of democracy, the value of the vote, and what a constitution is, with special reference to federal and unitary options. Closer to elections we will explain how to vote.

Probe 'proves ANC accountable'

South African 24/8/93

By Ruth Bhengu

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told journalists in Johannesburg yesterday the organisation was "pleased with the findings of the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into allegations of cruelty and human rights abuses at ANC camps".

The commission was appointed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela after the public had reacted with scepticism at the Skweyiya Commission, which was also appointed by the ANC. Ramaphosa said his organisation had proved that it was "accountable" and had "nothing to hide".

He did not see the present commission as "the ANC investigating itself", which was the criticism levelled against the Skweyiya Commission.

The present commission, which was headed by former president of National Federated Chamber of Commerce Mr Sam Motsuenyane, Zimbabwean advocate Mr DM Zanzhuya and American judge Mrs Margaret Burnham, made their findings public yesterday and also put forward recommendations on how the ANC could make amends to its victims.

The hearings, held at FNB Stadium in Johannesburg between May 13 and June 18, heard evidence from 50 witnesses.

The commissioners travelled to Tanzania and inspected two former ANC settlements (Mazimbu and Dakawa) and a United Nations High Commission for Refugees camp (Kigwa) to determine whether anyone was still being detained in Tanzania by the ANC.

The commission found that many ANC cadres were jailed and tortured in camps in Tanzania and Angola because they had questioned, among other things, the organisation's involvement in fighting the Angola rebel movement Unita

■ TORTURE TESTED Commission says cadres were abused in ANC camps:



Joe Modise

One of the ANC's detention camps, Quatro in Angola, established in 1979, which was supposed to be a "rehabilitation centre", became a "dumping ground" for ANC cadres who disagreed with the organisation, the report says.

Inmates were beaten and tortured. Some were insulted and humiliated and put in solitary confinement for long periods. They were also denied medical care and subjected to cruel and inhuman conditions (IFP2)

The report says the ANC's code of conduct was not adhered to and detained cadres were kept up to six years without trial.

Witnesses at the hearings told the commission that 29 people detained at the camps went missing. They said they had either died or just disappeared. The commission said the number of missing people could even be higher.

The commission found, however, that some had died in exile as a result of suicide, natural causes, ambushes, diseases, inadequate medical treatment and "executions".

Detainees did not only suffer because of the bad conditions in the camps, but



Nelson Mandela

were also ill-treated by members of the ANC wing Mbokodo, who were in charge of the torture chambers.

Among some of the torture methods detailed in the report are:

- "The guava juice treatment" — beatings under the feet and other parts of the body with guava tree sticks or with coffee tree sticks.

- "The napalm treatment" — being rubbed with (or rolling naked on) hairy beans or leaves of a plant which causes itching.

- "Pompa" — blowing ones cheeks or pumping them up for a guard to slap, causing great pain in the ears,

- "Bearnt" — Being flogged while naked and lying face down,

- Being tied to a tree and remaining there in public view for a long time,

- Spreading red ants over the bodies of detainees,

- Detainees being starved as some form of punishment,

- Detainees being made to do tough tasks like chopping wood for long hours,

- Pulling a 1 000-litre tank uphill with others while being beaten, and



Cyril Ramaphosa

- Non-stop interrogation for two days or more without being allowed to rest.

The defendants, including Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and deputy ANC general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Joe Nhlamhla, Mr Mzwai Pliso, who testified before the commission denied they had admitted any of these forms of human abuse.

They also denied that most of these methods had been used against detainees.

The commission has recommended that the ANC should:

- Apologise publicly to all people whose rights had been violated,

- Compensate all people who lost property as a result of their detentions,

- Establish a Claims Settlement Agency to compensate people for human rights violations while in detention,

- Publish a bulletin periodically informing the public of all cases of missing people whose investigations have been completed and all cases where an investigation is still continuing,

- Take disciplinary steps against people responsible for human rights



Jacob Zuma

abuses who have been identified in the report and take action against them in terms of the ANC's code of conduct,

- Consider giving financial assistance and paying medical bills of people affected by the detention of the ANC in its camps,

- Reconcile and reintegrate into its ranks all victims of human rights abuses who are willing to continue working with the organisation towards creating a better South Africa, and should

- Supervise all its affiliates and improve its NEC to ensure greater accountability and avoid future incidents of serious violations of human rights.

Asked what action, if any, would be taken against those found guilty by the commission of violating human rights, Ramaphosa said it was up to the NEC to decide. He said if someone was found guilty of murder he would be expelled from the organisation.

Asked if expulsion was a just sentence for murder, Ramaphosa said the ANC was not a government but an organisation and could not prosecute anyone but judge every case in terms of its own code of conduct.

ANC

Sowetan 24/8/95

'must pay'



Sam Motsuenyane

By Ruth Bhengu

THE COMMISSION CHARGED WITH investigating torture and human rights abuses in African National Congress detention camps has recommended that the organisation compensate victims and apologise publicly (11A)

The Motsuenyane Commission, which released its report yesterday, said the majority of the complainants were treated in a cruel and inhuman manner in ANC detention camps.

The detention camps cited in the report were in Tanzania and Angola.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the organisation had not yet studied the 180-page report but was satisfied with the commission's findings

The fact that the ANC had appointed the commission showed it was an "open organisation which has nothing to hide"

This is despite the fact that the latest commission, like the Skweyiya Commission before it, is seen by human rights organisations as "the ANC investigating itself".

The commission, appointed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and led by former president of Nafcoc Mr Sam Motsuenyane, Zimbabwean advocate Mr DM Zamchiya and American judge Mrs

Margaret Burnham, released its report on August 20.

Among the top ANC officials mentioned in the report as having been responsible for torture in the camps are Mr Joe Nhlanhla, Mr Mzwai Piliso, assistant general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise and Mr Andrew Masondo. The ANC's national executive committee is expected to respond to the report on August 29

Some of the commission's recommendations are that:

- A claims settlement agency be established to award such compensation, especially to those who were detained without trial, were beaten, humiliated, placed in solitary confinement and to the families of those who lost their lives and were subjected to cruel and inhuman treatment;

- The organisation must publish a bulletin informing the public of those still missing and the state of investigations into their absence; and

- Officials implicated in the abuses must face disciplinary action.

The report also names and details the circumstances surrounding the execution, death or disappearance of at least 32 ANC cadres, some for offences such as excessive drinking, smoking dagga and philandering.

- See also page 6.

Row at Sisulu shooting replay

BY CHARMEELA BHAGOWAT
CRIME REPORTER

The ANC and police yesterday reconstructed the scene of last month's shooting between ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu's bodyguards and two police officers in which Ismael Moloane died when his car overturned on the Soweto highway.

The shooting occurred on July 18 while Sisulu and his wife Albertina were returning home after ANC president Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations. The car in which they were travelling was part of a three-car convoy.

But the second reconstruction in the presence of international observers and Sisulu himself — the first was done by the police — to allow the ANC bodyguards to recount their version of events, has caused another wave of conflict between the ANC and the police over the investigation.

The ANC said last night that it was proceeding with attempted

murder and murder charges against the policemen implicated in the shooting.

The last sequence of events, after the bodyguards fired warning shots and the police fired their guns before the guards' car overturned, could not be reconstructed yesterday.

ANC local head Matthew Phosa said it was impossible to go ahead because the two policemen linked to the shooting were not on the scene and forensic tests on Makarov pistol cartridges found after the shooting had not been completed.

He accused the police of acting in bad faith and said: "There is no way we could go ahead with the reconstruction in the absence of witnesses who are material to the very reconstruction of the remaining part of the scene."

SAP spokesman Brigadier Zirk Gouws accused the ANC of breaking an agreement by insisting that ANC forensic expert

Johan Lubbe, and not the SAP forensic expert, supervise the reconstruction.

He said: "Our understanding of the reconstruction was that it should be done under the supervision of a police forensic expert. The moment the ANC changed its mind about who should be in charge of the reconstruction, the police became irrelevant."

He said the policemen involved were not on the scene because they had already stated their version of events at the first reconstruction.

Nevertheless, the ANC bodyguards pointed out at the reconstruction: the first spot at which they spotted the "suspect car", the first time the car got close and parallel to Sisulu's car, the spot where bodyguards in the car that overturned swerved in front of the "suspect car" to allow Sisulu's driver to drive past, and the second time the "suspect car" drove parallel to Sisulu's car.

Report tells of 'Papaw' and 'Helicopter' punishment

Weird ANC torture

Star 24/8/93



Sam Motsuanyane prepared report.

BY MOKONE MOLETTE
SOWETO BUREAU

The Motsuanyane Commission has found the rights of detainees in ANC camps were violated through death torture, beatings and solitary confinement.

The commission was appointed by the ANC to probe allegations of human rights abuses in their camps outside South Africa.

It also found that two high-ranking officials — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma — violated detainees' rights. Zuma was then chief of security and intelligence.

The commission found that inmates of the ANC's prison camps were subjected to bizarre tortures including regular beatings on the feet, "Belur" (being flogged while lying naked in a face-down position), "Papaw" (being beaten while one's face is covered by a papaw skin), "Napalm" (being rubbed with or forced to roll naked on "hairy" beams or leaves of a plant which cause itching) and "Helicopter" (being bound hand and foot on a pole or log).

The report, released by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday, recommended the ANC "publicly apologise to all persons whose rights have been violated by it at any stage."

It also recommended that the ANC set up a claims settlement agency to compensate "certain victims."

The report, prepared by former National African Federated Chamber of Com-

A COMMISSION of Inquiry into ANC camps points fingers at two high-ranking officials

11/19

merce president Dr Sam Motsuanyane, was handed to Nelson Mandela on Friday. Mandela told Sapa the ANC was taking the report very seriously and the NEC would meet at the weekend.

The report also identifies several camp commanders and security officials who were said to be guilty of human rights violations.

Some of the security officials — such as Basil Mavuso, Griffiths Sebosi and Golden Rampe — still hold positions in the ANC department of security and intelligence.

The commission also recommended that:

- People guilty of human rights abuses be subject to disciplinary action and/or penalties in accordance with the ANC's code of conduct.
- People who lost property as a result of their detention be compensated for the loss.
- Compensation be given to paying medical bills of people whose health has been affected by their detention.

Ramaphosa said those implicated in the report would be dealt with in accordance with the ANC's code of conduct.

"We have released this report to the public to demonstrate our bona fides that the ANC is completely open and we are not willing to hide our abuses of people in the past."

► More reports — Page 5

Farmer Boy wants his Sheila back



Believed dangerous. Nature Conservation officials have confiscated Sheila the leopard cub from eastern Transvaal farmer Boy Erasmus, but he is determined to get her back. ► Report — Page 3

Gonive: 'Words were an order to kill'

Port Elizabeth — Details of an order "to kill" Cradock activist Matthew Gonive were heard in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday after the court had ruled that "criminally insane" Colonel Lourens du Plessis be allowed to continue his testimony.

Du Plessis, a staff officer at Eastern Province Command in

June 1985, said the instructions were given to him by General (then Brigadier) Joffe van der Westhuizen. He said he had no doubt the words "permanently removed from society as soon as possible" meant that Gonive and two other activists should be killed.

Earlier, his testimony was

interrupted by legal argument by Anton Mostert, SC, for the SADF, over the admissibility of documents relating to Operation Katzen.

The secret arm, proclaimed plans for a Greater Xhosa state and the overthrow of Ciskei President Leano Sabe Mostert contended that references to it were a contraven-

tion of the Defence Act and the Official Secrets Act.

Mr Justice Neville Zietsman said the request had been referred to the request of President de Klerk. The documents had not been disclosed by Du Plessis alone and the evidence would therefore be admissible.

The inquest continues —

Post Office pay rise

The minimum monthly salary for Post Office employees has been increased to R1 120, and Telkom workers have won a R1 145 increase. The age of retirement is also raised by the Post and Telecommunication Workers' Union.

Red ants among bizarre forms of exile abuse

'ANC violated human rights' Commission reports that guards beat and killed camp detainees

ANC victims of torture to be paid

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Inmates imprisoned in ANC camps were subjected to abuse which included beatings, being covered in red ants and being trussed "like a pig on a spit," according to the Motsenyane Commission of Inquiry.

After identifying the harsh conditions under which ANC cadres and detainees lived in exile, the report concluded "Inmates were abused by the conditions and by ill-treatment."

Among the forms of torture, many with bizarre names, inmates were subjected to lengthy periods of solitary confinement.

"Beirut" — being flogged while lying naked, face-down

"Pawpaw" — being beaten while the face is covered by a paw-paw skin

"Napalm" — being rubbed with (or forced to roll naked on) "hairy beans" or leaves of a plant which caused itching

"Helicopter" — being tied hand and foot on a pole or log "like a pig on a spit"

"Slaughter" — having to dig a shoulder-deep hole, climb in and then being told to climb out and being beaten on the head and hands as they obeyed

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Motsenyane Commission into ANC camps has found that the organisation violated detainees' rights through death, detention without trial, beatings and solitary confinement.

It also found that two high-ranking officials — Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma — violated the rights of detainees.

At the time Mr Modise was still MK commander and Mr Zuma was chief of security and intelligence.

Mr Modise was found to have violated the rights of Dumusani Oupa Khosa by arresting him without cause. Mr Khosa was detained between 1981 and 1984.

Mr Zuma was found to have "failed to adequately supervise" the investigation of David Mbatia and "to assure its prompt resolution".

Mr Mbatia was detained for two months in 1988 in Lusaka on suspicion that he was "an enemy agent".

The report, released to the media by ANC secretary gen-



Joe Modise



Jacob Zuma

eral Cyril Ramphosa yesterday, recommended that the organisation "publicly apologise to all persons whose rights have been violated".

It also recommended that the ANC set up a claims settlement agency to compensate "certain victims".

The report was prepared by former National African Federation Chamber of Commerce president Sam Motsenyane and was handed to ANC president Nelson Mandela last Friday.

The report also identifies

several camp commanders and other security officials as having perpetrated human rights violations.

The report recommends that heads of departments, whose members perpetrated human rights abuses, be brought before the national executive committee of the ANC "to show cause why he/she should not be held indirectly responsible for the relevant violation and death with in accordance with the code of conduct".

Other recommendations made by the commission in-

cluded: **RAC 24/18/93**

● Those responsible for human rights abuses — who have been identified in the Motsenyane report — be subject to disciplinary action and/or penalties in accordance with the code of conduct of the ANC.

● All those who lost property as a result of their detention by the ANC be compensated for the loss.

● Consideration be given to paying medical bills of people whose health has been affected by their detention or ill-treatment in ANC hands.

Mr Mandela emphasised yesterday that the ANC was taking the report and recommendations "very seriously", according to Sapa.

Asked how the ANC would act, Mr Mandela said he would not like to anticipate the decision of the ANC's national executive committee which would meet on the issue at the weekend.

Asked how he personally felt about the findings, he said "It's premature for me to tell you how I feel, except that we have taken the first important step of taking the public into our confidence as to what the commission has recommended."

Political Staff

A SPECIAL fund to compensate victims of torture and other human rights abuses in African National Congress camps in Africa is likely to be established soon, according to senior ANC sources.

This is expected to be one of the recommendations of a second internal ANC commission of inquiry into allegations of executions and torture levelled by many former members and supporters after their return to South Africa.

Both inquiries found most of the allegations of human rights abuses were essentially true.

ANC sources said today senior members of the organisation identified in the reports as perpetrators of the abuses would be disciplined and that formal internal hearings probably would begin soon.

"We want to get this all behind us well before the election. It is a sad chapter from our past that we have got to face up to."

● Full report, page 4.

Controversial PAC shows its constructive

THE adherence of the Pan Africanist Congress to doctrinaire and often pugilistic positions, tends to detract from the movement's plans for constructive initiatives in other spheres. The PAC's national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani told Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS about some of them.

MS 24/8/93

(114)

GETTING children to concentrate on their schooling, castigating teachers for striking at the drop of a hat, and encouraging businesses to devise share-holding schemes for black communities don't sound much like PAC programmes

Yet, the movement which coined the bitterly controversial "one-settler-one-bullet" slogan — and remains committed to an armed struggle, alongside negotiations, to achieve its ends — is marshalling its pan-Africanist dictum to serve practical causes in a way that even its strongest opponents would regard as constructive

As a strategy, it is not without potential electoral compensation there is a fact acknowledgement in PAC ranks that the more it is seen to be working on the ground

to improve the lot of Africans, the more support it will get at the polls

In fact, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani — once a key figure in the PAC's negotiation team — asked to be re-livered of his duties at the talks table to concentrate on "consolidating structures on the ground"

He is candid in his assessment of the real challenge that has ahead "However good the decisions and outcomes (at Kempton Park) are, at the end of the day, it's about a race for power and we must be on the ground to build numbers around issues"

Mr Nemadzivhanani, who spent several weeks in Cape

Town recently, sketched plans for several PAC initiatives in the Western Cape

● Strife in the taxi industry is high on the PAC's agenda

"We called Codeta together for a meeting and made the point that they are providing an essential service to people who are poor, landless and have no vote, and live far from work

"They owe it to the people to make peace and to carry their responsibilities with maturity We will always intervene to stop feuding because African people are losing their lives in the process," he said

● The PAC is attempting to turn its demand for the economic empowerment of the "African masses" into tangible proposals by encouraging the business community, particularly black-owned businesses, to do more

"We want to see business taking a greater interest in the townships, in investing there and developing facilities

"We know that there is a perception that it's not worth investing in the townships because of the violence and fears that businesses will go up in flames, but we are launching a campaign to encourage business

"We would like to see businesses playing an active role in upgrading shopping centres

and facilities in the townships, and also launching community business schemes where, in line with negotiated agreements, the communities themselves can buy shares in particular ventures"

● However imperfect the present education system, the PAC believes children should make the most of it

"We are seeking a more effective role in education "Our view is that the youth should get to school to receive at least a basic education The problem is that there is a culture against learning among African children In the long term, this does not benefit anyone"

The PAC also objected to

teachers — "SADTU in particular" — who call for strikes and are prepared to down chalk "without consulting the parents and students"

"We are recommending a forum for teachers, parents and students to take joint decisions"

● He also believes the youth must be drawn into self-help and cultural programmes to keep them out of crime and to counter alcoholism and other anti-social behaviour

● The burgeoning squatter communities are a source of concern to the PAC

"This is a major problem for our people because they are living there without de-

cent conditions We are getting our structures involved in the squatters immediate concerns to see how best we can improve their living conditions, including by dealing with local councils on upgrading areas and providing services

"It is not ideal to speak to people in these communities about the struggle for liberation when, on the ground, the squatter wants shelter and basic services," he said

Whether the PAC has the organisation or influence to carry these initiatives will be a test for the movement

If it succeeds, it will be bound to enhance its own stature and its electoral potential but public perceptions will continue to be muddled as long as it adheres to the armed struggle

face

Mokaba plans to win hearts of farmers

6/Day 24/8/93

PATRICK BULGER

PETER Mokaba is due to return to his old stamping ground, the northern Transvaal region where he once operated as an Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrilla commander. His mission to comfort farmers worried about his "Kill the Boer" slogan (119)

The ANC Youth League president planned to address farmers in conservative centres like Pietersburg and Tzaneen to allay their fears about an ANC government, Youth League publicity secretary Parks Mankahlana said yesterday.

Mokaba was quoted at the weekend as saying "I'm prepared to go out of my way

to save the life of a farmer who is being robbed or killed." Even as a guerrilla in the 1980s, he did not kill farmers, Mokaba said. Mankahlana said the Youth League had been contacted by farmers from around the country after Mokaba's statements.

"They are still worried about that slogan," he said. The Youth League's national executive had met at the weekend and had decided a campaign was appropriate to rectify any harm it might have caused.

Mankahlana said while the agricultural

unions were resistant to change, individual farmers were "quite supportive of the process." It was therefore decided to target individuals instead of the unions.

"The policy of the ANC is not detrimental to farmers — except those who gained their land through forced removals and apartheid policies," he said.

Mokaba was not available for comment yesterday as he was leading a Youth League delegation to Taiwan to discuss that country's assistance for a number of job-creation projects — among them agricultural schemes — for the youth of SA.

Inquiry calls for a public apology

ANC admits to torture in death camps

Bl Day 24/8/93

(11A)

PATRICK BULGER

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THE ANC in exile committed human rights abuses ranging from detention without trial to executions, an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry has found.

The commission's report, presented to the media by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday, implicated at least two senior ANC office bearers — deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise — and members of the ANC security apparatus now employed at ANC headquarters.

The commission said the ANC was responsible for detention without trial, beatings, solitary confinement, humiliation, cruel and inhuman treatment, and death.

It said ANC cadres, whom it named, died in ANC camps at the hands of firing squads and prison guards, in military accidents, suicides and from malaria. Some of those executed were sentenced by a national people's tribunal.

The report said Modise served on a tribunal which heard complaints against a cadre from Alexandra township. However, Modise did not inform the man of the results of the tribunal and he spent three years in detention as a result.

Zuma, who was head of ANC intelligence in exile, was implicated in the 10-month detention without trial of an ANC member from Durban. Many ANC camp guards, whom the report named by their noms de guerre, were largely responsible for using excessive force against inmates.

The commission called for named offenders and their immediate superiors to be disciplined by the ANC in terms of its code of conduct. The commission was the

second to investigate former exiles' complaints and was headed by former Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane, assisted by Zimbabwean barrister David Zamchuya and US lawyer Margaret Burnham.

The commission recommended that the ANC publicly apologise to people whose rights it had violated, that it compensate for lost property and establish a claims settlement agency. It also recommended the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) improve supervision of all its organs to increase accountability.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night the organisation was taking the report "very seriously", Sapa reports.

Asked how he personally felt about the findings, he replied "It's premature for me to tell you how I feel, except we have taken the first important step of taking the public into our confidence as to what the commission has recommended."

Ramaphosa described the report as "balanced" and said it dealt with a "sad history imposed on us by the apartheid system". The ANC's national working committee — its inner cabinet — considered the report yesterday and it would go to the full NEC later this month for a decision on possible disciplinary action.

He said the code of conduct provided for fines, suspensions and expulsions from the movement. Asked if expulsion was sufficient punishment for an execution, information director Pallo Jordan said the incidents occurred when the ANC was at war and all military organisations applied similar punishments.

● See Page 8

Slogan: Mokaba to pacify 'Boers'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Peter Mokaba is due to return to his old stamping ground, the Northern Transvaal, where he once operated as an tMkhonto weSizwe guerrilla commander. His mission to comfort farmers worried about his "kill the Boer" slogan The ANC Youth League presi-

dent planned to address farmers in conservative centres like Pletersburg and Tzaneen to allay their fears about an ANC government, Youth League publicity secretary Mr Parks Mankahlana said yesterday.

Mr Mokaba was quoted at the weekend as saying "I'm prepared to go out of my way to save the life of a farmer who is being robbed or killed." Even as a guerrilla in the 1980s, he did not kill farmers, Mr Mokaba said. Mr Mankahlana said the Youth League had been contacted by farmers from around the country after Mr Mokaba's statements.

"They are still worried about that slogan," he said. The Youth League's national executive had decided a campaign was appropriate to rectify any harm it might have caused. Mr Mankahlana said while the agricultural unions were resistant to change, individual farmers were "quite supportive of the process". Mr Mokaba was not available for comment yesterday.

CT 24/8/93 (1A)

Ramaphosa may not be part of transitional govt

24/8/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cyril Ramaphosa might not sit on the transitional executive council, or in an interim government of national unity, in an interview with The Star, the ANC's secretary-general dis-

closed that he would throw all his energies into improving the organisational capacity of the ANC, and might therefore not accept a political post in South Africa's transitional structures. Ramaphosa also revealed that a 10-point plan intended to guide the ANC's actions until the

turn of the century had just been completed. He said the decision that he might not serve in transitional structures indicated his seriousness about committing himself full-time to the post he was elected to in 1991. He said his job as secretary-general had been com-

pleted by his onerous negotiating commitments. Ramaphosa said the 10-point plan was devised over a three-month period by a team led by himself. Outside consultants were brought in to ensure that the organisation was "transformed", he said. The plan had

been discussed extensively. Ramaphosa said: "One of the driving forces was that we must be ready to govern in exactly eight months, and only a strong ANC can ensure that we have a strong government."
▶ The ANC plan in full — Page 15

Inmates 'trussed like a pig on a spit'

Bizarre torture in ANC camps

Star 24/8/93

IIA

■ BY MOKONE MOLETE
SOWETO BUREAU

Inmates of ANC prison camps were subjected to abuse which included beatings, being covered with red ants and being trussed "like a pig on a spit", says the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry, whose report was released yesterday.

After identifying the harsh conditions under which ANC cadres and detainees lived in exile, the report concludes "Inmates were not only abused by the general conditions in which they were kept, but also by actual acts of ill-treatment meted out against them."

Among the forms of torture, many with bizarre nicknames, inmates were subjected to were

- Lengthy isolation in solitary

THE 'PAPAW', 'Helicopter', 'Napalm', 'Slaughter' and 'Beirut' were some of the torture methods used in ANC prison camps

confinement

- Regular beatings under the feet and elsewhere

- "Beirut" — being flogged while lying naked in a face-down position.

- "Papaw" — being beaten while one's face is covered by a papaw skin

- "Napalm" — being rubbed with (or forced to roll naked on) "hairy beans" or leaves of a

plant which causes itching

- "Helicopter" — being tied hand and foot on a pole or log "like a pig on a spit"

- Having biting red ants put into one's clothes

- "Slaughter" — having to dig a shoulder-deep hole and then climb in, then being told to climb out and being beaten on the head and hands as one obeyed.

- Non-stop interrogation for two days or more

"The defendants who testified before the commission denied they administered any of these forms of human abuse however, beatings, strenuous interrogation and tying to a tree were admitted specifically by some of the witnesses like Mr (former NEC member) Mzwai Piliso," says the report

Many accused of violating rights

■ BY MOKONE MOLETE

The Motsuenyane Commission report into human rights abuses in ANC camps names individuals who have been found to have violated detainees' rights.

Among the findings are:

- Kenneth Mahamba, Goodman Soweto, Majozi, Steve, Gift and Willie violated the rights of Henry Abrahams, who was detained on several occasions between 1977 and 1990. The commission found that he received unduly harsh punishment and was subjected to excessively long detention.

- Dan Mashigo, Kingsley, Dexter Mbona, Fortunate, Donald, Stalin, Maybuye and Johnson violated the rights of Luthando Nicholas Dyasop, who was arrested as a "mutineer"

- Gibson and Stanley Brown are found to have used excessive force against Abeod Laka, who was jailed between 1987 and 1991.

- Kingsley and Fury violated the rights of David Makhubedi by using excessive force. Makhubedi was accused of taking part in a mutiny in 1984.

Overhaul puts ANC in right mood to govern

Star 24/8/93

(11A)

THE ANC has just completed a 10-point plan to address the organisation's weaknesses and guide its actions until the turn of the century. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa takes the wraps off the plan in an interview with Political Correspondent Esther Waugh

- The ANC's 10-point plan**
- Improve efficiency of headquarters
 - Strengthen the 14 regions
 - Operate effectively in TEC
 - Prepare to govern
 - Establish peace and stability
 - Secure ANC leaders and members
 - Proper management of resources
 - Run a successful election campaign
 - Build meaningful alliances at all levels
 - Achieve objectives in negotiations

It is accepted that the ANC faced a mammoth task when it was unexpectedly unbanned in 1990 — the organisation had to establish itself internally, from scratch — but still there has been growing criticism of its inefficiency. Responding to these criticisms, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa headed up a task force charged with developing a comprehensive action plan for the crucial years to come. The result is a 10-point plan, to be implemented almost immediately. The plan deals with the pre- and post-election periods.

The ANC planners revisited the reasons for establishing the organisation 81 years ago — to fight for the dismantling of apartheid and the installation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The new 10-point plan plots a number of scenarios for the transition. The first assumes the successful conclusion of the World Trade Centre talks, the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an Interim Government of National Unity, leading to a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation.

The second scenario considers the possibility of civil war. Ramaphosa was reluctant to divulge details, but said "We had to look at what would happen to the country and how the ANC should be positioned."

The third scenario looks at the situation in the event of a coup d'état.

The ANC was confident that it was ready for any of these eventualities, Ramaphosa said, adding that he believed civil war or a coup d'état were "slim" possibilities.

"The forces that may fan a civil war warrant some atten-

tion now. But they are not strong enough to sustain a civil war or a coup d'état. As a result of our good strategic planning, we are prepared for it."

In a frank assessment of the ANC's weaknesses and strengths, the organisation found its weaknesses far outweighed its strengths at this stage. The 10-point plan has been set into motion to reverse that.

"We must be ready to govern in exactly eight months. Only a strong ANC can ensure that we have a strong government," he said.

"This will involve restructuring headquarters functions, sharpening the functioning of all offices, including the president and secretary-general's office, and strengthening our regions."

Ramaphosa said all ANC departments would be rationalised. "There are a number of overlapping departments and a lot of duplication. We will transform our staff into more committed people who are working to a programme."

"We will be retraining, re-locating and training staff. Over the next two to three months we will appoint those who will go into government and have them trained."

"We will try not to have any retrenchments."

The ANC currently employs

700 people at its Johannesburg head office. Ramaphosa said 680 people had already been trained in the fields of foreign relations, the military, education, health services, energy affairs and administration. "Others will be going soon. We are identifying key people for key positions."

The ANC's new infrastructure will be grouped into five broad divisions, responsible for preparing to govern, administration, elections, negotiations, armed forces and finances. Ramaphosa said a number of existing departments would

be collapsed into one another. He said the drafting of the plan marked "the first time we have had a gloves-off approach to our problems. The criticism is from now on going to be on his toes."

After next year's elections, Ramaphosa said, the ANC must continue as a mass organisation because the process

of dismantling apartheid would not be completed by election day.

"That is when reconstruction — another phase of our struggle — starts. The motivating force will be a strong ANC and a strong tripartite alliance."

"I have never been in a more buoyant mood."

Cyril Ramaphosa headed task force that developed ANC's action plan

The ANC's weaknesses — by Ramaphosa

- Too many departments
- Weak relations with allies
- Inadequate organisational infrastructure
- Weak and confused lines of communication
- Weak management skills
- Factionalism
- Inadequate co-ordination between departments
- Departments too autonomous
- Lack of staff accountability
- Resistance to change
- Not enough preparation on a civil service
- Weak co-ordination by the secretary-general's office
- Weak regional structures
- Lack of gender sensitivity

focus on []

SOUTH AFRICA IS IN THE throes of political change. A change that initially promised to end more than 300 years of black oppression at the hands of non-blacks but has, sadly, been drifting away from its objective mission over the past three years.

No longer is liberation certain, not anymore. An unutterable gloom has overtaken the euphoria that once swayed black communities throughout the country when black political organisations were unbanned and black leaders released from prison.

The black masses looked up to and continue to look up to their leaders, not only for guidance but also for protection.

But, like children who have lost their parents, they find themselves utterly vulnerable, entirely at the mercy of their historical enemies, their very existence a nightmare, with no one apparently willing to seriously plead their cause.

With very few exceptions black leaders in general and African leaders in particular seem to have turned their backs on their people. They seldom hold court with the people to hear about their hopes and fears. They seem to think there is little to choose between oppression and freedom.

They do not even seem to understand the moral, social, political and economic character of this country, which suggests they are unlikely to free the masses from the wretchedness of subjugation to the working of liberation.

Thus, we have lost even the initiative that we, as black people in general and as Africans in particular, took in the late sixties and the seventies when we boldly attempted to take charge of our own destiny.

As young journalist Mondli Makhaya appropriately observed in a recent newspaper article, non-black "experts" are planning the country's "transition and future" while black leaders and intellectuals are seemingly having a good time.

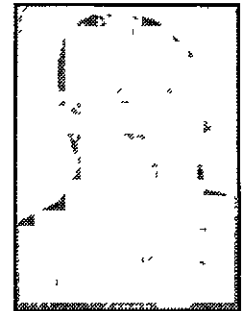
Young Makhaya attributes the anomalous situation to both the "dearth of black thinkers" and blacks being "fearful of tearing away at the veneer of hunky-dory nonracial harmony."

Exactly how, you may ask, have our leaders and our organisations let down or are they letting the people down? What should they do, or ought they to be doing, to redeem the situation, if at all?

Emotionally and intellectually our leaders and organisations seem too distant from the masses. They ought to be closer to the masses so that they may be familiar with their fears and hopes and so act accordingly. So that they may be convinced the people have had enough, for instance, of the hostels which have turned their lives into an unending nightmare. So that they may become aware of the anger and alienation of parents resulting from self-defeating protests concerning their children's education. So that

Former journalist **Harry Mashabela** takes a look at the role of the leaders in the black community and asks the question: Do they really have the interests of black people at heart?

Sowetan 24/8/93



As a black race, we need to realise that nonracialism as an ideal which means mutual acceptance and respect for one another..

IIA

they may understand when they need to stop acting in accordance with the whims of non-blacks and their powerful non-black institutions.

As a black race, we need to realise that nonracialism as an ideal which means mutual acceptance for and respect for one another, in terms of black and white races, is beyond reproach. However, nonracialism which seems to mean that I, as an African, must reject my Africanness, with all it entails, and aspire to be "incredibly English" like Ms Tselane Tambo, should fill us with intense loathing, horror.

It must be said too that we, the general public, are not entirely blameless for all this rot. We have grown to hero worship our leaders so much over the years. Thus we created a dangerous situation in which individuals among us are judged not on the basis of their utterances but rather on the basis of who they are. We frown upon any criticism, however constructive it might be, as long as it does not come from the "right" individuals.

Having realised all this, we must begin to understand that individual human beings, even if they be Christians, let alone being politicians as shown by our own history, always tend to do whatever it is they do in the interest of their own kind, their own people.

A people bent on dividing another race along ethnic lines for selfish political reasons, who

still have to fully accept members of that other race as fellow human beings also created in the selfsame image of God, cannot in all seriousness be expected to earnestly work towards the liberation of that despised race.

The point I am trying to make here is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the so-called homelands, some of which are today frustrating attempts to remove the chains of subjugation, were created much against the will of the African people, with the sole intention to weaken whatever strength Africans might have had in their fight against oppression.

Bantustans were never created for the good of the African people in this country. They were created ostensibly to politically weaken the African people, to ensure they never became a serious challenge to the status quo. So it should not surprise us that some are being built to become powerful forces in our communities for they continue to play the role for which they were intended.

The tragedy, as I see it, is that our leaders and organisations, with one or two exceptions, seem prepared to lend a helping hand in bolstering such structures.

It is worth noting that hostels, historically intended to house migrant workers, are accepted not only by non-blacks and their powerful institutions, but also by some of our organisations as "homes" for members of Inkatha despite the fact that they have become veritable centres of political destabilisation.

Despite all the havoc and community cries that their problems emanate from the hostels, nobody seems to be listening, let alone being interested in going in there to determine precisely who lives in the hostels, what they do in terms of earning a living, where they come from and how long they have been staying in these places. Experience shows it is one thing to repeal discriminatory laws and quite another to integrate races. Repealing laws is a simpler process in that it entails the mere stroke of a pen while integration, which deals with people's attitudes towards fully accepting one another, individually and collectively, as members of two distinct races, is more difficult.

ANC Vaal chairman Kaizer Klaas yesterday admitted to the Goldstone Commission that his organisation had refused to co-operate with a police request for help in stemming violence in the area.

Klaas said as the police did not adhere to the peace accord stipulation of co-operation between parties to end the violence, the ANC had also decided not to do so.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the commission's investigation into attacks

ANC refused to help SAP stop violence

on police, Klaas said he had not received a police request for assistance.

But, presented with a copy of the request, he confirmed he had signed it, but had only a "vague recollection" of its contents.

The request, dated September 29, 1992 and addressed to Klaas and Sebokeng chairman Watch Mothibedi, listed 13 members of the ANC who had been arrested for illegal possession of arms, includ-

ing AK-47 rifles and hand-grenades.

SAP commander Capt P J Celliers said in the document his office believed Klaas and Mothibedi could stop "this sort of violence" by publicly condemning it, informing people of this standpoint and motivating them to "sincerely and vigorously work towards peace".

Under cross-examination by SAP counsel Flip Hattingh, Klaas admitted

he knew two of the ANC members on the police list who had been found guilty of illegal possession of firearms, but who had disappeared before they could be sentenced.

Klaas said that even if he knew where the two wanted men were, he would not tell the police.

More than 370 policemen were killed in SA last year, many of them in the Vaal Triangle townships — Sapa

Exiles advised by Ink chiefs

Own Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC in exile committed human rights abuses ranging from detention without trial to executions, an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry has found.

The commission's report was presented to the media by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday. It implicated two senior ANC officials in abuses — deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma and Inkhonto Westlwe commander Mr Joe Modise — and members of ANC security organs now based at ANC headquarters.

The commission called for named offenders and their immediate superiors to be disciplined by the organisation in terms of its code of conduct.

The commission was the second to investigate former exiles' complaints and was headed by Mr Sam Molsuene assisted by Zimbabwean barrister Mr David Zamecha and US lawyer Ms Margaret Burnham. It held public hearings earlier this year at which former ANC exiles testified.

The commission recommended that the ANC publicly apologise to people whose rights had been violated, that it compensate for lost property and establish a claims settlement agency to decide on compensation.

Mr Nelson Mandela said last night the ANC was taking the report "very seriously", Sapa reports

Mr Ramaphosa described the report as "balanced" and said it dealt with a "sad history imposed on us by the apartheid system."

He said the ANC's national working committee — its inner cabinet — considered the report yesterday and it would go to the full NEC later this month for a decision on disciplinary action.

He said the ANC had been able to demonstrate its bona fides and that it had been open and not sought to hide what had happened in its past.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC code of conduct provided for fines, suspensions and expulsions from the ANC. Asked if expulsion was sufficient punishment for an execution, information director Dr Pallo Jordan said the incidents occurred when the ANC was at war and that all military organisations applied similar punishments.

The report says the ANC was responsible for detention without trial, beatings, solitary confinement, humiliation, cruel and inhuman treatment and death.

It says ANC cadres — whom it names — died at the hands of firing squads and prison guards. Some deaths were in military accidents, by suicide or of malaria.

The report said Mr Modise was on a tribunal that heard complainants against a cadre from Alexandra township but did not inform him of the outcome, causing him to spend three years in detention.

Mr Zuma, who was head of ANC intelligence in exile, was implicated in the 10-month detention without trial of an ANC member from Durban.

WOMEN KNOCK OUT STOP RAPE SOUTH AFRICA

WOMEN DEMAND SAFETY

STOP RAPE

WOMEN KNOCK OUT STOP RAPE SOUTH AFRICA

DEMO INVADERS AG'S OFFICE

(11A) CT 24/8/93

STOP RAPE . . . A group of protesters stormed into the office of Cape attorney-general Mr Frank Kahn (facing the group) at lunchtime yesterday to protest against the low bail being granted to two suspected rapists. Seated are Argus reporter Jacquelyn Swartz (left) and Cape Times reporter Dan Simon. ● Report Page 3.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Alliance plans to fight elections

Sowetan 25/8/93

By Ike Motsapi

THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH African Trade Unions, African National Congress and the South African National Civic Organisations have mapped out a common strategy to fight next year's elections

The meeting is a series of many to be held during the build-up to April 27 1994 nonracial general elections

Both organisations pledged to fight to transform South Africa both politically and economically

Key issues addressed were the need to remove poverty and the deprivation that have been the legacy of apartheid

Concrete steps are to be taken to ensure greater co-ordination on issues of housing, public works programme, provision of housing and water and sanitation

And on Monday the management

■ **KEY ISSUES** Pledge to change

South African politics and economics:

~~ANC~~ ~~SAFPU~~ ~~IA~~
committee of the Congress of South African Trade Unions met in Johannesburg to prepare for the federation's special national congress to be held next month

The congress, which will be held for three days from September 10, has been called by Cosatu to discuss its voter education and reconstruction programme

The congress will also ratify a list of candidates who will stand for the elections for the tripartite alliance of the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party

Details of the congress activities will be made known after a meeting of the alliance's secretariate next week.

From the first of next month Cosatu's election programme will also be entering its second phase of action

The aims of this phase are

● To reach out to all members and other workers and the community to support the federation,

● To agree on the reconstruction programme and mobilise support for it, and

● To finalise the list and election manifesto

Events and activities planned for this phase are

● Special congress to decide on the reconstruction programme and accord, and

● Ratification of the names of Cosatu leaders on the election list

Star 25/8/93
**Bid to draw
in ANC**

The ANC is to be asked to commit itself to a draft agreement allowing for the resumption of service payments by Soweto residents. (S)

This was decided at a meeting of the Johannesburg City Council management committee and the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber yesterday

Management committee chairman Ian Davidson said the meeting agreed to hold urgent high-level talks with the ANC to gain its support for the draft agreement, which was approved on Monday by the parties involved in the Metropolitan Chamber's ad hoc committee — Sapa.

(11A)

2 ANC probes made public

AR 25/8/93 (11A)

□ Poison, Aids mentioned in report on top MK soldier's death

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Two highly significant internal ANC investigations conducted in the 1980s have finally been made public as an addendum to the Motsuenyane Commission's report released this week.

These are the long-awaited Stuart report commissioned after a mutiny in ANC camps in Angola in 1984 and a report on the death of Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Thami Zulu, TZ, as he was known in ANC ranks, died in Lusaka in 1989.

Human rights and other organisations have widely criticised the ANC for not releasing the reports and not disclosing the facts surrounding Mr Zulu's death.

The 22-page report on Mr Zulu's detention and subsequent death was prepared in 1989 by a team of four which included ANC's constitutional expert Albie Sachs, then director of the South African Constitution Study Centre at the Institute of

Commonwealth Studies in London.

Mr Sach's team reports that Mr Zulu died "an emaciated and sad figure", citing the cause of death as poisoning. It said post-mortem results also revealed that Mr Zulu had Aids at the time of his death.

While questioning reasons behind Mr Zulu's detention, the team concludes: "We are satisfied beyond doubt that TZ died of illness and possibly as a result of poison, and not through ill-treatment."

They found that Mr Zulu was detained in various houses for 14 months from August 1989 on suspicion of being a South African spy. Towards the latter part of his detention his health deteriorated to the extent that he had to be admitted to hospital where he later died.

The Stuart report recounts infiltration by South African government spies, dissatisfaction and unsatisfactory conditions in MK camps as reasons

that led to the mutiny of 1984.

Cadres complained that their relationship with their seniors was that of "master and servant" and that camp comrades, used their positions to seduce women and were ineffective as managers.

Dissidents or those who voiced complaints were cruelly punished. "Many identify our methods with that of the Boers and in some cases, feel that we are worse," the report says. "The aim of the punishment seems to be to destroy, demoralise and humiliate comrades and not correct and build."

The report made significant recommendations on how the ANC could improve morale in its ranks and become vigilant against infiltration by enemy agents.

A self-proclaimed former detainee of the African National Congress in the Angolan Quatro camp has welcomed the

Motsuenyane report but said it was a pity details would not be made public. Sapa reports from Pretoria.

Jose Ribeiro de Souza said he was pleased the report was factual to some extent, but it was a sad thing the public would never know the details of how people were tortured or abused by ANC officials who were still working for the organisation.

"I hope the ANC will go to the extent of not just apologising to those of us who were in Quatro, but also to those of us who are not enemy agents. This is because people have been accused of being enemy agents, and many have been abused in the townships after returning from exile," Mr De Souza said.

He said many of those labelled enemy agents had also been killed at early in 1992 by a Mozambican official who had connections with the ANC.

'Deep distress' over human rights abuses

AR 25/8/93 (11A)

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The Lawyers for Human Rights group has expressed "deep distress" over disclosures of human rights abuses in ANC camps outside South Africa.

Reacting to the release of the Motsuenyane Commission report this week, LHR national director Brian Currin said this was particularly so "since the ANC has always publicly positioned itself as a champion of justice, human rights and the rule of law".

But he praised the ANC for the public manner in which the Motsuenyane Commission hearings and report had been handled.

He said if commission's findings resulted in full disclosure of human rights, public accountability of those responsible and compensation of victims, then "the ANC would have gone a long way towards satisfying South Africans and the international community that they are truly committed to justice, democracy and the rule of law".

Mr Currin added "In the meantime we anxiously wait for the National Party and the government to establish a Peace and Reconciliation Commission to publicly investigate and publicly disclose human rights violations committed by its agents during the past 45 years."

The Conservative Party called for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief commander Joe Modise, who was named named in the report as having violated a detainee's rights, to be investigated on allegations of murder, terrorism and sabotage.

It said ANC deputy general-secretary Jacob Zuma should also be investigated.

Azapo's ^(11A) man 'paid for info on UDF'

ARG 25/8/92

□ Black groups infiltrated

PAT CANDIDO
The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — During the conflict between the United Democratic Front and Azapo in the Eastern Cape in 1985 the Azapo spokesman was in the pay of the security forces; the Goniwe inquest heard today

Colonel Lourens du Plessis, a retired Defence Force officer stationed in Port Elizabeth at the time, said the Rev Ebenezer Naqina claimed to be Azapo's patron and spokesman

Mr Naqina was in the pay of the security forces, but later became an embarrassment because of his utterances and when the CID investigated why he had firearms

Colonel Du Plessis was giving evidence in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court in the reopened inquest into the deaths of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli

He said Mr Naqina later started Eduwide with Dr J van der Westhuizen of the University of Port Elizabeth. Eduwide was a front organisation.

Colonel Du Plessis said he knew Mr Naqina had been given rations and food and supplies by the Department of Social Welfare. His "handler" was Major Herman du Plessis

Colonel Du Plessis said the security police operated on their own. This often led to resentment in the SADF

The East Cape Joint Management Committee was established to co-ordinate work between the departments. He said Mr Goniwe would have been discussed at meetings.

There was also huge infiltration of black organisations

He had no doubt that the wording on the signal he sent to Pretoria — calling for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe — was correct otherwise General Joffel van der Westhuizen would have come back to him and queried the wording. This was never done

Asked by Mr Justice Zietsman whether he was under the impression that General Van der Westhuizen and Brigadier J van Rensburg had decided the fate of Mr Goniwe on their own, he replied that this was his distinct impression

Colonel Du Plessis said false numberplates were used

Although he did not know much about the SADF's Hammer Unit he knew that they had mini taxis with provincial registration numbers and not military vehicle registration numbers

They were a reaction unit and operated on their own. He said he did not recognise the number on their false plate found near Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car, but he had a bad memory for numbers

He said the SADF had its own intelligence section which was supposed to supply information on military matters

It was known, and in his opinion perceived, that this section often exceeded the prescribed limits

(Proceeding)

ANC's 10-point efficiency plan

11A

ARG 25/8/93

The ANC has just completed a 10-point plan to address the organisation's weaknesses, and guide its actions until the turn of the century. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa takes the wraps off the plan in an interview with Argus Correspondent ESTHER WAUGH

IT is accepted that the ANC faced a mammoth task when it was unexpectedly unbanned in 1990 — the organisation had to establish itself internally, from scratch — but still there has been growing criticism of its inefficiency

Responding to these criticisms, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa headed up a task force charged with developing a comprehensive action plan for the crucial years to come — and the result is a 10-point plan, to be implemented almost immediately. The plan deals with the pre- and post-election periods

The ANC planners went back to basics, revisiting the original reasons for establishing the organisation 81 years ago — to fight for the dismantling of apartheid and the installation of a non-racial democracy in South Africa

The new 10-point plan plots a number of scenarios for the transition. The first assumes the successful conclusion of the World Trade Centre talks, the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an Interim Government of National Unity, leading to a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation

The second scenario considers the possibility of civil war. Mr Ramaphosa was reluctant to divulge details, but said "We had to look at what would happen to the country and how the ANC should be positioned"

The third scenario looks at the situation in the event of a coup d'etat

The ANC was confident

that it was ready for any of these eventualities, Mr Ramaphosa said, adding that he believed civil war or a coup d'etat were "slim" possibilities

"The forces that may fan a civil war warrant some attention now. But, they are not strong enough to sustain a civil war or a coup d'etat. As a result of our good strategic planning, we are prepared for it"

In a frank assessment of the ANC's weaknesses and strengths, the organisation found its weaknesses far outweighed its strengths at this stage. The 10-point plan has been set in motion to reverse that

The plan also involved assessing the headquarters' functioning and "looked at every department from the president's office to the Department of Arts and Culture"

"We must be ready to govern in exactly eight months. Only a strong ANC can ensure that we have a strong government," he said. "This will involve restructuring headquarters' functions, sharpening the functioning of all offices, including the president and secretary-general's office, and strengthening our regions"

Mr Ramaphosa said all ANC departments would be rationalised. "There are a number of overlapping departments and a lot of duplication. We will transform our staff into more committed people who are working to a programme"

"We will be retraining, reallocating and training staff

Over the next two to three months we will appoint those who will go into government and have them trained

"We will try not to have any retrenchments"

The ANC employs about 700 at its Johannesburg head office. Mr Ramaphosa said 680 people had already been trained in the fields of foreign relations, the military, education, health services, energy affairs and administration

"Others will be going soon. We are identifying key people for key positions"

The ANC's new infrastructure will be grouped into five broad divisions, responsible for preparing to govern administration, elections, negotiations, armed forces and finances

Mr Ramaphosa said a number of existing departments would be collapsed into one another

He said the drafting of the plan marked "the first time we have had a gloves-off approach to our problems. The criticism flowed. Basically, everyone is now going to be on his toes"

After next year's elections, Mr Ramaphosa said, the ANC must continue as a mass organisation because the process of dismantling apartheid would not be completed election day

"That is when reconstruction — another phase of our struggle — starts. The motivating force will be a strong ANC and a strong tripartite alliance"

"I have never been in a more buoyant mood"

MK death 'not from abuse'

CT 25/8/93 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG — MK commander Mr Thami Zulu "died of illness and possibly as a result of poison, and not through ill-treatment", an ANC probe has found. Mr Zulu, also known as TZ in ANC ranks, died in Lusaka in 1989.

This finding is contained in one of two reports released by the ANC yesterday after internal investigations in the 1980s.

They follow the release on Monday of the Motsuenyane Commission's report on ANC torture camps. The Stuart Report was commissioned after a mutiny in ANC camps in Angola in 1984, and the report on Mr Zulu after his death.

Mr Zulu, suspected of being a government spy, died "an emaciated and sad figure", the report said. Post-mortem results

showed he had Aids.

Meanwhile, the IFP said yesterday the ANC's attempts to address the issue of atrocities was an attempt at damage control before a national election.

And the NP's Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk and the DP's Mr Tony Leon last night called on the ANC to hand the matter over to legitimate legal authorities for trial — Sapa, Political Staff

ANC 'no' to no-go areas

The ANC Youth League yesterday categorically condemned the disruption of other parties' meetings and the declaration of "no-go areas" for some parties, but warned the Democratic Party Youth (DPY) against basing its election campaign on attacking "the integrity" of the ANC and the ANCYL.

Reacting to the launch of the DPY's "Operation Hitback" in Johannesburg on Monday, the ANCYL said the DP had been part of a campaign calculated to demoralise ANC leaders.

Yet, like all other organisations, the DP — notwithstanding the fact that it and its predecessors had been "severely integrated in the ruling bloc which held our people in bondage for decades" — had a right to meet and organise anywhere in the country.

That was the reason why the ANC had signed the National Peace Accord and was part of the multiparty negotiations process — Political Correspondent

Star 25/8/93

Reports on Umkhonto made public

■ SOWETO BUREAU

Two significant internal ANC investigations conducted in the 1980s have finally been made public as an addendum to the Motsuenyane Commission's report which was released yesterday.

These are the Stuart Report which was commissioned after a mutiny in ANC camps in Angola in 1984 and a report on the death of Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Thami Zulu in 1989.

The 22-page report on Zulu's detention and subsequent death was prepared in 1989 by a team of four which included ANC constitutional expert Albie Sachs.

Sachs's team reports that Zulu died "an emaciated and sad figure", citing the cause of death as poisoning.

It concludes "We are satisfied beyond doubt that T Z (Zulu) died of illness and possibly as a result of poison, and not through ill-treatment."

The team found that Zulu was detained for 14 months on suspicion of being a South African spy. His health deteriorated to the extent that he had to be admitted to hospital, where he later died.

The Stuart report recounts infiltration by SA Government spies, dissatisfaction and poor conditions in MK camps as reasons that led to the mutiny of 1984.

Details on death in camp disputed

Star 25/8/93
■ BY MOKONE MOLETE
SOWETO BUREAU

The Motsuenyane Commission's report has been criticised by the family of Timothy Seremane, who died in ANC detention in 1981.

The family alleges that Seremane was tortured before he was killed, but the commission gives a bland ANC security version of events without passing judgment.

The Seremane family says

"Timothy Seremane was killed by the ANC, his brother Joe alleges."

He says he last saw his brother, known in the ANC as "Kenneth Mahamba", in April 1976.

"Nobody in the Seremane family heard anything about his whereabouts until April this year, when two of his friends came to report his demise."

Joe says he was told that his brother had been executed by a firing squad at the Quatro camp in Angola.

Joe produced an affidavit by former MK member Goitseone Gordon Moshoeu describing how Seremane was killed. Moshoeu alleged Seremane was held on trumped-up charges of plotting to assassinate senior ANC officials in Zambia and of being an agent of the SA Government.

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ANC wrongdoers 'should go on trial'

BY MOKONE MOLETE
SOWETO BUREAU

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) has expressed "deep distress" at revelations of human rights abuses in ANC camps in exile.

Reacting to the release of the Motsuenyane Commission report this week, LHR national director Brian Currin said this was particularly so "since the ANC has always publicly positioned itself as a champion of justice, human rights and the rule of law".

He, however, praised the ANC on the public manner in which the Motsuenyane Commission hearings and report took place.

He said if the commission's findings resulted in full disclosure of abuses, public accountability of those responsible and compensation of victims, then "the ANC would have gone a long way in satisfying South Africans and the international community that they are truly committed to justice, democracy and the rule of law".

The Conservative Party called for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief commander Joe Modise — who is named in the report as having violated a detainee's rights — to be investigated on allegations of

murder, terrorism and sabotage. It said ANC deputy general secretary Jacob Zuma should also be investigated.

Sapa reports that the DP claims the ANC's reaction to the findings casts serious doubts on its claims that it is a champion of human rights.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said the findings confirmed those of three previous commissions and reports, which revealed a sustained pattern of executions, torture, excessive force and related evils reflecting harshly on an organisation committed to liberation and human rights.

It was not for the ANC, or its national executive, to determine the fate and punishment of wrongdoers named by the commission, he added.

Human rights abuses could not be dealt with in private or adjudicated on by the very organisation in whose name the atrocities were committed.

Leon said the perpetrators of the offences needed to be handed over for trial or independent judicial scrutiny.

Since the offences were committed outside South Africa, they should be tried in the countries where the offences occurred.

► More reports — Page 12

Azapo 'no' to election

Sowetan 25/8/93

THE Azanian People's Organisation plans to campaign against the April 27 election and will continue its efforts, including armed struggle, to transfer political power to South Africa's black majority

"The type of elections arising out of the Kempton Park type of processes are not the kind of elections that Azapo will participate in," Natal Azapo leader and national executive committee member Mr Patrick Mkhize said at a Press conference in Durban yesterday

"Blacks must come together and wage a campaign, including armed struggle, to remove (State President FW) de Klerk from power," said Azapo national organiser Mr Fundile

Mafongosi

Azapo, added Mkhize, encouraged its members to join the Azanian Liberation Army (ILA)

He said Azapo would embark on a voter education campaign

This is not with next April's election in mind but for an inevitable future election which will truly liberate black people

Mkhize explained that while Azapo would not adopt a "don't vote" stance to next year's elections, it would campaign against the poll by explaining to people that they were not voting for liberation

"The (April 27) election falls short of black people's demands for the transfer of power from the white mi-

nority to the black majority"

He accused political organisations involved in current negotiations of not being legitimately entitled to write a constitution on behalf of the majority of South Africans

The forthcoming election "betrays the struggle", he claimed

"The so-called constitutional principles agreed on by this group defeat the possibility of black majority rule ever taking place"

Azapo wanted elections for a Constituent Assembly which would be empowered to write a new constitution

The current process entitled negotiators to write the constitution which would then be rubber-stamped by a new government — Sapa

ANC's probe is slammed

Sowetan 25/8/93

By Ruth Bhengu

■ STRONG FEELINGS *Inquiry into*

allegations of abuses described as ineffectual:

THE REPORT OF the ANC-sponsored Commission of Inquiry into allegations of human rights abuses in the organisation's detention camps has evoked strong feelings among human rights organisations

The International Society for Human Rights, which is based in West Germany, has slammed the ANC's latest commission as being ineffectual

The commission, led by former Nafcoc president Mr Sam Motsuenyane, was criticised for, among other things, "its lack of power to bring to book those found guilty of torture of detainees in ANC camps"

The commission's reliance on the ANC, who were the accused, was also questioned by the ISHR which has published its own assessment of the Motsuenyane Commission's report

"Many of those implicated in physical acts of torture remain within the ANC ranks," says the report of the ISHR

"Basil Mavuso (previously known as Jomo Sono) is currently a bodyguard to ANC president Nelson Mandela," the report says

However, the ISHR has also commended the latest commission for

- The decision to have open hearings,

- The use of external legal experts which can be favourably compared to previous efforts by the ANC;

- The commission's members not being drawn from the ANC's immediate ranks gave the commission greater independence, and

- The fact that the report was released in time

According to the ISHR, the violation of human rights was systematic and not sporadic. Although concentrated in Angola, they were also carried out in most other ANC bases, including those in Uganda, Tanzania and Zambia.

The ISHR did not accept that only one department of the ANC, the Security (DIS), was responsible

The organisation believes that either through direct implication or failure to act, the NEC, the president's office, the secretary-general's office, the military (MK) the justice department (post 1987) and security department all bear some responsibility

The ISHR also did not believe that the ANC's political leadership was unaware of the events in Quattro and other detention centres throughout this period. It points out that the Stuart Commission into the mutiny of 1984 had given a detailed breakdown of conditions in the camps

"The ANC's failure to publish this report to this day is perhaps indicative of a failure to act"

The ISHR criticised the

commission for the following

- The selection of witnesses seemed haphazard. Many key individuals, both the accused and the accusers, were omitted from the original published list of witnesses. Many further witnesses were subsequently added.

However, many key individuals had to approach the commission to be heard rather than vice-versa. Chairman of RECOC, an organisation representing returned detainees, Mr Mwezi Twala, was not contacted despite the fact that he was in Johannesburg

- The most serious flaw in witness procedure was the decision to hear the "accused" first and the "victims" second

This led to ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Jacob Zuma refusing to answer to charges that had not been made to the commission. Many of the original ANC officials were not recalled to answer to further questions following the evidence of the detainees

- The commission had all the trappings of a court but was not a court. Despite any finding it may have made it could only pass them to the ANC itself. It could not pass sentence on individuals who it felt were guilty of human rights

abuses

- Attempts to notify and encourage attendance of both the international media and other interested parties were half-hearted to say the least, perhaps a rather flimsy attempt to project openness

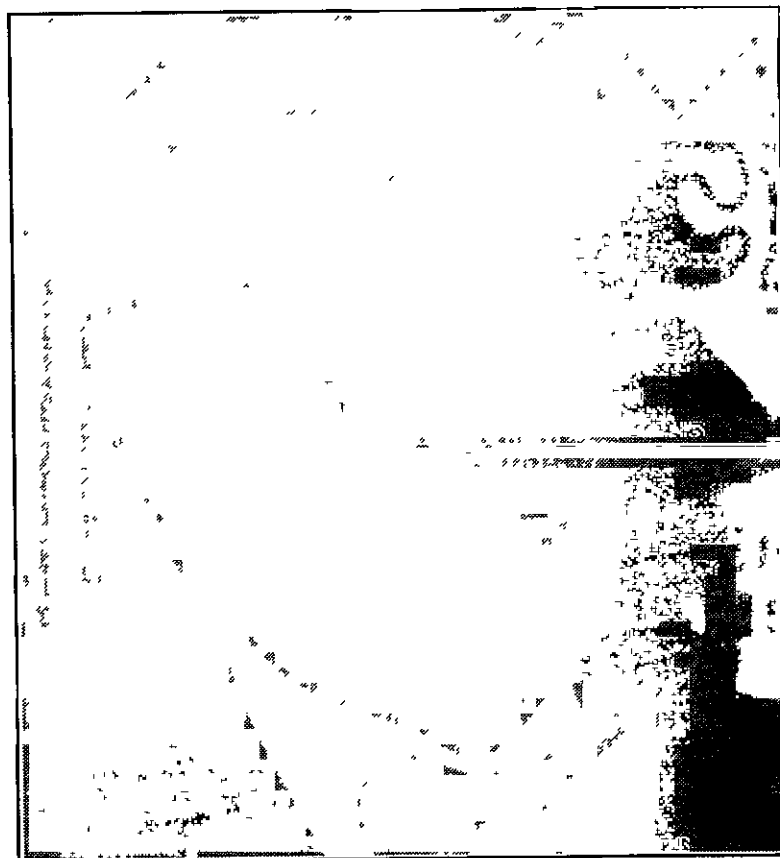
- The failure of the commission members, with the exception of Margaret Burnham, to ask necessary and penetrating questions of many witnesses, placed in doubt the final effectiveness of the inquiry

- The reliance of the commission on the ANC for everything from security to travel arrangements and financing indicated a rather too strong interdependence with the "accused"

- The failure of the commission to visit existing ANC camps in Uganda was a glaring omission given the strong belief that detainees may still be held in that country

- The commission was totally dependent on the ANC for the provision of crucial missing documentation including the Stuart Commission report

- The selection of a young and relatively inexperienced prosecution team by the commission chairman, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, who were recommended



Sam Motsuenyane ... investigated abuses in ANC camps.

by the Lawyers for Human Rights which is close to the ANC. Their carrying of ANC diaries and use of ANC terminology including addressing witnesses as "Comrade" by commission members was perhaps indicative of their viewpoints. In contrast, the defence team, led by Cape Bar member Dullar Omar, a regional office holder, was an experienced team which included a so-called junior counsel who had previously successfully defended a number of generals of the Bophuthatswana army accused of failing to come to the aid of President Lucas Mangope during the unsuccessful coup in 1988

- The final decision on the guilt or

innocence of the former ANC officials would be taken by the organisation itself, not the "independent" commission. The ANC was judge and jury in this matter

- Many of those implicated by the detainees in violations of human rights directly or of failure to act to stem these violations, including Jacob Zuma, Joe Modise, Dr Z Skweyiya, Mzwai Piliso, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Alfred Nzo and Joe Nhlanhla, hold senior positions within the organisation today

Many are members of the National Executive Committee who, with Mr Mandela, will ultimately judge the guilt or innocence of those accused

News

Reopen Biko inquest

THE Azanian People's Organisation wants a reopened judicial inquest into the 1977 death in detention of founder of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa Steve Biko

Azapo plans to embark on a vigorous campaign to commemorate him and to demand the reopening of the inquest into his death. The campaign will take place during Black Consciousness Week from September 5 to 12, the organisation's Natal chairman, Mr. Patrick Mkhize, told a Press conference in Durban yesterday (I/A)

ANC accused of 'fall guy' tactics

Sowetan 25/8/93

By Ruth Bhengu

THE FORMER HEAD OF THE African National Congress' security department has been used as the prime "fall guy" by the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into allegations of torture in the organisation's detention camps (IIA)

According to the International Society for Human Rights' assessment of the latest commission into claims of torture at ANC camps, Mr Mzwai Piliso, who was head of the security department when the torture took place, was used to take the blame while other senior officials were let off the hook

The ANC, which has admitted to torturing its members in detention camps, has come under heavy fire for protecting some of its top officials at the expense of those who were "expendable"

The German-based human rights organisation, which released its report at the same time as the ANC released its

■ OFF THE HOOK Human rights

groups claim senior leaders got off:

Commission's report, said the ANC appeared to have selected among its ranks members who would appear before the commission and omitted some of the "accused"

It also said it did not accept that the Security Department (DIS) alone was responsible

"We believe that either through direct implication, or failure to act, the NEC, the President's office, the Secretary-General's office, the military (MK) and the Justice Department are all involved," said the report

The commission, led by former president of the National Federated Chamber of Commerce Mr Sam Motsuenyane, was also criticised for its methodology "by which guilt or not was satisfactorily proven"

"The fact that many key witnesses, including both leading ANC-SACP of-

ficial Ronnie Kasrils and RECOC (a detainees rights group) chairman Mwezi Twala, had to invite themselves to give evidence demonstrates the haphazardness of the compilation of the witness list. The large number of 'unscheduled appearances' late in the day reinforces this point", said the report.

The ISHR also questioned the commission's heavy reliance on the ANC for everything from security to travel arrangements and financing

However the organisation also commended the ANC and its commission, appointed by Mr Nelson Mandela, for among other things

● The fact that the ANC compelled witnesses to attend if they held office within the organisation. This helped to ensure attendance by key figures such as Mr Mzwai Piliso and Mr Jacob Zuma.

● See page 11

CHARLES NQAKULA is quite sure that if Karl Marx was raised from the dead today and took a good look at South Africa, the father of communism would feel redeemed.

What he would see — according to the 50-year old South African Communist Party secretary-general — would be a highly consensused working class in a disastrously unequal economic system.

"We are convinced that socialism is the future of this country," he pronounces. "What people called the collapse of socialism at the time the Berlin wall fell, was not.

"It was the collapse of administrations that became elitist and took decision-making away from the majority of the people. And that is not socialism as envisaged by the great philosophers."

Nqakulu sits relaxed in the Salt River SACP offices, and smiles broadly as he talks about his childhood in Cradock where he was raised equally on both the Bible and the Freedom Charter as preached by Canon James Calata from the Anglican pulpit.

His mother was the sole breadwinner for a family of 10 children, feeding them one meal a day from the one pound a month she earned as a washerwoman.

But he is most keen to talk about politics — Communist Party politics, that is.

His eyes light up when he mentions his years underground as an MK cadre, in Lesotho, in Cape Town and training in Moscow, Tanzania and East Germany.

His love for politics does spring from childhood, but also his years of working as a political journalist in Cradock, later at Inyvo in Kimberley and with Donald Woods at the Daily Dispatch in East London.

This work stopped when he was banned in 1981. He is not keen to

South Profile

Charles Nqakula

He has been called a nice guy, a dove and a social democrat since taking over the reigns of the SACP in the wake of Chris Hanu's death. But, in this interview with **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE**, he insists he is a hardline socialist.



'There is no revolutionary in South Africa who could have stood adequately in Chris's shoes. He was an extraordinary revolutionary. I am not even making an attempt.'

return to journalism. "What is happening (in Eastern Europe) now is a resurgence of socialism in those countries, because they had a good look at capitalism and they have seen its ugly face," Nqakula continues.

"In South Africa we see that face too. Whenever people open their windows in the morning, they look at deprivation in some form, whether it be squatting, unemployment or poverty. We are more ready and suited for socialism than any other country.

"Unlike the Soviet Union, our working class has been brought up by the struggle, and particularly the democratic ideals of the SACP. At our last congress 84 percent of our

members were workers, and they are the people who are going to lead us to socialism."

Nqakula is adamant that the Party will remain part of the ANC/Cosatu alliance till well after the election next year, although he can envisage a point at which a split will be necessary. He cannot pinpoint the conditions for that.

He says the SACP still adheres to two-phase strategy, with national liberation preceding socialism.

"The two do not necessarily follow each other. We have to ensure now we put in place a democratic dispensation that can form the initial step towards socialism. We don't want to see a low-intensity democracy that does not



after the lives of the workers. We are planning the seeds of socialism now."

He acknowledges that there are some concessions made in the negotiation process that the party does not like.

"But all the time we pose this question as a party has it been a retrogression or is it necessary for emancipation? Sometimes it has not been a step forward but then it was also not a step backwards."

Asked for an example, he states the "concession for a government of national unity."

"We have been fighting for our people to take over power. But this concession looks at the conditions of the country and says it is necessary to tie in all people together in the governance of the country to ensure that the programme for reconstruction is workable. After that we will have the election that will enable the party that wins to govern."

Nqakula is also resigned to the fact that little real restructuring can happen during this period of power-sharing. He seems extremely wor-

ried about the short period after the election outcome and before the new ministers have been put in place. "It could be chaos, and we must start talking about that process now," he says.

He does not like to be called a social-democrat. "A social-democrat is someone who wants to make an arrangement between labour and capital and the state.

"We say there are workers inside the firms and workers outside who are unemployed. Our interest in workers therefore extends beyond the factory floor.

"Equally, for us to say there is socialism in this country the situation of the working people must be altered dramatically and drastically — they must become components of the process leading to economic growth and not just tools."

Nqakulu is not perturbed by standing in the shoes of people's hero Chris Hanu.

He knew about Hanu since attending the same school in the fifties — Loveday Missionary School in Alice Later, as an MK cadre in Lesotho, he worked with Hanu and says he got to know and love him.

Through him Nqakula grew into communism. Now he says: "There is no revolutionary in South Africa who could have stood adequately in Chris's shoes. He was an extraordinary revolutionary. I am not even making an attempt."

"The SACP has gained from him, even more so than the ANC, because he was able to evolve consultation between us, and the concept of working as a collective. We knew about all the programmes he was involved in. As a result we grew very brave in his courage and became empowered.

"Now we are simply implementing his programmes."

ANC Wants Truth Probe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, announcing it would not act against members named by the Motsuenyane report in connection with torture and atrocities, said yesterday it wanted a "truth commission" set up to investigate all human rights violations in South Africa since 1948.

Delivering its response to the report after a two-day meeting of its national executive committee (NEC), the ANC denied such a commission would be a Nuremberg-style court of inquisition.

"The purpose of a truth commission will be to investigate all violations of human rights — killings, disappearances, torture — from all quarters. This will not be a Nuremberg tribunal," it said.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said that even if the government refused to set up a truth commission, the ANC would do so when it came to power.

The NEC said the ANC "accepts collective responsibility for the proven violations of hu-



HEADS TOGETHER . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confide in one another at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday where the ANC apologised for abuses caused to members in prison camps outside South Africa. Picture AP

man rights in a community of its camps and centres. It expresses its profound regret and apology for each and every such transgression."

But the violations "can in no way be equated to the activities of the apartheid state." "When one considers the thou-

sands of torturers, assassins and brutal guards of the apartheid regime who are going scot-free and even receiving generous pensions, one's sense of justice is not served by punishing a few persons from one side only."

The Motsuenyane report said a number of ANC members had

been guilty of murder and torture in detention camps in other African countries. It called for disciplinary action and penalties under the ANC's code of conduct, for a claims settlement agency to award compensation and for an apology to all those affected.

The NEC claimed ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma and Umkhonto weSizwe commander Mr Joe Modise had not been personally implicated in violations.

Democratic Party spokesman Mr Robin Carlisle said last night the ANC stance was "illogical and hypocritical".

He said that in the current South African situation where the ANC and the DP had called for the investigation into and prosecutions of incidents such as the death of Mr Matthew Goniwe then "the same standards should apply to those who murdered and maltreated people in the ANC camps."

He said the DP was not in favour of punitive legal measures to be taken should a truth commission be set up.

NP Health and Pension spokesman and MP for the Lentingur area Dr Johan Vilonel said "If the ANC is guilty, then the ANC is guilty."

Mr Thabo Mbeki has been elect-

(114) 4CT 31/8/92

US trains guards for ANC leaders

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — Bodyguards for African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and others are being trained in the United States.

The ANC and the US State Department yesterday confirmed the ANC's request had been prompted by the assassination of Communist Party leader Chris Hani and others.

The State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security had begun training a "small group" to protect Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders.

The training would continue until September 3 at an undisclosed venue in the US.

A State Department source said that while such training was unusual, South Africa was a special case, being a country in transition where the ANC would obviously play a role in government.

Madala Mthembu, a senior official in the ANC's Washington office, said the training programme had been prompted by threats against the ANC leadership, some of which had been carried out

"Chris Hani was assassinated, so was Reggie Hadebe in Natal and so were many others in the leadership. The threats come from those who fear democracy," said Mr Mthembu.

"One must be realistic. Those threats will continue."

Mr Mthembu said there was no special reason why the training was being carried out in the US.

The Bureau for Diplomatic Security's main function was to protect US embassies around the world. Inside the US its main task was to protect visitors who were not heads of state — such as members of the Royal family. It had protected Mr Mandela during his visits to the US

It is understood the training is being funded by the Agency for International Development (AID). It includes techniques such as defensive driving, bomb searching and the use of weapons.

The bureau provided such training to "dozens" of foreign states every year, a source said.

US trains ANC guards

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The State Department is training bodyguards for Mr Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders, officials said yesterday

The ANC requested the training amid heightened concerns for its leaders safety following the assassination of SACP chief Mr Chris Hanu in April last year.

The "roughly 20" trainees, were brought here by the US-SA Leader Exchange Programme, a non-governmental organisation

(11A) 26/8/93
The training began this week. It is being handled by the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security, which protects visiting dignitaries and has occasionally trained security details of heads of friendly governments

Training usually includes weapons use, evasive driving techniques, bodyguard deployment and intelligence analysis

Pretoria has been informed and has raised no objection

DP organiser joins ANC

Staff Reporter

A FORMER Democratic Party regional organiser, claiming there is "still a lot of racism in the DP's attitude", has joined the ANC

Mr. Edgar Louw claimed he had resigned from the DP because members had objected to his being a regional organiser because of his skin colour.

"The DP is a party of promises that cannot deliver the goods," he said last night. (1A)

Mr Stuart McLoughlin, Western Cape director for the DP, said the ANC was "welcome to Mr Louw and his nonsense claims" CT 26/8/93

ANC steps up security after Hani assassination

Mandela guards get US training

Star 26/8/93

■ BY PETER FABRICIUS
STAR BUREAU

Washington — The United States government is training a force of bodyguards to protect ANC president Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the organisation

The US State Department yesterday confirmed that, at the ANC's request, its Bureau of Diplomatic Security on Monday started training a "small group" of security officials responsible for protecting Mandela and other leaders

The training would continue until September 3 at an undisclosed venue in the US

Sources quoted in the Washington Times, which broke the story, say that providing such training for a non-head of state is unusual and is prompted by the US government's fear that if Mandela were to come to harm it could derail the negotiation process in South Africa

THE US may be training ANC guards because it regards Mandela's safety as vital for continued negotiations

The Bureau of Diplomatic Security's main function is to protect US embassies around the world. Inside the US its main task is to protect visitors who are not heads of state — such as royal family members

The bureau has been responsible for protecting Mandela on his visits to the US

It is understood the current training programme is being done under the bureau's anti-terrorism assistance training programme and includes techniques such as defensive driving, bomb searching and the use of weapons

The bureau provides such

training to "dozens" of foreign states every year, a source said. The Washington Times considers the service unique and speculates that it is evidence that Mandela's safety is vital to US policy in SA. (11A)

The Times notes that the offer of the training programme represents a substantial shift in attitude by the US government towards the ANC, which was officially regarded as a terrorist organisation until the late '80s

The newspaper quotes administration sources as saying the ANC asked for the training because it feared a threat to Mandela either from the IFP or right-wing groups

The fear of a right-wing attack on Mandela had clearly been exacerbated by the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Ham in April, allegedly by white extremists

ANC sources in the US would not comment on the motives for seeking the assistance.

Astonishing moves across political floor

The white woman's story

Star 26/8/93

Race traitor? "Why don't you go and jump off a bridge?" "Are you on drugs or something?" Petra Burrill father regretted her decision to participate in a phone-in radio programme recently, such was the abuse from white callers.

"I was shocked I expected calls like that from the far Right, but the people who called in were ordinary people, you know, the man and woman next door," said Burrill, whose claim to notoriety is that she has transferred allegiance from the AWB to the ANC.

Burrill joined the neo-Nazi AWB in 1987. A loyal placard-bearer ("ANC Anti-Christ" was one of her favourites), she would attend lectures by David Irving and other like-minded visitors. She held meetings at her home.

"The message was 'We've got to stand together to stop the *szart geyzar* and *rooi geyzar*'. It was all based on hate and ignorance and fear."

Why did she join the AWB? "All of my school-kid indoctrination — I went to an Afrikaans primary school — all came to the surface after the ANC planted a big bomb in Pretoria in 1983.

"The bomb galvanised all my fears. And then I started going to hear TerreBlanche speak. He's mesmerising. He grips you."

In January she joined the ANC. Why? "It was a gradual process. I would sometimes come home from AWB meetings and ask myself whether some of this stuff wasn't perhaps a bit too crazy. Then one day my husband's job in aircraft maintenance at the airport got a bit shaky. He got no help

JOHN CARLIN meets two "new" South Africans: A former neo-Nazi who joined the ANC, and an ex-radical, once dedicated to apartheid's overthrow, who now advises President de Klerk

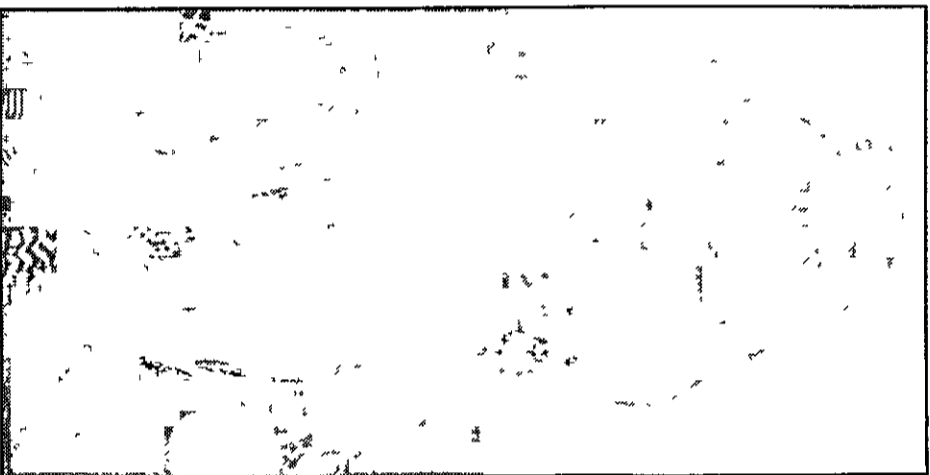
from the official union, so he went off to see Cosatu — the pro-ANC Congress of South African Trade Unions — "He found that they were helpful and efficient. That they were human beings. It made us think."

"When De Klerk and Mandela came on the TV we started listening. Before, we just turned the TV off. We'd been brainwashed. Now we were being people again. Thinking for ourselves."

She has received many threatening letters and phone calls.

"But I feel great. I feel great being part of the majority. I feel great because I'm free now, because I see people, not blacks. I'm liberated from that dreadful burden of racial hatred."

"Now I've come full circle. If I'd faced what these people have had to face I'd have been the most radical person in the world. If I'd had the consciousness then that I have now I'd have gone to prison for sure." — The Independent News Service



Petra Burrill moved from the AWB to the ANC.

The black man's story

Star 26/8/93 (304A)

If you had told David Chuenyane in 1960, when he was 18, that now, at the age of 50, he would be a high-flying member of the National Party (NP), advising the white president of the day, he would have said you were insane.

That was the year he joined the PAC. He went into exile in 1964 and joined the PAC army in Tanzania, where he underwent training under Chinese instructors for five years.

"Then the PAC started falling apart because we proved incapable of getting back into the country."

So he went to Canada, where he obtained a degree and taught in a school for 2½ years. Then he went to the United States, did a B.Sc. and a Master's, and got a job as an electrical engineer. He came home in July last year and a month later joined the NP.

Why did he leave the PAC? "I stayed in touch with them during my absence but, hey, I turned capitalist. Besides, they're fragmented and they have no resources. They're a shambles."

Well, why not join the ANC? "In the ANC it's who you are, it's where you've been, that determines whether you get into a leadership position. I didn't see any hope of a leadership position there, even of contributing to policy. Plus, politically, there are still communists there. They try to camouflage it but they're there."

Chuenyane has had the death threats. It is a price he is willing to pay to add his contribution to making a more tolerant so-

ciety.

"I came to the NP and I said 'Hey, let me remove apartheid from my own mind. Let me liberate myself.' Suddenly, I was free to talk to these people. In August last year I met Roelf Meyer, Constitutional Development Minister, Pik Botha, Foreign Minister, and the State President, all of them together."

"I told them 'I don't want to be a token black face in the NP, I want to be in the decision-making structures.' And they agreed."

"Their problem, you see, is getting black people into the NP. I told them 'I would take up the task and start in Soweto.'"

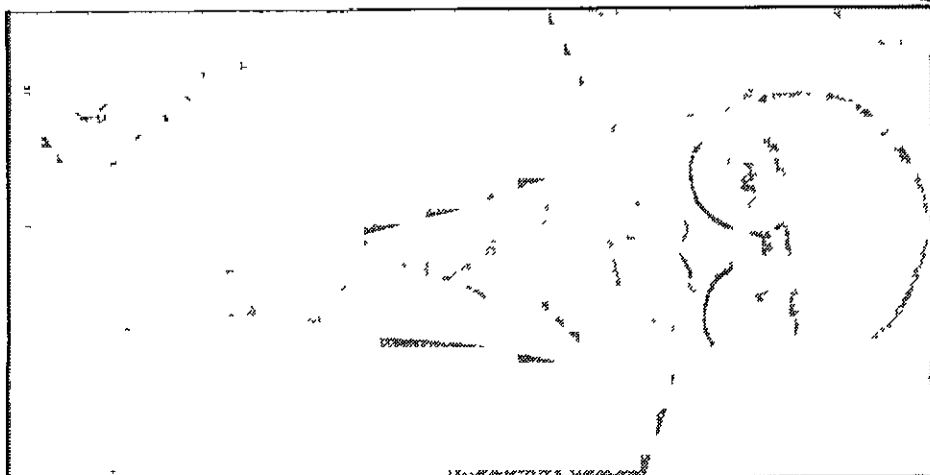
So why the NP? "It was the pragmatic choice. They have an infrastructure in place. They have financial resources, which you need to uplift my people. I came back from the US, you know, and I saw the highways. I'd been away 27 years and I thought 'This is incredible.'"

"But, also, the NP and I knew they needed me. Now I'm running not only Soweto, but I'm on the national management committee of the party, strategising for the election next year."

He accepts the ANC will be the majority in an elected government.

"Only by a miracle will we win. Our plan is to be a very strong opposition so that, building on the ANC's mistakes, we can win the next election."

And then? "My ambition is to be in the Cabinet, just like everyone else." — The Independent News Service



David Chuenyane moved from the PAC to the NP.

ANC leaders to seek votes door-to-door

JOHANNES NGCOBO

ANC National Executive Committee members and PWV officials will visit 8 500 houses in Meadowlands, Soweto, on Saturday with 600 volunteers to canvass for the April 27 elections. B/Day

ANC PWV election co-ordinator Amos Masondo and PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale will lead the regional leadership. They said they were hoping to be joined by NEC members Walter Sisulu, Thabo Mbeki and Joe Slovo. 26/8/93

"We have communicated our request to headquarters and we hope that some of the mentioned NEC members will join us in the campaign." (IA)

Masondo said the canvassing would test ANC members who had been trained in voter education.

He said volunteers would be issued with forms to discover how many people were of voting age, how many would vote for the ANC, how many were anti-ANC and how many were undecided.

Masondo said the ANC hoped to involve more people in mass activities such as canvassing.

"We also hope to back-up the training that has been given to branch activists with practical action and to empower and boost structures to begin the election campaign on their own," he added.

Saturday's exercise was a pilot project which, if successful, would be employed in other PWV areas.

ANC PWV spokesman Vusi Kumene said the campaign should be seen in the light of regional congress resolutions that regional and national leadership should visit ANC members in their homes as well as recruit new ones.

He said they would also issue pamphlets spelling out ANC policy on issues such as education, unemployment and health.

PAC worried about FW

Sowetan 27/8/98

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THERE is concern in anti-apartheid circles around the world following reports that President FW de Klerk is to address the United Nations later this year.

The Pan Africanist Congress' chief representative at the United Nations, Dr SEM Pheko, in particular, is concerned about rumours in New York that the oil embargo against South Africa would be lifted on

September 1. In an urgent communique to the PAC's head office in Johannesburg on Wednesday, Pheko requested clarity on the matter and was preparing to brief African ambassadors to the UN about the matter. The PAC yesterday referred Pheko to existing agreements such as the United Nations Consensus Declaration of 1989 which distinctly prohibits the total lifting of sanctions and the oil embargo until elections for a constituent assembly were held. (11A)

News in brief

Sowetan Consumer boycott on ER

RESIDENTS of Vosloorus on the East Rand have declared a consumer boycott of white businesses in nearby Boksburg 27/8/93

The Vosloorus Campaign Committee said the campaign, which started on Monday, would continue until certain demands were met. These included the release of people detained under "unrest regulations", the withdrawal of the security forces from the township, the deployment of an accountable local police force and the immediate installation of an elected internal local government. (11A)

Azapo discusses BC Week

THE Central Witwatersrand region of the Azanian People's Organisation is to meet at the organisation's head office in Johannesburg tomorrow to plan the Black Consciousness Week which starts on September 6. *Sowetan* 27/8/93

Azapo deputy national organiser Mr Monwabisi Duna has invited the Soweto, Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Alexandra and Dobsonville branches to attend. (11A)

Meanwhile, the Jabulani and Moletsane branches of Azapo will on Sunday hold a memorial service at Entokozweni Community Centre in Soweto for former South African Students' Organisation permanent secretary Mr Mapetla Mohapi, former Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza and 1976 student leader Mr Tsietsi Mashinini.

Teachers targeted

Sowetan Correspondent

THE PAN AFRICANIST Students' Organisation yesterday threatened to target striking teachers whose children attend school in white suburbs

Paso accused members of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union of not caring for black children
It said the teachers went on strike knowing full well their children won't be affected as they would be "comfortable and receiving education in private and previously white schools".
"If they (the teachers) abandon the African child, then their children must

AFRICAN CHILD Sadtu accused of

not caring for black pupils in townships:

Paso assistant general secretary Mr George Mpya said.

Mpya said Paso was in principle not against black children attending school in "white" areas. He said, however, that the organisation had serious problems when parents of those children neglected children attending school in the townships.

Paso also called on Sadtu to suspend the strike and urged teachers to resume their duties.

Sowetan 27/8/93

Plea to end war talk

Sowetan Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party women have joined forces in a bid for peace and have vowed to send joint delegations to their leaders to get them to stop the war talk

This follows a successful meeting on Wednesday between the ANC Southern Natal Women's League and the IFP Women's Brigade in Durban

The women have agreed jointly to implement a peace programme in the region
This will include joint rallies, ongoing bilateral meetings, meetings with other women's groups, reconstruction programmes, including food programmes, encouraging their members

Sowetan 27/8/93

to meet each other at grassroots level and support for both the agreements between Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi on June 23 and that of the ANC Youth League and the IFP Youth Brigade early this month
The ANCWL and IFPYB plan to hold a meeting of Durban women at the Durban City Hall next month

In a joint statement after their five-hour meeting, the two organisations said that as women, they found they had more in common than that which divided them "We have come from a history of confrontation which we want to steer away from"

The ANC delegation was led by Dr Nkosazana Zuma and the IFP by its national president, Mrs Faith Gasa

Israel kicks out



INTO THE DANGER ZONE: Mourners march into Guguletu yesterday to 'reclaim'

Sexwale condemns killing of whites

Staff Reporter
THE struggle for democracy could not be allowed to degenerate into the killing of whites, said African National Congress PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

Commenting yesterday at the launch of a Stellenbosch University branch of the ANC on the murder of Amy Biehl, he said the "mob of mad people" who had killed a woman in the name of the struggle had to be condemned.

"Amy was supposed to be alive today. But we are not just objecting because she was involved with the ANC Women's League. She could have been a tourist from Timbuktoo."

He said the easiest politics in the world would be to hate whites, but the ANC had avoided that option since its foundation in 1910.

If attacking whites became part of the struggle, the very foundation of the ANC would be gone and it would have lost its platform of non-racialism, Mr. Sexwale said.

Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus

'Tireless worker for democracy'

Staff Reporter
AMY BIEHL was a tireless worker for democracy and equality in South Africa and her tragic death underscored the urgent need to complete constitutional negotiations, the

Abuses report high on ANC agenda

THE ANC will take its first formal step towards drawing up a list of candidates for next year's April election when its national executive committee (NEC) meets in Johannesburg this weekend. **BIDay**

The NEC will also decide how to take further the Motsuenyane commission report on human rights abuses. Among other issues it will discuss are the third draft of SA's new constitution and the state of negotiations. **27/8/93**

Although the NEC does not make its agenda public, a source confirmed that an election list would be discussed. The ANC will probably appoint a committee which will consider a list of names forwarded to it by the ANC's regions and structures.

The election list will be drawn up and then endorsed by an ANC policy confer-

PATRICK BULGER

ence in December. The list will contain the names of a number of people not directly linked to the organisation, the source said.

The NEC may also consider who will fill the vacancies left by the deaths of NEC members Chris Ham and Oliver Tambo.

But the Motsuenyane report — which implicated two senior office bearers, deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise — will be high on the agenda. **(11A)**

According to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa the ANC will consider whether to take disciplinary action against those implicated in the report in terms of the movement's code of conduct.

PAC won't 'collaborate' with TEC

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH — The PAC was not prepared to be part of a transitional executive council, its secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said yesterday

Speaking at a press conference, Mr Seroke said the PAC believed that being part of the TEC would amount to "an act

of collaboration" because President FW de Klerk's government would still hold power

CT 27/8/93
The PAC believed the transition should be controlled by the United Nations, OAU, Commonwealth and other international organisations

Mr Seroke said that while the PAC did not recognise the

concept of an interim constitution, it would, however, participate in the first election

On the continuation of the armed struggle by the PAC's military wing, Apla, Mr Seroke said the PAC's standpoint remained that the armed struggle would end when a mutual cessation of hostilities was negotiated with the government

Bilateral talks with the government were deadlocked because it maintained it was not involved in the violence

Mr Seroke said the PAC had launched a "Road to Victory" campaign and was mobilising its supporters across the spectrum in readiness for the election on April 27, although the PAC was not convinced this date could be met

Black anger 'a deadly threat'

11A

CT 27/8/93

Staff Reporter

BLACK anger was the most deadly threat to South Africa, ANC PWV regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

He was speaking at the launch of the ANC branch at the University of Stellenbosch, which was attended by about 1 000 students and some residents of Kayamandi township.

Strongly condemning the killing of American student Ms Amy Biehl at Guguletu on Wednesday, he said there was a crisis in education, a general crisis of economy, of violence, of confidence in the security forces and in health care.

Criticising the multi-party talks for wasting time, he said there was a crisis in that very forum which it was "hoped would address these crises".

He said the new constitution must address both white fears and black anger. Calling this "the South African equation", he said the one could not be addressed at the cost of the other.

"One represents the immediate



"WHITE FEAR, BLACK ANGER"... African National Congress PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale addresses students yesterday at the launch of an University of Stellenbosch ANC branch.

Picture STEWART COLMAN

danger of people trying to break out, the other, people trapped in a citadel, afraid of change, wor-

ried about the future"

Referring to the killing of Ms Biehl, he said "A woman was murdered yesterday in the name of the struggle — that is not our struggle, we cannot have our country degenerate to this

"What happened to Amy will be business as usual if we do not solve these problems"

He said delay in finding a solution was "playing into the hands of thugs, of white and black right-wing criminals"

He called for a constitution accountable to Parliament, independent attorney- and auditor-generals, accountable security forces and a free press, which under minority rule whites had never enjoyed.

"We want to enjoy this with all South Africans," he said.

He said the multi-party forum was an undemocratic, unrepresentative structure and there had to be an opportunity to elect the people who would draw up a constitution.

Questioned on the "Kill the Boer" slogan, he said Mr Peter Mokaba was working hard to tell the Youth League not to use it

A whitewash, says 'paw-paw' victim

(11A) WMM 27/2 - 2/9/93

Mduduzi Harvey

"HOW can this commission be independent if it was chosen by the African National Congress? Why did they not allow the South African community to choose the commissioners?" asked Samuel Mngqibisa, a former Umkhonto weSizwe fighter and a victim of torture at several ANC prisons in Zambia, in reaction to the Motsuenyane Commission's report.

He described the commission as "partial and lacking credibility".

In evidence to the commission earlier this year, Mngqibisa said he had been beaten by Mbokodo guards, kept in solitary confinement for lengthy periods and subjected to the "paw-paw" treatment, during which detainees were suffocated with a paw-paw while being assaulted.

He expressed shock this week that of the 10 ANC members responsible for abusing him, only one, Keith Mokoape, was mentioned in the commission's report as having caused his detention

"without good cause".

Mngqibisa regards ANC national executive committee (NEC) members Joe Modise and Robert Manci as key culprits. He has written to ANC president Nelson Mandela also accusing Solly Simelane, Snooky Zikalala, Jackie Morake, Daffter Nkadimeng, Cliff, Socks and Sidwell, all ANC security members in exile.

Criticising the commissioners and the prosecutors at the commission, he said: "Motsuenyane and advocate Zamchiya were really pulling their punches. They were not really probing, but simply allowing the ANC leadership to get off the hook."

"The prosecutors have an ANC background, according to some newspapers. How can you expect them to probe their leaders?"

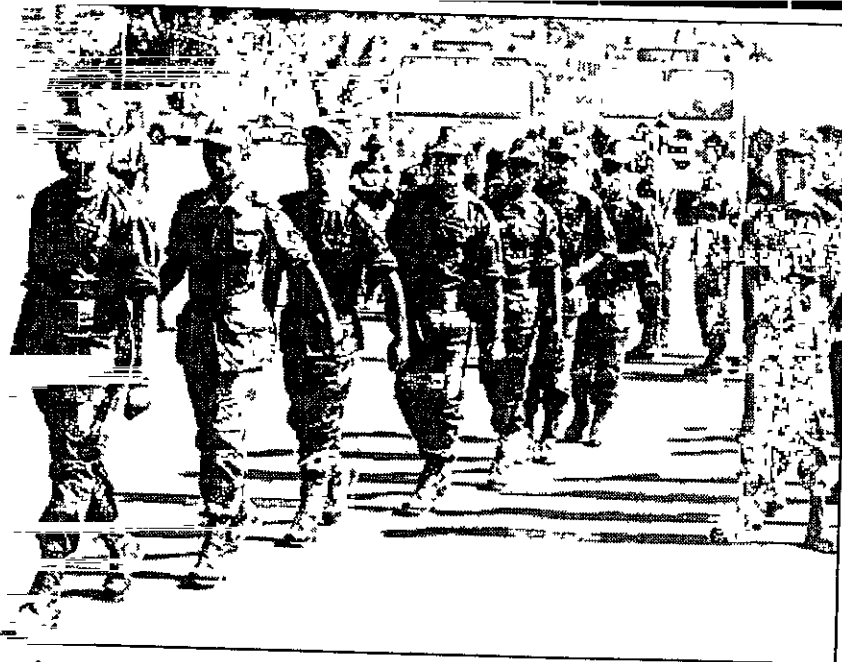
He believes that the commission's investigations won't be complete until the ANC's host countries have been brought to book. In letters to the Zambian, Zimbabwean and Tanzanian governments, he wrote: "Your gov-

ernments have played a dirty role in allowing Mbokodo to destroy sons of South Africa who spoke out against maladministration within the ANC.

"You allowed Mbokodo to run kangaroo courts and prisons where ANC members were murdered in cold blood. This was a violation of international law. You have to account to South Africans, just as Hitler's generals are accounting to the Jews and the international community."

Mngqibisa added this week that the commission had failed to solve the question of missing persons: "It is high time the ANC brings back the corpses of our brothers who perished in exile and explains the circumstances which led to their disappearance."

On the commission's comment that he was "difficult and contentious", Mngqibisa said: "They call me such names because I challenged the ANC's maladministration, corruption and sexual abuse of young girls who came into exile."



The inquiry found the ANC leadership did not act on MK's grievances in Angola
PHOTOGRAPH GUY ADAMS

How ANC 'rehab centre' became a hell hole

By piercing the shroud over the Quadro 'dumping pit' in Angola, the Motsuenyane Commission has provided valuable insights into the failure of the ANC leadership, writes **Mduduzi Harvey**

THE Motsuenyane Commission's report has provided piercing insights into the leadership failures and organisational disarray which spawned widespread human rights abuses in the African National Congress' detention camps

It highlights the failure of the ANC executive to control its security department, Mbokodo. As a result, inexperienced junior officers usurped power and transformed the Quadro camp in Angola into a "dumping pit" where torture and other abuses were rife. The executive lacked monitoring power over the security apparatus and may have felt too indebted to it to want to interfere, it says.

Even after reports over a six-year period by a "Committee of Three" — set up to monitor the camps and led by ANC Women's League president, Gertrude Shope — the national executive committee (NEC) had not met to discuss the detainees' problems.

The commission found that too much power was concentrated in Mbokodo, which lacked transparency and accountability, and which should have been incorporated into ANC structures. Mbokodo was responsible for investigating, arresting, trying, convicting, jailing and guarding its victims. It also served as an appeal court.

Within the security department there were no defined structures, and all members owed exclusive allegiance to their commander. Members believed they were not accountable to the ANC, resulting in friction between ANC structures, particularly between the armed wing and security. There were no clear lines demarcating Mbokodo's responsibilities and those of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

A sinister shroud surrounded Mbokodo's operations and image, the report adds. People would "disappear" from their work stations

without any explanation being offered to them, their friends or relatives, and no one knew what happened to them in detention.

Some detainees were transferred from one country to another without explanation. When detainees were freed, no account was given to the community.

"The lack of checks and balances allowed security guards to abuse and torture detainees to the extent where the guards were dehumanised by their unchecked power," the report says.

The impression was reinforced by the Skweyiya Commission, staged by the ANC last year. Asked who was in charge of Camp 32 (Quadro), former MK chief of staff, Chris Hani, said "This camp was in the hands — entirely in the hands — of the security department. Although it was supposed to be a camp, it was not under the control of MK. It was handled by security officials of the ANC."

Quadro held a "counter-productive mix" of criminals, people considered to be spies, deserters and loyal ANC members under investigation. All, the Motsuenyane report found, had been deemed enemy agents and accorded the harshest treatment. The camp acquired a widespread reputation "as a hell hole where people were sent to rot."

According to ANC head of information Pallo Jordan's evidence at the commission, there were rumours of rampant embezzlement of funds, illicit dealings in precious minerals and the theft of vehicles in the security department. Mbokodo was also intolerant of criticism and ill-treated those who opposed it.

At the ANC's Kabwe Conference in 1985, it was decided to implement mechanisms — mainly a code of conduct and "office of justice" — in response to the detainees' problems. But the measures were not adequately followed through, the commission found.

The officer of justice — initially



Chris Hani ... 'Quadro was not under MK's control'

Zola Skweyiya — was not given sufficient resources or the authority to implement his mandate. Combined with the inadequate training and supervision of personnel at Quadro, and their lack of maturity in dealing with suspected agents, this led to a breakdown of communication between the officer and Mbokodo. The detention of persons without trial continued.

In addition, Mbokodo took a defensive attitude towards the officer, and viewed the code of conduct as an attack on its operations.

The commission also criticised the ANC leadership for failing to act on the grievances of MK soldiers in Angola. A proper response would have averted three mutinies — at the Pango and Caxito camps in December 1983, and at Viana in February 1984 — and a situation where detentions became routine.

The report concludes "No reason was given to the commission which satisfactorily explains why Camp 32, the rehab centre, turned into Quadro, the dumping pit."

"The NEC should have stepped in sooner and the good work which the MK and security department were doing (in other contexts) was allowed to blind the leadership to the manifest abuses of human rights at Camp 32."



A woman waits ... Dispossessed people demonstrated this week outside the World Trade Centre over the proposed entrenching of property rights, a move which could end their hopes of regaining their land

PHOTOGRAPH KEVIN CARTER

Azapo: Will out of sight mean out of mind?

11A WM 27/8-29/93

AWAY from the World Trade Centre negotiations and the glare of media attention, the Azanian People's Organisation is trying to work out a role for itself as next year's elections approach

Having opted to boycott the "deficient and fraudulent elections" set for April 27 1994, Azapo must now show whether it still carries any clout in South African politics

Azapo has become increasingly irrelevant over the past two years, and has been further marginalised by the Pan Africanist Congress' decision to join the constitutional talks. With its leadership positions largely in the hands of academics and intellectuals, rather than pragmatic politicians, Azapo has driven itself into the political wilderness by its ideological purity and no-compromise philosophy

Opinion polls indicate that Azapo would fare worse than even the Democratic Party in an election. And so insignificant has the organisation become that its recent national congress received scant mention in the media, and some of its members did not even know that it had taken place.

Why is a body that should be fighting marginalisation at all costs staying away from the biggest show in town? "Because we are aware that April Fool's Day will not fall on April 1 next year — it will fall on April 27," says Azapo's publicity secretary, Gomolemo Mokae.

In order to press home its rejection of the election "sell-out", the organisation will launch a mass-action programme next week, to coincide with the 16th anniversary of Steve Biko's death in police custody. It is banking on the fact that the mass of black people will "soon realise that they are being duped into believing that next year's election is the definitive election", says Mokae. In reality, he adds, the election will result in the co-habitation of "a section of the liberation movement and the Satans of yesteryear".

As foolhardy and self-defeating as Azapo's stance may appear on the surface, a measure of political calculation lies behind it. Political observers concur that if the organisation were to contest the elections, it would receive a drubbing from

Has Azapo faded so far from the public eye that its strategy of boycotts is self-defeating?, asks **Mondli Makhanya**



which it would be extremely difficult to recover. And if it did win some seats in the government of national unity, its role would be so junior that it would have virtually no influence on decisions while being tainted by association with unpopular government moves.

Rather than risking this, "their strategy is to consolidate themselves as a powerful post-election force, to cash in on the period when the euphoria of a liberated South Africa has been dampened", reckons University of Fort Hare politics lecturer Siphon Pityana.

The strategy may pay dividends. There is growing impatience in the black community with the lack of tangible results from the protracted negotiations process. And a leftward shift in voter sentiment is highly likely if the new government fails to deliver an improvement in black living standards.

What also strengthens Azapo's position is the increasing uncertainty over whether the elections will take place in April. If the elections are aborted because of violence, the organisation will be vindicated, much as it was when the Codesa talks collapsed.

But Azapo will only be able to capitalise on the shortcomings of the World Trade Centre settlement if it can strengthen its own organisational capacity — which is incredibly weak. For a start, it has no resources and officials admit it is cash-strapped. It has a highly inefficient national network and it has faded so far from the public eye that it will have much to do in rebuilding a public profile.

Another major shortcoming is

that Azapo does not possess recognisable public figures in its leadership. While its former president, Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, lacked charisma, the incumbent, Itumeleng Mosala, has spent much of his 18-month-old presidency on study leave in England. As political analyst Seshi Chonco points out, "South African politics is still very much based around symbolism and personality".

And, unlike the PAC, whose popularity among blacks has been boosted in the past year by Azanian People's Liberation Army's (Apla) attacks on policemen and white civilians, Azapo does not have an effective army to conduct an armed propaganda campaign.

The Azanian National Liberation Front (Azanla) — the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — is reported to consist of not more than 2 000 trained soldiers in exile. Very few attacks by this force are documented, a fact which Azapo activists meet with the retort: "We don't rush to the nearest telephone each time we hit."

Comments the University of Durban Westville's Ivan Mantzaris, "If Azanla were half as successful as Apla in its strikes against whatever targets they chose, Azapo's support would be greatly enhanced among those who have no faith in the negotiating process." Azapo's base in the union movement has also been seriously eroded. While many National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) affiliates are in the black consciousness camp, leadership positions in the federation have been in Africanist hands since Nactu's fractious 1989 congress. This seriously weakens Azapo's ability to conduct effective mass action.

Pityana warns that Azapo should be cautious about how it plays its cards on the negotiations and elections. "It needs to dislocate itself from a situation where it will be in chorus with Inkatha. Instead of condemning the process and being a spoiler, it should rather be highlighting the limits of the process."

Political commentators agree that Azapo's first duty is to remove itself from the margins and back into the mainstream. Only then will it be able to launch an attack on the new government.

Derek Bauer

Cartoonist Derek Bauer is on leave for a fortnight.

Mandela talks tough to rebel MK cadres

11A
WM 27/8-2/9/93

Farouk Chothia

DISGRUNTLED Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers in southern Natal ended their 10-day sit-in at the African National Congress's regional offices in Durban late last week — but none of their demands have been met.

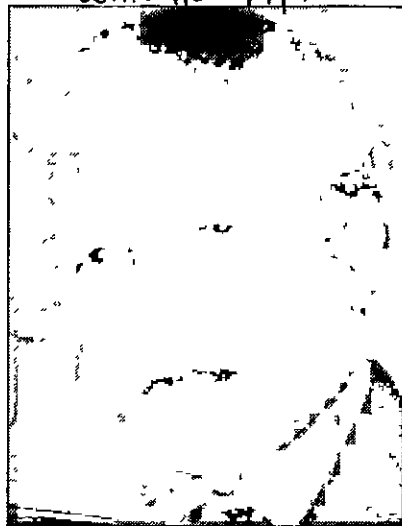
An MK cadre said ANC president Nelson Mandela had adopted a hardline approach at a meeting with dissidents in Johannesburg last Wednesday evening. Speaking on condition of anonymity, the MK cadre said that Mandela ordered the 25 protesting cadres to leave the ANC offices, or risk being forcibly evicted.

According to the MK cadre, Mandela refused to give in to their demand for a monthly stipend of R1 000 and a guarantee that they would be incorporated in a new integrated army.

"Some cadres receive money, hold top jobs in MK and would be in senior command positions in the new army. We are just being ignored," he said.

ANC deputy general-secretary Jacob Zuma held a lengthy meeting with them on Thursday afternoon and was "approachable and sympathetic", said the MK cadre.

"He promised that our grievances would be discussed at a meeting of the national executive committee. We were



Nelson Mandela: 'Ordered cadres out'

not satisfied, but decided to end the sit-in."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said he could not divulge the contents of "confidential" discussions and it was "unfortunate" that the cadre had decided to do so.

He added that the ANC did not have money to assist the returned cadres and believed that the government should "help to re-establish" them inside the country.

Fm 27/8/93 (IIA)

ANC external detention centres during its years in exile

The commission, which reported this week, accuses two top ANC officials, MK commander Joe Modise and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, of grossly violating the rights of members in the Quatro detention camp in Angola

The German report, written by Marc Gordon, a freelance writer on African affairs who attended the commission, also cites the late ANC president Oliver Tambo and assassinated SA Communist Party chief Chris Ham as having either been directly implicated in, or having failed to prevent, many of the abuses



Motsuenyane too lukewarm an inquiry

Other well-known figures similarly accused include Ronnie Kasrils, Alfred Nzo and James Stuart, who in 1984 conducted an inquiry into a mutiny by MK cadres

The German report commends the ANC for compelling witnesses who hold office in the ANC to appear before the inquiry and praises the commission for holding open hearings. The use of two external legal experts (from Zimbabwe and the US) and the fact that they were not drawn from the ANC's immediate ranks gave greater independence to the commission

However, the German report has many criticisms. It says the commission had all the trappings of a court but was not. With the exception of US jurist Margaret Burnham its members failed to ask necessary and penetrating questions

The inexperienced prosecution team, selected by the chairman, also contributed to the often ineffectual questioning of witnesses. The team, says the report, was proposed to Motsuenyane by Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR). "Their sporting of ANC diaries and addressing witnesses as 'comrades' was perhaps indicative of their viewpoints," Gordon suggests

In contrast, the defence team comprised seasoned jurists led by Cape Bar member and ANC executive member Dullah Omar. It also appeared to Gordon that the ANC chose who from its ranks would attend the inquiry and that there were notable omissions. Many witnesses could not attend due to financial difficulties

Amnesty International and the Interna-

tional Freedom Foundation also attended but it seems LHR and the International Commission of Jurists did not even though they were accredited

Of greatest concern in the German report was the ruling that the "accused" be heard first. Motsuenyane says this was "purely for logistical reasons"

"This legal and practical impossibility was compounded by the fact that specific allegations from affidavits from future witnesses were ruled by the chairman as non-admissible lines of questioning 'until the witnesses had actually been heard'." The report says only a minority of ANC witnesses were recalled

In conclusion the organisation found from the evidence presented that the violations of human rights were systematic, not sporadic. "Many of those implicated in physical acts of torture remain within the ANC," the report charges.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon says the ANC's reaction to the findings casts serious doubts on its claims to be a champion of human rights. He adds that the commission's findings confirm those of three previous commissions and reports which reveal a sustained pattern of executions, torture, excessive force and related evils reflecting harshly on the ANC

According to Leon, the perpetrators of the offences ought to be handed over for trial or independent judicial scrutiny. It was not for the ANC to punish them

However, LHR had urged the ANC to act appropriately against ANC members accused by the commission. LHR says that while it is distressed by the actions in the camps, it commends the organisation for publicly investigating and disclosing the abuses

However, "we anxiously wait for the NP and the government to establish a Peace & Reconciliation Commission to investigate publicly and disclose human rights violations committed by its agents during the past 45 years," says LHR, adding its voice to a similar call from the Black Sash

ANC TORTURE INQUIRY
Fm 27/8/93
Not far enough

(IIA)

ANC leaders directly or indirectly implicated in breaches of human rights should be prevented from holding office in the ANC or a future government. That is the view of the German-based International Society for Human Rights, which has conducted an independent assessment of the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry into

News

in brief

Sowetan

27/8/93
**White fears,
black anger**

ANY new constitution in South Africa would have to address the twin dialectic of white fears and black anger, African National Congress PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday. Addressing an estimated 1 000 students at the launch of a University of Stellenbosch ANC branch, he warned that black anger was "the most deadly force in South Africa today" but said it could not be addressed without also considering the fears of whites.

(11A)

Revolution

'still the only way' to bring about change

(11A) APR 28/1993
PRETORIA — Only revolution could bring about the fundamental changes that people sought, Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

He told a meeting of black students at the University of South Africa that reformism could never deliver freedom because it failed to understand the nature of capitalism and bourgeois democracy.

He was amazed that the PAC was the only party at democracy talks pushing for a transitional authority with executive powers after the April 27 election, instead of a transitional council, which would not enable the winning party to rule effectively.

Reform could, however, be used as a school for revolution and this was why the PAC was taking part in constitutional negotiations, he said.

Regarding Apla's activities, Mr Alexander said any policeman who committed atrocities "against our people" risked being attacked. Apla members would know whom to hit.

He believed there should be a mutual cessation of hostilities once it became clear that an agreement ensuring freedom had been reached, but in the meantime, the armed struggle should be maintained.

Mr Alexander said right-wingers had no claim to self-determination because they were not even a nation or a people, but a minority.

"The only thing we are prepared to consider is a unitary state with normal individual rights for everybody." — Sapa

PAC: Revolt brings change

PRETORIA — Only revolution could bring about the fundamental changes that people sought, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday

CT 229/8/78
He told a meeting of black students at Unisa that reformism could never deliver freedom because it failed to understand the nature of capitalism and bourgeois democracy (116)

Reform could, however, be used as a school for revolution and this was why the PAC was taking part in constitutional negotiations

Referring to the Beaufort West bus ambush, he said he did not have sufficient information yet but his immediate reaction was that it sounded shocking — Sapa

Mystery ANC tribunals sentenced 11 to death

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

AT LEAST 11 ANC exiles were executed on the instruction of faceless tribunals organised by the ANC in exile and about which little is known — even after the publication of the Motsuenyane commission report this week.

The ANC-commissioned report partially lifted the veil of shame surrounding the disappearance of hundreds of ANC exiles and presented accounts of how 70 exiles were executed, beaten to death, committed suicide or died of natural causes in ANC camps.

But mystery still surrounds the whereabouts of nearly 200 other ANC members who have been recorded as missing by organisations ranging from Amnesty International to the right-wing Aida Parker newsletter.

Error

Circumstances surrounding the sentencing and execution of 11 of those named in the report are unclear. Seven of the 11 are recorded in the report as having been executed on orders of "a National Peoples' Tribunal" for mutiny.

But ANC official James Stuart, who chaired the tribunal, said the seven were in fact executed in 1984 — one year before the National Peoples' Tribunal was established. He said he was drafting a memoran-

dum to the commission to point out the error.

He said he could only assume that the seven had been executed on the orders of "an ad-hoc tribunal" convened by the military. No records existed of what had transpired at these tribunals and he knew of no one in the ANC who had information on them, he said.

The commission said it had deduced that four others had been executed based on ANC security department submissions to the commission which ended with variations of the chilling line "Authorisation, Tribunal time and place 1981 Angola".

"From affidavits presented to the commission by the ANC on the missing people, it would appear as if other tribunals of a military nature existed, which imposed sentences on various alleged serious offenders at different camps," the report said.

But, the commission added, it had been unable to get information on "the nature, powers and composition of these tribunals".

An Amnesty International report listed 265 per-

sons as missing while in the ANC's charge in the Frontline states. A Returning Exiles Co-ordinating Committee list of 232 missing ANC members was published in the Aida Parker newsletter in 1991.

The Motsuenyane commission instructed the ANC to continue to locate missing persons "to put the record straight", but it added that many of the missing people could prove untraceable.

Beaten

The report also provided the names of 17 MK cadres missing in action after being infiltrated into SA and 11, whose current whereabouts were testified to by the ANC.

The possibility remains that the deaths of many of those unaccounted for have been covered up by ANC officials after they were beaten to death, summar-

ly executed or given the death sentence by ad-hoc military tribunals.

The ANC is expected to announce its response to the commission's recommendations today. The commission named ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and MK commander Joe Modise as responsible for the unnecessary detention of people.

However, other ANC officials acting as the immediate superiors of those directly involved in abuses should explain to the organisation's NEC why they "should not be held directly responsible for the relevant violation".

The report singled out the ANC's security department — nicknamed "Mbokodo" after a Xhosa maize grinding stone — as bearing much of the responsibility for abuses in the ANC's notorious Camp 52 or Quadro.

● The case of good soldier Phiri — See inside

PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN
There were 1,80 winners collecting a payout of R492 598,40. Numbers: 2, 7, 11, 12, 6, 16

CLAIRWOOD
289 punters received R1 787,70 each. Selections: 3, 1, 3, 1, 1, 6

MILNERTON
There were 291 winners with each collecting R889,10. Combinations: 1, 4, 7, 1; 13, 2.



THANKS! Kamala Naidoo with her R5 000 Magazine



9 770039 533008

This week the long-awaited report of the Motsuenyane commission into atrocities in the ANC's Angolan punishment camps in the 1980s was released. Among the accounts of torture, murder and starvation is this one — the tale of the good soldier Norman Phiri ...

LIKE hundreds of other Soweto pupils caught in the 1976 revolt against Bantu Education, Norman Phillip Phiri crossed the border into Swaziland to join the African National Congress.

Phiri is now back in Soweto after almost 17 years in exile — four years and nine months of which he was held in prison camps without trial and tortured.

He has been unemployed since his return in December 1992, but remains a loyal member of the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, even though members of its leadership were his prison guards.

His personal nightmare started in the uprising in the MK camps in Angola in the early 80s.

An intelligent, articulate and highly trained soldier, Phiri quickly rose through MK's ranks after initial training and was made political commissar at Fazenda camp in northern Angola in 1979.

The cadres in the camp were disillusioned with the ANC's leadership and thought that the war in South Africa should be escalated.

Frustrated

They were frustrated that they had not seen any combat after years of military training and began to disobey orders.

In addition to disillusionment, the cadres in Fazenda also faced disease — malaria and yellow fever — caused the closure of the camp in 1980.

Some cadres were sent to other camps and three men were arrested in 1980 and sent to Quadro, a camp in northern Angola which was dubbed four in Portuguese after the high-security prison Number Four in Johannesburg.

Phiri was next sent to Pango in northern Angola in 1980 as political commissar.

As in Fazenda, the cadres at Pango were anxious for engagement with the A forces and frustrated because the leadership did not appear to be intensifying the armed struggle.

The cadres also feared the ANC's security department, whose tactics to rid MK of dagga users in the 80s were viewed as oppressive.

In 1981, the then ANC resident Oliver Tambo,

REPORTS OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ALLEGATIONS OF CRUELTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE AGAINST ANC PRISONERS AND DETAINEES BY ANC MEMBERS

Name:

NORMAN PHIRI

Qualifications:

A highly intelligent and committed MK soldier

Allegations:

Imprisoned without trial and tortured by his own comrades

SI Times 29/8/93 (11A)

visited all the camps in Angola. At Pango, he said some people in the movement were trying to sabotage it and suggested that cadres should meet to suggest ways to help improve the ANC.

The cadres elected Phiri chairman and formulated a series of demands which included the suspension of the security department. They also levelled the serious accusation that some MK commanders in the Frontline states had "sold them out" and were working for the "enemy".

Phiri met with a hostile response when he presented the cadres' demands to Pango's camp commander Dan Peterson. He accused Phiri of leading a mutiny.

Peterson reported the details of the meeting to the leadership in Luanda and two days later a then NEC member and now MK political commissar, Andrew Masondo, met cadres and "dressed them down",

labelling their accusations as nonsense.

Masondo accused Phiri of instigating the cadres against the leadership at Pango and having fuelled the dissension at Fazenda camp in 1979.

Later, cadres under Phiri's command in Cacuso and Kangadala were sent to Viana Transit Camp after firing their guns into the air and refusing to fight Umta.

When they arrived, the Viana camp commander ordered them to disarm. But the cadres suspected that they would be abused if they agreed to do so. Many cadres, including Phiri, did not follow this order.

The cadres elected a group of 10 and drew up a list of demands which they were never able to present to the leadership. Early the next morning, Angolan government troops (FAPLA) surrounded the camp.

Chris Hani, then MK

political commissar, asked the cadres to surrender their arms. They did.

Mandela's bodyguard named by commission

By EZRA MANTINI

ONE of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards is among the dozens of ANC members waiting to hear their fate today after being singled out by the Motsuenyane commission into human rights abuses.

He is Mr Basil Mavuso, 39, who returned from exile in 1990. He left South Africa in 1976 and was deployed as a bodyguard to then ANC president Oliver Tambo in 1981.

He denied evidence before the commission that he was involved in beating former security department member Felix Nkosi, whom he allegedly arrested in 1985 without proper cause.

He admitted he was present when Mr Gabriel Setlhoke, still an ANC member, was interrogated. Mr Setlhoke claimed he was arrested after a personal dispute with Mr Mavuso.

The commission supported the allegations of Mr Nkosi and Mr Setlhoke.

The following morning, February 16 1984, Hani, Joe Modise and Masondo arrived at the camp. After Modise condemned the cadres actions as murderous, someone called out a list of cadres — the members of the committee of 10, including Phiri. They were arrested and taken to Nova Stella Sao.

At Nova Stella Sao Phiri shared a cell with four others. For eight days, he and his group remained in the cell without any blankets.

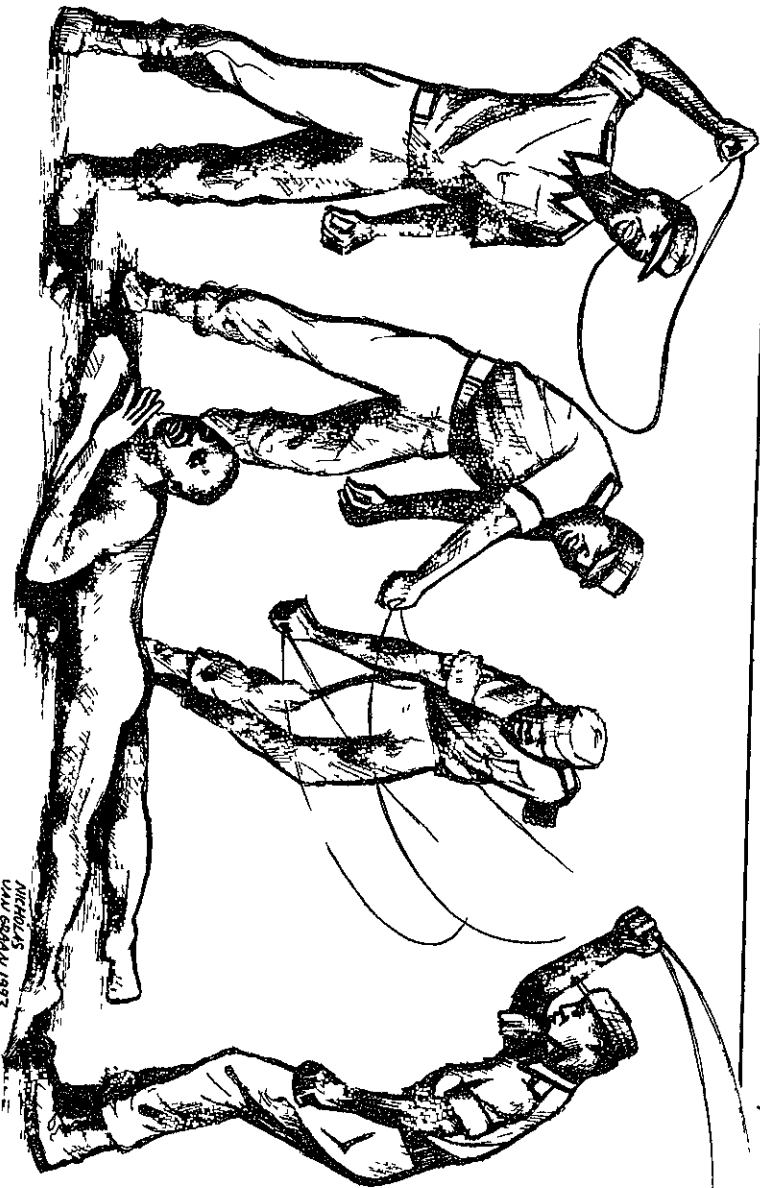
The food rations were meagre and the cell was dark. They were not allowed to go outside.

After complaining, the group eventually received blankets.

In protest against the meagre food rations, Phiri joined a hunger strike started by cadres locked in isolation.

The Stuart commission, a secret internal investigation set up by the ANC in 1984, approached Phiri while he was in prison to explain the causes of the rioting at Pango. He submitted a written document.

In mid-March, Phiri was taken to Quadro along with other cadres from Pango. Upon his arrival, Phiri was given a "hot recep-



NICHOLAS VAN SOEST 1993

tion" Lawrence Sekwalo, Kingsley (who was a recording officer at Quadro), Maurice and another warder gave him the "Beirut treatment" — he was ordered to strip and lie on his stomach while four security officers beat him with an electrical cord for about 20 minutes.

He was placed with three other people in a cell

with no toilet facilities — the camp had no running water.

Because of the hunger strike at Nova Stella Sao, Phiri was often overfed as punishment at Quadro.

A warder named Brian (who later became an Askari working for the SA forces) would give Phiri and his three cellmates a 20-litre pail of rice and

beans, ordering them to finish it. If they couldn't finish the food, they were beaten.

The cell was infested with lice and conditions did not improve until about 1985 when Hani visited the facility. After his visit the inmates were given bath water every other day.

Phiri suffered from malaria, toothache and piles

When he went to the clinic for treatment for his ailments or injuries from the frequent beatings, he was assaulted by the medic, known as Stalin.

Warders Fury, Stalin, Cetswayo, Fortunate, Valody, and others Phiri could not remember by name, regularly beat him when he was attempting to perform the tasks they had

assigned him.

The beatings were part of a daily routine at Quadro. Phiri was beaten with guava sticks and made to "pompaa" — blow air into his cheeks which Valody then hit with such force that his eardrums burst.

Phiri was released from Quadro in October 1988. In December 1992 he returned to South Africa.

When the commissioners asked him what compensation he wanted, Phiri said he would like to be compensated for the two suitcases of clothing and a chess board that was lost while he was in prison.

He said he would also like to be compensated for the four years and nine months he spent in prison. He could not place a monetary value on those years, but said he would accept "whatever the movement can compensate me — whatever is in its power". He said he would also like his name cleared.

The commission recommended that the ANC issue a letter of apology to Norman Phiri, and that it consider compensation for the violation of his rights, including unlawful detention, loss of personal liberty for four years and nine months, and injury to his person.

Mystery ANC tribunals sentenced 11 to death

SITIMES 29/8/93

By RAY HARTLEY Political Reporter

AT LEAST 11 ANC exiles were executed on the instruction of faceless tribunals organised by the ANC in exile and about which little is known — even after the publication of the Motsuenyane commission report this week

The ANC-commissioned report partially lifted the veil of shame surrounding the disappearance of hundreds of ANC exiles and presented accounts of how 70 exiles were executed, beaten to death, committed suicide or died of natural causes in ANC camps.

But mystery still surrounds the whereabouts of nearly 200 other ANC members who have been recorded as missing by organisations ranging from Amnesty International to the right-wing Aida Parker newsletter

Error

Circumstances surrounding the sentencing and execution of 11 of those named in the report are unclear. Seven of the 11 are recorded in the report as having been executed on orders of "a National Peoples' Tribunal" for mutiny

But ANC official James Stuart, who chaired the tribunal, said the seven were in fact executed in 1984 — one year before the National Peoples' Tribunal was established. He said he was drafting a memoran-

dum to the commission to point out the error

He said he could only assume that the seven had been executed on the orders of "an ad-hoc tribunal" convened by the military. No records existed of what had transpired at these tribunals and he knew of no one in the ANC who had information on them, he said

The commission said it had deduced that four others had been executed based on ANC security department submissions to the commission which ended with variations of the chilling line "Authorisation, Tribunal time and place 1981 Angola"

"From affidavits presented to the commission by the ANC on the missing people, it would appear as if other tribunals of a military nature existed, which imposed sentences on various alleged serious offenders at different camps," the report said

But, the commission added, it had been unable to get information on "the nature, powers and composition of these tribunals"

An Amnesty International report listed 265 per-

sons as missing while in the ANC's charge in the Frontline states. A Returning Exiles Co-ordinating Committee list of 232 missing ANC members was published in the Aida Parker newsletter in 1991

The Motsuenyane commission instructed the ANC to continue to locate missing persons "to put the record straight", but it added that many of the missing people could prove untraceable.

Beaten

The report also provided the names of 17 MK cadres missing in action after being infiltrated into SA and 11, whose current whereabouts were testified to by the ANC.

The possibility remains that the deaths of many of those unaccounted for have been covered up by ANC officials after they were beaten to death, summar-

ly executed or given the death sentence by ad-hoc military tribunals

The ANC is expected to announce its response to the commission's recommendations today. The commission named ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and MK commander Joe Modise as responsible for the unnecessary detention of people

However, other ANC officials acting as the immediate superiors of those directly involved in abuses should explain to the organisation's NEC why they "should not be held directly responsible for the relevant violation"

The report singled out the ANC's security department — nicknamed "Mbokodo" after a Xhosa maize grinding stone — as bearing much of the responsibility for abuses in the ANC's notorious Camp 32 or Quadro

● The case of good soldier Phiri — See inside

It's back to the

C Press 29/8/93

Azapo to campaign against elections

By FRED KHUMALO



AN anti-election front - similar to the UDF campaign against the 1985 election - is due to be launched on September 5 with Azapo at the helm. "Azapo will continue to work towards the establishment of a socialist front to fight against any fraudulent elections," said Azapo's Natal regional chairman Patrick Mkhize. From early next month, Azapo will launch its campaign which encompasses protest marches, demonstrations and memorial lectures with the aim of educating the populace about their view on the forthcoming elections.

"Our objection to the election is based on the fact that they are a sham. The parties negotiating at the World Trade Centre claim the elections are for a constituent assembly - but we know this to be false," said Mkhize.

He said the parties at the World Trade Centre have already given themselves the power to draw up a draft constitution whereas in normal constitutional procedure such a task would be left to an elected constituent assembly.

At a recent national council held in Durban Azapo argued that the forthcoming elections are not about the transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority, but about "power-sharing".

The negotiations which are a process leading towards the forthcoming elections are also not addressing the real issues affecting the black community such as the transfer of land to its rightful owners, the blacks.

Until such issues are taken into consideration, the negotiations and subsequent election would not be recognised by a large section of the community, Azapo said.

The campaign to fight against the elections will include mass rallies, marches and other forms of picketing.

Front

By ZANELE VUTELA

THE African National Congress – now poised to become the dominant party in SA's first democratic and nonracial government – was almost destroyed less than 10 years ago

This emerged from the Motsuenyane Commission of Inquiry

The angry 1976 students generation who swelled the rather depleted ranks of the ANC also brought with them serious risks for the organisation – some of them were government agents

It now emerges that in the years 1980, 1981, 1982, the organisation was going through serious lapses of security and its infiltration by government agents was so serious that there was general paranoia in the organisation

Ironically, it is the organisation's security department, now a target of severe criticism, which, according to some of its victims saved the ANC from destruction

The commission was instituted in large measure to inquire into allegations that the ANC – and its security department, or Mbokodo – imprisoned, tortured, abused and even killed those suspected of being Pretoria's spies

Testifying before the commission, Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's department of information, who was once detained by Mbokodo for six weeks, said "in the period 1980, 1981, 1982, if it had not been for the successes that the department had scored, it is very likely that the ANC would have been destroyed by the SA regime"

Commenting about the problems of the organisation in the '80s, Jordan said immediately after Ronald Reagan took over in the United States, "there were times I am sure the enemy would have succeeded in destroying the ANC, or at

QUATRO:

CIPnews 29/8/93

A CAMP CREATED OUT OF PARANOIA



PALLO JORDAN ...
"ANC was almost destroyed in '80s."

least inflicting very terrible damage on it"

Investigate

According to the almost 200-page report, from 1976 to 1980, the Soweto generation constituted the principal source of the ANC's new membership and, "it appears that the ANC was not fully prepared to absorb these young people. It lacked the apparatus to properly investigate the background of the applicants"

The report acknowledges that "the ANC was a heavily infiltrated organisation in the '70s and '80s. The campaign of infiltration waged by the regime was designed to eliminate membership, sow distrust among the cadres, and disrupt political and military operations. MK and Mbokodo were particularly targeted. Infiltrators

caused its members to be highly suspicious of each other"

The tidal wave of newcomers, according to the findings, therefore created a serious risk of infiltration by SA agents "This risk, which materialised with the poisoning of and the subsequent bombing of Nova Catengue Camp in the late '70s, produced the first ANC detention camp in Angola, Quatro, in 1979"

According to the report, "On September 20, 1977, Nova Catengue was targeted. On that occasion the entire camp of about 500 cadres experienced an epidemic of diarrhoea and dysentery, the cause of which was ultimately determined to be the poisoning of the camp's food"

In 1979, South African army planes executed a bombing raid on the same camp, "The bombs were targeted with such a degree of precision that it was apparent that an agent had supplied the enemy with intelligence information. The raid took place at a time when it would have caused the greatest number of casualties. Although loss of life was minimal, the camp itself was reduced to a heap of rubble"

The commission found that the ANC's basic do-

cuments on human rights, the Freedom Charter and the Code of Conduct comply with the international Law on Human Rights. The commission based its work on the following internationally recognised basic human rights

■ The right to life every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and integrity of his person

■ The right to be free from torture, ill-treatment and degradation

■ The right to be free from arbitrary arrest and arbitrary detention

■ The right to be informed of the charges and to a fair trial within a reasonable time by an impartial tribunal

The commission found that these basic human right guarantees are reflected in the ANC's code of conduct

Yet the commission found that of the five categories of complainants who testified before the commission five were basically people loyal to the ANC. These are the groups identified by the commission

■ Persons loyal to Umkhonto We Sizwe who allegedly participated in the mutiny in Angola in 1984-85

■ Persons loyal to Umkhonto We Sizwe who alle-

gedly engaged in infractions of military discipline

■ Persons loyal to the ANC and/or Umkhonto We Sizwe who allegedly engaged in espionage and/or war treason

■ Persons loyal to Umkhonto We Sizwe who allegedly deserted the army

■ Persons suspected of loyalty to the SA regime who allegedly infiltrated Umkhonto

The report reflects that the code of conduct was violated, "Mbokodo's initial reaction was to regard the code of conduct as criticism of its operations, which it was, and would not do too much to promote the code."

Detained

"Ultimately," according to the findings, "the system put in place under the code of conduct failed. Persons were detained, some of them up to periods of up to six years, without trial. Persons were subjected to beatings and torture. People were called humiliating and derogatory names, placed in isolation for lengthy periods of time, denied medical care and subjected to cruel and inhuman conditions of confinement"

It found that Camp 32 (known as Quatro) was conceived without proper deliberation. It was loca-



SAM MOTSUENYANE
... chaired probe into detention camps.

ted in Angola, a country at war, and was staffed by inadequately trained youths of insufficient experience. Its first commander was only 19 years old

Although Quatro was initially conceived as a rehabilitation centre, "instead it became a dumping ground for all who fell foul of the security department, whether they were loyal supporters accused of being enemy agents, suspected spies or convicts. All were subjected to torture, ill-treatment and humiliation far too frequently to achieve its purpose as a rehabilitation centre"

The commission found the ANC leadership did not adequately deal with the concerns and complaints of the mutineers in a way that could have avoided the mutiny.

Reading Press



Hard talking but soft hearted

Suppl to C/Press 29/8/93

Peter Mokaba is really a gentle guy at heart

WHAT lies behind the angry and bitter image of ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba? He recently angered government officials and one of the strongest ANC allies, Cosatu. Both disagreed with his call for the township youths to take the struggle to the white suburbs and to turn their guns on State President FW De Klerk. The man behind these words is gentle, peace-loving and ready to save the life of a white farmer or a boer. He showed his other side to City Press during a recent interview.

From his war-talk when he addresses the youth, it is easy for anyone to think that Peter Mokaba hates whites. Because of his slogans at rallies, most people think he is really encouraging his supporters to take up arms against whites, especially farmers.

Sitting in his newly-furnished office on the 14th floor of the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, Mokaba seems like a leader who wants to reach out to his people and be heard, but who has not got the means of doing so.

"The press has a grudge against me. I'm always misquoted in the newspapers. They are doing the work of the system to discredit me," he says.

What steps will Mokaba take to stop the media from doing him more harm before it's too late?

"There's nothing I can do about it now. But the ANC government will have to change the whole media system in this country. Our media is very destructive. It is not educative. All the newspapers are worried about is increasing their profits at the expense of ruining our society."

Not only are the newspapers trying to put him out into the political wilderness, he says, but they are trying to put him up against other leaders in the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC.



"I don't hate whites, in fact I don't hate anyone because of his skin colour," says Peter Mokaba.

The tension that is supposed to exist between him and ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has been made up by journalists, he says. Not only are he and Ramaphosa the best of comrades, but they respect each other's political views.

When Mokaba recently tipped Thabo Mbeki as the next deputy president of the ANC, he did not say so to spite Ramaphosa. Mbeki was one of the many names the youth league thought of. Ramaphosa was well informed about this before Mokaba mentioned it to the press.

However, at 34, the chubby youth leader thinks he has done enough to serve the young lions. He will not stand for re-election as the youth league's president at the annual congress later this year.

"As a member of the NEC I want to serve my main organisation full time. I know the

press is going to think I'm quitting under pressure. No, it's not so.

"I think I'm going to run in the forthcoming elections in one of our regions. At this stage I'm not sure where, but I'm ready to do so in any part of SA because every town, city and rural area is the ANC's stronghold. The people will tell me where to stand for election because I'm their servant."

After the elections he wants to start his own family so he can join his colleagues in the youth league who are already married. "I've devoted almost my entire life to the struggle and neglected my marriage. I'm yearning to come home to the comfort of my wife's arms and my child and feel like a father."

Despite his "kill the farmer, kill the boer" chant, he is not a killer.

"I'm prepared to go out of my way to save the life of a farmer who is being robbed or killed. My slogan on them is not an empty one. It's about the days of our armed struggle when the farmer in the northern Transvaal borders, with Zimbabwe were mobilised and armed a commandos against our people."

He remains clear about his passionate hatred for the State President, because of what he calls "his double agenda in the peace process."

"He speaks peace with our leaders on the one hand, and unleashes violence on our people through his security forces on the other," he says.

It is the same violence that has made the ANC guard Mokaba 24 hours a day. Since his release from Robben Island, he has never slept at his home nor had a chance to chat for long hours with his mother and sister.

ANC holds mock election in runup to polling day

Biday 30/8/93

TIM COHEN

THE ANC launched its "grass-roots" election campaign at the weekend with a variety of activities, including a pamphlet blitz in Soweto suburbs and mock elections in the eastern Cape.

It distributed 10 000 brochures in Soweto calling for the economy to be "democratised".

The ANC's eastern Cape region held mock elections in all of its branches at the weekend, to create voter awareness and build up momentum for the proposed election on April 27.

The ANC's PWV branch distributed the pamphlets door-to-door in Meadowlands with the assistance of about 600 volunteers. The pamphlet focused on crime, the economy, housing, education, human rights and workers' rights and blamed the NP government's apartheid policies for the crisis facing South Africans.

Sapa-Reuter reports the volunteers at the same time tested support

for the movement and advised people how to vote.

"I have been waiting all my life for this to happen," factory worker Anna Katane told ANC regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale in the tiny living room of her Meadowlands home.

"I think after this election my life is going to change and my children's lives too," she said (117)

Sexwale said: "This is a one-day blitz to collect statistics about how many voters there are in this area and about how many of them would support the ANC."

Local organiser Terror Lekota said the ANC planned to ensure every black home in the country was visited three times before the elections.

Before the volunteers set off, ANC national executive committee member Popo Molefe told them not to intimidate people.

"We are beginning something we have never done before.

"But people must trust the ANC. They will not vote for us if they don't trust us or they are frightened."

Veteran campaigner Ronnie Kasrils said the movement would concentrate on black voters.

"We calculate that to win a significant majority, say two-thirds, we need the support of about 80% of the black people. We will not waste time going house to house in white areas to pick up a few votes. There we will organise house meetings and use other means to reach people."

The ANC's pamphlet promised to get rid of poverty. It said it would democratised the economy, try to find ways of creating jobs and make sure the economy grew.

On crime, the pamphlet said the ANC aimed to create a "strong, professional and accountable people's police force".

ANC Youth League reaches out to SAP

THUNDI BOOI

THE ANC Youth League, signalling an apparent revolution in its thinking about relations with the SAP, is planning a "peace conference" with the force.

The league, which has always regarded policemen with suspicion, if not outright hostility, says such talks would give it first-hand knowledge of law and order operations and a better understanding of the police.

Final arrangements still have to be concluded with the SAP, but October has been set as a target date for the conference, youth league national organiser Derek Masoek said at the weekend **Biday**

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said any attempt to politicise the police force was not acceptable, however the force would reach out to any member of the community in order to help, as long as its principles were not compromised. **30/8/93**

Kotze said any decision to participate in a conference with the ANC Youth League would be measured against these principles **(11A)**

Masoek said. "For a very long time we have paid lip-service to attempts to prevent crime and violence, and haven't really addressed the existing hostility between the SAP and the community. It's time we move towards bridging this gap."

He said the conference was intended not only as a reaching out to the police, but also as a signal to the youth of the country.

SAP regional community relations spokesman Col A C Dyke said although the conference had not yet been confirmed, the police would be ready to discuss, as soon as possible.

"The SAP has been planning to get the community in violence-torn areas like Thokoza and Tembisa involved in community policing. The plans by the youth league will not only make this possible but will make our job easier," Dyke said.

ANC to answer on 'atrocities' findings

(1A)

ARC 20/8/93

□ Marathon NEC talks on commission report

Political Staff

THE ANC will announce its official response today to the findings and recommendations of the Motsuenyane Commission released last week, according to a senior source within the organisation.

The response, to be made at a press conference in Johannesburg, comes after a marathon three-day meeting of the organisation's decision-making body, the National Executive Committee (NEC), which ended yesterday.

Although the source would not divulge items on the meeting's agenda, it is believed the report of the Motsuenyane

Commission on human rights abuses in ANC prison camps in exile featured prominently.

Former Nafcoc leader Sam Motsuenyane's inquiry was the fourth of its kind. Three others — by Amnesty International, the Douglas and the Skweyiya commissions — were also scathing in their criticism of some prominent individuals within the organisation.

The ANC-appointed commission found the ANC had violated detainees' rights through death, detention without trial, beatings and solitary confinement.

Among the many recommendations it made, the commission said those implicated in the abuses of human rights —

including high-ranking ANC officials such as defence secretary Joe Modise and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma — be subjected to disciplinary or punitive action.

Sources said yesterday debate on the commission's report was sometimes heated, with some NEC members questioning the recommendation that those implicated in the tortures be expelled from the organisation.

"How can the ANC justify penalising its own people if government officials who committed worse crimes are going to be indemnified," a newspaper report quoted an ANC source as saying.

'ANC may face racial purge'

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Increasing black anger and frustration at the number of whites and Indians filling senior posts in the ANC — and other parties and trade unions — could lead to a purge in the interests of "Africanisation", the Sunday Times reported yesterday

While the ANC seems embarrassed by the issue, many members believe whites and Indians

who have spent years fighting for black rights will have to be forced to give up their positions of power in the ANC, said the report

The objective is that the ANC leadership should reflect the 40 million South African population which is 76% black, 13% white, 8% coloured and Indians

The black press and ANC officials and prominent supporters including national executive

(11A) CT 30/8/93
member Mr Blaze Nzimande have brought the previously taboo subject into the open

The report said Mr Nzimande called for a policy of affirmative action in the ANC and even an unnamed senior white member was quoted saying that "it seems galling that when we are demanding affirmative action as a policy for South Africa, we have not yet practised it ourselves".

200 ANC cadres missing

JOHANNESBURG. — While the ANC deliberated its response to the Motsuenyane Commission report on abuses by the ANC in exile, it was yesterday reported that a further 200 alleged victims of the organisation's camps exist

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is expected to respond to the report, by National Afri-

can Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) Dr Sam Motsuenyane, at a press conference here today (11A) CT 30/8/93

While the NEC was discussing the report, The Sunday Times reported that the ANC-commissioned report "partially lifted the veil of shame surrounding the disappearance of hundreds of exiles"

"But there is still doubt about the whereabouts of nearly 200 other ANC members who have been recorded as missing by organisations ranging from Amnesty International to the right-wing Aida Parker newsletter," it said

The report focused on the 11 people which the Motsuenyane Commission reported as having been executed for mutiny

APR 1993: GUA DC

Mandela grandson beaten

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's 17-year-old grandson Mandla Mandela was abducted in the city centre here about nine days ago and driven to Diepkloof Hostel, where he was assaulted by hostel inmates, according to Sunday newspapers

Mandla was returning from school and boarded a taxi as usual to go to his grandfather's house in Lower

Houghton, south of Johannesburg

He was punched and stabbed several times, but managed to persuade his tormentors to drive him to Mr Mandela's home, where he was to give them money to pay for the vehicle's window which had been broken during an earlier scuffle. (11A) CT 30/8/93

He was rescued by ANC security men at Mr Mandela's house — Sapa

Whites and Indians 'dominating ANC'

LONDON. — Black ANC supporters are complaining that their movement is being dominated by whites and Indians and that white liberals have established a stranglehold on the organisation, reports London's Sunday Times.

The paper quotes a South African journalist, Mr Mondli Makhanya, as saying that strategies and policies were drawn up by whites and Indians and that Mr Nelson Mandela valued white advice more highly than black input — Sapa

25/30/8/93



ELECTIONEERING . . ANC official Mr Ronnie Kasrils (left) shows a sample election ballot to Ms Jennifer Ncube while campaigning in Soweto at the weekend

CT 30/8/93

(M) (SAPA) Picture AP

ANC starts Soweto voter education

SOWETO — ANC workers started the painstaking task at the weekend of teaching people in backyards and kitchens here how to vote.

While black and white leaders continue negotiating exactly who and what will be chosen in the nation's first multiracial election — planned for April 27 — the ANC launched its first door-to-door voter canvassing drive here after previous efforts in rural areas

Hundreds of volunteers travelled on foot to make sure residents in Meadowlands, an ANC stronghold, knew about the elec-

tion and if possible, to secure support in the balloting

"What you're seeing here is history," said a beaming Mr Ronnie Kasrils, one of the ANC's leading white figures "It has never happened before in Soweto There's never been an election"

The ANC hopes to visit every house in Soweto and other black areas throughout the country three times in a bid to ensure a large black turnout in April

Mr Kasrils estimated there were 16 million black voters — several times larger than any other racial group — and that the ANC needed an 80% black

turnout to guarantee a decisive victory

He said the main goals of the canvassing were to ensure people had proper identification documents to vote, knew how to vote and were willing to go out on election day despite predictions of widespread violence and intimidation.

At one cramped house where 13 eligible voters lived, he used a sample ballot to show two black women how to vote

"You don't tell them who you're voting for It's secret," he said "You must make sure everyone here identifies the ANC symbol"

Before the volunteers hit the streets, ANC leaders lectured them on how to canvass properly They were told to be sober and friendly, to keep the visits to six minutes each and avoid any kind of political argument

They should work in pairs, and each group should have a man because "some men don't want to speak to women", said ANC NEC member Mr Popo Molefe

Above all, he said, they should avoid any inference of a threat or trouble if someone supports another group — Sapa-AP

Soweto
20/8/93
**Canvassers
hit Soweto**

ABOUT 300 African National Congress volunteers began door-to-door canvassing in Soweto on Saturday, testing support for the movement and advising people how to vote in the first all-race election on April 27 (11A)

gn ● Azapo filled the vacuum

Sowetan 30/8/93

Fostering belief in black worth

THIS week, still in alphabetical order, we look at the Azanian People's Organisation

Azapo was established in May 1978 to fill the vacuum left by the banning of the components of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM)

The BCM is an umbrella term used to describe the black consciousness ideology and comprises different organisations and groups

Some of the most influential black consciousness groups, including the Black People's Convention and the South African Students Organisation, were banned in October 1977

Subsequently the BCM has been used as an umbrella term to describe different organisations such as Azapo and the National Forum which replaced the banned organisations

Most of Azapo's leaders were arrested shortly after its launch

On September 30 1979 Azapo was established for the second time and Mr Curtis Nkondo was elected president while former leader of the BPC Mr George Wauchope was elected as publicity secretary

The organisation set forth the following objectives

- Creating political awareness among black workers and mobilising them by means of the philosophy of black consciousness;
- Fighting for an education system that would fulfil the demands of Azanians,
- Propagating and interpreting religion as a liberation philosophy relevant to the black struggle,
- Exposing the injustices of the system and the exploitation of blacks, and
- Fighting for the unity of the oppressed in order to distribute the wealth and power among all the people of Africa

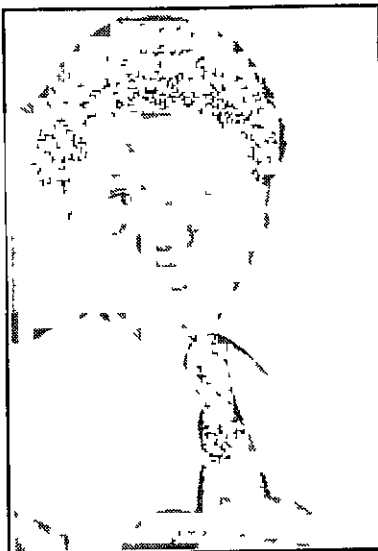
The reference to Azania is derived from the Azanian People's Manifesto drawn up in 1959 by the PAC

In 1965 the PAC adopted the name Azania for South Africa. The name is derived from the Greek "azainein"—meaning "dry"

Some 2 000 years ago the area south of Ethiopia was called "Ajan" or "Azania". According to experts, the term referred to the area stretching down the coast of East Africa, from Somalia to Kenya

Azapo says Azania means "land of black people" and derives from the Azanian civilisation of yore, which was located in West Africa

In contrast to other organisations, the leadership structures of Azapo function on relatively democratic terms



George Wauchope
assembly,

Azapo consistently refused to participate in Government-initiated structures such as local government bodies

It strongly supported a total overseas boycott of South Africa and was at the forefront of a move to boycott performing artists

Socialist agenda

At a conference in March 1990 the organisation appealed to socialist groups to create a "socialist agenda" for liberation

The theme of the conference was "Reconstruction for a socialist Azania"

Unity among the different resistance organisations was stressed through the conference

As it was put "Negotiations must take place between resistance organisations and not with the ruling class"

Azapo is sceptical about the invitation to negotiate the future of the country. Instead it promises to intensify the struggle

Important conditions for its participations include

- The election of a constituent as-

paid membership and is targeting 350 000 by the end of the year

Although not opposed in principle to negotiations, Azapo insists that current negotiations are farcical in many respects

It continues to insist on a guaranteed neutral chairman, neutral territory, the quarantining of the SAP and SADF and the preparedness by the Government to transfer power to the majority before it can enter negotiations

What is Black Consciousness?

Black Consciousness can be described as an awareness among blacks that their human identity hinges on the fact that they are black

Blacks, which in this definition includes Indians and coloureds, are proud of their skin colour, and aware of the fact that they have their own black history and culture, different from that of whites

They no longer accept being judged according to white values and norms

This means that they must psychologically liberate themselves from the slave mentality created by institutionalised racism and white liberalism

In essence, Black Consciousness is an attitude towards life. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for whites to be included in Black Consciousness groups

Seen from an ideological perspective, Black Consciousness is an eclectic philosophy

Liberation theology

It reflects a variety of conceptual constructs and guidelines borrowed from diverse sources, including Marxism-Leninism, Pan-Africanism, nationalism, African socialism and even welfare capitalism

After the 1977 bannings an overseas arm, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, was established in 1979. This external wing helped to radicalise the BCM

The BCMA's point of departure was that Black Consciousness was a liberation ideology and that it was based on the principles of "scientific socialism"

The BCMA holds that a united front of the different liberation movements must be formed. The organisation is in control of the Azanian National Liberation Army of which a number of members were arrested in South Africa in 1990

Inside the country the BCM fulfilled a co-ordinating function. Being an umbrella organisation with no rigid structure it could function in the place of affected organisations such as Azapo

The organisation has had a great impact on black youth, possibly because it is more radically unyielding in the present form of negotiations

'African' saved from PAC mob

Sowetan 30/8/93

THE Pan Africanist Congress regional leadership intervened to save a supporter from an angry crowd at the organisation's first rally in Mdantsane over the weekend

The enthusiastic supporter advanced towards PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu intending to touch him, when he arrived to address the rally at Sisa Dukashe Stadium on Saturday

Pushed aside

Makwetu's bodyguard pushed the man aside and the crowd began assaulting him. One of the regional leaders appealed to the angry crowd to leave the man alone as he was an "African".

Imvo journalist Ponko Masiba, who was taking photographs of the assault, was slapped in the face by one of the bodyguards.

Masiba said the bodyguard asked him why he was taking photographs and then pulled his camera and slapped him

Makwetu told the cheering crowd that his organisation wanted elections for a constituent assembly, not for an interim government or transitional executive council

"April 27 should be the day of elections for the constituent assembly

"In the negotiation process we are dealing with dubious characters who have got their own agenda," Makwetu said

(IIP)
"All the organisations of the oppressed should come together in order to advance the struggle

"Our salvation lies in unity, not disunity. Transfer of power is not on De Klerk's agenda"

Makwetu said the PAC was not against whites but white domination.

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivanani chanted the slogan, "Are you ready, ready for war?" and the crowd responded overwhelmingly "Yes". - *Ecna*

ANC discounts De Klerk idea for referendum to break talks logjam

KEY negotiators have put a damper on President F. W. de Klerk's suggestion that a referendum be held to break the logjam in talks and get the Inkatha Freedom Party to accept the interim constitution.

Members of the ANC alliance on the planning committee yesterday rejected a referendum and said the idea had never been discussed among negotiators.

De Klerk was reported as suggesting in Argentina that a referendum could be held to get popular support for the constitution.

A government negotiator also said this was the first he had heard of it but added:

"Maybe there has been informal discussion on this at a higher level between the ANC and government."

ANC negotiating team sources said an election date had been set and this was the ultimate form of legitimising the constitution. "Anyway, the same conditions will have to be in place if one has to hold a referendum," one said.

He said a referendum might be something negotiators would look at as a last resort if all other attempts at getting agreement failed.

He said if one was held, certain provisos

BILLY PADDOCK

would have to be built in. These were that there should be a high level of agreement on the constitution within the negotiating process, that Bophuthatswana and Ciskei be part of the referendum, that all parties agree upfront to accept the result of the referendum, and that the climate in the country be conducive to conducting a free and fair poll with all parties able to put their positions across throughout SA.

"We will have to have a transitional

executive council (TEC) to level the playing fields first and it will also have to happen soon, giving sufficient time for the election to take place on April 27," he said.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and senior negotiator Walter Felgate both said at the weekend they rejected out of hand the establishment of a TEC and hoped government would not try to force them to implement it. Buthelezi went further and said he would refuse to allow it to be implemented in KwaZulu.

But negotiators from both government and the ANC alliance said they were "very

optimistic" the TEC would be approved by the negotiating council within the next two days and were going all-out to achieve this.

They said Inkatha and the KwaZulu government should be bound by the provisions of the TEC regardless of their participation or not in the multiparty talks.

Apart from three parties — the PAC, Ciskei and the Atrikaner Volksunie — negotiators were in agreement that all parties wanting to contest the elections had to be bound by terms of the TEC and failure to implement these would result in cen-

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Referendum

B/Boy

30/8/93

From Page 1

sure, court action and possible police and military action. All governments and administrations would be automatically bound to implement the TEC.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports from Buenos Aires that De Klerk confirmed at the weekend he hoped to attend a summit soon with ANC president Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi.

De Klerk said such a summit was one of the options government was considering to break the deadlock.

He said he was gravely displeased at Buthelezi's repeated and "dangerous" references to civil war.

De Klerk said he had always held the view that Inkatha should be party to agreements reached.

Call to probe all rights violations

ANC torture camp culprits off the hook

Blay 31/8/93

THE ANC, announcing it would not act against human rights offenders named in the Motsuenyane report, said yesterday it wanted a "truth commission" set up to investigate all human rights violations in SA since 1948.

Delivering its response to the report after a two-day meeting of its national executive committee (NEC), the ANC denied such a commission would be a Nuremberg-style court of inquisition.

"The purpose of a truth commission will be to investigate all violations of human rights, — killings, disappearances, torture — from all quarters. This will not be a Nuremberg tribunal," the NEC said.

It said the Nuremberg trials had been set up by the victims of persecution, whereas an SA inquiry would be appointed by a government of national unity.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said at a news conference even if government refused to set up a truth commission, the ANC would when it came to power.

The NEC said the ANC "accepts collective responsibility for the proven violations of human rights in a community of its camps and centres. It expresses its profound regret and apology for each and every such transgression."

The Motsuenyane report, and the Skweyiya report before it, were the first steps "in a process of national disclosure of all violations of human rights from all sides."

The Motsuenyane report said a number of ANC members had been guilty of murder and torture in detention camps outside SA. It called for disciplinary action and penalties in terms of the ANC's code of

PATRICK BULGER

conduct, for a claims settlement agency to award compensation and for an apology against all those affected.

Yesterday's NEC statement called on government to engage it and other political groupings in discussions to set up a commission. Unlike government, the ANC had no systematic policy of abuse.

The NEC thanked ANC security department members for outstanding work in protecting the leadership (IA)

It said the violations referred to in the report "can in no way be equated to the activities of the apartheid state." A truth commission would find that ANC violations constituted a small fraction of total abuses.

"When one considers the thousands of torturers, assassins and brutal guards of the apartheid regime who are going scot-free and even receiving generous pensions, one's sense of justice is not served by punishing a few persons from one side only."

Mandela said a comparison of the human rights records of the ANC and government was not an attempt to minimise the seriousness of the offences.

The ANC said reparations could not be made to only one group. Compensation for human rights abuses had to be made across the board as part of a national policy.

The NEC said senior ANC officials, deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, had not been personally implicated in violations.

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Star 3/18/93

ANC is sorry about abuses

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has apologised publicly and unreservedly for human rights abuses in its prison camps in exile, but said no immediate action will be taken against those implicated in the abuses.

Instead, the organisation called for the establishment of a national "commission of truth" which would conduct an across-the-board investigation into all human rights violations and make recommendations on compensation and possible punitive measures to be taken.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leadership expressed "a profound sense of regret" for human rights violations which occurred in its prison camps, and once again accepted collective responsibility.

Heated

However, no immediate action would be taken against people named as perpetrators in the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission report. Nor would compensation to victims be paid out in the short term.

ANC sources stated that the decision, which the organisation said was indicative of its commitment to accountability, had been taken after heated debates at the national executive committee's weekend meeting.

The ANC said the Motsuenyane Commission — which was scathing in its criticism of the organisation — was significant at a moment of opening a national discourse on human rights violations in the

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Star 3/18/93

ANC says it's sorry for abuses

◀ From Page 1

past".

The organisation said it had always held that the standard by which it judged itself was not similar to the Government's, and it was significant that none of the four commissions into the ANC's past had ever established that "there was any systematic policy of abuse" in its camps.

It said although it had 11 camps in Angola and several others in Frontline states, the commission referred only to abuses at Quatro camp in Angola.

The Motsuenyane Commission said those implicated in the abuse of human rights — including high-ranking ANC officials such as defence secretary Joe Modise and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma — should be subjected to disciplinary or punitive action.

Facing the media at an overflowing international press conference, the ANC leadership — president Nelson Mandela, his deputy Walter Sisulu, newly elected national chairman Thabo Mbeki, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Zuma — called on the Government to establish a commission of truth without delay to investigate all human rights abuses since the National Party came to power in 1948.

This commission would not be a Nuremberg-style tribunal, but would merely identify all human rights abuses and their perpetrators, propose a future code of conduct for all public servants, ensure appropriate compensation to victims of abuse "and work out the best basis for reconciliation".

Only, a legitimate government with resources would be in a position to carry out a co-ordinated and national approach to the question of compensation.

The organisation said although press reports on the commission's findings had focused extensively on Zuma and Modise, neither had been implicated in the violations to which the report referred, "nor was there anything in the report to indicate in any way that they were linked directly or indirectly with any form of torture or ill-treatment".

Peace monitors commemorate accord

ANC won't pay victims

Sowetan 31/8/93

■ HUMAN RIGHTS ANC does not have resources to compensate victims:

By Ruth Bhengu

11A

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS will not compensate members who were tortured in its camps

Instead, it has called for a "commission of truth" to look into human rights abuses from all quarters, including the Government

Speaking at a Press conference at Shell House yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said his organisation did not have the resources to compensate victims and that it would take a government to handle this task

He said the ANC would not punish any individual found guilty of human rights abuses because it took collective responsibility for the atrocities in its camps

"The NEC accepts collective moral and political responsibility for the transgressions identified by the commission and unreservedly apologises for each one of these," said the statement read by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

Mandela said the public should bear in mind that the ANC was not a government

and did not have the resources to pay compensation

"The amount of compensation is far beyond the resources we command

"This matter can only be addressed when a new government, including the democratic forces, is in place," said Mandela

The "commission of truth", which would be an international body with eminent people, would not be a Nuremberg-type tribunal but would look into all allegations of human rights violations in the country and not only those perpetrated by the ANC

Asked if the commission would recommend punishment for those found guilty of human rights abuses, Mandela said "We must adopt a global approach. It would not be correct for the ANC to punish a section of those who have violated human rights. Therefore we are not going to act in a piecemeal way

"We will punish everybody no matter if they are members of a liberation movement. Our idea is to ensure that there is respect for human rights"

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ANC youth in talks with police

THUNDI BOOI

THE ANC Youth League met police yesterday to discuss final arrangements for a joint conference to be held in October.

Youth League national organiser Derek Masoek said yesterday's preparatory meeting for the conference, aimed at strengthening the relationship between the two parties and re-defining their roles in a changing situation, was "fruitful".

For the first time, he said, there had been an expression of goodwill by both parties.

"The role of community policing and the SAP's attitude was looked at seriously," he said.

He said both parties had agreed on a joint workshop on September 16 to re-educate the youth about the role of policing in the community.

Masoek said the failure of police to function properly should not be blamed only on the SAP.

He admitted the community had taken the law into its own hands in the past.

Sapa reports the SAP said at the meeting it was committed to co-operating with all groups in the country.

It emphasised its desire to "strive not to be seen to be aligned to one political organisation — now and in the future".

Meanwhile, Youth League president Peter Mokaba said the league's move should not be seen as "embracing the police", but as an effort to cleanse the SAP of its "dirty force".

He said the league believed there were good policemen within the SAP who were interested in change.

However, he still believed in the formation of a national police force and that police should be removed from townships.

Utilities make peace day commitment

B/Doy 31/8/93

MARIANNE MERTEN

ESKOM and Telkom will mark National Peace Day on Thursday with a commitment to address the short-term supply of electricity and telephones to priority areas such as the East Rand and the West Rand.

National peace campaign convenor Jayendra Naidoo said yesterday the commitment — made under the auspices of the Wits Vaal regional peace secretariat — linked peace to socio-economic issues.

This was the first step towards improving difficult relations between communities and the two utilities.

Spoornet had agreed to halt all trains for the five-minute standstill at noon. Permission for a Johannesburg traffic standstill had also been given, he said.

The secretariat announced that six of its East Rand monitors, who were ANC and Inkatha members, would walk 700km from the East Rand along the R103 to Durban, where they planned to arrive on International Peace Day on September 19.

The walk would be launched by Miss SA Jacqui Mofokeng and other dignitaries in a procession through some of the most violent flashpoints in Thokoza, Katlehong and Vosloorus.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC would observe the one-minute silence and the five-minute standstill.

SA Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell said yesterday the mining industry supported the peace call. Individual members would determine ways "appropriate to their operating circumstances" to mark the day.

Johannesburg mayor Les Dishy

had planned a lunchtime interdenominational prayer meeting in the Library Gardens.

The SA Post Office said yesterday it would print peace messages on all standard letters handled at its 10 major mailing centres and would display peace posters in more than 1 700 post offices. Post office workers and customers would be asked to form a human chain and observe a minute's silence.

Sapa reports that Sacob yesterday confirmed its endorsement of National Peace Day. It wanted to draw employers' attention to the fact that the event was not a stayaway.

Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee spokesman Libby Dreyer said the committee was encouraging local rather than centralised initiatives. The committee had 60km of blue ribbon for Natal's people to wear on Thursday. It could be obtained from any of the committee's Natal offices.

The ANC's southern Natal branch called on people to "drown the drums of war and beat the drums for peace, freedom and democracy".

An Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman said Inkatha hoped Thursday's activities would lead to more tangible results in the peace process, even though the activities would be largely symbolic.

Inkatha has planned an interdenominational church service at Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium and a meeting on the peace process at the University of Natal, Durban.

White buying down as

In 1990, when Mapetla Hostel inmates attacked residents living next to the Soweto hostel and people feared the Reef townships would soon experience what Natalians were going through, a friend said "It's absurd, but the truth of the matter is that Inkatha's resistance against ANC domination is a blessing in disguise for Azapo and the PAC. Inkatha has shifted the spotlight from us to them. If the ANC had started with us, by now we would be hanging copies of the Freedom Charter on our walls."

The people who had made the remarks knew what they were talking about. A year later, Reef townships were engulfed in blood and smoke. I told an Umlazi ANC member what the black consciousness people had said about the ANC. He replied "Well, if it were not for the ANC putting up such a struggle against Inkatha, some of us would be hanging the picture of Mangosuthu Buthezi on our walls."

He explained he was proud of being a Zulu, but he was even prouder to be a member of the ANC, for the ideals of which he was prepared to die, like earlier Zulu ANC leaders Chief Albert Lutulu, Prof Teengo Jabavu and Mahlabu Champoni.

There is no place or region in SA where the struggle for power is more fierce than in Natal and KwaZulu. The war is between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC, between the young and the old, the "progressives" and the traditionalists. And when you listen to the people who refer to Inkatha supporters as "traditionalists", they seem to imply that they are also uneducated old people, or the "primitive lot". One often picks up phrases such as "those old illiterate Zulus".

However, the war seems largely to be about economic power. In St. Lucia recently, I spoke to a hotel waiter about Inkatha. He said: "What has the KwaZulu government done for us? Do you know how much we earn

B/Day Aug. 1993
Battered Natalians

**await election
 with trepidation**

NOMAVENDA MATHIANE in Durban

around here? The government does not want trade unions to come here because it wants white people to continue exploiting us. That is why whites around here are voting for Inkatha. They know their privileged status will be protected by Buthezi. Look at the towns where the ANC is in control. The trade unions fight for the workers."

However, the maid in my hotel does not agree. She is a widow living in KwaMashu and has five adult children. "I was lucky that, when my husband died, the township was no longer under the council. If it was, I would have been evacuated from my house and put in a two-roomed house. Or, worse still, I would have been repatriated to the homelands. When Buthezi took over he put an end to widows being kicked out of their homes."

She is neither Inkatha nor ANC. She admires Buthezi but does not like Inkatha. She also does not like the ANC youth, to whom she refers as the "comrades". She thinks everyone from Johannesburg is ANC. She thought that I was, simply because I was from Johannesburg and because I had lots of reading material in my room. She finds it hard to believe there are people in Soweto who do not support any political party.

When people speak of Natal violence they ascribe it to a lack of tolerance on the part of the Zulus. I often wonder where that idea came from. Zulu people do not have a history of discriminating against those who are not one of them. In fact, many non-Zulu people were educated in Natal schools. They will tell you of the hospitality of the Zulu people. For every five blacks walking along Durban streets, two will be Xhosa or Sotho.



A middle-aged business consultant from KwaMashu argues that Inkatha followers seem to be under the misconception that somebody wants to take their country away from them. "I was speaking to an MP from Newcastle and he said: 'Can you see how the Xhosa (meaning the ANC) want to take the country?' And I told him that the voters will give the country to the ANC."

It continues to be difficult to know what people are fighting over in Natal. The lines are not as clearly drawn as the media tends to suggest, and yet they are also very clear lines of division. For instance, if you are not an ANC supporter then you had

RADI EV VICINI

representatives from the various political parties have to put their views across. Inkatha's usually perform badly.

In Johannesburg most ANC supporters and leaders are young and educated. In Natal they range from office clerks to factory workers to street vendors to cleaners and the elderly. There are also respected men and women in the townships, university lecturers and doctors who rub shoulders with the ordinary folk at meetings and rallies.

The leaders here do not pretend there are no problems in their midst. They will admit that they spend long hours listening to their followers and allaying the fears they have about many issues. A senior ANC person once said to me, "If only people at Shell House knew how much we have to defend some of the things that go on in there."

They are more sensitive about getting their organisation doing the right thing. They are concerned about discipline, ethics and the future of black people in the area.

But while the leadership is making noises and statements of reconciliation, anarchy persists on the ground. The ordinary person is becoming marginalised, and by the time the politicians begin to woo him, it will be too late.

The community is looking on helplessly and fearfully. When one raises the question of elections, one finds that the people have become cynical and threatened by the event. It is as though they sense that, once again, they are going to be robbed of democracy. They are disillusioned and ambivalent. They want to participate in the process but the situation puts them in a dangerous spot. They end up expressing utter and complete dependency, displaying symptoms of distancing themselves from the event. It is as though the whole exercise will be for them and not for us.

Mathiane is a freelance journalist, currently based in Durban, where she hosts a Capital Radio talk show.

news in

Mbeki new chairman

African National Congress foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki has been elected ANC national chairman. *Sowetan 3/12/93*

The ANC's national executive committee announced yesterday the vacancies on the national executive committee created by the deaths of Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Chris Ham were filled by secret ballot during a plenary session of the committee at the weekend. *(UAP)*

Ham and Tambo are to be succeeded by three new members on the executive, Mr Charles Ngqakula, Mr Penuel Maduna and Mr Jostah Jele

Mbeki to fill top ANC post

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki has been elected national chairman of the organisation, effectively making him the third most powerful person in the ANC hierarchy.

In a move hailed as a major victory for the ANC Youth League, the ANC leadership told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that Mbeki, whose elevation had been advocated by the ANCYL, had been elected national chairman with immediate effect.

Tambo 11A

He succeeds the late Oliver Tambo, who headed the ANC for almost three decades in exile.

A close confidant of Tambo over the years, the suave Mbeki always travelled with the then ANC leader and wrote most of his speeches, including the January 8 anniversary addresses.

The matter was discussed at the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) meeting at the weekend, where Mbeki was elected by secret ballot to the chairmanship.

As national chairman, Mbeki is now third in the ANC hierarchy — after Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu — and his new responsibilities will include seeing to it that the organisation "functions as it ought to function", he told The Star yesterday.

Unsure

He was unsure, however, of what would happen to his duties as foreign affairs director.

To fill other vacancies on the NEC, Penuel Maduna, Josiah Jele and SA Communist Party general secretary Charles Nqakula were also elected to the committee.

Nkosazana Zuma and ANC chief representative in Germany, Sankie Nkondo, were co-opted on to the committee.

ANC apologises for human rights abuses in its camps

□ Leaders seek national Commission of Truth

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has apologised publicly and unreservedly for human rights abuses in its prison camps in exile, and has called for a national Commission of Truth to conduct a similar across-the-board investigation and make recommendations.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC leadership expressed a profound sense of regret for human rights violations in its camps and once again accepted collective responsibility.

But no immediate action will be taken against people named as perpetrators by the Motsuenyane Commission. Neither will compensation be paid out to victims in the short term.

Sources within the ANC said the decision, which the organisation said indicated its commitment to accountability, was taken after heated debates at the National Executive Committee's three-day meeting at the weekend.

The ANC said the Motsuenyane Commission — which, like others before it, was scathing in its criticism of the organisation — was "a significant moment of opening a national discourse on human rights violations in the past".

It was significant that none of the four commissions had established that "there was any systematic policy of abuse" in its camps.

The ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission found that the ANC had violated detainees' rights through death, detention without trial, beatings and solitary confinement.

Among the many recommendations it made, the commission said those implicated in the abuses of human rights — including high-ranking ANC officials such as defence secretary Joe Modise and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma — should be subjected to disciplinary or punitive action.

Facing the media at an international Press conference, the ANC leadership — president Nelson Mandela, his deputy Walter Sisulu, newly elected national chairman Thabo Mbeki, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Zuma — called on the government to establish a Commission of Truth without delay to investigate all human rights abuses since the National Party came to power in 1948.

This commission would not be a Nuremberg tribunal, but would merely identify all human rights abuses and their perpetrators, propose a future code of conduct for all public servants, ensure appropriate compensation to victims of abuse and work out the best basis for reconciliation.

'Slap in the face for victims of cruelty'

Political Staff

POLITICAL parties were critical today of the ANC's decision not to punish members who were guilty of atrocities in its prison camps in exile.

The Inkatha Freedom Party expressed shock. It said the decision was a breathtaking slap in the face for the numerous victims who suffered cruel treatment, and often death, at the hands of

their ANC captors.

"The decision reflects the ANC's crude insensitivity towards the lives of its own members and indifference to human life."

The National Party said the suggestion of a "truth commission" by the ANC was an effort to shift the ANC's internal problems so that it would not have to handle them before an election. The idea that taxpayers of

the future should pay for the misdeeds of political parties in the past was unacceptable.

There were sufficient instruments to handle misdeeds, such as commissions of inquiry, judicial inquiries and criminal investigations.

Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the ANC's decision had two distinctive parts.

"One is that they are not go-

ing to punish anyone in their own organisation.

"That is their decision. It means to the rest of us that people who perpetrated these misdeeds are still in the ANC with all that implies."

"The second part of the decision is that they would like to set up what they call a 'truth commission'. This is an interesting proposal and I would be happy to discuss it with them."

NP: PAC 'in criminal hands'

Political Staff (11A)

THE PAC came under fire yesterday for "speaking with a forked tongue" on violence after its Transkeian vice-chairman Mr Gilbert Sineke called on pupils "to be Paso by day and Apla at night"

National Party spokesman Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the PAC had fallen into the hands of "criminal elements"

Mr Sineke apparently made the remarks at the Moshesh high school at Maluti, Transkei, at the weekend. 31/8/92

The NP criticised the PAC for their recommendation that foreigners wear stickers to identify themselves