

BLACK POLITICS - 1993

SEPTEMBER

ANC takes flak for inaction on abuse

Biday 11/9/93

WASHINGTON — The US attorney who served on the Motsuenyane commission yesterday criticised the ANC's handling of the commission's findings — as did SA human rights groups.

SIMON BARBER and PATRICK BULGER

Attorney Margaret Burnham said she was disappointed at the ANC's response to the recommendation that disciplinary action be taken against human rights violators named in the report, which found that murder and torture had been perpetrated in the organisation's camps.

in the anti-apartheid movement. NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday the NP derived no pleasure from the ANC's inability or unwillingness to deal with the Motsuenyane report. He said the ANC was avoiding its responsibilities.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) both criticised the ANC's call for a truth commission in place of disciplinary action. The HRC said the ANC "appears to be exonerating itself through a comparison with the appalling human rights record of the present SA government".

DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said the ANC was using the idea of a truth commission as an escape hatch. "The ANC national executive committee's response to the Motsuenyane commission represents another sorry page in a sordid chapter of human rights abuses and violations. . . .

Although Burnham stopped short of criticising the ANC, she said the ANC's response "was not how we felt the thing should be resolved". She hoped there would not be too long a delay in granting redress to those who had suffered in the camps, and that if the ANC could not afford financial compensation, other means would be found. These might include providing "educational opportunities" for victims and "opening arms to those who still want to belong to the organisation but who have been labelled enemies".

"Its substitution of pious words for decisive action is cynical in the extreme."

LHR national director Brian Currin said: "LHR believes that the ANC is shirking its responsibility and calls upon the organisation to take action against those members found to have been responsible for human rights abuses and provide assurance that these individuals will not be considered eligible for party or public office in the future."

Burnham said she had long been active

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ed Tillett said the ANC's 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".

Preparatory talks over Walvis Bay begin

Biday 11/9/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Officials from SA and Namibia met in Pretoria yesterday to prepare for Friday's talks on details of Walvis Bay's incorporation into Namibia.

this agreement would be discussed by the ministers, the spokesman said.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said the two foreign ministry teams were isolating issues and drawing up an agenda ahead of Friday's meeting between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Namibian counterpart, Ben Gurirab.

Sapa reports Portnet said yesterday it was prepared to repatriate all of its Walvis Bay employees and accommodate them at other SA ports when the enclave was handed to Namibia. Alternatively, it was prepared to negotiate the most favourable conditions for those wishing to resign and join the company administering the port after the transition.

Botha has said agreement must be reached guaranteeing the vested interests of SA citizens and businesses. Details of

ANC urged to punish those guilty of abusing detainees

Star 1/9/93

'Punish camps culprits'

(11A)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has come under heavy fire from various political and human rights organisations for its decision not to punish those in its ranks implicated in human rights abuses.

Although some yesterday welcomed the ANC's call for the establishment of a national "commission of truth" to investigate human rights abuses across the political spectrum, they have nevertheless expressed disappointment at the ANC's failure to punish the "culprits".

Democratic Party Houghton MP and justice spokesman Tony Leon said: "It seems that the ANC's quest for power and the primacy of the looming election campaign override any other consideration of decency and responsibility."

Problems

National Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk slammed the ANC's "incapability or unwillingness to deal with the Motsuenyane report".

He said the ANC's proposal for a "commission of truth" was an attempt to avoid dealing with its internal problems before the election.

In its response to the com-

mission's report, the ANC apologised publicly for human rights abuses in its camps in exile, but insisted no immediate action would be taken against individuals implicated in the documented abuses.

Instead, the ANC called for the establishment of a national "commission of truth" to conduct an across-the-board investigation into all human rights violations and make recommendations on compensation and possible punitive measures.

Van Schalkwyk said the NP was opposed to a "commission of truth" which, despite the ANC's denials, would amount to Nuremberg-type trials.

He said enough instruments — such as commissions of inquiry, legal inquests and criminal investigations — existed to deal with alleged malpractices.

Leon said it was now clear the ANC had no intention of applying any sanction or expression of disapproval to those of its members whom its own commission had found guilty of atrocities.

Like his leader Dr Zach de Beer, Leon welcomed the call for the establishment of a "commission of truth", saying it was a good idea for achieving a full disclosure on rights abuses by all sides.

Leon was concerned, however, that the ANC appeared to be



Tony Leon ... quest for power overrides decency.

using the idea "as an escape hatch from its own responsibility to discipline its own officials".

Addressing the NP Free State congress in Bloemfontein yesterday, Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee said the Motsuenyane Commission's findings showed the ANC needed full indemnity.

Coetsee said the commission's report should be sent to the governments in whose countries the violations had occurred. If their

courts found reason to prosecute, they would have to apply for extradition.

"Considering the recent history, if I am required to consider extradition applications, my attitude is that the time has come to finally clear the slate and close the book on the past.

"Let us close all the books on a time of our history that we must write off," Coetsee said.

Lawyers for Human Rights national director Brian Currin said that while it was commendable that the ANC leadership had accepted collective responsibility for the atrocities, the ANC had to be reminded that it could not accept collective accountability too.

Currin, who also supported the idea of a "commission of truth", said the individuals who had carried out the atrocities had to be acted against.

Farce

The German-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) said yesterday the ANC's response to the Motsuenyane Commission rendered the probe a farce, adding that those involved in the investigations had been misused.

The ISHR said it would seek European Community support for rehabilitating and compensating abuse victims.

Modise, Zuma 'were not linked to torture'

High-ranking ANC officials Jacob Zuma and Joe Modise — who were listed among "culprits" in the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission into human rights violations in the organisation's camps in exile — were not personally linked to any form of torture or ill-treatment, says the ANC.

Calls on the ANC leadership to take punitive action against people implicated in human rights abuses have focused particularly on deputy secretary-general Zuma and defence sec-

retary Modise.

To a lesser extent, people still serving in the ANC's security and intelligence department — including ANC president Nelson Mandela's bodyguard Basil Mavuso — were also the focus of the shrill calls.

According to the ANC, neither Zuma nor Modise was implicated by the Motsuenyane Commission "in any way concerning the gross violations ... 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". (UFA)

Both Zuma and Modise have remained tight-lipped throughout this controversy, and attempts to reach them yesterday failed. Zuma was said to be out of town until today and Modise did not return numerous messages left for him.

The commission found Modise, who was then an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, to have violated the rights of Dumisani Oupa Khosa — who was detained between 1981 and 1984 —

by arresting him without cause.

Zuma, then security and intelligence chief, was found to have "failed to adequately supervise" an investigation into the activities of David Mbatha and "to assure its prompt resolution". Mbatha was detained for two months in 1988 on suspicion of being "an enemy agent".

Those who still serve in the ANC's security and intelligence department despite allegations against them are Mavuso, Griffiths Seboni and Golden Rahupe. — Political Correspondent.

Star 1/9/93

Let both ANC and State *State* 11/9/93 culprits go, says Kobie (11A)

Bloemfontein — Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee would consider refusing extradition of ANC members to countries where they allegedly committed crimes in detention camps.

But he made it clear that such a move would be part of a deal in which State employees would also be given indemnity for actions taken when they believed they were "fighting a just war against terrorists".

Coetsee's comments came at the National Party's Free State congress in response to a delegate's call for the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry into ANC detention camps.

The Minister said he was astonished by the ANC's call this week for a "commission of truth" to investigate cases dating back to 1948.

"Its obvious purpose is to include the period in which the National Party has been governing the country," he said.

The Government was of the

opinion that the ANC should send the report to the Angolan government or "other countries where crimes may have been committed". If those countries found there may be a case against individuals, they would have to ask the SA Government for extradition of those who allegedly committed crimes.

"If I was asked to consider extradition, my attitude would be that the time has come now to clear the slate finally, and close the book on the past.

"Now we need to be even-handed also as far as our forces are concerned, our civil servants, people who believed they were fighting a just war against terrorists. It is time to look after their interests."

He said the ANC had been using issues such as the Goniwe murders to heap blame on the Government.

"How can there be trust if this continues?" — Political Correspondent.

By ALEC RUSSELL

SOWETO — In a dusty schoolyard in the heart of Soweto, several hundred ANC activists began their first exercise in basic democracy at the weekend.

Mr Popo Molefe, head of the ANC's elections committee, issued a final exhortation: "Just remember," he boomed, "be patient. Be tolerant. Show respect. Be friendly."

"The voter is always right. If there's a question you don't know the answer to, then don't take chances by trying to answer it."

He raised his voice against shouts of "Now is the time" and "Vote ANC".

"If someone says he won't vote ANC you mustn't threaten to come back with petrol bombs and burn their place down. We are beginning something we've never done before, something special. But if it goes well we are on the way to winning our democratic goal."

With those words ringing in their ears, volunteers headed off into the township's maze of alleyways, taking the ANC's message to residents on the first phase of its campaign for April's election.

For an organisation preparing to fight its first election, the sophistication of the three-pronged programme, of which this weekend's exercise was the first part, is staggering.

In the next few months ANC workers will fan out all over the country — with the exception of a few solidly-white areas and heartlands of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the ANC's bitter rival — to ask voters about their

ANC opens election campaign with some lessons in democracy

11A
#CT1/9/93



KASRILS: Not interested in intimidation.

grievances and voting preferences.

Nearer polling day, provisionally set for April 27, a second team will take to the road to answer the queries of the undecided. Then, on the day, ANC workers will tour townships and villages, helping to ferry to polling stations known ANC backers who are too old or busy to go of their own volition.

Last weekend saw the first incursion into the huriy-burly political environment of the townships. An hour into the exercise, all seemed to be going smoothly. In Thababosigo Street Mr Sydney Phuti, the ANC's Soweto chairman, was confidently leading a dozen canvassers.

"All my team have attended workshops on how to communicate. It's a great feeling to get out among the people

and discuss the issues that really concern them."

In house after house, the reception was overwhelmingly positive.

"We've been in such a dark place and we want to live in a light place. That will happen through the ANC," said one pensioner.

Magdalene, a young mother, said: "Fortunately, before I get old, I will be able to vote and that's the ANC's doing."

It was a happy day, full of idealistic enthusiasm, but there was one rather significant shortcoming: the ANC is probably the only party that can canvass in Soweto and many other townships.

In Thababosigo Street canvassers and residents alike admitted that it would be a foolish person who canvassed for Inkatha or the National Party.

But Mr Ronnie Kasrils, a senior ANC official, said the ANC had a strict code of conduct: "We're not interested in intimidation."

Other ANC workers conceded that intimidation could come from "comrades", the disenchanted black youth who fought apartheid.

"All we can do is appeal to them to leave them (non-ANC supporters) alone," said Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota of the ANC national executive.

His words would be small comfort to a supporter of the Pan Africanist Congress of Inkatha. Half-way down Thababosigo Street the canvassers took stock: 60 people had been approached and all had said they would vote ANC. — © The Telegraph plc, London.

ANC 'plays big role in foreign affairs'

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC was deeply involved in SA's foreign affairs on both a political and economic level, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday. **B/Say**

Speaking at an African-American Institute breakfast in Johannesburg, Mbeki said he was not sure how successful the ANC had been in informing South Africans of its efforts in the foreign affairs field.

The ANC's initiatives included:

- An attempt to negotiate an end to the Angolan and Mozambican conflicts;
- Negotiations with banks in Switzerland about the handling of SA's foreign debt;
- Discussions with the Russian government about SA's and that country's near-monopoly of precious raw materials;
- Continuing discussions with the major economic powers such as the US, Germany and Japan about SA's role in the world economy; and **1/9/93**
- Cultivating ties with countries and movements traditionally hostile to SA, such as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Libya and Cuba. **(I/A)**

Mbeki said about 60% of his foreign negotiations concerned economics, with only 40% being about politics. It was important that SA took advantage of the special place it had come to occupy in the minds of international political and business leaders.

"We are trying to define SA's place in the world. We don't want a situation to arise where we lose that special place in people's minds," he said.

Finance Minister Derek Keys was discussing with the ANC his attempts to renegotiate SA's foreign debt and had handed over to the ANC documentation relating to these negotiations.

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Mbeki

B/Say

1/9/93

From Page 1

"I am talking to Swiss bankers about this debt. When they ask me: 'On whose behalf are you talking?' I reply: 'On behalf of the SA government and the ANC,'" Mbeki said.

The ANC could make a much greater impact on US investors than SA's foreign service, which needed a complete revamp. The establishment of a transitional executive council with its foreign affairs sub-council would accelerate the process of involving the ANC in foreign affairs.

The ANC expected that SA's government

would need to make a more substantial contribution to peacekeeping in Africa. However, it could not retain its present military capacity as this would push other southern African countries into retaining military forces beyond their means.

SA would have diplomatic ties with the China and lower-level ties with Taiwan, in keeping with international practice, Mbeki said.

Picture: Page 3

ANC deep in foreign affairs

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was already deeply involved in South Africa's foreign affairs on both a political and economic level, ANC national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

Speaking at an African-American Institute breakfast

CT 11/9/93
here, Mr Mbeki said he was not sure how successful the ANC had been in informing South Africans of its efforts in the foreign affairs field.

The ANC's initiatives included negotiations with banks in Switzerland about the handling of South Africa's foreign debt and discussions with the Rus-

(11A)
sian government about the two countries' near-monopoly of precious raw materials.

Mr Mbeki said about 60% of his foreign negotiations concerned economics.

He said Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys was discussing with the ANC his attempts to renegotiate the foreign debt

and had handed over to the ANC documentation relating to these negotiations.

In African matters, he said the ANC envisaged a more substantial contribution to peace-keeping on the continent. However, retaining present military capacity would unduly pressure South Africa's neighbours.

Mandela to pay six-day visit

Political Staff (119)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would launch the organisation's election campaign in the Western Cape during a six-day visit next week, the ANC's regional chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, announced yesterday.

Although Mr Mandela was likely to come to the Western Cape for one-day trips, this would be his last long visit before the April 27 election.

The ANC president is to address meetings throughout the region during his trip, including a mass rally in Elsie's River on Saturday next week, a "megarally" in Khayelitsha the following day and another rally in the Cape Town City Hall on Monday.

The ANC intended the Khayelitsha rally to be the biggest-ever meeting held in the Western Cape. CT 11/9/93

A number of prominent

people would announce they had joined the ANC at the City Hall rally, which is to be held after a reception hosted by the mayor, Mr Clive Keegan.

Dr Boesak said the visit was "extremely important to us" and Mr Mandela would visit as many places as possible.

Mr Mandela is to arrive in Cape Town next Wednesday to be greeted by placard-holding ANC members along the N2.



Nelson Mandela

Mandela visit to 'kick off poll campaign'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN (11A)
Political Staff

PROMINENT Cape Town citizens are expected to announce publicly that they have joined the ANC during Nelson Mandela's five-day visit to the Western Cape later this month.

The announcements are to be made during Mr Mandela's meeting in the City Hall on September 13.

Disclosing details of Mr Mandela's visit yesterday, regional ANC chairman Allan Boesak said it was likely to be

his last lengthy visit to the region before the April 27 all-race elections.

"The intention is to help this region kick off its election campaign." *ARC 11/9/93*

The ANC hoped Mr Mandela would help it make inroads into areas where it had failed to make an impression and to consolidate those which it had gained.

Dr Boesak said the City Hall meeting would be a follow-up to the ANC's meeting in the Parow Civic Centre.

"We hope many members of the white community will attend."

ANC official Cameron Dugmore said the movement's members and supporters would welcome Mr Mandela when he arrived in Cape Town next week by standing on bridges straddling Settlers Way and waving banners.

He said Mr Mandela's visit had aroused a lot of interest in the rural areas.

The Overburg and Karoo, two regions not previously vis-

ited by the ANC leader, had asked to host him, but it was decided he would fly to Beaufort West for a rally on September 11.

"We are getting requests from all sorts of people including the police."

Mr Dugmore called Mr Mandela's meeting in Khayelitsha — scheduled for September 12 — a "mega-rally".

"We are expecting it to surpass all rallies we've had in the Western Cape."

NORTHERN NEWS Homelands expect solution to the teachers strike

Call to reopen Biko inquest

By Don Seokane

THE Azanian People's Organisation's Steve Biko Week, which starts on Sunday, will be marked by demands for the reopening of the inquest into the Black Consciousness Movement leader's death.

Regional Azapo publicity official Mr Mmutle Phasha yesterday said several rallies would be held from Sunday to September 12 to commemorate the 16th anniversary of

Biko's death in detention.

The Northern Transvaal region of Azapo starts its programme with a rally at Belabela in Warmbaths on Sunday. The rally will be addressed by the organisation's president Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

The week-long activities will be rounded off with a rally in Venda to be addressed by Dr Gomolemo Mokae and Strini Moodley.

Phasha said the organisation would campaign feverishly for the reopen-

ing of the Biko inquest as evidence came out of slain Cape civic leader Matthew Goniwe's inquest pointed to the involvement of the security police.

He added that Azapo further demanded that BCM property and funds confiscated by the Government during the swoop in October 1977 be returned.

The Biko week will also focus on the dismantling of homeland governments and the collapse of National Party rule.

Sowetan 11/9/93

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Sisulu stuns NEC over ANC chair

Star 1/9/93

(11A)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Walter Sisulu stunned delegates at a crucial ANC executive meeting on Sunday by proposing that Professor Kader Asmal replace the late Oliver Tambo as ANC national chairman.

The proposal by Sisulu, ANC deputy president, was defeated as the majority of the national executive committee (NEC) rallied around foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, whose elevation to the national chairmanship was announced on Monday.

Impeccable sources within the ANC's leadership told The Star that Sisulu stunned the NEC at its meeting outside Kempton Park when he moved that Asmal — an NEC member and University of the Western Cape academic — should suc-

ceed Tambo as national chairman.

According to the sources, Sisulu had apparently been asked by ANC president Nelson Mandela — who did not enter the debate himself — to broach the subject of Asmal's candidacy.

The sources believe the "top five" at the apex of the organisation's hierarchy — Mandela, Sisulu, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma — had discussed the issue in advance and wanted a non-Xhosa, and preferably someone other than a black African, for the position.

It was hoped this would counter perceptions that the ANC was a black-dominated, Xhosa-dominated body, according to the sources.

Constitutional lawyer Asmal

fitted the bill, they believed, but ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba had put paid to the plan.

Opposing the proposal, Mokaba said the national chairmanship was an important position for which an election should be held by secret ballot in the NEC.

Mokaba's argument in favour of an election — instead of a unanimous, unopposed appointment — was backed by most NEC members. Mbeki was then elected by an overwhelming majority, defeating Asmal, the only other candidate. Sources said Asmal scored "very badly".

Some delegates expressed surprise that Asmal had been proposed for the position. "I don't know why they thought of Asmal," said one. "Not even his region would have

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NEC backed Mbeki

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◀ From Page 1

supported him."

Another added: "I have no problem with whites, coloureds and Indians rising to senior positions. But they, like Africans, must also go through the ranks and prove themselves."

The Mbeki-Asmal debate is believed to reflect the serious concern at the very top of the ANC that the organisation's leadership should become more racially representative before the election campaign begins in earnest.

In terms of the ANC's structure, the national chairman-

ship is the third rung on the ladder, following the presidency and deputy presidency.

Now Mbeki's promotion means the national chairmanship — a position held by his father Govan before the banning of the ANC — changes from a purely ceremonial post.

Many observers believe it now outranks the deputy presidency in practical terms, making Mbeki number two to Mandela.

There is no certainty as to when Sisulu will retire but it is understood that Ramaphosa would make himself available for the position.

Mokaba thwarts top ^(11A) post plan for Asmal

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A proposal that Professor Kader Asmal should replace the late Oliver Tambo as ANC national chairman has been defeated.

Impeccable sources within the ANC's leadership revealed that ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu made the proposal at a crucial ANC executive meeting on Sunday.

ANC foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki won the post in a subsequent election by secret ballot.

Mr Sisulu stunned the NEC at its meeting outside Kempton Park when he moved that Mr Asmal — an NEC member and University of the Western Cape academic — should succeed Mr Tambo as national chairman.

Mr Sisulu had apparently been asked by ANC president Nelson Mandela — who did not enter the debate himself — to broach the subject of Mr Asmal's candidacy.

The sources believe the "top five" at the apex of the organisation's hierarchy — Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma — had discussed the issue in advance.

ARG 11/9/93
They apparently wanted for the position a non-Xhosa — and preferably someone other than a black African.

It was hoped this would counter perceptions that the ANC was a black-dominated and Xhosa-dominated organisation, the sources said.

Mr Asmal, a constitutional lawyer, fitted the bill, they believed, but an intervention by ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba put paid to the plan.

Opposing the proposal, Mr Mokaba said the national chairmanship was an important position for which an election should be held by secret ballot in the NEC.

Mr Mokaba's argument in favour of an election — instead of a unanimous, unopposed appointment — carried the support of the majority of NEC members.

Mr Mbeki was then elected by an overwhelming majority, defeating Mr Asmal, who was the only other candidate.

Some delegates expressed surprise that Mr Asmal had been proposed for the position.

"I don't know why they thought of him," said one.

Top ANC man denies 'more Africans' call

Own Correspondent

CT2/9/93

DURBAN. — ANC Natal midlands regional chairman Mr Blade Nzimande has denied reports that he had called for an affirmative action programme within the organisation to make it more "African".

"I am quoted as having said that the ANC needs an internal affirmative action programme. Irrespective of whether I believe this to be true or not, I have never made such a statement to any newspaper or other source," he said.

ANC may lose pledged funds

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi met senior Indian officials in New Delhi last month to finalise arrangements for the handover of a sum of money — understood to be about R56 million — for ANC election coffers.

It was first promised by the late Indian premier Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

However, visiting Indian foreign minister Mr Salman Khursheed said yesterday India could not provide financial support to the ANC.

CT 2/9/93 (11)

MK to hold conference

(11A)

CT 2/9/73

JOHANNESBURG. — Serious problems within uMkhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, will be among the topics discussed at a two-day special MK conference at a secret venue in the Eastern Transvaal starting tomorrow.

MK's role in the period before and after the April 27 election, as well as problems concerning members' welfare, will top the agenda.

MK members recently occupied the ANC's Durban offices in protest at the way they have been treated. — Sapa

news in brief

Sowetan
**Sisulu will
21/9/93
ignore threat**

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu will address a meeting at the University of Pretoria today despite threats of disruption. Sisulu will be accompanied by top officials Mr Carl Niehaus and Mr Terror Lekota. *(IA) (S)*

"The ANC finds it ironic that on a day of peace, rightwing youths should find it opportune to disrupt a peaceful meeting to the chagrin of the majority of the people of our country," the ANC said yesterday.

'Goniwe problem did not affect general'

BIDAY 31/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH — It was strange that Military Intelligence chief Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen could remember nothing of the circumstances of the signal which recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Matthew Goniwe, the judge presiding at the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth said yesterday.

Judge Neville Zietsman told Van der Westhuizen that in June 1985 Goniwe's lot was being discussed by the Eastern Province Joint Management Centre, which was chaired by the general. Van der Westhuizen had told the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court that he had no knowledge of the military signal.

According to a note attached to the signal, it was sent to Gen Johannes Janse van Rensburg at the State Security Council in Pretoria by Van der Westhuizen on June 7 1985 to confirm a conversation between the two men earlier that day.

"I remember the problem and the discussion surrounding Goniwe but it did not affect me personally," said Van der Westhuizen. However, the conversation did not "stand out" in his memory.

"It happened nine years ago. I was very busy then. To remember a telephone conversation is asking too much."

Twenty days after the signal was sent, Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlauli and Sparrow Mkonto were murdered near Port Elizabeth.

Van der Westhuizen said he could see no relationship between the signal and the murders. He said he did not remember the signal or the telephone conversation with Van Rensburg, but assumed that Van Rensburg had asked him to make a recommendation on what the management centre felt should be "done with Goniwe", who was seen as an enemy of the state.

He said it was likely that one of the alternatives he would have given was that Goniwe be detained. He agreed the signal's meaning was not clear and said if he had seen it before it was sent he would have complained about its "vague" language.

The author of the signal, retired SADF colonel Lourens du Plessis, had testified that he drew up the signal on Van der Westhuizen's orders, and said it meant the activists should be killed.

Van der Westhuizen said he could think of no reason why Du Plessis would have used the vague term "permanently remove from society" instead of "detain".

"I doubt they were my words."

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Umkhonto's woes to top agenda

SERIOUS problems within the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, will be among the topics discussed at a two-day special MK conference at a secret venue near Nelspruit in the eastern Transvaal starting today.

MK's role in the period before and after the April 27 election and serious problems concerning members' welfare were expected to top the agenda.

A group of MK members recently occupied the ANC's Durban offices in protest at the way they had been treated since their return from exile. The issue was defused only after ANC president Nelson Mandela

intervened personally.

The media would be allowed to attend only the opening of the conference, by Mandela, and the closing.

The ANC said yesterday issues to be discussed included:

- MK's state of organisation;
- Its role during the transition and preparations for joint control;
- The organisation's role in a national peacekeeping force;
- Its position in the new national defence force and its role in the integration process; and
- Welfare issues. — Sapa.

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Adoption of the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation
Gwala admits



It shows that the police car was

A perfect place for an ambush

Stephen Laufer **WMO**

FEW roads can be better suited to a high-speed assassination attempt than the M70 west to Soweto.

Particularly if the target were to be African National Congress deputy president Walter Sisulu. He travels the road regularly to and from home, often after dark.

Broad and straight for kilometres and bound by concrete and steel barriers, the Soweto Highway offers nowhere to turn. An attempt here leaves bodyguards one option: put your foot down and try to get out. If the opposition's car is as powerful as yours, you and your VIP passenger are in trouble.

Car thieves, it seems, have a particular affinity for the Soweto Highway too. At the wheel of a big BM or Merc lifted in Rosebank or Sandton, it gives them a quick clear run to the chop-shops of Zola or Emdeni. Should a police car give chase, chances are better than even that it can be outrun, especially at night.

Which is why the court cases surrounding the shootout between flying squad officers and Sisulu's bodyguards early on July 18 will have all the ingredients of a classic detective drama. The charges are of murder and attempted murder — police against bodyguards, bodyguards against police.

The SAP say it is an open and shut case: their patrol spotted a small Toyota, a large Mercedes Benz and an even larger BMW speeding in convoy towards Soweto in the early hours of Sunday morning. Suspecting car

1993-07-20
YOUR ENQUIRY DATED 1993-07-20 REFERS.

Your questions are answered in the same sequence posed.

1. The police vehicle involved had a blue revolving light as well as police registration numbers.
2. A case of attempted murder and possession of an unlicensed firearm is being investigated against Jerry Radebe. We refer to our previous news media statements as well as that of General Johan van der Merwe, and we are sure that the

Official version ... The SAP insists the vehicle had a blue light

thieves, the crew mounted their magnetic blue light — known since the TV series as a "Kojak" — on the roof and gave chase. Fired upon, they retaliated in self-defence.

To the ANC bodyguards things looked different. Driving "Tata", as they respectfully call Sisulu, towards his Orlando home after Nelson Mandela's 75th birthday celebration, they say an unmarked Opel — which did not show a blue light — began harrying their convoy as they left Booyens and entered the Soweto Highway.

The Opel attempted repeatedly to get into the tight security convoy, trying to split Sisulu's BMW off from the chase Mercedes with two bodyguards, says the ANC.

The police say they had no idea that Sisulu was in the car. But this week's reconstruction — never once contested by any of the police officers present, including two brigadiers — showed clearly that the policemen came within two metres of his BMW.

The glare from the yellow sodium lights along the highway makes for less than perfect vision, so it could be argued that it was impossible to clearly identify the ANC leader.

But there is no mistaking Sisulu's white shock of hair. The policemen

are going to have a hard time explaining to the court why car thieves should have a white-haired old man in the back seat of a stolen vehicle — and why they couldn't see him when they were at sufficiently close range to shoot two bodyguards in the head, one fatally.

An answer will also be needed as to why it proved impossible during a more than 6km chase to get radio identification of Sisulu's vehicle.

The initial jockeying for position — which appears to be common cause — continued for a good 3.5km. Then the bodyguards opened up with their Makarov pistols and a shotgun, say the police. Cartridges were found near the large overhead sign for the N1, and a spent shotgun wad.

But they don't necessarily match our pistols impounded after the incident, says the ANC. And the shotgun was not in working order. We'd like our expert to see the cartridges and the wad.

And what about the police 9mm cartridges found along the next stretch of road, up to the point in Diepkloof where the Toyota overturned? The ANC's forensic man hasn't seen them either. Nor the R5 cartridges found in the police Opel.

The police aren't showing anyone the statements made by their men immediately after the incident — even though they have received affidavits by the bodyguards from the ANC.

Did the police fire forward at the bodyguard's Toyota, as claimed by an ANC witness? If so, were they not aware that Sisulu's BMW was in the line of fire, as shown during the reconstruction? Could this act constitute attempted murder?

On the day of the reconstruction, the police were at pains to declare it was "at the request of the ANC", which might explain why the policemen involved in the shooting and their car were nowhere to be seen.

But in his reply to questions from the *Mail & Guardian* this week, SAP spokesman Colonel David Bruce intimated police accepted the details of the reconstruction: "The media were invited to the reconstruction of the scene on August 23 1993 and it is felt that adequate opportunity was given to the press to acquaint itself with the case."

The police may yet have a hard time explaining what happened. The photographs on this page show clearly that the police Opel was unmarked. And international security experts agree that the ANC bodyguards reacted correctly, moving defensively to protect their charge.

Which leaves two questions for the SAP. Was there a deliberate police attempt to kill Sisulu? If not, was the Opel crew — acting in an undisciplined fashion — trying to relieve its boredom by taking on unknown blacks speeding towards Soweto?

Say it loud, I'm Coloured and proud

South 319 - 7/9/93

A new coloured political party is in its embryonic stages at the University of the Western Cape. Its founder, DERRICK GROOTBOOM, spoke to **REHANA ROSSOUW**:

DERRICK Grootboom is a Coloured (he spells the word with a capital C), whose father was a Xhosa. He's also an African, and wants recognition for being both.

A former political prisoner and poet, Grootboom is a founder member of Congress of Coloured Students of South Africa (Cocssa) which is campaigning to reinforce the national group identity of coloured people.

"Everybody is talking about the problem of the coloured people — their political apathy and the fact that they are moving towards reactionary political parties like the National Party and the Democratic Party," he said.

"But these same people want to deny the existence of the coloured people as a national group."

On August 9, Grootboom and 21 other people came together at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) to launch Cocssa.

"There has been a lengthy debate at UWC about the political apathy of the coloured students," he said.

"What we want is a political home for coloured students who are members of left-wing organisations, students who can help bring their people back into the fold."

Grootboom believes he has the correct credentials for solving this problem. He was the chairperson of the Dysseldorp Youth Congress until 1985, when he was arrested and convicted for sabotage.

He served five-and-a-half years of his sentence and after his release in April 1991, returned to the southern Cape where he assisted in launching the ANC, its youth league and civic structures.

He was soon in trouble with the authorities again. After residents occupied a police station, Grootboom and six others were arrested, charged and given a suspended sentence of two years.

In 1992, he registered at UWC and from the outset, experienced problems with student organisations he found "intolerant".

"I couldn't identify with the South African Students' Congress, for example. Coloured

We do not accept the state's definition of coloureds — that they are an appendage of white people, but less fortunate than them and that they are more fortunate than their black brothers'

students were marginalised by them. They do not have a single coloured person on their executive committee.

"Since UWC started enrolling African students in large numbers, coloured students seem to have lost their proud heritage of involvement in the struggle they had forged in the early seventies.

"This is the reason why Cocssa was formed — to remind our people that their blood, and their bullet-riddled bodies lay in the dust alongside their African brothers and sisters."

Grootboom said he would have no difficulty in identifying potential membership for Cocssa. Coloureds were "people of enslaved ancestry who fought in the liberation struggle".

"We do not accept the state's definition of coloureds — that they are an appendage of white people, but less fortunate than them and that they are more fortunate than their black brothers." (11A)

Grootboom said coloured people were not a race. Races were defined by physical features and a unified culture.

The only identifying traits of coloured people were the geographical areas they occupied, the language they spoke and their norms and values.

"Clinging to ethnicity and race is not a problem. Only racism is a problem. People should be allowed to feel comfortable with

their ethnicity and race.

"The majority of coloured people, especially among the working class, identify themselves as coloured.

"They get very confused by people like Allan Boesak who denies to the media that he is coloured but speaks at a rally in Mitchells Plain about "ons bruin mense".

"But being coloured needn't be a principle. We have to move people from that position until they realise that they are first and foremost South Africans and secondly Africans. One nation is our primary goal."

Cocssa's first public activity was to contest the UWC election, with two candidates, Grootboom and Mr Gregory Foutie.

Their slogan for the election campaign was "Affirmative action against the oppressor, not against the oppressed".

Their manifesto stated that they would campaign against any enrolment or bursary selection procedure which discriminated or excluded oppressed and disadvantaged students on the basis of national group identity.

Cocssa is planning meetings with high school students to establish themselves at schools throughout the Western Cape.

Grootboom said he was not ruling out the possibility of launching a coloured political party before the elections to represent the aspirations of his people.

Its aim would primarily be to act as a pressure group on organisations like the ANC which, he reminds people, excluded coloureds from their national executive committee until 1985.

"The ANC had no problem with promoting African nationalism. They even supported the launch of Inkatha. They are prepared to embrace the demands of the Afrikaners for a separate homeland. So I don't see how they can protest against the launch of a coloured organisation," Grootboom said.

"We are intending to meet with the ANC, and the first thing we want to discuss is affirmative action. We don't want Allan Boesak to be in the same position as Allen Hendrickse in the new South Africa.

"If the ANC rejects us, they will be creating the same atmosphere in which Inkatha operates. We are pleading with them not to allow this to happen.

"Coloured people have a rightful claim to this land. They are not Europeans who came to this land as settlers. They have a stake in the future of this land."

Sisulu meeting is cancelled

Sowetan 3/9/93

DEATH threats against African National Congress deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and Afrikaner Volksfront warnings of disruption led to the cancellation of his planned meeting at the University of Pretoria campus yesterday. (SA) (IA)

In a statement, the ANC protested

against "blatant thuggery and political intolerance of the ultra rightwing, and the AVF in particular."

It said it was particularly sad that National Peace Day had been marred by threats of violence and intimidation.

Afrikaner Volksfront Youth League chairman Mr Andre Vorster yesterday

hailed the cancellation as a victory.

He said it was proof that strong action against the ANC and its allies such as the South African Students Congress could prevent their revolution from spreading to all campuses.

The University of Pretoria has cancelled all political meetings.

E

C

The humble Mbeki

Star 3/19/93

(11A)

Newly elected ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki has great difficulty talking about himself or the powerful position he now occupies in the organisation he joined at 14.

He prefers to talk about the ANC instead, and even then down plays the role he has filled.

Mbeki (51), it soon becomes clear, is a humble man not given to blowing his own trumpet.

Elected national chairman at the end of the ANC's three-day national executive committee (NEC) meeting last weekend, Mbeki, who succeeds the late Oliver Tambo whom he once served loyally and with distinction in exile, has begun to gear himself for the challenges that lie ahead in the run-up to the country's first all-inclusive election next year.

Repay

He has no doubt he will be equal to the job and repay the confidence shown in him by the majority of NEC members when they installed him in the position ahead of the only other candidate, University of the Western Cape academic Professor Kader Asmal whom sources said fared "very badly".

As the new national chairman, Mbeki's constitutional responsibilities include presiding over national conferences, ensuring that conference resolutions are implemented and seeing to it that "the organisation functions as it ought to function".

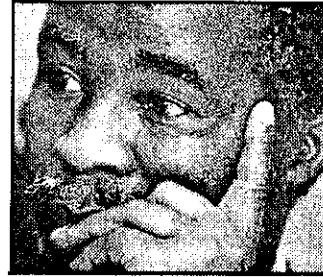
He sees his main responsibility within the next few months as overseeing the formulation of the ANC's election manifesto and ensuring that it falls strictly within the ANC's policy guidelines, and ascertaining the ANC's readiness to conduct — and win — an election campaign.

He will liaise very closely with the secretary-general, treasurer-general and president's offices, and will receive reports from the ANC's election commission.

The top six people on the ANC's hierarchy — referred to as "the officials" — meet regularly to discuss and co-ordinate the organisation's day-to-day functioning.

Attending these meetings are the president, his deputy, the national chairman, the secretary-

POLITICAL Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba talks to Thabo Mbeki (right) in his new position as ANC national chairman



general and his deputy and the treasurer-general.

Of the six, Mandela, Sisulu and treasurer-general Nkobi are all older than 70.

"The position (of national chairman) means maintaining contact with all the structures of the ANC, understanding their problems and helping them deal with them. In a sense, it is going to mean keeping an ear to the ground," Mbeki says.

Although the ANC Youth League, which is solidly behind him, sees the national chairmanship as a transit position en route to the deputy presidency, and eventually the presidency, for Mbeki, he himself is noncommittal and even coy about it.

He has no ambitions, he says, and merely sees his elevation as an opportunity to serve the ANC in another capacity.

"I have been in the ANC since 1956, and at no point did anyone of us in my generation approach the issue of participation in the struggle with an eye to positions of leadership.

"With the situation what it was then, what we knew was that we might die (fighting).

"The idea that we could become professional politicians was never there. The idea of

aspiring to a leadership position has not been part of our political upbringing," he says.

Mbeki will not comment on speculation that his new position now makes him, as advocated by the ANCYL, heir-apparent to Mandela. That question, he says, does not arise because deputy president Sisulu — "a man that all of us like and respect" — is doing "a very good job".

Although many outside the ANC were surprised in June when the ANCYL publicly threw its weight behind Mbeki for the deputy presidency — the idea being that Sisulu would assume the then ceremonial chairmanship — Mbeki himself was not taken aback.

Unknown to the general public, he has worked closely with the youth and other structures of the ANC, often addressing small gatherings on negotiations, peace, problems facing the youth and many other issues. This he has done away from the glare of the media.

The repeated criticism of him as a man aloof from the masses is incorrect, he says.

But is he, as many believe, a moderate?

Mbeki hesitates. Then he

spells out what he feels passionately about: violence should end, the much-awaited election should lead to a real democracy and the impoverished masses' concerns have to be addressed. If that makes him a moderate, then he is not much bothered.

"I think the leadership of the ANC has a very important responsibility to lead not just the ANC but also the whole country, and I think that job needs to be done in a very responsible manner.

"It would be wrong of me or anyone else to make promises just to get an ovation when we know the promises will never be fulfilled."

Unprompted, Mbeki discusses the speculation that he and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are competing for Sisulu's job.

He categorically denies any competition or tension between them, and reveals that when Ramaphosa was elected secretary-general at the Durban congress in July 1991 he offered him his co-operation.

Resources

"I took him from the hall where the meeting took place to the hotel where I was staying and I had a drink with him.

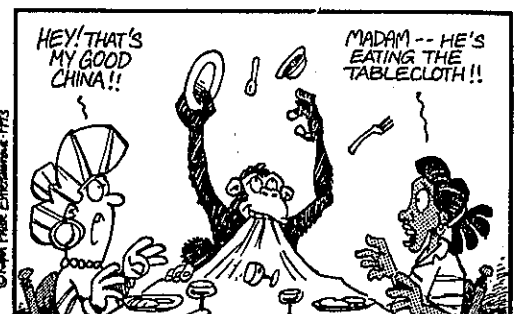
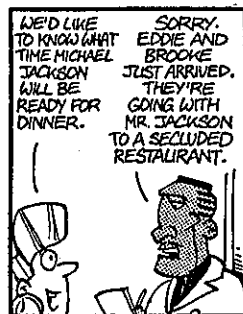
"I said to him: 'Chief, consider us as resources in your job.' That has characterised our relationship ever since," he says.

Mbeki remains international affairs director for the moment.

This matter is receiving attention from the organisation, but someone would have to be found to succeed him, thereby enabling him to concentrate on his new job as national chairman.

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



The gold index shed weight yesterday as gold failed to break back over \$370. While there was no heavy selling, the more prudent

Gold index sheds weight

1790	1760	1730
1790	1760	1730
1790	1760	1730

Azapo remembers BCM founder Biko

Sowetan 31/9/93

THE Azanian People's Organisation yesterday launched the 16th anniversary of the death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told a Press conference in Johannesburg that the organisation would demand the reopening of the inquest into Biko's death.

Biko, whose death on September 12 1977 caused an international uproar, was an honorary president of the Black People's Convention, Azapo's predecessor.

Nefolovhodwe said this year's commemorations would include workshops,

seminars, rallies, demonstrations, prayer services, memorial lectures and marches.

There would also be protests against deaths in detention, torture and conditions under which blacks still lived.

Azapo, Nefolovhodwe said, would also demand the unconditional withdrawal of charges against members of both Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement in police custody and the dismantling of all "bantustans" and the tricameral parliament.

Activities on September 12 will culminate in a march on John Vorster Square.

ANC TORTURE CAMPS

Let he who has clean hands cast the first stone . . .

Perspective is needed in assessing the ANC's response to findings of human rights abuses in ANC exile camps, argues Argus Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

THE release of the Motsuenyane Commission's findings last week has yet again triggered off vociferous calls for all kinds of punitive measures — including expulsion and a life-long ban from public office — to be taken against those implicated in the widespread and by now well-documented human rights abuses in the ANC's camps in exile.

Even yesterday's autocrats whose hands are far bloodier than those of the ANC have piously beaten their chests and joined in the deafening chorus demanding punishment for the alleged ANC "torturers and killers".

Predictably, National Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk — seeing an opportune moment to gain political capital for a party whose fortune has been gradually declining in its traditionally white constituency — called for drastic action against the alleged human rights abusers. The revelation — the fourth in less than a year — indicated yet again that an ANC government would be had news for South Africa, said Mr Van Schalkwyk.

And, equally predictably, Democratic Party MP and justice spokesman Tony Leon joined the chorus and called for the offenders to be handed over for trial or independent judicial scrutiny in the countries where the crimes were committed.

But as Mr Van Schalkwyk and Mr Leon no doubt know, there are today many within the National Party — some still serving in government — who, through acts of commission or omission, have far



ANC TOP BRASS: In October last year ANC leaders, from left, Joe Slovo, Cyril Ramaphosa and Nelson Mandela told a Press conference the ANC leadership accepted ultimate responsibility for abuses at ANC exile camps.

worse things to answer for. These people continue to roam the streets of our towns and cities as free men and some even continue to draw high salaries from the public purse.

To be sure, the crimes of which some people within the ANC stand accused — wholesale torture, detention without trial, solitary confinement and executions — are indeed hair-raising, especially when one considers the organisation's long-standing opposition to authoritarianism and the evils which go with it.

But it is important to remember that many others within the ANC — people like Zola Skweyiya, Thenjwe Mntso and former victim Dr Pallo Jordan immediately come to mind — were against the human rights

abuses catalogued by the various commissions, and that is more than can be said for successive NP governments.

Deaths in detention still take place even in present-day South Africa, and — as in the case of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko whose death left Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger "cold" — those implicated in these deaths have been let off with out so much as a slap.

And various Law and Order Ministers — ranging from Louis le Grange, Adriaan Vlok and now Hennis Kriel — have been sued for millions of rands by people whose relatives had come to harm while in detention or in prison.

The Ministers, of course, were in a much better position than the hapless ANC be-

cause they could used taxpayers' money to pay for compensation.

The human rights abuses listed in the Amnesty International, Douglas, Skweyiya and Motsuenyane commissions' reports are damning, and the ANC must be pressured to implement most of the commissions' reasonable recommendations.

A public apology — such as the one issued this week — is in order, reparations to victims or their families are a must and a strong censure of the individuals involved in the atrocities is a necessity.

But how far should the organisation go? Should it, as some of the commissions recommend, go as far as expelling the culprits from its ranks and barring them from public office for life? This



TORTURE ACCUSATIONS: In May 1990, ANC dissident Mwezi Twala, right, told reporters of ANC torture camps and alleges tyrannical behaviour by the movement's military leadership. With him is another dissident and his daughter.

seems particularly harsh considering that these aberrations were committed in the organisation's name and service.

This would explain the ANC leadership's wise decision to accept collective responsibility for the heinous crimes committed in the organisation's name.

Admittedly, some within the ANC's intelligence and security establishment were overzealous and went overboard in the execution of their duties.

However, the fact remains that the organisation was involved in a deadly war with Pretoria and that it was being infiltrated by agents whose actions cost the lives of many Umkhonto weSizwe cadres. That is the context

within which the violations occurred.

And so while some gung-ho people within the ANC committed atrocities to supplant apartheid in this country, others within the NP have executed equally dastardly deeds — such as staging cross-border raids and in the process killing innocent people, including nationals of foreign countries — in an effort to protect apartheid.

Whatever the motives, neither of them has clean hands, and this goes for many other political parties and organisations in this country. The NP can feel confident enough to cast the first stone only if its hands are cleaner.

A little perspective and balance are needed in assessing the way the ANC has dealt with the allegations

which have dogged it since its unbanning in 1990.

Thanks to Nelson Mandela's leadership — he it was who appointed first the Skweyiya and later the Motsuenyane commissions — the ANC leadership has handled this embarrassing event quite well.

It has had the courage to appoint the commissions — albeit under considerable pressure from its detractors and the Press — and to release their findings to the public. For this it has to be commended.

The human rights violations will no doubt return to haunt the organisation in the electioneering that lies ahead, but so, too, will the NP's apartheid past dog it in the election.

(11A) WSM 3-9/9/93

Getting to the truth of ANC commissions



The ANC's response to the Motsuenyane 'torture report' has been widely criticised. **Mduduzi Harvey** interviews Palo Jordan (left), ANC head of information, who was himself detained without reason by ANC security officers



Jacob Zuma ... Not directly responsible?

HARVEY As a former ANC detainee, what is your reaction to the Motsuenyane Commission recommendations and the ANC's response?

JORDAN I have confidence in the commission and accept its recommendations. I really have no problems with the contents. As a member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) I am also party to the movement's response, which is in line with our policy.

Q The ANC refuses to implement the recommendations and has proposed that a "commission of truth" take over from it. What, then, was the point of the commission?

A The purpose of the commission was a demonstration of good faith on the part of the ANC. We wanted to show the world we have nothing to hide and that we are not interested in cover-ups.

The Motsuenyane Commission was responsible for looking at the ANC's transgressions only, but the commission of truth will look at all violations of human rights and abuses. The decisions of the commission of truth will then have to be followed.

Q The commission recommended that victims should be compensated and perpetrators disciplined according to the ANC's code of conduct. Why has the ANC ignored this?

A The ANC has not ignored this problem, but we will compile all the violations revealed by the commission and refer them to the commission of truth. This will then investigate further and come up with a judgment.

Q The ANC has suggested that government money be used to compensate victims. Do you think it just that taxpayers should foot the bill for the ANC's misdeeds?

A We are not saying the taxpayers should pay, but that the commission of truth will have the right to impose a sentence it deems fit.

It might find that some cases do not deserve compensation. If it finds that others warrant compensation and demands the ANC to compensate, it will be our duty to abide by such decisions.

Q Is any form of disciplinary action contemplated against former torturers who are still employed in the ANC's security department?

A The ANC took action while it was in exile in some cases, but with this situation all the issues will be referred to the truth commission, which will prescribe penalties.

Q Why did the ANC conceal the names of torturers and insist on giving the commission codenames?

A All the people who appeared before the commission provided their true names and surnames. If the commission of truth requests true names of torturers, the ANC will definitely provide these.

Q The commission found that Jacob Zuma and Joe Modise had committed human rights abuses by omission. Given that they were leaders, is this not as serious as direct abuse?

A As the commission indicated that they were not directly implicated in abuses, they were only found guilty of having people detained. There are no serious crimes levelled against them.

Q Does the ANC not accept that Modise and Zuma must have known what was happening to detainees in the camps?

A They might have known. I am not going to say they did not know.

Q Were Modise and Zuma present at the NEC meeting where the recommendations were discussed? If so, why?

A They were present at the meeting by virtue of being NEC members.

Q Why have these measures not been taken against those responsible for abuses in the camps?

A All these cases will be referred to the commission of truth, which will come up with a decision.

Q The ANC has offered a general apology to victims. Will it seek out individuals and apologise to them?

A Steps will be taken if the need arises to get in touch with individuals and apologise to them for abuses.

Q The ANC said it would account for missing persons in a "bulletin". As suspicions will continue that these people were killed, what proof will the ANC offer for the circumstances of their deaths? Will it get in touch with relatives concerned?

A We have different categories of missing persons and getting in touch with relatives will depend on which category a person belonged to.

The ANC will not be in a position to account for those who were captured by the enemy while infiltrating the country, nor those who decided to abscond or desert the ANC. We will account for those who died in action, whom we know about, those who died of natural causes and those who were executed.

As far as suspicions are concerned if people don't believe you, there's nothing you can do.

Q What has been done to ensure that the security department does not get out of control in future?

A Steps were taken in exile to constrain abuses. One cannot just constrain a security department until the proper, effective mechanisms have been set up.

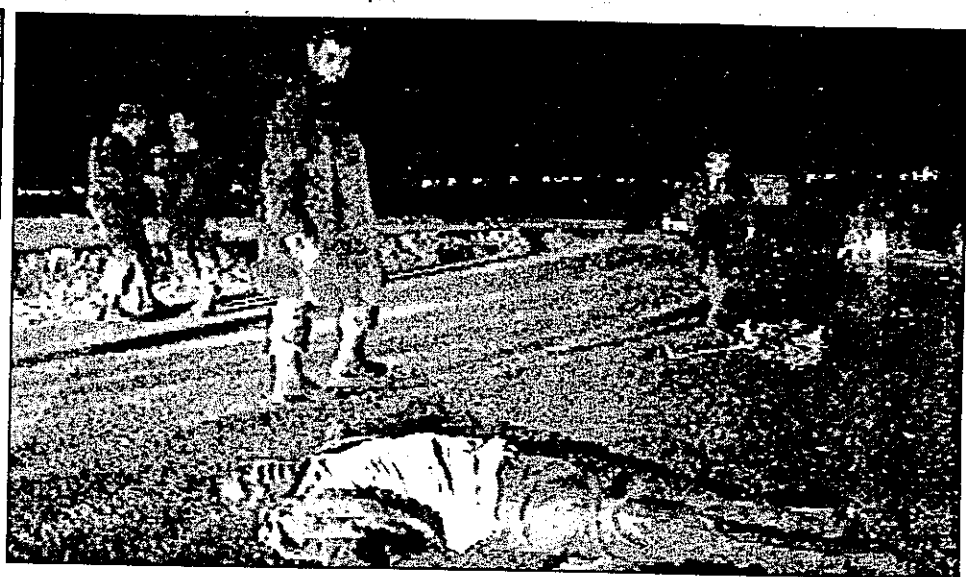




Aftermath of a shootout
ABOVE: Minutes after an exchange of fire with police, ANC bodyguard Ishmael Moloane lies dead on the Soweto Highway

RIGHT: A policeman intent on speaking to a colleague turns his back on a severely wounded bodyguard

FAR RIGHT: As the injured writhe in pain, policemen busy themselves with a search of the overturned Toyota



Sisulu shootout: TV film indicts police

A TV crew's footage taken minutes after the event raises doubts about the police version of the shootout involving Walter Sisulu's bodyguards, writes **Stephen Lauffer**

FILM footage taken within minutes of the high-speed shootout between police and Walter Sisulu's bodyguards in mid-July raises questions about the police version of the controversial incident.

Police have consistently claimed the Opel Kadett involved in the shootout was clearly identifiable as a South African Police vehicle, and that it had a revolving blue light.

The footage was shot by a German TV crew accompanying a flying squad patrol which appeared on the scene immediately after the incident. It shows that the police car was

white, instead of the standard SAP yellow and blue. It had a "B" registration plate — which at high speed at night would have been difficult to spot — but no other distinguishing marks. In addition, no blue light is visible.

This squares with the version of events given by the African National Congress.

Its bodyguards have said they were forced to take evasive action when pursued by the Kadett because, unable to recognise who was chasing them, they thought Sisulu's life was in danger.

The subsequent exchange of fire

left bodyguard Ishmael Moloane dead and two of his colleagues seriously injured. The police and the ANC are pressing charges of murder and attempted murder against each other.

The TV crew's footage, showing bleeding bodyguards in agony on the Soweto Highway, was seen by almost three million German television viewers last Friday night at the climax of a documentary on crime in the Johannesburg region. The *Mail & Guardian* has obtained a video-cassette of the documentary from Germany. The pictures on this page were taken from the video.

In a written statement to Sapa on July 20, the SAP said: "The police vehicle involved had a blue revolving light as well as police registration numbers."

But the German documentary shows that the only unmarked car

visible, a white Kadett with police number plates, had no blue light.

Significantly, the blue lights on other, marked police vehicles at the scene are still flashing, warning approaching vehicles on the highway and shedding an eerie light on proceedings.

In addition, the Kadett's headlights are still ablaze, suggesting strongly that the crew, responding instinctively to an exchange of fire, had jumped out of the car in a hurry. The fact that they did not turn off the headlights argues against any possible claim that they removed a revolving light from the car's roof after the incident.

Standard police procedure at the scene of an accident — the bodyguards' Toyota had overturned, and there were severely injured and dying men lying on the ground — would in

police

any case have required the police to leave the Kadett's blue warning light on, had there been one.

In addition, one take shows the Kadett's hatch back being opened and closed. No blue light — even an extinguished one — is visible on the rear shelf.

Asked this week what distinguished the car as a police vehicle and for how long the Kadett's crew had left a blue light burning or visible, SAP spokesman Colonel David Bruce said: "This office regrets that none of the questions can be answered."

"It should be realised that the incident will be subject to a judicial proceeding and therefore it would not be wise to reveal the evidence in the media prior to the judicial proceeding commencing."

The film shows that the policemen were in a highly emotional state.

The shock and strain of the high-speed chase, the shooting, and the motor accident still clearly visible on their faces, the crew of the Kadett can be seen talking animatedly to flying squad colleagues who have just arrived on the scene with the TV crew.

This makes it even more improbable that they would calmly have stowed a blue light out of view of the camera.

The documentary is, in addition, an

: TV film indicts

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But the German documentary shows that the only unmarked car

visible, a white Kadett with police number plates, had no blue light.

Significantly, the blue lights on other, marked police vehicles at the scene are still flashing, warning approaching vehicles on the highway and shedding an eerie light on proceedings.

In addition, the Kadett's headlights are still ablaze, suggesting strongly that the crew, responding instinctively to an exchange of fire, had jumped out of the car in a hurry. The fact that they did not turn off the headlights argues against any possible claim that they removed a revolving light from the car's roof after the incident.

Standard police procedure at the scene of an accident — the bodyguards' Toyota had overturned, and there were severely injured and dying men lying on the ground — would in

police

any case have required the police to leave the Kadett's blue warning light on, had there been one.

In addition, one take shows the Kadett's hatch back being opened and closed. No blue light — even an extinguished one — is visible on the rear shelf.

Asked this week what distinguished the car as a police vehicle and for how long the Kadett's crew had left a blue light burning or visible, SAP spokesman Colonel David Bruce said: "This office regrets that none of the questions can be answered.

"It should be realised that the incident will be subject to a judicial proceeding and therefore it would not be wise to reveal the evidence in the media prior to the judicial proceeding commencing."

The film shows that the policemen were in a highly emotional state.

The shock and strain of the high-speed chase, the shooting, and the motor accident still clearly visible on their faces, the crew of the Kadett can be seen talking animatedly to flying squad colleagues who have just arrived on the scene with the TV crew.

This makes it even more improbable that they would calmly have stowed a blue light out of view of the camera.

The documentary is, in addition, an indictment of police callousness. One policeman is heard to say to a writhing bodyguard: "Hey, jou poes, lê still!" Policemen turn their backs on the injured and busy themselves with searching the bodyguards' overturned car.

Suddenly realising that he is connected to the TV crew's sound system, a policeman says jokingly to his colleague: "Hey, ek moet watch wat ek sê. Ek's a bietjie gewtre." (Hey, I must watch what I say. I'm a bit wired.)

Also audible on the videotape is the following exchange between policemen: "Dis 'n fokkin aanval!"

"Dis so daat ou wat ek verledede jaar gesket het, man ... Ek't verledede jaar dieselfde geval gehad. Toe skiet ek hom agter die kop, toe fokkin gaan dit nie eers deur nie. (It's like the guy I shot last year, man. I had the same case last year. I shoot him in the back of the head, and it doesn't fucking go through.)"

One of the bodyguards sustained a gunshot wound to the back of the head which did not pierce his skull.

A Kadett crew member can be seen with an automatic rifle in his hand, raising questions about the weapons used by police in the shootout.

At last week's reconstruction of the incident, the ANC's forensic expert, Johan Lubbe, asked police for two R-5 shells said to have been found in the Kadett.

ANC to show off strength during Mandela's visit

South 319 - 719/93

11A

By Quentin Wilson

NELSON Mandela's six-day visit to the Western Cape next week, his longest stay in the region since his release from prison in 1990, has been billed as "an integral part" of the ANC's election campaign by ANC regional chairperson, Dr Allan Boesak.

"This is likely to be his last major visit to the area before the elections next year," Boesak said.

The ANC president is due to arrive at DF Malan airport on Wednesday morning, September 8, and after a one-day trip back to Johannesburg on September 10, he will stay on in the Cape until September 14.

A large part of Mandela's itinerary, which includes a "mega-rally" in Elsies River and a walkabout in Mitchell's Plain, aims to extend ANC support in the Cape's predominantly coloured areas.

"We want to show, once and for all, just where coloured support lies," said Boesak. "We want to put paid to the idea that the NP stands any chance of defeating us in the Western Cape.

"We believe that the rally we are planning in Elsies River for Satur-



NELSON MANDELA

day September 11, will be bigger than anything the NP will ever be able to organise."

Mandela's walkabout in Mitchell's Plain, scheduled for September 13, includes stops at the Woodlands People's Centre, Glendale Secondary School, where he will meet parents and pupils from surrounding schools too, the Tafel-sig Community Centre and a local creche.

The ANC Langa branch, as their

"reward" for being the most "organised branch" in the Western Cape, will host a rally addressed by Mandela on September 12.

Later in the day, a "mega-rally" at the Khayelitsha stadium will be held.

Other features of Mandela's itinerary include:

- Wednesday September 8 — Speaking with workers at Rex Trueform factory in Woodstock and a meeting with union leadership at Industria House, Salt River.

- Thursday September 9 — Meeting with student leaders at Peninsula Technikon at Bellville and a meeting with women leaders and women's organisations at Samaj Centre in Athlone.

- Saturday September 11 — Meeting with opinion makers in Beaufort West.

- Sunday September 12 — Attending a church service at Nonzwakazi church in Guguletu between rallies in Langa and Khayelitsha.

- Monday September 13 — Addressing a public meeting at the Cape Town City Centre.

- Tuesday September 14 — Meeting with the religious sector in Athlone.

How the ANC would handle foreign affairs

Shortly after his appointment as the ANC's new national chairman, **Thabo Mbeki** gave the first glimpse of its foreign policies this week.

Chris Louw reports

SOME of South Africa's ambassadors may be replaced before the country goes to the polls in April next year, the African National Congress' new national chairman, Thabo Mbeki, has disclosed.

Decisions about the appointment of new diplomatic personnel would be taken by the sub-council of the transitional executive council (TEC) dealing with foreign affairs, he said.

Giving the basic outlines of the ANC's foreign policies at a working breakfast in Johannesburg this week, Mbeki promised a "complete revamping" of the Foreign Affairs Department as soon as the TEC is in place later this month.

The foreign affairs sub-council, he said, would be in a position to decide diplomatic appointments as part of its brief of "levelling the playing fields". As the ANC was seen as the government in waiting, he believed its representatives abroad would have "a better impact" than the ambassadors currently representing the De Klerk government.

Mbeki gave some important pointers on the ANC's foreign policies in the next few years:

●Normal diplomatic relations would be established with Cuba, Libya and mainland China.

●The ANC would retain its "close contact" with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and would back negotiations with Israel on Palestinian rights.

●A "balanced regional economic policy" would be followed to ensure South Africa did not dominate its neighbours.

●South Africa's military capacity would be scaled down so that it posed no threat to its neighbours.

●The fate of South Africa's armaments industry would be decided in conjunction with neighbouring countries. It might be developed for the benefit of the region, or closed down.

●The structures of both the South African Development Co-ordination Conference and those of the Frontline states would be maintained after being "broadened" to include a democratic South Africa.

On diplomatic appointments by the TEC, Mbeki said criteria would first have to be decided — in particular, whether political appointments were acceptable and whether professional diplomats should be given ambassadorial posts.

The creation of a new foreign service would have to be addressed before next year's elections, with an eye on the long term. Although there was already a sprinkling of blacks in the diplomatic service, the department "needs complete revamping". Some existing diplomatic personnel might be put on pension, Mbeki said, but no one would be sacked.

Although a democratic South Africa had no wish to dominate the region, ANC president Nelson Mandela was already involved in efforts to influence regional politics, he added.

He disclosed that Mandela had

signed a letter sent to both President Eduardo dos Santos and ~~Unita~~ leader Jonas Savimbi in Angola, proposing a summit meeting to find a solution to that country's armed conflict. Other African countries involved in the peace mission were the Ivory Coast, Morocco and Gabon.

Mbeki insisted that South African mercenaries had to be stopped from involving themselves in the Angolan war.

He also disclosed that Nigeria's outgoing president, General Ibrahim Babangida, had had contact with Mandela, in a bid to involve South Africa as "a significant future role player" in making peace on the continent. Babangida was planning a consultancy, with the blessing of the Organisation of African Unity, which would "try to find mechanisms to resolve conflicts".

3-9/9/93 Wm 27/8-2/9/93 (SAA) (IIF)

v. of 12



The PAC's double speak ... To kill or not to kill whites

WMS/9-9/93 (233) (114)

While the PAC sits around the negotiations table discussing a future democracy, outside the World Trade Centre it winks at racist murders, reports **Paul Stober**

THE murder of American exchange student Amy Biehl — allegedly by members of the Pan Africanist Students Organisation — has again highlighted the Pan Africanist Congress' double strategy on racist violence.

Official condemnation of anti-white attacks, coupled with a "nudge-nudge, wink-wink" approach in its pitches to supporters, can be seen in the PAC's response to similar attacks over the past six months.

The dual approach arises from the PAC's desire to outflank the African National Congress among township militants, while continuing to take part in negotiations.

After Biehl was killed in Gugulethu, the PAC's Western Cape secretary, Bathembu Lugalwana, said the circumstances under which she had died were "unacceptable".

At the same press conference, Paso's national chairman, Tsietisi Telite, openly played to his militant base by justifying the attack. "The youths and the students are so angry and frustrated that if they see anyone identified with the dispossessing classes, anything can happen — and can happen again," he said. PAC regional chairman Theo Mabusela tried to persuade the press not to report Telite's remarks.

While claiming the Azanian People's Liberation Army has "operational independence", the PAC has been happy to capitalise on the

actions of its armed wing. There has also been repeated equivocation on the slogan "one settler, one bullet".

At a PAC meeting in Cape Town in July, PAC publicity director Waters Toboti urged PAC members to be patient with whites. "We must understand their fears and explain with humility — not anger," he said. At the same meeting, he denied "one settler, one bullet" was racist. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the slogan was intended to mobilise and educate people. In military terms, he said, it paid tribute to soldiers who "could kill a settler with one shot".

On the ground, the slogan is clearly interpreted as an inducement to attack whites. Biehl's attackers identified her as a "settler", and the slogan was chanted by Paso supporters outside the Mitchell's Plain court where two Paso members appeared in connection with the Biehl murder this week.

Other recent cases of "doublespeak" include:

● In an interview in April this year, Border PAC official Mvuyo Mhangwane said: "Growth (in the PAC) was phenomenal at the end of 1992. I am not sure if it can be attributed to the King William's Town golf club attack ... perhaps it was just coincidental." Apla claimed responsibility for the attack in which four whites died.

Later the same month, Apla commander Sabelo Phama denied on television that Apla was waging a racist war against whites. But at a meeting with members of the Transkei Defence Force, Phama is reported to have said that Apla attacked schoolchildren because "they wanted to hit whites where it hurt the most."

● While PAC and Apla leadership have denied the organisation is targeting whites, white schools or predominantly white churches, they have refused to distinguish between military and civilian targets. "You have a situation where guns and licences were given to the white community at the disadvantage of the oppressed. Can we now say there are hard and soft targets?" Phama has asked.

After the St James Church massacre, Apla information officer Johnny Majozi denied the organisation was responsible, but did not rule out attacks on churches or other soft targets if "the enemy" was to be found there.

He said "most whites in South Africa" were armed and could shoot back, even if they were generally classified as civilians.

● The PAC has distanced itself from Apla attacks which appear overtly racist on grounds that Apla is "operationally independent".

At the same time, PAC leaders maintain Apla takes its orders from them and could be told to halt its military activities. "They would abide by what we tell them," said a spokesman.

● At a rally in Umtata in June, Apla regional commander Vuma Tikinca announced: "We kill whites not because we hate them but because of love. We want to take the apartheid demon out of their minds."

● PAC secretary for relief and aid, Patricia de Lille, said in July: "After the Apla attacks in November, people saw immediately that the number of African people being killed dropped. People will see us in this light. I think they understand that whether we like it or not this is a struggle between black and white, and from this we would like to see a non-racial South Africa emerge."

MK ceases after poll — Mandela

(11A) CT 49/93
NELSPRUIT. — UMKhonto weSizwe (MK) would cease to exist in its present form after the April 27 election, Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a specially convened conference in KaNgwane near Nelspruit to deal with MK problems, the ANC president said: "If we make the progress in the negotiations and hold elections next April as we expect to, then MK will cease to exist as an independent armed formation."

The key task during the transition period was to level the political playing field. "If we are not able to achieve this we will not have free and fair elections in April next year," he said.

He added MK could play a "vital role" in the establishment of a national peace-keeping force.

Mr Mandela also said the ANC had made R10 million available for serious welfare problems encountered by disgruntled members of MK.

Modise, Zuma ^(11A) 'may have known'

By BARRY STREEK ^{CT 4/9/93}

SENIOR ANC officials Mr Joe Modise and Mr Jacob Zuma may have known about the abuses in its camps, ANC information chief Dr Palo Jordan said yesterday.

"They might have known. I am not going to say they did not know," he said in the Weekly Mail.

However, the Motsueyane Commission had indicated they were not directly implicated in abuses but were guilty of having people detained.

"There are no serious crimes levelled against them," Dr Jordan said.

He also said Mr Modise and Mr Zuma were present at the meeting of the ANC's national executive council when the commission's report was discussed because they were NEC members.

Mr Modise is the commander of uMkhonto we-Sizwe and Mr Zuma, now deputy secretary-general, was head of intelligence of the ANC in exile.

Dr Jordan, himself a victim of abuse and detention without trial by ANC security officers while in exile, said the commission of truth would look at all violations of human rights and the decisions of this commission would have to be followed.

Mbeki now well placed for top job

Star 4/9/93

(11A)

THE elevation of the suave ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to the organisation's national chairmanship earlier this week marked the culmination of intensive behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by Peter Mokaba's ANC Youth League (ANCYL) and others.

Mbeki, who has done very well as the man in charge of the ANC's international affairs — at its unbanning in 1990, the ANC had more offices abroad than Pretoria — will bring to his new position sound judgment and a sharp intellect.

At 51, Mbeki now appears on the verge of bigger things, and his many admirers inside and outside the ANC believe the world is his to conquer.

He is number three in the ANC hierarchy, behind its president Nelson Mandela and his deputy Walter Sisulu.

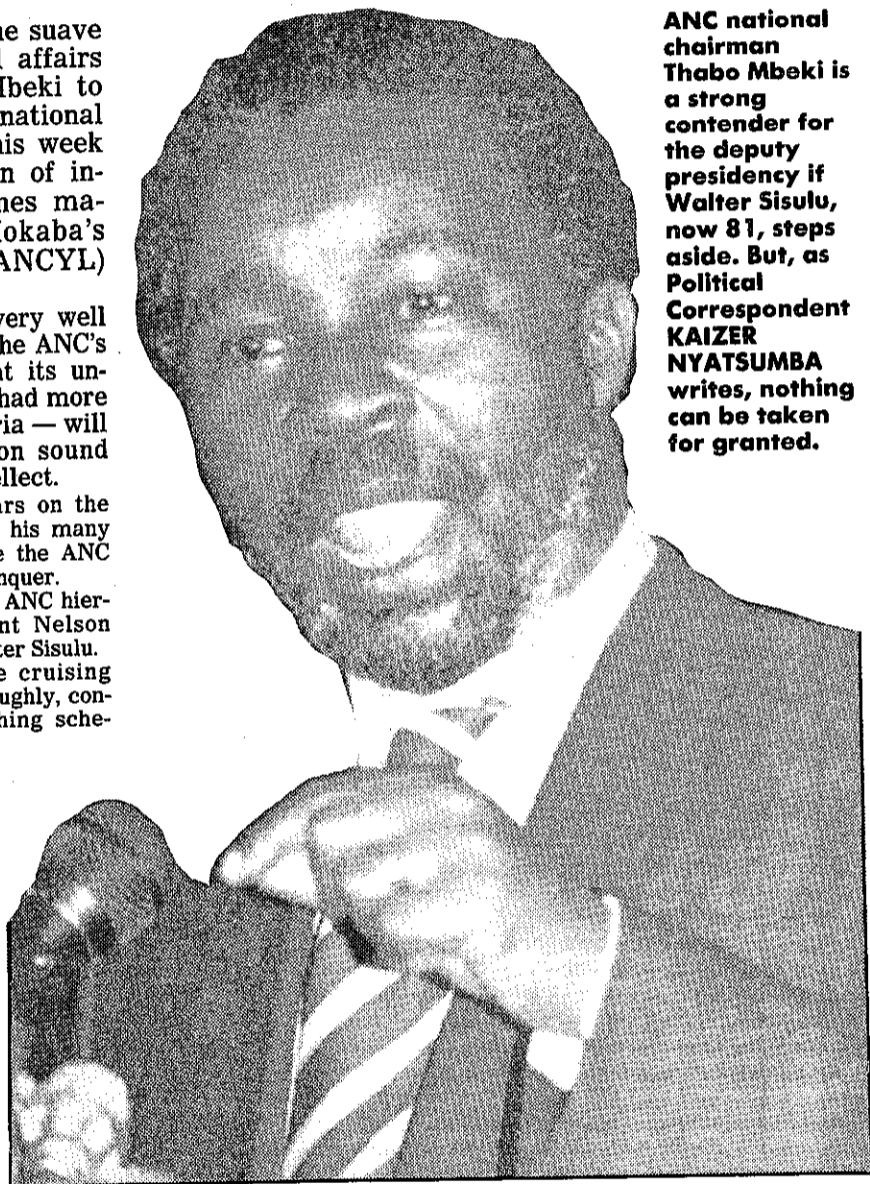
Both men, however, are cruising gently — some would say roughly, considering their often punishing schedules — towards retirement: Mandela is 75 and Sisulu 81.

Following the assassination of extremely popular ANC-South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani — Mbeki's main opponent for the deputy presidency in the build-up to the July 1991 national congress in Durban before both men timeously withdrew from the race in favour of Sisulu — Mbeki's only serious competitor for Sisulu's job is the skilled secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Both men are capable and well respected in the movement. Both are young and quite effective in their respective jobs, but they, too, have their detractors in the ANC; an organisation Hani once privately described as "an omnibus".

Unlike Ramaphosa, however, Mbeki has the solid backing of the influential ANCYL.

THIS organisation will not rest until he has stepped into Mandela's shoes when the hour comes. While Ramaphosa established himself as a trade unionist and activist inside the country, Mbeki made a name for himself as a fighter and



ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki is a strong contender for the deputy presidency if Walter Sisulu, now 81, steps aside. But, as Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA writes, nothing can be taken for granted.

the boer, kill the farmer" chant controversy, was criticised by some in the ANC for making public what they saw as an internal matter.

His harshest critic was Sexwale, who accused the ANCYL leader of "engaging in pendulum politics" because of his suggestion that townships should be turned into tourist attractions. But Sexwale also attacked Mokaba's factual account of the meeting.

The matter, he said, had been raised by the ANCYL and was subsequently discussed "briefly" before it was disposed with, never to be heard of again.

But as things turned out at the August 27-29 national executive committee (NEC) meeting, Sexwale was wrong.

The matter did come up again — even though it was precipitated by Sisulu's unexpected nomination of academic and NEC member Professor Kader Asmal for the job — and Mbeki was voted national chairman by the overwhelming majority of NEC members.

Despite the ANCYL's belief that Mbeki is now well placed to succeed Mandela as ANC leader and president of South Africa when the time comes, the battle is by no means over. Admittedly, Mbeki is now in a formidable position, but anything could happen.

As the general election approaches, the low-scale jockeying first for inclusion in the ANC-led tripartite alliance's election lists and then for senior positions in government will intensify.

ALREADY the ANCYL is calling for the formation of a "shadow Cabinet" in readiness for governing after April 27, and observers' attention will inevitably centre on who between Ramaphosa and Mbeki will become prime minister.

Mandela is unchallenged for the presidency, and informed sources say the vice-presidency might be offered to the leader of the second biggest party after the election, most likely incumbent President de Klerk.

Mbeki refuses to comment on his chances — yet he wishes the media would stop speculating about leadership positions in the ANC.

Highly respected and on verge of bigger things

diplomat in exile.

Other names which have been bandied about for the deputy presidency when it finally becomes available are those of soldierly PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale, who shot to national prominence and therefore some contention for the position after Hani's murder — and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

But according to Mokaba, Zuma — whose candidature must have been seriously damaged by revelations that he was implicated in

human rights abuses in ANC camps in exile — is himself an Mbeki man, and would gladly stand aside for the man who was apprenticed to the late Oliver Tambo.

Mbeki's advancement to the national chairmanship has been long coming. In an exclusive interview with The Star in June, Mokaba revealed that the ANCYL had formally taken a position that the former SACP politburo member should become deputy president as soon as possible to strengthen the organisation in the elec-

tion run-up.

Sisulu, he said, would then assume what was at the time the largely ceremonial role of national chairman.

Mokaba rattled off Mbeki's qualifications: he was intelligent and respected by all "factions" in the ANC, was a key strategist who had worked with Tambo for years, had infiltrated South Africa on Umkhonto we Sizwe missions, and had a good education from both the West and East.

Mokaba, who was then in the middle of the "Kill

Mandela urges control of all forces

'Armies' seen as election threat

Star 4/19/93

11K



MANDELA: Regime wants leverage.

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

NELSPRUIT — All security forces and armed formations should be placed under joint multi-party control, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Opening a special Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) conference in KaNgwane, Mandela said: "We must make sure that no security force or armed formation can hold the process of democratisation to ransom."

He said that MK should also seriously consider its preparations for taking part in the new defence force.

"If we are ill-prepared and have been unsuccessful in our attempts at converting our guerilla forces into regular, conventional ones, we will not be able to play a significant role in the integration process," Mandela warned.

Defence units

He pointed out that after the April elections, MK would cease to exist as an independent armed formation.

ANC Eastern Transvaal chairman Mathew Phosa said a key question was the role of MK in the run-up to the elections. Self-defence units should be strengthened and criminals in their ranks "flushed out".

The conference would be a failure if it did not address MK's integration into a new defence force, he added.

Mandela identified the security forces and their supporters in the right wing as the greatest threat to democracy and said the levelling of the political playing field was the key to ensuring free and fair elections on April 27.

"We understand very well why the regime and its allies are not genuinely committed to the process of levelling the political playing field, because if they do they will lose their monopoly over the critical instruments and means of power.

"It is for this reason that they are so reluctant to lose control of their security forces and relinquish their monopoly of force. The regime wants to use these as leverage to assert itself at the negotiating table."

Mandela urged the MK delegates to take the lead in securing arrangements for the establishment of the national peacekeeping force and the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence.

Invest in tomorrow, Mandela tells MK

Star 4/9/93

(11A) NELSPRUIT — ANC president Nelson Mandela told Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres yesterday to consider investing in their future and to allow the ANC to suggest how to do it.

He was referring to the R10 million raised to address the armed wing's welfare problems.

At a special MK conference in KaNgwane, Mandela said: "Cash handouts might sustain you for a few months, at the end of which your problems will remain. What we need to do is invest in your future."

He mooted projects to train cadres so that they could forge new lives.

Mandela told delegates — including some from Uganda — that the difficult conditions under which the organisation had had to operate were compounded by a lack of resources.

The unbanning of the ANC in 1990 had brought new problems. "In many ways it has been easier to deal with the political and military consequences of change than to cope with its human implications, as thousands

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

of MK cadres have returned to South Africa requiring assistance to reintegrate into civilian life," he said.

"We have spent many painful moments agonising on how to spread what was available to maximum effect. It has been particularly painful that so many of you who sacrificed your childhood and youth, left the comfort of your families and made a commitment to sacrifice your lives for our country's freedom, should find yourselves back in South Africa, unemployed and without support."

It was incorrect to depend on assistance from donors. ANC members should finance the organisation. This would ensure that assistance from ANC headquarters would supplement funds raised regionally.

"If you continue the heritage of dependence, you will let down the struggle," Mandela said.

Things go bitter with Coke at Pepsi threat

Star 4/9/93

DAVID CANNING

THE threat of a return to the country by Pepsico has been listed among reasons for a huge push by Coca-Cola into undeveloped markets.

In a campaign increasingly becoming a role-model for other large South African groups, Coca-Cola franchiser Amalgamated Beverage Industries (ABI) has pumped more than R3 million into the informal areas around Durban alone to build goodwill and close any possible loopholes to Pepsico.

Like the cleft-stick messengers of old, each day a network of Coke "runners" now fan out into areas unserved by roads, pushing wheelbarrows or super-market-type trolleys to ensure that even the remotest spaza shops receive supplies to last a week.

ABI Natal marketing manager Bernard Swanson says that by building a direct relationship with 15 000 customers, Coca-Cola hopes to cement its position as market leader in South Africa.

"Coke" has become so dominant that SA rates as its sixth biggest market worldwide. Coca-Cola itself is rated at the world's 14th biggest corporation, with its market capitalisation around \$50 billion according to Morgan Stanley Capital International.

Moreover, ABI's Phoenix Park headquarters, near Durban, has become the largest soft-drink bottling and distribution centre in the southern hemisphere.

Mandela concerned by the plight of MK cadres

11A
AR 5/4/93

ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

NELSPRUIT. — Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres are considering how R10-million raised to address welfare problems of the ANC's armed wing should be allocated.

Making the announcement yesterday at a special MK conference in KaNgwane, ANC president Nelson Mandela said: "Cash hand-outs may sustain you for a few months, at the end of which your problems will remain. What we need to do is invest in your future, and we need your suggestion on how and where to invest."

Mr Mandela, who is the MK commander-in-chief, suggested establishing a series of projects in the 14 ANC regions to train cadres and those with skills to make new lives.

"The issue of welfare is not one that can be reduced to the handing out of money for services rendered," said Mr Mandela.

"We have spent many painful moments agonising on how to spread what is available for maximum effect. It has been particularly painful, that so

many of you who sacrificed your childhood and youth, left the comfort of your families and made a commitment to sacrifice your lives for our country's freedom, should find yourselves back in South Africa, unemployed and without support or the means to sustain yourselves," he said.

Mr Mandela told the delegates — including some from Uganda — that the organisation has had to operate under difficult conditions which were compounded by insufficient resources.

The unbanning of the ANC in 1990 marked the beginning of the transition to democracy which brought new problems. "In many ways it has been relatively easier to deal with the political and military consequences of change than to cope with its human implications as thousands of MK cadres have returned to South Africa requiring assistance to reintegrate into civilian life," he said.

The return of exiles have placed unprecedented demands on the ANC's resources.

One of the problems facing the ANC was "the heritage of dependency". It was incorrect to depend on assistance from donors and ANC members should

finance the organisation. This would ensure that assistance from ANC headquarters would supplement funds raised regionally.

"If you continue the heritage of dependency, you will let down the struggle in the country," Mr Mandela said.

The conference was convened to address welfare problems of MK, and to discuss the integration into a new defence force and the establishment of a national peacekeeping force.

Mr Mandela also told the conference that the ANC was unequivocal in its demand for joint multiparty control of all security forces and armed formations.

"The greatest threat to democracy in this country are the security forces of the regime and their supporters in the white right-wing movement. We must make sure no security force or armed formation can hold the process of democratisation to ransom," he said.

Mr Mandela announced MK would cease to exist in its present form after the April 27 election.

"If we make the progress in the negotiations and hold elections next April as we expect to, then MK will cease to exist as an independent armed formation," he said.

The key task during the transition period was to level the political playing field, Mr Mandela said.

"If we are not able to achieve this we will not have free and fair elections in April next year," he warned.

"We understand very well why the regime and its allies are not genuinely committed to this process because if they do they will lose their monopoly over the critical instruments and means of power.

"It is for this reason they are so reluctant to lose control of their security forces and relinquish their monopoly of force."

Mr Mandela claimed the South African government wanted to use its monopoly on force as a lever to assert itself at the negotiating table.

"As the ANC we need to be absolutely unequivocal in our demand for the joint multiparty control of all security forces and armed formations."

He added MK could play a "vital role" in showing the way forward on the issue of security. It had to lead the way in securing the necessary agreements related to the establishment of a national peace-keeping force and the setting up of a sub-council for defence on the tran-

sitional executive council. These were two of a package of instruments which most negotiators at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park believed in, he maintained.

"If we are ill-prepared and have been unsuccessful in our attempts at converting our guerrilla forces into regular conventional ones we will not be able to play a significant role in the integration process," he said.

Eastern Transvaal ANC region chairman Matthew Phosa said self-defence units in townships had to be strengthened and not disbanded.

"We should not dissolve self-defence units now, but criminal elements should be flushed out," Mr Phosa said.

The MK conference would fail if delegates did not discuss the "broad framework for a military integration agreement" for all security forces and armed formations in the country.

"We cannot wake up on April 28 next year with more than one army in this country," Mr Phosa said.

Mr Mandela added what was happening in Mozambique and Angola "is the most pertinent example of the disregard that forces of reaction have for democracy".

Mandela demands multiparty control of security forces

Weekend Argus Political Staff

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Opening an Umkhonto we Sizwe conference in KaNgwane, he said: "We must make sure that no security force or armed formation can hold the process of democratisation to ransom."

Mr Mandela identified the security forces and their supporters in the right wing as the greatest threat to democracy.

"The levelling of the political playing field was the key to ensuring free and fair elections on April 27, he said.

"We understand very well why the regime and its allies are not genuinely committed to levelling the political playing field, because if they do they will lose their monopoly over the critical instruments and means of power.

"It is for this reason that they are so reluctant to lose control of their security forces and relinquish their monopoly of force. The regime wants to use these as a leverage to assert itself at the negotiating table."

Mr Mandela urged the MK delegates to take the lead in securing arrangements for the establishment of the national peacekeeping force and the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence.

MK should also seriously consider its preparations for taking part in the new defence force.

He pointed out that after the April elections MK would cease to exist as an independent armed formation.

Mandela concerned by the plight of MK cadres

11A
AR 27/4/93

ESTHER WAUGH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

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The return of exiles have placed unprecedented demands on the ANC's resources.

One of the problems facing the ANC was "the heritage of dependency". It was incorrect to depend on assistance from donors and ANC members should

finance the organisation. This would ensure that assistance from ANC headquarters would supplement funds raised regionally.

"If you continue the heritage of dependency, you will let down the struggle in the country," Mr Mandela said.

The conference was convened to address welfare problems of MK, and to discuss the integration into a new defence force and the establishment of a national peacekeeping force.

Mr Mandela also told the conference that the ANC was unequivocal in its demand for joint multiparty control of all security forces and armed formations.

"The greatest threat to democracy in this country are the security forces of the regime and their supporters in the white right-wing movement. We must make sure no security force or armed formation can hold the process of democratisation to ransom," he said.

Mr Mandela announced MK would cease to exist in its present form after the April 27 election.

"If we make the progress in the negotiations and hold elections next April as we expect to, then MK will cease to exist as an independent armed formation," he said.

The key task during the transition period was to level the political playing field, Mr Mandela said.

"If we are not able to achieve this we will not have free and fair elections in April next year," he warned.

"We understand very well why the regime and its allies are not genuinely committed to this process because if they do they will lose their monopoly over the critical instruments and means of power.

"It is for this reason they are so reluctant to lose control of their security forces and relinquish their monopoly of force."

Mr Mandela claimed the South African government wanted to use its monopoly on force as a lever to assert itself at the negotiating table.

"As the ANC we need to be absolutely unequivocal in our demand for the joint multiparty control of all security forces and armed formations."

He added MK could play a "vital role" in showing the way forward on the issue of security. It had to lead the way in securing the necessary agreements related to the establishment of a national peace-keeping force and the setting up of a sub-council for defence on the tran-

sitional executive council.

These were two of a package of instruments which most negotiators at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park believed in, he maintained.

"If we are ill-prepared and have been unsuccessful in our attempts at converting our guerrilla forces into regular conventional ones we will not be able to play a significant role in the integration process," he said.

Eastern Transvaal ANC region chairman Matthew Phosa said self-defence units in townships had to be strengthened and not disbanded.

"We should not dissolve self-defence units now, but criminal elements should be flushed out," Mr Phosa said.

The MK conference would fail if delegates did not discuss the "broad framework for a military integration agreement" for all security forces and armed formations in the country.

"We cannot wake up on April 28 next year with more than one army in this country," Mr Phosa said.

Mr Mandela added what was happening in Mozambique and Angola "is the most pertinent example of the disregard that forces of reaction have for democ-

Mandela demands multiparty control of security forces

Weekend Argus Political Staff

NELSPRUIT. — All security forces and armed formations should be placed under joint multiparty control, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Opening an Umkhonto we Sizwe conference in KaNgwane, he said: "We must make sure that no security force or armed formation can hold the process of democratisation to ransom."

Mr Mandela identified the security forces and their supporters in the right wing as the greatest threat to democracy.

The levelling of the political playing field was the key to ensuring free and fair elections on April 27, he said.

"We understand very well why the regime and its allies are not genuinely committed to levelling the political playing field, because if they do they will lose their monopoly over the critical instruments and means of power."

"It is for this reason that they are so reluctant to lose control of their security forces and relinquish their monopoly of force. The regime wants to use these as a leverage to assert itself at the negotiating table."

Mr Mandela urged the MK delegates to take the lead in securing arrangements for the establishment of the national peacekeeping force, the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence.

MK should also seriously consider its preparations for taking part in the new defence force.

He pointed out that after the April elections MK would cease to exist as an independent armed formation.

Snags in ANC cash drive

By KEVIN DAVIE

MAJOR snags have arisen with fewer than four weeks to go before the ANC is scheduled to begin wooing foreign investors to return to South Africa.

Its initiative for the lifting of financial sanctions and to identify investment vehicles to promote investment in social upliftment expected to be announced at high-profile seminars in New York and Washington at the end of this month.

The seminars will coincide with the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

But the ANC will agree to the ending of sanctions only after legislation to establish the transitional executive

council (TEC) has been passed. There are growing doubts that this will be achieved in time.

A suggested compromise is that even if the legislation is not passed, the ANC can approve specified social investment. (11A)

Another snag is that Eskom-backed electrification participation notes (EPNs), supported by the ANC, have yet to gain Reserve Bank approval before foreigners are allowed to buy them.

With Eskom's backing and the fact that electrification of low-income houses is one of the few areas where

development is taking place, EPNs are perhaps the showcase investment vehicle to have won ANC support. 619193

EPNs have raised R750-million in SA to help fund Eskom's drive to electrify a million households. They offer an initial low return of 80% of the ruling E168 bond rate. The return, linked to electricity sales, improves in time and has no ceiling.

Eskom and the Reserve Bank are discussing foreign investment in EPNs. Concerns which have been raised include the fact that the EPNs are unlisted and that in the long term there is no ceiling on yields.

The Reserve Bank is believed to fear that the lack

of a ceiling could lead to an uncontrolled outflow of funds through the commercial rand.

Eskom's Mick Davis says discussions with the Reserve Bank continue. He believes the issue will be settled and expects the next tranche of EPNs early in 1994 to be available to foreigners.

The ANC's Neil Morrison says he is impressed by the response of companies to a request for innovative thinking about suitable investment vehicles.

The Reserve Bank's John Postmus says the bank is apolitical and that its duty is to protect the integrity of the financial system.

Will Mbeki be ANC president?

C/Press 5/9/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE struggle for future leadership of the ANC got into gear this week following the elevation of Thabo Mbeki to the post of national chairman (11A)

This places him third after president Nelson Mandela and deputy president Walter Sisulu.

More significantly, it puts him above secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, considered to be his major rival.

Speculation is rife that Mbeki is now strongly positioned to eventually assume leadership.

It is widely believed that the ANC Youth League played an important role in the election of Mbeki. The league raised eyebrows recently when it stated that they wanted Mbeki as a future ANC president.

The national executive committee (NEC) announced this week that the vacancies on the committee created by the deaths of Tambo and Chris Ham were filled by secret ballot.

Others elected include SACP secretary general Charles Nqakula, Penuel Maduna and Josiah Jele.

Zwelithini holds key to peace

CIPress 5/9/93

(11A)

By FRED KHUMALO

THE ANC in Natal will, in the next few days, meet King Zwelithini to formally invite him to a rally where he will come face to face with Nelson Mandela.

The announcement has raised a glimmer of hope for the cessation of hostilities between Inkatha and the ANC because the Zulu king is seen as a force who can unify his subjects, who belong to different political organisations.

The announcement - made by ANC southern Natal secretary S'bu Ndebele - came in a week which saw a flurry of activity as South Africans of diverse political persuasions celebrated National Peace Day, thereby rededicating themselves to peace and political tolerance.

The ANC delegation is understood to include deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma,

who will meet the Committee for Peace in Durban on Tuesday.

Zuma is also a member of the committee, which comprises Zulus across the political spectrum.

The committee has been working behind the scenes to involve the king in peace initiatives.

Committee member Rodger Sishi confirmed that Zuma and other committee members would meet on Tuesday, but would not divulge the agenda.

At the rally, scheduled for October 24 at Durban's King's Park Stadium, the ANC hopes to launch its election campaign in the southern Natal region.

The rally was initially planned for September 11 and was touted as an event to show that most Zulus support next year's elections for a constituent assembly, a challenge to Inkatha's

widely publicised claim to the contrary.

But following protests by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi about the timing of the rally (September is regarded as the period to honour King Shaka, founder of the Zulu kingdom) the ANC was forced to postpone the event.

In what seems to be an indication of the ANC's seriousness in wooing the king, the ANC has decided to change the tenor of the gathering. Said Ndebele: "We do not want to say who has got more Zulus than the other. We want to emphasise the role of the people of Natal in the struggle."

The ANC added that it was not inviting the king through media reports, but would arrange a meeting to invite him formally.

The rally, said Ndebele,

would also be a celebration of Mandela's birthday, the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Mahatma Ghandi's arrival in SA, and the celebration of King Dinuzulu's fight against colonialism and oppression.

Ndebele hoped the rally, besides marking the launch of his organisation's election campaign, would cement the relationship of black and Indian people in the struggle against oppression.

He said the decision to use the rally to celebrate Mandela's birthday was taken after complaints that his birthday celebrations excluded the people of the Natal/KwaZulu region.

A birthday dinner similar to the one held in Johannesburg two months ago will be held on the evening before the rally.

Gwala ducks launch – and rightwing

By THEMBA KHUMALO

CIP 2003 519/93

ABOUT 800 heavily armed rightwingers blocked the main street of Bothaville in the Free State this week and barricaded a dozen ANC marshals inside the organisation's offices.

The marshalls were rescued two hours later by the local ANC leaders who came to fetch them.

The barricade was set up before a visit – later cancelled – to the town by Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala, who was to have officiated at the opening of the ANC offices in the town.

However, the fierce ANC leader disappointed thousands of Khotsong township residents by not turning up. At 1pm the local ANC leaders told the crowd to disperse at the local stadium when it became apparent that Gwala was not coming.

They said they tried unsuccessfully to telephone the organisation's offices in Marizburg to find out why he was not coming. Gwala was supposed to have arrived at 10am.

In President Street – Bothaville's main street – there was tension between black shoppers and the rightwingers, who were armed with shotguns and rifles. The rightwingers barricaded Von Abbo Centre where the ANC marshals were trapped.

Aggressive rightwingers also guarded the main black taxi rank in town and turned away ANC supporters who were expected to arrive in large numbers.

The khaki-clad rightwingers refused to allow blacks to enter or leave the building. The police, who were heavily outnumbered by the rightwingers, spent most of their time warding off curious black onlookers outside the centre.

Rightwing snipers climbed the top of the building and occasionally took aim at blacks below with their rifles. They also threw empty cans at them.

ANC apologises to MK

By ZANELE VUTELA

CIA 5/9/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela has apologised, on behalf of the ANC leadership, to Umkhonto weSizwe cadres for having failed to look into their problems.

Mandela told what could be the last MK national conference: "I am not afraid to stand here in front of you and tell you that we have failed to address your problems."

He promised that MK would be strengthened because "the task of MK is not complete. We still need to defend the organisation" (S) (IA)

Mandela said the ANC had raised R10-million to alleviate the plight of MK cadres.

Deal averts MK revolt (1A)

NELSPRUIT. — Threats of a revolt within uMkhonto we Sizwe were defused when it was agreed that its leadership would be restructured and a R10-million fund set up to address cadres' welfare needs.

The decisions were taken at an MK conference marked by "frank" criticism of MK's leadership.

CT 6/9/93
"They pointed fingers at me, at all of us," MK commander Mr Joe Modise said afterwards.

Chief of staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda said "thousands" of cadres were unemployed and the first handouts to the most desperate would be made within two weeks.

A measure of the lack of confidence in the leaders is that the welfare fund is to be controlled by MK's regional commands and not its headquarters. — Sapa

focus on coloureds

WINNING THE HEARTS, MINDS and votes of coloureds is a task almost every political party has set for itself in the Western Cape - and all are predicting they will succeed.

This battle will make the region's election campaign the hottest clash in the country, politicians and political experts agree.

While the two million coloured voters nationally are of little significance, in the Cape, this community has leapt into prominence because they constitute 60 percent of the electorate.

Opinion polls indicate that more than 30 percent of coloureds have not yet decided who they will vote for, or are completely apolitical - a characteristic which makes the community extremely vulnerable to electioneering tactics.

But the task of winning their votes is complicated by the debate on whether there is an identifiable coloured constituency which needs to be represented by people who share similar physical or cultural characteristics.

During the heyday of the struggle against apartheid, coloured activists believed they had succeeded in destroying the myth of a coloured nation and convinced the community that they were part of the oppressed black community.

But today, bolstered by political parties to the right of the African National Congress who deliberately plant the seed of an Africanist government destroying coloured economic privilege, coloured consciousness is growing.

Besides the ANC, the National Party and the Democratic Party are equally confident that they can win the coloured vote.

The Western Cape is the only region where the NP believes it has a chance to win the majority of votes. Since it opened its doors to all races in 1990, the party has put in a massive effort to build its membership in the Cape.

By 1992, President FW de Klerk had, to a large extent succeeded in projecting himself as the Messiah of reconstruction, as a leader who could deliver what he promised.

The NP also portrayed itself as the only majority capable of solving the country's woes and of protecting minority rights.

They depicted the ANC as an organisation responsible for the violence, and more importantly, as an organisation representing blacks. With the media at the disposal of the NP, this message was spread effectively among coloureds.

The NP's "family fun day" at the Goodwood Showgrounds earlier this year which attracted 20 000 people, mostly coloureds, was a major display of the party's support in the coloured community.

A similar undertaking in Mitchells Plain last year was disrupted by the ANC, which merely gave the NP ammunition to suggest that the ANC was fearful of its growing support.

All political parties are running after the coloured vote in the Western Cape. In this article, **Rehana Roussouw**, a journalist with *South*, an independent newspaper based in Cape Town, assesses the hopes and successes of all the parties involved. *Sowetan 6/9/93*



ANC Western Cape chairman Allan Boesak.

The DP styles itself as the "civilised" party in the Western Cape. Its members do not toyi-toyi, build barricades or engage in mass action.

They have attracted a fair amount of older-generation coloureds, who are conservative, religious and generally middle class. Winning working class coloured support would be a more difficult task for a party whose national leadership is still dominated by a capitalist class.

The DP's coup - the defection of prominent UDF and ANC activist working class hero Joe Marks this year - does not appear to have won the party much mileage, particularly after other defectors withdrew after alleging the party had bribed coloureds to join by offering them housing.

Majority support

Still, the DP maintains that it is possible to win majority support in the Western Cape.

The ANC has learnt the hard way that it cannot take coloured support for granted. ANC branches in coloured areas have failed to take root and the organisation realised late in the day that a major undertaking was required to mobilise support among coloureds.

After its unbanning, the ANC was under the mistaken impression that the support the UDF enjoyed among coloureds would automatically be transferred to them.

They neglected to effectively mobilise in coloured areas, particularly around bread-and-butter issues affecting people in those communities which the UDF had used to win their support.

The ANC was thus seen as an organisation which was only concerned with African issues.

The ANC has also realised that it is not sufficient to scare coloured voters from the NP by reminders that they were responsible for forced removals and removing coloureds from the voter's roll. They have to tackle head on the better-the-devil-you-know syndrome with clear statements on intent for an ANC government.

While there have been massive demographic shifts in the Western Cape, according to recent statistics, there are two million coloured residents in the region and just over one million Africans.

The ANC is faced with balancing the realities of the Western Cape with its belief in African leadership and relieving the deprivation of a community which was excluded from participation in the region by legislation.

A term used by polling experts to describe the importance of the coloured vote in the Western Cape is that they are "owing voters", their arrears could make the difference in the number of seats a party is allocated in Parliament.

But the difficulty is that that is precisely what coloured voters appear to be doing. Their support swings often between one party and the next.

The Bisho massacre last year and the killing of Chris Hani saw a measurable swing in support from the NP to the ANC.

By the same token, the NP and DP swung their propaganda machines into full gear recently to condemn the ANC's support for a teachers' strike and gained the sympathy of coloured parents. The ANC in response took every opportunity to remind people that it was an NP Minister who was retrenching 3 200 coloured teachers.

The lesson every political party and organisation has learned in the Western Cape is that the coloured community's support cannot be taken for granted.

The support will be won by the party which makes the greater effort to mobilise this community.

Military council, R10-m fund announced

Moves to appease and revamp MK

Star 6/9/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Nelspruit — Umkhonto we Sizwe's military headquarters are to be restructured with the establishment of a military council.

Although the council, which will include regional MK representatives, was agreed to at an MK conference held in 1991, it was not established.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told cadres at a special two-day MK conference in KaNgwane at the weekend that the resolution on the military council would be sent to the ANC's national working committee and the national executive committee with "maximum speed" for "immediate implementation".

"That I am able to guarantee — we will not sit on our laurels," he said.

MK moved swiftly at the weekend to address dissatisfaction among cadres, with the announcement of a R10 million fund and a guarantee of the implementation of resolutions taken at the conference.

Other resolutions stated that

AT A special conference, cadres are promised financial assistance and restructuring of their organisation

affirmative action should be increased for MK and that such a programme should be implemented in a new defence force.

MK leaders would hasten the process of ranking cadres in preparation for the establishment of a new defence force.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has contributed out of his own pocket to the new MK fund. Opening the conference on Friday, he said R10 million had been raised for MK.

ANC members would be encouraged to make monthly contributions to the fund.

It was also decided at the conference that destitute and unemployed cadres would benefit immediately from the R10 million.

The 14 MK regions would collect information on destitute cadres, which would determine

what share of the R10 million each region received.

MK chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda said the funds would also be spent on training cadres and to support relatives of fallen soldiers.

Speaking at the closing session of the conference on Saturday, Ramaphosa said the R10 million should be spent in an "honest and guided way".

Nyanda said a committee, which would include regional MK representatives, would be formed to administer the R10 million fund.

Although the new defence force, a national peacekeeping force and violence were discussed, the conference was overshadowed by debates on MK's welfare problems.

Mandela told delegates that unprecedented demands had been made on the ANC after the return of exiles since 1990.

In addition, traditional sources of funding had diminished since the ANC's unbanning.

Mandela warned the cadres: "Cash handouts may sustain you for a few months, at the end of which your problems will remain."

ANC will auction photos

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — The ANC is to auction the donated prints of some of the world's top photographers, media and acting celebrities this month to raise funds for voter education.

People will be charged R150 to attend the auction, entitled Picture Freedom, which is expected to include works by playwright Harold Pinter, television presenter Jonathan Ross, Oscar-award winning British actress Emma Thompson —

whose photographic "debut" this is — Glenda Jackson and former Daily Dispatch editor, Mr Donald Woods.

Among the professional photographers due to donate works are Eve Arnold, Helmut Newton, Tim Page, Franco Fontana, Robert Raushenberg, Marc Riboud and Romana Cagnoni, the ANC says. **CJ 67193**

The auction is part of the ANC's "Votes for Freedom" campaign to raise R5 million in Britain before April 27 next year. **(114)**

ANC to restrain Texas man acting as lobbyist

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The ANC has asked its US lawyers to restrain a Texas man who is passing himself off as a lobbyist for the movement and seeking to raise funds in its name, Mr Madala Mthembu, a spokesman for the organisation's Washington office, said yesterday.

Mr Kwame Gardner, a self-styled former military spy for the ANC, registered his Galveston-based firm, Infopreneurs, with the Justice Department as an agent of the movement on August 3.

In his notarised filing, he said he was establishing a fax and electronic mail network to lobby Congress and

the Clinton administration for the ANC at the behest of information and publicity secretary Dr Pallo Jordan.

In an interview, he said he was also soliciting contributions to establish an office and buy the necessary fax and computer equipment.

Alerted to the Justice Department filing, the ANC Washington's office forwarded copies of the documents to Mr Jordan and ANC foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki, who denied any knowledge of Mr Gardner. Mr Mthembu said (11A) 27/6/93

The incident highlights a growing problem for the ANC overseas as groups and individuals seek to trade off the movement's name and stature.

LAMIT

ANC plans major events in Natal

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress is to host two major events in Natal on September 24 and October 24.

The movement plans to formally invite King Goodwill Zwelithini as the traditional leader of the Zulus to the October event scheduled for King's Park Stadium.

The September meeting will be a cultural event which will attract indigenous people from across Natal, the ANC's Mr Robert Haswell confirmed

yesterday.

He said that the September meeting - at KwaXimba near Cato Ridge - will be a traditional Zulu event while the October gathering will be a "Natal celebration", where everyone will be invited, including the king, Indians and whites.

"The September 11 event will be a major cultural event where we hope the message will come across that Zulus do not have to relinquish their traditional values to be part of the ANC. It will become clear that the ANC and traditional values are not inseparable.

Sowetan

6/9/93

"These are two major events coming up in Natal that will clearly underline that," Haswell said.

The invitation to the king could become a bigger political issue than expected.

The southern Natal secretary of the ANC, Mr Sbu Ndebele, told a Sunday newspaper that the October event was not an attempt to woo the king or to use him as a cultural weapon against the Inkatha Freedom Party - which claims that it commands the support of all the Zulus in the province.

"We do not want to say who has got more Zulus than the other," he said.

11A

Sanctions 'to go soon'

Sowetan

AFRICAN National Congress deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said yesterday remaining sanctions against South Africa should be lifted soon.

Sisulu, representing the ANC at the annual summit of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Mbabane, Swaziland, told the opening ceremony that agreement was near on the creation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) - which will give blacks a powerful say in government for the first time.

"Within the next two or three days the TEC will be agreed on," Sisulu said. Parliament is due to meet on September 13 to enact draft TEC legislation drawn up by the ANC, the Government and other groups taking part in

Sapa-Reuters



Swoon on flea market



All sanctions left to go soon — Sisulu

Mbabane — African National Congress deputy president Walter Sisulu said yesterday remaining sanctions against South Africa should be lifted soon.

Sisulu, representing the ANC at the annual summit of the Southern African Development Community, told the opening ceremony that agreement was near on the creation of a transitional executive council (TEC) — which will give blacks a powerful say in government for the first time.

"Within the next two or three days the TEC will be agreed," Sisulu said.

Parliament is due to meet on September 13 to enact draft TEC legislation. With wide powers to control government law-making and operate a joint peacekeeping force, the TEC is charged with creating conditions for a free and fair election on April 27 next year.

Parliament is also due to enact draft bills setting up a

media commission, an electoral commission and an independent broadcasting authority.

"We hope that before this legislation is passed these bodies will be constituted so they can begin to function," Sisulu said.

"Given the agreement on an election date, once these bodies are formed all remaining sanctions can be lifted even without waiting for legislation," he said.

Sisulu sharply criticised the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), which links conservative black and white groups, saying it was trying to impede progress to democracy.

He said Cosag — which includes the Inkatha Freedom Party and the right-wing Conservative Party (CP) — had embarked on "a destructive path".

The CP, which along with Inkatha has quit the constitutional negotiations, warned President de Klerk on Friday that implementation of the TEC would mean civil war. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela appeals to Britons for R5 million

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The ANC is the natural guarantor of democracy in South Africa, whereas the National Party's history makes its continuation in power a threat to any democratic future.

So said ANC leader Nelson Mandela in an emotional appeal to Britons to give £1 million (about R5 million) to the organisation.

He said the ANC needed a huge cash injection if it was to have any chance of ensuring that true democracy would follow the historic April 27 elections.

Mr Mandela launched his fund-raising campaign — dubbed "Votes for Freedom" — with a full-page advertisement in The Independent today.

He said: "I know we have justice on our side. I believe our years of struggle and sacrifice have earned us the right to fight this election — and, having won it, to lead South Africa into real and lasting liberty.

"But I also know the National Party's strength. These people have access to enormous wealth, and still control the machinery of government in South Africa.

"The National Party is a minority, but they have the money. And when it comes to media manipulation, of which they are such past masters, their money will count."

He added: "Let us not forget the ability of our opponents to play a very dirty political game. For the experts in dirty tricks to rob us of our achievement now would be the last and dirtiest trick of all."

Mr Mandela said money was needed to:

- Train 210 000 volunteers to help newly enfranchised people understand their right to vote.

- Set up 94 properly equipped regional offices.

- Teach 140 trainers and organisers to direct the efforts of ANC volunteers more efficiently.

- Set up a proper communications network — the phones and faxes which party workers in Britain take for granted

- Invest in detailed constituency research.

- Buy bicycles and motorcycles so ANC representatives can travel unrestricted around South Africa.

"The cost of this will be many millions."

Free and fair election results 'will be accepted'

Biday 7/9/93

(SPPA) (11A)

SA's political parties would accept the result of next year's election if they lost, but party spokesmen warned that unrealistic expectations could trigger post-election violence, the latest issue of Barometer on Negotiations said.

Barometer asked DP, Inkatha Freedom Party, SA Communist Party, ANC, NP, Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), CP, PAC and Azapo spokesmen how they would react to losing the election.

All said that having agreed to take part, they would accept the result and assume the role of opposition parties. However, most predicated their accep-

PATRICK BULGER

tance on their perception that the elections were free and fair.

"The only thing we insist on is that elections are free and fair," said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

He said the ANC was concerned at the prospect of counter-revolutionary actions after the poll and wanted to include as broad as possible a cross-section of SA society in a government of national unity.

He felt ethnicity had been overrated as a factor in the violence and that it would be rendered even less of a factor by the system of proportional representation rather than constituency delimitation.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer said the NP would accept losing the election but a government of national unity was designed to accommodate losing parties. He said the ANC had overestimated its support, however, and would not win with an overall majority or even emerge as the strongest party.

"There is a danger that, if parties create too high expectations among their supporters, it could result in destabilisation after the election," Coetzer said.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo was the only spokesman who said

he was convinced of victory for his party.

"In the unlikely event of the PAC losing, they would accept the verdict of the people as long as they were satisfied that the elections had been free and fair. It is true that a party that has overestimated its support can resort to violence on losing an election.

"One method of preempting this is to ensure that all armed formations are under joint political command during the transition," he said.

AVU leader Andries Beyers said it was highly unlikely a future government would be able to function successfully without the loyalty of KwaZulu/Natal and Afrikaner nationalists. "If the ideas of the Cosag group are going to be ignored, they will be compelled to act together as the enemies of the new dispensation."

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said that if the party lost, it would take its place as an opposition party. DP spokesman James Selfe also identified unrealistic expectations as a stumbling block.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin said the SACP would not contest the election in its own right, but it was committed to multiparty democracy.

Bill to shake up law norms

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE introduction of a Bill of Rights would shake and permeate the foundations of SA's legal system, Deputy Justice Minister Sheila Camerer said yesterday.

Speaking at the Wits University law students' council conference, Camerer said the Bill would also mean that lawyers would no longer be people who blindly executed the law, but would instead be the creative architects of new policies.

Under a new constitution, lawyers would be called on

ANC, govt differences halt debate on draft transitional council Bill

STRONG differences between government and the ANC on the proposed Transitional Executive Council Bill prevented negotiators from even discussing the draft Bill yesterday.

Despite regular meetings, including one at the last minute yesterday, the two parties are having difficulty resolving differences over key matters affecting the TEC's implementation. Last night they were locked in further discussions.

A source said there were three major points of contention:

□ The ANC was concerned that 80% of

TEC members would be needed to make a decision binding.

□ Government felt that the 33% agreement required in the TEC and its subcouncils to procure information from government and administrations was too low; and

□ Government did not agree with the ANC's demand that President FW de Klerk and his Ministers needed the TEC's approval before declaring a state of emergency or an unrest area.

The ANC insists that the 80% majority for decisions is too high and wants it reduced to two-thirds. But government, and

other parties including the DP, prefers consensus or, if this cannot be achieved, approval by 80% of members present.

One source said government was unhappy about De Klerk's "hands being tied in declaring a state of emergency". But the ANC believed that the TEC would be toothless if it could not review or prevent the declaration of an emergency.

The position of the TBVC states in relation to the TEC must also be resolved. However, the source said this problem was

closely linked to the position of regional autonomy and could be dealt with later.

Ciskei and Bophuthatswana proposed to the planning committee that they get associate or observer status on the TEC. They refused to implement the TEC in their territories and would not have elections in April. Instead they wanted their own legislatures to nominate associate representatives to Parliament. They wanted voting status on all constitutional matters and only when the final constitution was agreed and approved by their representatives would they allow reincorporation.

This was totally unacceptable to the other parties and the ad hoc committee reported failure in resolving the issue.

Yesterday the council's agenda had to be changed after Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer asked for time for further discussion. The proposal was seconded by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. Negotiators called in the constitutional matters committee instead and kept themselves busy with non-contentious issues. The disputed areas of regional powers and autonomy are still being negotiated by the planning committee.

Billy Paddock

'Warmongers will be crushed'

DURBAN. — ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale warned yesterday that if the Inkatha Freedom Party and its right-wing allies carried out their threats of civil war, the ANC would "take it to their homes and obliterate them" (11)

Speaking to students at the University of Durban-Westville, Mr Sexwale appealed to the IFP to return from the brink of war and go back to the talks.

The ANC did not want war. CT 7/9/93

"If they want to turn to bloodshed, they will be wading in the blood of their own children."

PAC warns NP, DP of election dangers

Biday 7/19/93

PATRICK BULGER

THE NP and DP would need police escorts if they wanted to campaign in townships for next year's election, PAC publicity and information director Waters Toboti warned yesterday.

He was speaking against the backdrop of a growing controversy over the presence in townships of whites generally and white policemen in particular.

At the weekend, Delmas farmer Fanie Badenhorst was murdered at a squatter camp and police warned whites not to enter any townships unless escorted by security force members.

Last week PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim sent a letter to US ambassador Princeton Lyman expressing regret for the murder of US student Arny Biehl in Cape Town's Guguletu township. Ebrahim referred in the letter to "special circumstances" prevailing in SA's townships.

The township controversy was fuelled at the weekend when ANC president Nelson Mandela called for white policemen to be withdrawn from townships.

Elaborating on Mandela's remarks, which drew criticism from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and DP leader Zach de Beer, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said white policemen often displayed a racist attitude towards township dwellers.

Niehaus denied Kriel's claim that Mandela's call was an ANC attempt to prohibit whites from campaigning in townships for the election.

However, Toboti said it would be "very difficult" for whites to campaign in the townships. The DP and NP would not be able to go there without the police, but the

PAC could get into any township.

Toboti said township blacks were bitter about the deaths of people at the hands of unidentified killers and tended to see whites as supporting the killers.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday ANC demands for the withdrawal of the internal stability unit and white policemen from townships was a racist ploy, DIRK VAN EEDEN reports.

"These ANC demands are a thinly disguised ploy to establish no-go areas in which a political cleansing process against ANC opponents can take place," Kriel said.

The unit and a police presence, especially in East Rand townships, were the only reasons these areas had not been turned into a second Bosnia. (11A) (SAPA)

Sapa reports that De Beer yesterday called on Mandela to explain his position on the removal of white policemen from the townships. Until now Mandela had been consistent on non-racism, but "here he is proposing a bizarre form of police apartheid".

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal organiser Themba Khoza also rejected Mandela's demand, saying a bloodbath would ensue if the stability unit and white policemen were removed.

More than 1 300 unrest-related incidents, of which 350 were attacks on policemen, occurred on the Witwatersrand in the four months from May to August this year, according to statistics released by police yesterday.

CP may boycott Parliament

CAPE TOWN — CP MPs will decide on Saturday on a strategy, including a possible boycott, for the coming short session of Parliament. Biday

Party spokesman Pieter Mulder confirmed yesterday that certain members favoured boycotting the session aimed primarily at implementing transitional legislation which the CP opposed. 7/19/93

Mulder said Brakpan MP Frank le Roux had called Saturday's caucus meeting.

Insiders said there was a slim chance a boycott would be decided on. Such a meeting would hardly be called just to send MPs home again.

The NP said the consideration of a boycott by the CP showed the party was becoming more irrelevant every day. It was an example of the "escapism syndrome" gaining the upper hand in the CP.

"This is shown in the non-payment of TV licences, the sealing of their own TV sets,

and the possible boycott of the Parliamentary session," the NP said.

DP leader Zach de Beer called for the CP to disband, saying it could make no contribution to SA's future. (SAPA)

The CP's announcement that it would not participate in the transitional executive council (TEC) should not cause surprise, he said. It had stuck bloody-mindedly to the worst kind of political apartheid.

Meanwhile, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg exacerbated tension between his party and the ANC yesterday, calling the organisation an opponent of peace and a killing machine.

He called on CP supporters to prepare all available force to resist the threat by ANC president Nelson Mandela that the CP would be crushed should it try to derail the implementation of a TEC. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 8

Union will push for continuing alliance

ERICA JANKOWITZ

THE Cosatu-affiliated Construction and Allied Workers' Union (Cawu) resolved at its weekend conference to push for the continuation of the federation's alliance with the ANC, in line with the NUM's position.

But the union would be guided by Cosatu on the future of the alliance, Cawu organiser Desmond Mahashi said. The union intended to mobilise members to support the ANC in the elections, Mahashi said. Cawu proposed southern Transvaal regional secretary Dan Mhapi for the election list. It also resolved not to accept a political solution which allowed a minority party to exercise veto rights, he said.

The Cosatu-initiated reconstruction and development programme was also adopted by the congress.

Cawu would convene a national collective bargaining conference soon to launch campaigns in support of the continuation of centralised bargaining platforms and counter the proposed collapse of industrial councils.

Unions should be more involved in industrial restructuring and Cawu resolved to play a more active role in this arena, he said.

On the issue of public works programmes, Mahashi said Cawu decided to become part of the process to ensure workers' rights were not eroded. Subcontracting was another area of concern and the union resolved to formulate a policy and present it to employers.

Mahashi said Cawu had also looked at building organisation, mainly through forging closer ties with other unions in the sector, such as the Nactu affiliated Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union.

Fred Gona was elected president, with former president David Ngcobo his vice-president and former treasurer Chris Gaba second vice-president. George Baloyi was voted in as treasurer and Mathews Olifant and Dumisani Ntuli were re-elected as general secretary and assistant general secretary.

Poll help offers 'pouring in'

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had received offers of electoral assistance from political parties around the world, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

While the constitutions of most countries prevented governments spending taxpayers' money on foreign political efforts, the opposition parties of those countries were not similarly bound. They had been offering the ANC assistance ranging from money to sending volunteers to conduct door-to-door canvassing.

"We've had so many requests to help us from political parties around the world," Niehaus said. ANC president Nelson Mandela, on a recent visit to Taiwan, met that country's opposition leader, who had offered volunteers to do canvassing and propaganda work.

A diplomatic source confirmed that while the Taiwanese government could not provide electoral assistance to the ANC, there was nothing to prevent the opposition from doing so.

Niehaus said the ANC was examining the offer, along with several others.

More offers had come in from all over Europe, Scandinavia, Canada, the US and Australia. The ANC was assessing them and would decide which it would accept, he said.

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Biday

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Flowers, (1/A)
prayers (1/2)
in Bisho (1/3)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — In a sombre ceremony on a hot dusty road, African National Congress officials and mourners laid flowers and said a prayer today to honour 29 people killed a year ago by homeland security forces.

Police and soldiers from the independent Ciskei homeland watched from hills as about 150 friends and relatives of the victims and some survivors of the shooting held a brief memorial service.

Wreaths of yellow and white flowers, some decorated with ANC flags, were placed on the dirt road along the SA-Ciskei border where marchers were fired on as they walked into Ciskei's capital, Bisho.

Ciskei's military leader Oupa Gqozo had warned the ANC not to enter Bisho on September 7 last year.

South African troops and Ciskei soldiers on the other side of the border, which is marked only by a small sign, stood guard and searched vehicles along the road.

In King William's Town, a few kilometres from Bisho, streets were deserted as most blacks observed an ANC-called strike. — Sapa-AP.

Mandela in bid for investment

By SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — With agreement on a transitional executive and an end to sanctions imminent, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is preparing to launch a major bid for international investment in a trip to the US. (11A) (113)

The trip is timed to coincide with the World Bank and IMF annual meetings at the end of the month.

The ANC has confirmed in writing that Mr Mandela has agreed to deliver the keynote address at a conference on institutional investment in post-apartheid South Africa here on October 1.

He is also expected to speak at World Economic Development Congress here on September 25, said Mr Madala Mthembu, a spokesman for the ANC's office here.

President F W De Klerk is currently scheduled to give the closing address.

The World Bank/IMF meetings officially begin on September 27, and Mr Mandela may use the opportunity to see bank president Mr Lewis Preston and IMF managing director Mr Michael Camdessus, and to have meetings with key finance ministers.

The UN General Assembly will also be in full swing in New York. CT8/9/93

Mandela's visit starts today

CT 8/9/93 (11A)

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrives in the city this morning for a hectic five-day visit to launch the organisation's election campaign.

He will address three mass rallies and a number of smaller gatherings and meet

local interest groups.

Mr Mandela will be met at the airport by mayor Mr Clive Keegan and ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak.

He will be greeted with banners by ANC branches along Settlers Way before going to a Salt River clothing factory where he will field questions

from workers on a show to be broadcast on Radio Good Hope between 10.30 and 11.30am.

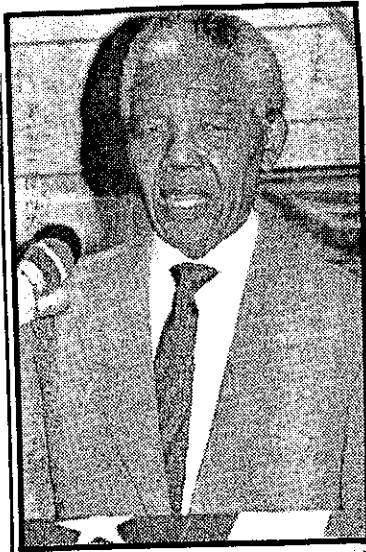
Mr Mandela will then address the Chamber of Commerce before briefing local editors about political developments.

He will interrupt his visit on

Friday to attend Cosatu's annual congress in Johannesburg. On his return the next morning, his plane will touch down in Beaufort West, where he will address a mass rally of the ANC's Karoo region.

● Cosatu said in a statement yesterday that its 180 000 Western Cape members welcomed Mr Mandela.

Mandela trip could spell end of US curbs



SANCTIONS: Nelson Mandela addresses a crowd before the opening of a US exhibition near Johannesburg yesterday. He said he would call for the lifting of sanctions once negotiators had agreed on a draft constitution.

PETER FABRICIUS ^{ARC 8/9/93}
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has changed plans and will visit here to address at least two major investment congresses in a few weeks' time — adding weight to speculation the ANC will call for the lifting of sanctions before that.

Mr Mandela will be here during a period of intense concentration on South African investment. Several conferences have been planned for this time, both to coincide with the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank and also to take advantage of the expected call by the ANC for remaining sanctions here to be lifted.

According to ANC sources, Mandela will attend the annual meetings of the IMF and the World Bank during the last week of September and will address the Global Investment Access investment conference organised by former US ambassador to the US Herman Nickel and the World Economic Development Congress where President De Klerk is to be one of the keynote speakers.

Mandela's chaotic welcome

Unruly crowd for leader's arrival

ARG 8/19/93 (11A)

All curbs could be 'gone in weeks'

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said today that international sanctions would be lifted within weeks, allowing foreign businessmen to invest and help promote economic growth — but he warned that violence and instability were scaring off investors.

Answering questions from workers at a clothing factory in Salt River, he said the ANC would not take "extreme action" in the field of taxation in seeking to finance large-scale national reconstruction and development.

Mr Mandela warned that "violence is going to be with us until a democratic government is installed".

"Far from it being a question of black-on-black violence, the real problem is violence politically orchestrated by state officials" which was killing off "our people".

At present, he said, the police force and the army had no legitimacy or credibility.

"Only when we have a truly democratic government can effective steps be taken to bring down violence or even to stop it. It is therefore important to ensure that you put into power a government that is committed to peace and democracy."

Referring to fears about coloured people being replaced by blacks in affirmative action programmes, Mr Mandela said the ANC was in favour of all people enjoying equal opportunities.

The ANC was not in favour of blacks, or any one ethnic group, being advanced over another.

Mr Mandela made it clear the ANC was not dogmatic about nationalisation — but it was a possibility in certain cases, as had been done in Germany, which was a capitalist country.

Mr Mandela said that textile workers in South Africa were facing stiff competition from countries in Asia where there was a higher standard of living and, therefore, a higher standard of workmanship.

Consequently, he said, there was a tendency for textile traders to go abroad to purchase goods, to the disadvantage of South African workers.

"One of the factors we will take up is to ensure that the traders buy in South Africa and do not go overseas to purchase," he said.



YOUNG WELLWISHER: ANC president Nelson Mandela is greeted by little Myfanwyn Gibson after he arrived at DF Malan Airport today at the start of a visit to boost the ANC's election campaign in the Western Cape.

Picture: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

NELSON Mandela arrived to a chaotic welcome at Cape Town's DF Malan Airport today.

Carefully laid plans to have Mr Mandela walk past hundreds of people waiting to see him were scuttled as press photographers and television cameramen jostled around the ANC leader.

Security guards and marshals tried to push them away while several onlookers tried to touch him.

Three young girls, Myfanwyn Gibson, Carol Kombela, and Anda Sonto, who were waiting to present Mr Mandela with a garland of black, yellow and green, were forced to make a hurried presentation before security guards led him into a car and sped off to Salt River.

Mr Mandela was scheduled to arrive at 9.30am in his chartered flight. He was 30 minutes late, however, and was met on the tarmac by Cape Town mayor Clive Keegan, his wife

Mandela road show — page 13

Marilyn, ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak, regional secretary Tony Yengeni, and other members of the Regional Executive Committee.

Members of the press were not allowed on to the tarmac.

A heavy security web was thrown around the airport, with members of the ANC security wing and those of the State closely co-operating.

A security policeman — who declined to give his name, but is one of President De Klerk's bodyguards — appeared to be in charge of the South African security wing.

He confirmed that the two groups were co-operating, saying this was at a request of the ANC.

"We are here to help protect him."

"We have no problems with this because it is part of our work."

Most of the bridges straddling Settlers Way were adorned with ANC flags.

Armed soldiers and police, some of them on bicycles, patrolled the N2 freeway as part of the protective web thrown around the ANC president.

A police helicopter also formed part of this network.

Waiting at the airport to greet Mr Mandela was a group of 14 youngsters, each armed with wooden AK 47 rifles, but because of the chaos they could not drill for Mr Mandela.

Similarly, a band from Trevor Vilakazi squatter camp, in Khayelitsha, had to pack up their instruments and go home without performing for Mr Mandela.

Several people in the crowd waved ANC flags, others wore ANC colours, and a number held small children aloft to catch a glimpse of Mr Mandela as he sped by.

Private property not in danger — Mandela

CAPE TOWN — There was no danger that the ANC would dispossess property or privately owned land, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In an interview beamed live from a Cape Town clothing factory, he said the ANC was fighting for a society based on private enterprise where people were entitled to own property, Sapa reports.

"There is no danger of us dispossessing people of property, no danger at all."

Like Germany, the ANC wanted a nationalisation clause in the constitution that remained dormant until needed.

New taxes should be a last resort as the country was already overtaxed.

While private land would not be touched, the ANC would use land under Defence Force control when compensating those who had lost their land rights. The SADF controlled about 40% of the land. (11A)

The ANC's first priority was to fight for workers' rights, but it had to be taken into account that industry produced wealth, Mandela said. "Without factories it will be difficult for us to improve our living standards. We need a balance, and that is why there is a National Economic Forum."

However he declined to rule out a wealth tax or the nationalisation of mines and banks, Reuter reports. "Whether we are going to tax the rich is a question that can be discussed in due course," he said.

Mandela hinted at a form of import control when he said textile factories could play a role in the economy's reconstruction. "We must ensure that SA traders buy South African and do not export their capital to the benefit of foreign countries."

But he expressed his commitment to an open, internationally competitive eco-

To Page 2

Mandela

nomy free of tariffs and other controls, while conceding that it might be necessary initially to develop certain industries behind tariff barriers.

LINDA ENSOR reports that Mandela said although the transitional executive council opened the way for the lifting of sanctions, it would not bring a flood of foreign investment. (11A)

He told a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce lunch that it was important for the TEC to adopt a strategy that could be seen as being designed to stimulate the economy. This would require a huge injection of foreign capital. Investment and the lifting of sanctions were crucial, but no busi-

nessman would take the risk of investing in SA until the violence was stopped.

However the TEC would not be able to stop the violence. Only a government of national unity would be able to use the state's resources to address the problem, and this could be done only after an election. He predicted an escalation in conflict in the run-up to elections.

Foreign investors would have no incentive to invest in SA if SA business had no confidence in the ability of the country to create a safe environment for investment. Investors wanted political and economic stability, and the ability to repatriate dividends and profits.

From Page 1

Buthelezi cannot 'hold SA to ransom'

B/Day 9/9/93

CAPE TOWN — Sept 8 Sapa Although he had a "soft spot" for Mangosuthu Buthelezi and respected him, the ANC would not allow an individual to hold the peace process to ransom, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told a Cape Chamber of Commerce luncheon that the Inkatha Freedom Party president had fought against injustice. "He is a man I highly respect."

But Mandela said he had failed, during three recent meetings, to persuade Buthelezi that he had nothing to fear in a democratic SA.

Mandela said it should be noted that the Inkatha leader was losing support in his own areas — a recent survey had shown that 52% of black women in the KwaZulu/Natal rural areas supported the ANC.

It would be regrettable to adopt an attitude of going ahead with the negotiation process without the "spoilers".

The negotiation forum at Kempton Park had become so powerful that two Cabinet Ministers — Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel — had had to appear before it to explain their actions.

"The people are already ruling," Mandela said. "No spoiler is going to hamper this process."

Mandela believed the ANC and NP would ultimately prevail on the "cry-babies" to participate in the elections.

The IFP and CP were not party to the negotiations and progress had been made without them. But the ANC would go out of its way to persuade them to return to Kempton Park.

He said Inkatha should be honour bound to return to negotiations if the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled against the KwaZulu government's application which was scheduled for today. (IIF)

Mandela is on a five-day tour of the western Cape. On a visit to a Salt River clothing factory he was greeted by 400 cheering workers.

Smiling and waving, Mandela was escorted into the factory for a walkabout before joining a Radio Good Hope presenter for a live broadcast of "Workers on Wednesday".

Mandela was presented with a suit made by factory workers and a tracksuit top from the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union's Zenzile co-operative.

Earlier, Mandela received a tumultuous reception from about 2 000 followers when he arrived at DF Malan Airport. He was also met by Cape Town mayor Clive Keegan, ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak and other ANC regional executive committee members.

An ANC Women's League guard of honour collapsed in disarray as marshals battled to control the crowd.

There was a heavy security force presence on the road from the airport. — Sapa.

DP councillors 'to defect to ANC today'

AT LEAST three DP Randburg town councillors and three Sandton councillors are expected to defect to the ANC today.

Sources said the three were Randburg mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and councillor Andre Jacobs. B/Say 9/9/93

Crail refused to comment yesterday. "I think at this time the best thing would be to contact the ANC for comment." Sandton councillor Richard Cherry also refused to comment, referring queries to the ANC.

The ANC said it would announce a "dramatic breakthrough in white politics" today by releasing the names of several influential politicians in the PWV region who had joined the organisation.

Sandton management committee chair-

Business Day Reporters

man Peter Gardiner said he had no knowledge of defections. ANC spokesman and MP Dave Dalling and other ANC officials refused to be drawn on the organisation's new recruits. (11A)

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the ANC had little support among Randburg's taxpayers, and it would be unacceptable for the defectors to continue managing the town.

"The councillors who have defected to the ANC were all elected on the basis of DP policy which differs fundamentally from ANC policy." He said that with such a drastic change, political morality demanded that they resign.

Land pledge



SACRED GROUND . . . Standing where the old shebeen in District Six used to be, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela recalled "fond memories" of a previous visit to the "the district" in 1947 when he used to eat at a cafe in Roeland Street next to the Avalon Theatre. With Mr Mandela are former residents of the area (from left) historian and social worker Mr Achmat Davids, Mr Armién Hendricks, Mrs Latiefa Hendricks, Mrs Salama Abbas, Mr Tahir Levy and historian Mr Vincent Kolbe.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Nostalgic visit to District Six

By DALE GRANGER

STANDING on the bulldozed ruins of District Six yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met the last family to leave the suburb in 1981 and recalled fond memories of a previous visit to the area 46 years ago.

Mr Mandela brought traffic to a halt, shook dozens of hands and exchanged enthusiastic greetings with onlookers.

"I am happy to meet you," Mr Mandela said. "My visit brings back fond memories of December 1947 when I spent a holiday here and I used to eat at a Roeland Street cafe next to the Avalon Theatre."

"That was next to my grandfather's house," someone in the crowd said.

Mr Tahir Levy, the unofficial "mayor" of District Six in its heyday, told Mr Mandela the barren ground he was standing on opposite the Holy Cross Church used to be the location of the local shebeen.

"That is a very important place," Mr Mandela said laughing.

The ANC president referred to District Six as "a unique culture, predominantly to those classed as so-called coloured but also to other population groups".

The Hendricks family, who resisted forced eviction — holding out until 1981 but finally abandoning their Horstley Street home for Belhar when

there was "no electricity or anything else left" — were overawed at meeting Mr Mandela.

"We are honoured. It is a dream to meet the future president of South Africa, he is a good, honest and sincere man," Mr Armién Hendricks said.

Mr Mandela said the battle against apartheid had been "fought and won" but a future commission had to be established to look into the question of forced removals and the effect this had on people.

"I hope that one way we can heal the wounds is on the basis of restitution and retribution for the rights of people which were denied," Mr Mandela said.

Homes safe ⁽¹¹⁾ — Mandela

Staff Reporters

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday promised that privately-owned land and property would not be seized by an ANC government.

He also called for all import tariffs and controls to be scrapped, saying he was opposed in principle to protectionist measures for industry, but may consider some for a limited period.

The ANC leader was speaking soon after his arrival in Cape Town yesterday to launch the ANC's Western Cape election drive.

Speaking at a city clothing factory, Mr Mandela drew sustained applause from local businessmen for his strongly pro-market speech.

Mr Mandela said the ANC was fighting for a society based on private enterprise where people were entitled to own property.

"There is no danger of us dispossessing people of property," he said.

Soon after his chaotic arrival at D F Malan Airport, Mr Mandela was taken to the factory in Salt River where hundreds of cheering factory workers gave him a deafening welcome.

He told workers the SADF controlled about 40% of the country's land which the ANC would "certainly" use to compensate those who had lost land under apartheid.

The ANC's first priority was to fight for the rights of workers but it was important to balance their needs with those of industry, which generated the country's wealth.

Increased taxes would be a "last resort" as South Africa was already over-taxed. The ANC would instead fund development by eliminating "unnecessary duplication" in government departments.

"Our principal concern is to improve the living standards of every

person in the country, especially the black majority," he said.

Addressing the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce at lunch, Mr Mandela said the removal of sanctions would "only be an important psychological step". Serious investors would be "waiting and seeing" what happened in respect of the violence and the outcome of the elections.

"More importantly, they will have their attention focused on the moves of South Africa's own investment community."

The ANC believed that a turnaround in the economic fortunes of South Africa "will be piloted by the kinds of small and medium enterprises which predominate in (the Western Cape)."

His visit to a clothing factory yesterday confirmed that workers shared the same concerns as employers about economic growth, Mr Mandela said.

"We were struck by the determination of those workers to make a substantial contribution to economic growth."

● Capital flow to SA 'soon' — Page 2



'Struggle must go on'

JOHANNESBURG. — The acceptance of a transitional executive council was not a transfer of power and the struggle to remove those preventing a democratically elected government should continue, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said yesterday.

"The implementation of a TEC is a dangerous phase in negotiations," Mr Mokaba said at the opening of a Congress of South African Students

branch at the Witwatersrand Technikon in Johannesburg. CT 9/9/93

The liberation struggle would "have to shift to a new phase to further remove from power all those opposed to true democracy", he said.

He said a government of national unity could not be a coalition. Those parties represented in it would have to be junior and not equal partners. — Sapa

(1A)

Nelson seeks letter writer

By BARRY STREEK

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is looking for a black person who wrote to him in prison telling him he would be always be a "kaffir" and wanted to remain in jail because there he got three meals a day.

It was written after Mr Mandela had rejected a conditional release offer by former president Mr P W Botha.

Mr Mandela told a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce lunch that Pollsmoor warders initially refused to give him the letter as it was so insulting.

The writer criticised him for rejecting the offer and said that outside prison "we have pap (porridge) for breakfast, pap for lunch and pap for supper".

"There you are fed three times

a day and that is why you want to stay inside. (1A)CT9/9/93

"Jy is 'n kaffir en jy sal altyd 'n kaffir bly (You are a kaffir and you will always remain a kaffir)," the letter read.

Mr Mandela said after his release he went to the man's address, but unfortunately he had moved. "I want to offer him a meal of pap with me!"

More DP losses to ANC likely

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
Three Democratic Party
Randburg town council-
lors and three Sandton
councillors are expected
to announce their defec-
tion to the ANC today.

According to well-
placed sources they are
Randburg mayor Mr Bri-
an Crail, management
committee chairman Mr
Gary Cooney and coun-
cillor Mr Andre Jacobs.

The names of promi-
nent new members in
the Western Cape are to
be disclosed on Monday.

~~(S)~~ (U)

27/9/98

DP councillors to join ANC

Star 9/9/93

■ BY BUNTY WEST AND
BRENDAN TEMPLETON

Three Randburg town councillors are to announce today that they intend to leave the Democratic Party to join the ANC.

They are mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and councillor Andre Jacobs, who is also a former administrator of Alexandra.

NP Randburg MP Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the DP's policy differed fundamentally from the ANC's and "political morality" demanded their resignation. It was unacceptable that the trio continue representing the town under an ANC banner, he said.

But the residents' association chairman in Andre Jacobs's ward, Les Penfold, said he expected "our good



Defectors... (from left) Brian Crail, Gary Cooney and Andre Jacobs

working relationship will continue after his move to the ANC".

(IA)

Cooney's ward chairman Bob Warne said Cooney's defection had been on the cards because he had never made his affiliations secret.

Crail's ward chairman Des Livingstone said: "Personally I have a problem with it and I expect a backlash from the ratepayers. It will not be easy working with someone who

has such different views."

It is expected that the three will explain their reasons for the defection at a press conference at noon today in the ANC's PWV branch offices in Johannesburg. It is understood they have decided to switch parties in advance of the October deadline for councils to take on nominated members.

■ Three Sandton town councillors are also expected to move from the DP to the ANC today.

3 DPs switch to ANC

THREE Randburg town councillors will today announce their intention to leave the Democratic Party to join the African National Congress.

They are the mayor, Mr Brian Crail; the chairman of the council's management committee, Mr Gary Cooney; and councillor Mr Andre Jacobs, who is also a former administrator of Alexandra. It is understood they have decided to switch parties in advance of the October deadline for councils to take on nominated members.

The trio were maintaining silence on the issue yesterday, but it is expected they will explain their reasons

(IIA) Sowetan

9/1/93

Brief

Sowetan 9/1/93

for the change at a Press conference at noon today in the ANC's PWV branch offices in Johannesburg.

(IIA)

DP councillors defect to ANC

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The names of six Randburg and Sandton town councillors who have left the Democratic Party to join the African National Congress were announced today.

They are Randburg Mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and Councillor André Jacobs. The Sandton councillors are Willem Hefer, Mike Melunsky and Richard Cheary.

Defectors to ANC urged to quit

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party has called for the resignation of three former Democratic Party Randburg councillors who have defected to the African National Congress.

The three are Mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and councillor André Jacobs.

● The Argus Correspondents and Sapa.

(11A) (21A)

Uniformed member in court

MK (M) 11A

CT 9/19/93

Staff Reporter

A MEMBER of uMkhonto weSizwe appeared, in uniform, in the Wynberg Regional Court yesterday in connection with two counts of murder.

Mr Isaac Pumelelo Benge, 28, of New Crossroads, is accused of shooting dead his cousin Mr Mzwanele Benge and an unnamed man on January 21.

Last month the court heard that a third charge was being investigated against Mr Benge.

However, no charges have yet been put to him

and he has not been asked to plead.

Yesterday Mr Benge appeared in court dressed in green fatigues, combat boots and a black beret.

Mr M S Matana, who has appeared for Mr Benge in the past, also withdrew from the matter yesterday. The court heard Mr Benge will now be represented by Mr S Hockey.

The matter was postponed to next Tuesday and his bail of R500 was extended.

The magistrate was Mr P D Theron. Mr G K du Plessis prosecuted.

Councillors explain defection to ANC

B1 Day 10/9/93

LLOYD COUTTS

SIX Randburg and Sandton town councillors yesterday announced their defection to the ANC.

They are Randburg mayor Brian Crail (DP), former Sandton mayor Willem Hefer (Ind), Randburg management committee chairman Gary Cooney (DP), Randburg councillor Andre Jacobs (DP) and independent Sandton councillors Richard Cheary and Mike Melunsky.

A joint statement read by Crail at a news conference yesterday said the councillors believed it was time to unite the forces for good in SA under the ANC.

"We have spent our political lifetimes fighting apartheid through the channels available to us. Now, as the new SA dawns, the need for differentiation between those in the system and those outside it no longer exists."

Crail said that after many months of consultations with the ANC, "we are mutually agreed that there is a need for us to become an integral part of the ANC now, in order to assist in its efforts in bringing our divided people together".

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said his organisation was delighted to welcome the councillors, and said the move emphasised the nonracial approach of the ANC and its firm commitment to a non-racial SA. The ANC would use their talents in the field of local government.

Asked whether councillors had consulted their constituencies before deciding to

join the ANC, Cooney said discussions had taken place with "various people", but there had been no wide consultation.

Denying allegations that they were being expedient by joining the ANC before the possible disbandment of local authorities, Jacobs said those who remained on the fence were the true expedients.

Asked if the councillors would resign if asked to do so, Hefer replied: "Absolutely not." He said there were many Sandton residents not on the voters' role who the councillors would represent.

DP southern Transvaal leader Tony Leon said he had suspended Cooney, Jacobs and Crail on Wednesday night.

"Their move to the ANC reeks of expedience and a misguided attempt at extending their political shelf life. By no stretch of the imagination can their joining the ANC be described as compatible with the mandate they received when elected to office in 1988," he said.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that ratepayer bodies said yesterday the six should resign.

Sandton Federation of Ratepayers' and Residents' Association (Sanfed) chairman Gail Daus said it had been suspected that the three councillors "had a hidden agenda". They were pursuing secret aims that were not in the interest of residents.

● Comment: Page 8

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ANC pledges support for mining sector

Biday 10/9/93

U/A

THE ANC was committed to creating conditions which supported mining investment, including guarantees against nationalisation without compensation, a senior official said yesterday.

Economics planning department head Trevor Manuel said the ANC was committed to maintaining the industry's world role and creating conditions which guaranteed the high levels of investment needed to replace diminishing reserves.

"Mining is a high risk industry and investors require above average guarantees if we are going to attract them," he told the Mining in Africa Conference organised by AIC Conferences in association with the Financial Mail in Sandton.

He said the ANC planned to review the system of access to mineral rights in order to encourage investment.

In a survey last year on factors determining major mining companies' investment decisions, the World Bank had found that mineral rights needed to be freed up, but in a way that guaranteed the investor the right to mine with adequate tenure.

Also the fiscal playing field needed to be stable, giving the investor access to foreign exchange for imported inputs and repatriation of profits.

Manuel said much still remained to be done in the field of affirmative action by the mining industry. "We hope to see much greater black participation in ownership and the higher paid positions."

He predicted that the formation of a

stable, democratic government would go a long way to stabilising the political environment and halting violence.

But if violence persisted, mining faced the danger of degenerating to the level of Angola's diamond industry "where those with the biggest guns control what is brought up from the bowels of the earth".

A senior official from the World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC) said the IFC was keen to raise its investments in the mining industry.

IFC oil, gas and mining department senior adviser Claus Westmeier said it was planning loan and equity investments in mining worth about \$100m this year.

"And we are geared to expanding our mining business in the coming years."

The IFC aims to promote economic development by encouraging private sector investment. Project finance has been the core of its business, and its investment is usually limited to 25% of the project cost.

Westmeier said the role of less developed countries in future mineral investments would be influenced by the regulatory environment. Positive policy changes regarding ownership, tax and regulation in countries such as Chile and Peru were spreading and would create new opportunities for privatisation and investment.

The IFC's \$8.7bn portfolio covered 740 companies worldwide.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Department geological survey chief director Nok Frick said Africa would remain a less attractive

□ To Page 2

Mining

Biday 10/9/93

□ From Page 1

prospect for mining investment than Latin America, Asia, eastern Europe and Australia, unless "man-made" impediments were removed and manipulation was rejected.

A comparison of the relative competitiveness of these regions against 1992 investment patterns had shown that Africa was underperforming.

Although Africa possibly could rival Latin America and Asia in attracting mining investment and mineral development, a number of fundamental changes had to be made to political, economic and management structures.

"A fundamental revision of policies towards the management of mineral rights, the redefinition of the role of the state and the role of private companies, and the reduction of geological and economic risks are critical for success," Frick said.

The major differences in systems and policies used in different African countries were a severe limitation on development of a continental-scale mining industry. As a result, individual countries were open to outside manipulation, and the cohesion which usually characterised successful mining regions was destroyed.

Mintek president Aiden Edwards urged African minerals producers to aggressively exploit downstream opportunities in order to add value to exports.

He said SA's ranking as an exporter had

fallen steadily over the past decade. "It will continue to regress inexorably, unless it gets moving and prepares itself for an aggressive policy of beneficiation."

However three major metallurgical projects — the Columbus stainless steel, Namakwa Sands titanium slag and Alusaf aluminium projects — should improve SA's foreign exchange earnings by up to 5% by the mid-1990s.

"I believe that the potential for the further establishment of such industries in SA and in Africa is enormous," he said.

This was because minerals-based industries had declined in importance in the developed world. Operating costs were often higher in the industrialised world and energy costs had become prohibitive.

Edwards said that SA, despite its mineral riches, had a virtually non-existent jewellery industry in world terms, accounting for only 0.2% of global gold jewellery output and none of platinum jewellery.

In spite of its dominance in manganese and vanadium production it produced only 1% of products from which final artefacts could be made. Similarly only 1% of the world's titanium pigment, and no titanium metal, was produced in SA. Collectively, these and other metals could double SA's minerals sector foreign exchange earnings by the end of the 1990s, he said. — Reuter.

● Comment: Page 6

Ancyl: Censure those CT10/7/93 (11A) who threaten war

JOHANNESBURG. — Steps should be taken to censure all those who threatened war and racist revolution, the ANC Youth League said yesterday.

Reacting to Wednesday's killing of 21 and wounding of 25 in taxi ambushes on the East Rand, it said the murder of people before major political developments warranted a review of attitudes towards those threatening violence and civil war. The time had come for South Africans to isolate all war-mongers and opponents of peaceful change. — Sapa

Mandela woos women voters

CT10/9/93

Staff Reporter

(11A)

WOMEN constitute 56% of the electorate in South Africa and unless they were mobilised it would not be possible for the ANC to win an election, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told a packed ANC Women's League meeting last night.

Addressing a 600-strong crowd at the Samaj Centre in Athlone, Mr Mandela said that the ANC was aware of the problems women were suffering, and that without addressing women's issues it would be difficult for the ANC to make progress.

"Schoolchildren become pregnant, which almost certainly means the end of school, whereas the boy will continue his studies. This is one of the problems of a sexist society," Mr Mandela said.

"We are also aware of the problems women have when they have to take maternity leave without remuneration. One object of a democratic government will be to reward women if they are expecting," the ANC president said.

Mr Mandela paid tribute to women such as Ms Helen Joseph, Ms Fatima Meer, Mrs Helen Suzman and others for their contribution to the "struggle" and said men found it difficult to accept women as equals.

Mr Mandela ended his address by saying he was "grateful for the embraces and kisses I've got tonight".

CT 10/9/93 (11A)

'Don't discount Nats'

By DALE GRANGER

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday warned his supporters against complacency in the build-up to next year's election — saying although the National Party were being abandoned they were efficient, well-organised and should not be underestimated.

Speaking to thousands of

cheering students at the Peninsula Technikon, Mr Mandela also said the recent "tragic" murder of American student Miss Amy Biehl, and attacks on white and coloured teachers by blacks, were perpetrated by "criminals, who have no vision for the future".

"We must not follow extremist elements," he said. "And we

must win the confidence of the people of South Africa."

It was crucial that the youth regard education as the "most important national asset," Mr Mandela said. "Education will liberate you. It is a long process to govern a country and restructure a civil service which was designed to uphold white supremacy."

THE ANC

Still riding tigers

Fm 10/9/93

Growing support for radical protest, unrealistic wage demands and strong-arm tactics as a strategy to consolidate support during the general election campaign, are in danger of backfiring on the ANC and could severely embarrass the organisation if it wins power next year.

By backing wage demands by teachers and policemen, insisting that white policemen should be withdrawn from black townships and failing adequately to discipline supporters who refuse to allow rival parties to campaign in certain areas, ANC leaders are creating precedents that they will be unable to follow in government.

At the root of the problem appears to be an inability to find the delicate balance between public protest and parliamentary politics without damaging what is already a fragile and impatient support base.

Though the NP's parliamentary opponents have consolidated support around economic and racial grievances for 45 years — often with outlandish claims and promises — they have never been called on to meet their election commitments. But in less than a year the ANC will, at very least, be sharing control of the public purse and State power structures.

It will then have to reconcile the reality of government with its previous public positions — like ANC president Nelson Mandela's weekend call for the withdrawal of white policemen from townships; support for a 30% pay hike demanded by policemen during their recent march in Johannesburg; and the 20% rise demanded by teachers during their strike last month.

And realities aside, Mandela's call for the withdrawal of white policemen was blatantly racist. DP leader Zach de Beer describes it as "a bizarre form of police apartheid." While it is acknowledged that some policemen (not only whites) have serious attitude problems in dealing with political issues, the vast majority are apparently performing well above expectations under extremely difficult conditions. To divide the police force racially and then allow only blacks to operate in townships would be to invite even worse civil conflict than is now occurring.

While Mandela's call may have been an effort to counter growing support for the militant racism that is manifesting itself increasingly in attacks on farms, hotels and vehicles where whites are specifically targeted, it will surely heighten township tensions and inevitably lead to more violence. It also appears to reveal a lack of confidence in the vast silent

majority of township dwellers on whom Mandela can count in the election.

In other areas as well, direct or implicit support by ANC leaders for radical protest has already led to tragedy and created dangerous precedents.

ANC leaders in the western Cape backed a campaign last month by school children to attack and burn motor cars in support of the teachers' strike. One of the results was the barbarous murder of US student Amy Biehl by a mob in Guguletu. After her death, local ANC leader Tony Yengeni called for the campaign to be stopped.

ANC support for protesting Wits University students also sets a precedent that the next government may regret. What action will it take if, for example, students (or workers) rampage destructively through campuses or city centres if they are dissatisfied with the pace of change being implemented by a new government?

But one of the most explosive areas in which ANC strategy may be badly misdirected is its relationship with rival parties. ANC supporters, often with the direct or implicit backing of local leaders, have repeatedly disrupted DP and NP meetings in black and coloured townships. In some cases ANC officials have stated blatantly that the two parties will not be allowed to campaign in "their" areas.

But militants at the other end of the political spectrum have similar strategies. In the latest incidents, armed AWB supporters prevented the official opening of an ANC office in Bothaville in the Free State at the weekend, and at Kraaifontein near Cape Town an AWB "information" initiative intimidated ANC supporters on their way to a meeting in the town. Last week a meeting at Pretoria University, at which ANC deputy leader Walter Sisulu was to have spoken, had to be cancelled in the face of rightwing threats.



(11A)

Things could get worse. Mandela's weekend warning to the CP that it would be "crushed" if it carried out its threat to wage a civil war, if the Transitional Executive Council is implemented, has set the stage for increased tension between the ANC and the white Right. CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg responded by describing the ANC as the most horrifying killing machine SA had ever known.

The situation is clearly becoming dangerously overheated. The immediate need is to reduce the potential for campaign conflict, particularly between the ANC and the Right.

But it is also important for the ANC to reconsider seriously its support for radical protest politics and unrealistic economic demands. As a government it will quickly discover that the country has room for neither.

It is a problem that must be addressed by Mandela himself; only he has the stature to calm things down. Yet at present he seems devoid of statesmanship, to the point even of deliberately fanning the flames. If this is an electoral strategy, it is both high risk and unnecessary; it will almost certainly backfire badly on the ANC when it takes office. ■

HOMELANDS
Fm 10/9/93
Same old story

A joint ministerial committee established to oversee the clean-up of maladministration in Lebowa met for the first time only on July 30 — more than eight months after government announced its formation. Even then it did not complete its agenda. Proceedings ended when agreement could not be reached on Lebowa's request for more money. The homeland's Chief Minister, Nelson Ramodike, demanded to see President F W de Klerk and the meeting adjourned.

By then Lebowa's financial crisis had deteriorated to such an extent that less than a month later, last week, government stepped in to take control.

The joint ministerial committee was supposed to have been a key element in government's efforts to remedy the massive financial and administrative irregularities exposed in a report of the De Meyer Commission last year. The commission, headed by Johannesburg chief magistrate Olaf de Meyer, found that there was a breakdown of financial administration in the homeland due to unqualified officials, unauthorised actions and contempt for the legislative process.

When he released the report in November former Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Vil-

Respect for Biko call

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Students' Movement called on the National Soccer League to postpone Sunday's games to honour the 16th anniversary of the death of black consciousness activist Steve Biko. Azapo's students also asked religious institutions to observe a moment of silence on Biko Commemoration Day.

"Azasm hopes the NSL will see an urgent need to postpone its Sunday games as respect to the black people," a statement said. — Sapa (118) ARG 10/9/92

PAC 'helping to escort doctors'

Political Staff

MEMBERS of the Pan Africanist Congress are helping to escort white doctors to Guguletu Day Hospital, says senior African National Congress Women's League member Hilda Ndude.

Speaking at a briefing for selected guests with Nelson Mandela last night, she said the South African National Civics Organisation had "taken a very good step regarding doctors".

Each morning a group of residents, including struggle veteran Zolile Malindi, met doctors at the entrance to Guguletu to escort them into the township in which American Amy Biehl was murdered earlier this month.

"What's interesting is that many of those meeting the doctors are coming from the PAC."

They apparently did not agree with attacks on whites.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

TOMORROW'S LEADERS: Mandelamania ruled when Nelson Mandela spoke to thousands of high school pupils at the Peninsula Technikon.

WHAT HE TOLD THE STUDENTS

Political Staff *ART 10/9/93*

COMPLACENCY and swollen headedness have been labelled as the biggest enemies of success — by Nelson Mandela.

Introduced as President Mandela to about 4 000 high schools pupils at the Peninsula Technikon yesterday, he said people frequently spoke of him as South Africa's future president.

"That is consistent with the opinion polls published over the past three or four years which tend to show if elections were held now the ANC would probably emerge with an outright majority."

World leaders *(11A)* had also given him accolades.

"Only last night I received a telephone call from President Bill Clinton. He congratulated us on the breakthrough we achieved in agreeing on the installation of a Transitional Executive Council."

The American leader also promised his support for the peace process, thereby repeating what other world leaders had told the ANC.

"It's very nice to be given such accolades because it means the sacrifices made by generations of freedom fighters have not been in vain.

"I sincerely hope none of us will become swollen headed because of the perceived support for the ANC and the possibility of its leading a democratic government."

Similar predictions had been made in other countries in the past — and they were wrong.

Joshua Nkomo did not win Zimbabwe's first all-race elections as predicted and in Britain's last general election the Labour Party did not unseat the Conservative Party.

"We must not be complacent. We must work very hard to ensure we live up to expectations. Complacency and being swollen headed are the enemies of success."

The ANC had to win South Africa's confidence if it wanted to govern.

Complimenting the National Party, he said it was efficiently organised and should not be un-

derestimated. But whites were deserting the NP which was looking like a "walking ghost".

He said the NP was bribing a wide range of people and organisations to support it.

Nobody would bring liberation, least of all President De Klerk, who was trying to win support among blacks.

But it was not all rhetoric from the man whose arrival brought thousands of youngsters to their feet and whose desire to shake hands with pupils after the meeting had his minders looking around nervously.

Yesterday's meeting was also Mr Mandela's chance to listen to pupils.

First behind the microphone was Millicent Adams, who spoke about problems in coloured schools.

She brought the house down, and earned a wide smile from Mr Mandela, with her "believe me we've got a lot of problems".

Tulani Madamalane spoke about blacks schools, Melissa Brink about Model C schools, Samantha McKenzie about white schools and Popo Mene about tertiary institutions.

Each got their chance to be photographed with Mr Mandela.

Responding to their questions, Mr Mandela said education was a national asset in any country.

"It's part of the training of the future leaders of a country."

South Africa's youth should be prepared to take leadership positions here and abroad.

The ANC believed in compulsory and free education which would be non-sexist, non-racial and fully democratic.

"The fact that we are demanding one education system and one tax base will solve most of the problems we are facing, especially in black education."

Once the country had a single education system "many of our problems will be comparatively easy to address".

But without education, no matter how zealous some people might feel about the struggle, it would be difficult to govern.

"That is why it is so crucial for the youth to use every opportunity to obtain the highest education."

ANC engages top gear in the Cape

SOUTH 10/9 - 14/9/93

By Quentin Wilson

ELECTION tussling between the ANC and the NP for the Cape's coloured vote turns to Elsie's River this week where the ANC, using its president Nelson Mandela as the drawcard, plans to attract more than 20 000 people.

For the last four weeks, eight task groups comprising 80 ANC activists in all have been laying the groundwork for a "mega-rally" at Elsie's Rivers Avonwood stadium on Saturday.

Mandela, who arrived on Wednesday morning to start his week-long visit to the Cape, will be the key-note speaker.

ANC officials hope to prove to themselves and to the rest of the country that the organisation enjoys widespread support amongst the coloured community.

"It will be in Elsie's River where people can gauge who will win the election in the Western Cape," Mr

Willie Hofmeyr, ANC Western Cape assistant secretary, said.

He told SOUTH that the ANC was "pulling out all the stops" to ensure the rally's success. According to Hofmeyr, the ANC is spending up to R30 000 on preparations for Saturday. (11A)

Already two sets of pamphlets — 200 000 in all — have been distributed in the northern suburbs. Six thousand posters have been put up advertising the occasion, and 40 busses have been booked for the day.

In March, the NP pulled off a similar event at the Goodwood showgrounds with spectacular success. The ANC is now hoping to better the NP's performance.

According to Mr Ashwell Belford, ANC organiser for the northern suburbs, a carnival atmosphere is being arranged with a "street festival" being held before the rally.

Drummies, "Klopse-groups", street gymnasts, a flag procession and floats will lead a procession to

the stadium in the morning.

Prior to Mandela's address, Prophets of the City will be performing.

"This will probably be the last time that Mandela will be in Elsie's River before the election," said Belford. "We are using the occasion to mobilise coloured support and to address the fears that some of them have of the ANC.

"We will try to answer the question of who holds most support amongst the coloured community — the ANC or the NP."

Apart from Mandela, other scheduled speakers include Ms Cheryl Carolus, a national executive committee member, Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairperson, and Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape secretary.

"Although we have a lot less money than the NP has to spend, our rally will be greater than their Goodwood effort — in fact, it will be greater than anything the NP will ever be able to come up with," predicted Hofmeyr.

THE ELECTION

Fm 10/9/93

Cape flat spin

Backed by a strong entourage of senior officials, ANC leader Nelson Mandela begins a week-long blitz of the western Cape this week aimed at smashing the National Party's perceived dominance of the region.

The visit, which follows Mandela's swing through the eastern Transvaal last week, is billed as the ANC's main vote-catching effort in the western Cape before the election next April. (11A)

Apart from a rally in Khayelitsha on Sunday which ANC officials claim will be the biggest public gathering ever in the region, Mandela was scheduled to meet a wide cross-section of interest groups, including the local chamber of commerce, church leaders, editors and senior journalists, factory workers, sportsmen and women, teachers and school pupils.

After a civic reception on Monday hosted by Cape Town's new mayor, Clive Keegan, Mandela is due to speak at a public meeting

cont →

Fm 10/9/93

in the city hall at which a number of prominent local personalities are expected to announce their support for the ANC.

The NP believes it can win control of the western Cape in next year's election with the support of coloured and white voters who outnumber blacks. But the recent teachers strike (backed by local ANC leaders) was a serious blow to the party, which was hoping for loyalty from Cape Town's sizeable coloured middle-class, many of whom are teachers. (11A) ■

Six Jo'burgers to join Randburg, Sandton six

Councillors rush to ANC

■ BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH
BUNTY WEST and ANNA COX

Defections by white city councillors to the ANC are gaining momentum with the news that at least six Johannesburg city councillors are expected to announce their plans to join the organisation early next week.

This comes hot on the heels of the announcement that six councillors in Randburg and Sandton had joined the ANC.

Independent

They are Randburg mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and councillor Andre Jacobs. The Sandton councillors are Willem Hefter, Mike Melunsky and Richard Cheary.

Johannesburg council sources revealed yesterday that the defectors in Johannesburg would come from the ranks of the Democratic Party, the National Party and the independents, but no names could be published at this stage.

It is believed an announcement will be made on Monday or Tuesday.

The decision by the three Randburg DP councillors and three independent Sandton councillors to join the ANC was announced in Johannesburg yesterday by ANC MP for Sandton, Dave Dalling.

ANCPWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale said the ANC welcomed the six councillors to its ranks.

"Their decision emphasises yet again the non-racial ap-

proach of the ANC and our firm commitment to a truly non-racial South Africa."

Crail read out a prepared speech on behalf of the six defectors which said: "We are all committed to the mainstream of ANC thinking and to the success of local government, since this is where people's lives are most affected on a daily basis."

"It is time to leave behind white privilege and to combine forces in working towards a shared future where reconstruction and development will be the foundation."

But Tony Leon, the DP's southern Transvaal leader, is incensed by the Randburg trio's defection: "Their move to the ANC reeks of expedience and a misguided attempt to extend their political shelf life."

The DP announced yesterday that it had suspended the three Randburg councillors.

Harry Formanek, a spokesman for Randburg Action Committee, said: "We predicted that the ANC would gain a foothold in the council and now it's happened. We feel that this is the first step towards dictatorial local government. When nominated councils are phased in in October, the ANC will rule Randburg."

National Party Randburg MP Marthinus van Schalkwyk demanded that the three Randburg councillors resign.

But the residents association chairman in Jacobs's ward, Les Penfold, said he expected the association's good relationship with the councillor to continue in future.



Card-carrying members . . . at an ANC press conference yesterday were Mike Melunsky (left), Gary Cooney, Tokyo Sexwale, Dave Dalling, Richard Cheary, and Mathole Motshekga.

PICTURE: JODI BIEBER

Put 'lost' youth in army, says Sexwale

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's new government should launch a mass recruitment campaign to draw the "lost generation" into the army to keep them off the streets and use them for reconstruction projects, says ANC PWV regional leader Tokyo Sexwale.

Addressing a "Positively Speaking" conference in Camps Bay today, he suggested the new recruits could be boarded out to companies for training and working on essential socio-economic projects, including building houses, roads, bridges and dams.

South Africa had to acknowledge that the military was popular among the youth.

"These young people love Umkhonto we Sizwe, so the answer is to recruit them. Tell them they can bring their weapons, because many of them are carrying them. And I say that within two weeks the streets will be clean. They'll come."

Mr Sexwale said the army would discipline them, they could be given training — possibly even abroad — and be released back into society with skills enabling them to play a constructive role.

He said the Israeli army provided a model for turning street urchins into disciplined individuals.

In a wide-ranging and well received address, Mr Sexwale said one of the most positive things about South Africa was the "illogicality" of the situation.

Talks on key leaders lost to politics

Labour Reporter

VIGOROUS debate is expected at Cosatu's special national congress at the weekend as the powerful labour federation grapples with the prospect of losing some of its key leaders to politics.

Within months some of South Africa's most prominent unionists are expected to have places on the ANC alliance's national list of candidates for the April 27 election.

But there are reservations within the federation about the ability of unions, and the federation itself, to cope with the loss of key officials. This has prompted a rethink on Cosatu's delegation.

More than 1700 delegates and hundreds of observers are expected to attend the congress.

Lydia Nceke
Road

NEWS Azapo bid to reopen Biko inquest ● Vocational

Sowetan 10/9/93

Services to honour Biko

BLACK Consciousness Week culminates tomorrow in countrywide services to mark the 16th anniversary of the death in detention of its founding father, Steve Biko.

Co-ordinated by the Azanian People's Organisation, BCM adherents have been holding workshops, rallies, demonstrations and prayer services throughout the week.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala will address the main rally, which starts at 10am at the Dutch Reformed Church in Atteridgeville on Sunday.

Earlier this week, Azapo deputy

president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told a Press conference in Johannesburg that the anniversary also marked the beginning of a campaign to demand the reopening of the judicial inquest into Biko's death.

Biko died after being brutally assaulted in police custody on September 12 1977.

(11A)
Nefolovhodwe said the aims of this year's anniversary would include:

- Demonstrating against death in detention, torture and inhuman conditions under which blacks were still being held;

- Demanding the unconditional

withdrawal of charges against Azapo members currently in police custody; and

- The abolition of capital punishment.

A highlight of tomorrow's activities is a march on John Vorster Square by Azapo members at 9am.

Services are at: Seshego Stadium at 2pm on Sunday; Entokozweni Community Centre, Soweto, at 6.30pm tonight; Harvey Cohen Centre, Eldorado Park, on Sunday at 11am; Venda, QwaQwa, Kimberley, KwaNdebele, Eastern Cape and Natal Midlands.

See page 8

Mandela is their darling

WHAT HE TOLD THE WOMEN

'ANC won't win without the female factor ...'

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

HE was described as tall, handsome and slim — and he loved it.

Later, Mr Nelson Mandela showed he had taken note of the concerns raised by women when he confirmed that they made up 56 percent of the South African population. He told more than 400 women at a meeting organised by the ANC Women's League in Athlone last night that women had played an important role in South Africa's history.

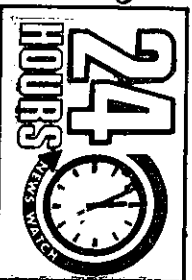
Among the women who had made their mark were Helen Joseph, Helen Suzman, Fatima Meer and Ray Alexander. His mentioning of veteran trade unionist Mrs Alexander, who was present, drew a warm round of applause.

His pledge that a democratic government would "reward" working women who took leave when they were pregnant, also endeared him to his audience.

Mr Mandela said the movement would not win an election or maintain power without mobilising women.

The ANC would also have to fight for equality of the sexes "not only in words but in practice".

Prominent women, including mayoress Marilyn Keegan, regional Women's League chairwoman Nomatyala Hanganana and league executive member Hilda Ndude,



shared centre stage with Mr Mandela.

Gently admonishing him in her introduction, Mrs Ndude said it was the first time since his release that Mr Mandela had spoken to women.

The ANC leader nodded his head.

The smiling Mrs Ndude described Mr Mandela as tall, handsome and slim.

Earlier, at 7.35 pm, Mr Mandela joined the few other men in Samaj Centre, Athlone, including Western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak and regional secretary Tony Yengeni in giving the women of Cape Town a standing ovation.

Five minutes later, Baba Mandela, as one speaker referred to him, was given a standing ovation by the women who had come to listen to him.

Mr Mandela, who was said to be tired, could stay at the function only until 9pm because he had to accept an "extremely important" overseas telephone call.

But he said he was happy with the embraces and kisses he had received, quipping that he had lost some popularity with his male colleagues.



MAN OF THE MOMENT: Mayoress Marilyn Keegan, left, and ANC Women's League (Western Cape) chairwoman Nomatyala Hanganana joined hundreds of women in singing Nelson Mandela's praises at a function in the Samaj Centre in Athlone.

Picture: ROY WIGLEY. The Argus.

'Killers want ANC to start a civil war'

Political Staff

ELEMENTS behind the Waderville taxi massacre wanted the ANC to retaliate and start a civil war, said Nelson Mandela.

The ANC president said few things had angered him as much as the massacre in which 21 commuters were killed and 25 wounded on Wednesday night.

At an impromptu press conference at the Peninsula Technikon yesterday, he said

WHAT HE TOLD THE PRESS

"Whenever we make a breakthrough through massacres follow".

It was quite clear elements against a peaceful settlement were responsible.

"This places a duty on us to move as swiftly as possible towards peaceful settlement because until there is a government which has the support of the entire population, as well as credibility and legitimacy, these elements will continue to slaughter innocent human beings."

Mr Mandela appealed to all South Africans, black and

white, to remain calm and concentrate on the forward movement towards a democratic government.

This was because "these elements would like us to retaliate and start a civil war".

There were leaders who were not so responsible and who were fuelling "this violence by threatening civil war".

People should remain calm "because the solution is the installation of a democratic government".

WHAT HE TOLD SPORTSMEN

'A new generation to be selected on merit'

Political Staff

OPENING the door to allow South African sport back into the international arena had not been easy, Nelson Mandela has told Western Cape sportsmen.

He was speaking to an audience which included soccer star Duncan Crowie, boxing champion Derrick Whiteboy, and cricketers Craig Matthews and Omar Henry.

The African National Congress president said at the Peninsula Technikon yesterday that the ANC had encountered opposition "from our own people who can be articulate because they are doing nothing else".

These critics were not concerned with positive plans to start the process, but wanted to break down what others had built.

Those creating an uproar said the ANC had to wait until "we are freely liberated from apartheid before we can review our sports policy".

The movement disagreed with them.

"We have to begin the process of normalising sport. It is not something that can be achieved overnight, it is a process."

Mr Mandela said he sincerely hoped sportspeople would support development programmes because if there was one thing which would help to solidify democratic gains it was sport.

"When our youth from various national groups play together you have created a new society, a new generation which is going to be selected in terms of merit and not colour."

The ANC wanted to bury the past and clean up itself and society. Sport was one of the most principled weapons in this battle.

Sportspeople knew better than he how sport could unite a country.

"It is one of the most important national assets which a country has because sportspeople, like musicians, speak a language which can reach corners beyond the reach of politicians."

It was a source of tremendous pride at the Barcelona Olympics to "see our youth from all national groups representing South Africa".

What struck him was the composition of the team from Zimbabwe.

"They got independence in 1980 but in 1982 the overwhelming majority of their team were white. It was the same with Namibia."

It took time to put sportspeople on the same footing. "People who don't think seriously about this never consider the position as a process. They think it's something that can be achieved overnight."

The ANC had done well with the sports boycott and "had actually hit apartheid in the pit of the stomach".

Mr President!

South 1019 - 14/19/93



READY FOR MADIBA: Capetonians celebrate Mandela's visit Photo: Yunus Mohamed

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it — black and white"

— Freedom Charter 1955

I SAT FOR many years on Robben Island, overlooking the city of Cape Town, dreaming of the day when the famous words of the Freedom Charter would become a reality.

And today, as I set foot on the soil of the Mother City, I know that we can build that dream. Black. White. Coloured. Young. Old. Man. Woman. And child.

I have greatly looked forward to this visit and, at last, I am here. Ready to embrace your problems and your vision; your struggles and your hopes.

I would like to meet you all, but I can promise that, while I am here, I will meet as many of the people of this beautiful region as I possible can.

I bring a message of peace, of tolerance and of hope to the Western Cape. Because I truly believe that this region has the vision and the will to build the dream of non-racialism and harmony.

And I look forward to the morning after our first democratic elections. Because, on that day, we can all begin to build a South Africa which, for the first time in all its history, truly belongs to all who live in it. ”

Nelson Mandela

ANC President



LP seeks ANC alliance

South 10/9 - 14/9/93
By Rehana Rossouw

DESPITE objections from most ANC structures in the Western Cape, the Labour Party is still seeking to forge an election alliance between the two organisations.

At its regional congress in Oudshoorn last weekend attended by 800 people, the LP affirmed its decision made at its 1977 congress that it identified with the aims and objects of the ANC.

"The region welcomes the decision to participate in the April elections under the leadership and banner of the ANC," a congress resolution states.

"We reject with contempt attempts by people who are attempting to sow divisions between the ANC and the LP and question their motives."

The congress also committed the LP to striving for peace in South Africa.

(11A)

More attacks by election 'rejectionists' likely

wm 10-16/9/93

11A

Mondli Makhanya

DESCRIBED as a "mere concept" by some, the Azanian National Liberation Army — the military wing of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania — may assume a higher profile in the months ahead.

But attacks claimed by Azanla may not be those of trained cadres, but of sympathetic "freelancers" who could just as well identify themselves with the Pan Africanist Congress-linked Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Azanla this week broke with its usual modus operandi of not claiming attacks. A man calling himself an Azanla cadre telephoned Sapa to take responsibility for the attack which caused damage estimated at R1-million to Ladybrand hotel the Riverside Lodge on Sunday. The claim may simply have been an attempt by Azanla sympathisers to gain political capital from a strategy popular among township residents.

An Apla spokesman, Ropa Honda, challenged the Azanla claim. Proof that Apla had carried out the attack, he asserted, was that the weaponry used was similar to that employed in last year's attack at a King William's Town golf club in which five whites were killed. Honda even challenged Azanla to a ballistics test to ascertain who had attacked the Ladybrand hotel. But therein lay another rub: Azanla had also claimed the King William's Town assault. The attack on an East London hotel in March, which also resulted in the deaths of five whites, was appropriated by both groupings.

It is conceivable that the Ladybrand assault was the work of Apla. It was mounted from Lesotho, and Apla is known to have forged strong ties with the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) during the latter's war against Chief Leabua Jonathan. The LLA has been incorporated into the Lesotho army, but informal ties may still exist.

Because of land grievances, the PAC also has a strong following in the Orange Free State.

Military experts point out that such attacks do not need large groups of highly trained people, but can easily be carried out by "freelancers" who can then claim to belong to one or the other armed force.

Like its parent, the BCMA, Azanla is one of South Africa's lesser known political groupings. Estimates of Azanla's size have ranged from 30 to 2 000 trained cadres. Azanla itself claims a strength of "several thousand".

"Security forces perceive them as rogue elements and as a criminal problem rather than as a serious military threat," says Institute for Defence Policy Jakkie Cilliers. "They are not seen as a force that should be neutralised in the same way that MK was, or, to a certain extent, Apla."

But Azanla's size will not matter in the run-up to next year's election and beyond. Wits University political analyst Tom Lodge warns that the transition is likely to produce a body of "rejectionists", the term used to describe Palestinians who reject negotiations with Israel. With Azapo maintaining its moral authority by staying out of negotiations, reckons Lodge, other rejectionists in the PAC and ANC might find a home in this camp. "We are definitely seeing the beginnings of a rejectionist movement. All these groups might get together and conduct some kind of resistance," Lodge says.

Winning words

WALLY SEROTE, poet and head of the African National Congress' Department of Arts and Culture, is the 1993 winner of the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa.

Serote's epic poem, *Third World Express*, published by David Philip last year, was judged the most outstanding new book of numerous submissions to this major award, founded by and named after Japanese publishing giant, Shoichi Noma. The \$5 000 prize money will be presented to Serote in Boston, United States, in December.

Other South African titles singled out for Honourable Mention were the award-winning *Tramp Royal: The True Story of Trader Horn* by Tim Couzens, *The Five Magic Pebbles and Other Stories* by Don Mattera and *Faces in the Revolution: The Psychological Effects of Violence on Township Youth in South Africa* by Gill Straker.

'Biko would have fought this sell-out'

September 12 is the sixteenth anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko. The Azanian People's Organisation's publicity secretary, **JIMMY YEKISO**, argues that Biko would not be too pleased with current political developments:

IIA
COMRADE Steve Bantu Biko is the founding father of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Honorary President of the Black People's Convention.

He fought and died for the transfer of power from the minority racist regime to the majority, for the repossession of our land, the redistribution of wealth, black unity, black solidarity, black pride, self reliance, the restoration of true human dignity and the establishment of a unitary and democratic socialist Azania.

Today every lover of freedom and true and total liberation asks himself what impact the death of Steve Biko had on current political trends, on the current negotiation process, on ownership and control of land and redistribution of wealth.

The foremost question which comes to mind is whether Biko's death had any meaningful impact on the current negotiation process. AZAPO has always been asked and is still being questioned on its refusal to participate in the negotiation process in its present form.

One of the goals of Steve Biko, apart from a free, democratic and anti-racist Azania based on justice for all, was the eventual transfer of political power from the racist minority regime to the true representatives of the people.

This transfer of power can only be preceded by the achievement of unity and solidarity among the oppressed people of this country. This was one of Biko's goals and ideals. Because of these ideals AZAPO, at its

South 1019 - 1449193
congress in March 1990, soon after the unbanning of political organisations by the De Klerk regime, called for a consultative conference of liberation movements. The aim was to seek ways of providing a united and meaningful leadership as a prerequisite to any possible successful negotiation with the regime.

This approach was based on Biko always having advocated for blacks and oppressed people to close ranks and engage in struggle in order to negotiate from positive strength.

It was for the specific purpose of uniting all the oppressed and exploited that AZAPO called for such a consultative conference which hopefully would end up with blacks and the oppressed being united as a front and negotiating with the regime from a position of strength as one coherent and united front.

The proposed front would draw its own agenda which would have to enjoy priority in negotiations with the regime to bring about the liberation of the oppressed masses.

Indeed, of all matters that are subjects of discussion at the World Trade Centre, none is intended to address the very crucial question and the basic tenets of oppression, namely, reconquest of our land and fair distribution of wealth.

In the words of comrade Mangena, the President of the BCM of Azania, the parties currently involved in negotiations at Kempton Park and in the process of denying black people of their true liberation, "grovel for approval by our white racist oppressors and their western backers at the expense of the oppressed. They relish without shame, the patronising praise dished out by the liberals and their media every time they sell us through so called concession."

This negation of the fundamental aspects of oppression amounts to nothing else other than the betrayal of one of the ideals Biko cherished, the type of ideals which, no doubt, had he been alive today, he would still have been prepared to fight and die for.

We all know that Biko, apart from fighting for the reconquest of our land, stood for and indeed fought for the establishment of a unitary democratic and socialist Azania.

What we see happening at Kempton Park is a true negation of this ideal. Parties arguing and fighting about the further balkanisation of our country into yet some form of bantustans in the name of autonomous regions — a concession which is intended to placate the racist minority regime.

A further question which will be posed in



STEVE BANTU BIKO

months to come is whether AZAPO is going to participate in the coming elections. AZAPO is on record as having said that it is prepared to negotiate for a peaceful change in Azania.

We are also prepared to fight for change which will benefit black people.

The BCM called for elections for a Constituent Assembly as one way of having real change with minimum violence. The Constituent Assembly would be elected with one person, one vote with all votes being equal, and on one voters' roll. This is the body which would have the right to draw up a constitution because it would represent the choice of the people. This is the body that AZAPO would be prepared to vote for.

In AZAPO's view the type of elections the people are being called upon to participate in are neither capable nor designed to achieve the purpose of transferring power from the racist minority to the majority. In our view the coming elections are thus incapable of delivering true liberation of the oppressed masses other than the agreed formula to share power with the racist regime.

AZAPO would under no circumstances participate in any process deliberately designed to fall short of delivering power to the majority.

Biko was a man of peace. His ideals were intended to be a cornerstone for peace. Only through attainment of such ideals and goals as perceived by Biko shall there be lasting peace in our country. Any expectation for lasting peace without such attainment of goals is tantamount to putting the cart before the horse.

Star 11/9/93

More likely to join ANC

(11A)

TWO Johannesburg city councillors yesterday confirmed they would be joining the ANC. They are independents Barry Dunne and Clive Gilbert — and they may not be alone.

The names of 10 other Johannesburg city councillors — from the National Party as well as the Democratic Party — are also being bandied about in City Hall as "possibles" for defection to the ANC soon.

The outspoken Dunne recently beat Inkatha and the NP to take the south-eastern Johannesburg ward of Malvern. Gilbert, councillor for Orange Grove, left the DP last year after being involved in a fist fight with a member of the

LOUISE MARSLAND

management committee.

Dunne said the ANC was strongly behind him in his election campaign in Malvern earlier this year. "I'm joining the ANC. An announcement will be made in the next week. But I will not be

alone. I personally know of several other DP and NP councillors who have had meetings with the ANC. I predict that within the next two months at least 10 councillors will have defected to the ANC, and we will have a new management committee.

"Politics is a funny business. The fleas are

jumping from dog to dog." Dunne said he had been given no guarantees by the ANC. "They are the best party. I'm not a communist, far from it. What impresses me is the ANC's struggle — they never gave up, their leadership, intelligence, multiracialism."

Gilbert said he had been talking to the ANC for a while and was seriously considering his options. He said he and Dunne were together in the move and had also been talking to other councillors.

"The reality is that everyone is looking to the future. In the Johannesburg City Council they are drawing lots to

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 11/9/93

Defections

● FROM PAGE 1.

see who will go and who will stay on the nominated councils."

Disenchanted councillors are not new to Johannesburg's 51-seat council.

A senior DP source admitted yesterday that he and certain management committee members had indeed been considering their futures with the party. "There is a lot of uncertainty."

An NP councillor, who stated he was disenchanted with the party, said he had held talks with the ANC, but was not ready to join it yet. "I am not very happy with the NP, but I would rather keep my options open and await a natural realignment of political parties. Maybe next year." (11A)

Meanwhile, protest action has been threatened against Randburg's new ANC councillors.

The Randburg Action Committee (RAC) plans to descend on the next monthly Randburg council meeting on September 29 to protest against their new ANC councillors — mayor Brian Crail, management committee chairman Gary Cooney and Andre Jacobs, all former DP

members. "We will demand to be heard," said RAC spokesman Harry Formanek. "They have violated the fundamental trust between the elected and the electorate. This lot of utterly discredited party-political councillors must resign. We will organise public meetings from Roodepoort to Alexandra to get them to resign."

In Sandton, the Sandton Federation of Ratepayers (SANFED) has called for the resignation of its three defectors — Richard Cheary, Willem Hefer and Mike Melunsky.

SANFED chairman Gail Daus said the fact that they could not force the three new ANC Sandton councillors to resign was a prime example of the fact that there was no recourse under existing legislation to remove elected officials from office.

Alexandra East Bank Residents' Association secretary Aaron Seboyane, a member of the ANC, admitted the sudden membership of the six could be construed as suspicious. He said the councillors now had to prove their allegiance.

Dunne admitted that some of the people who voted him in may not be pleased with his decision.

Makwetu's guards ~~shot~~ shot at

JOHANNESBURG. — Shots were fired at bodyguards of PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu yesterday as they drove here from Mr Makwetu's Daveyton township home, the organisation said.

The car was carrying five bodyguards, but none was hit by the bullets which shattered the windscreen, said PAC national executive committee member Mr Mark Shinnars.

He said the highway attack occurred about 4pm in heavy traffic as the men neared Kempton Park after escorting Mr Makwetu to his home.

Mr Shinnars said the security men did not return fire but sped away. One of the men was cut by flying glass.

He said it was not clear where the shots came from.

Police spokesman Brigadier Zirk Gous said he had no information about the incident but police would investigate. — Sapa

Church ^(11A)
honours
Mandela

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JOHANNESBURG. —
Decisive action against
the right-wing and cer-
tain black organisations
was needed to end the
violence in the country,
African National Con-
gress leader Mr Nelson
Mandela said last night.

"The violence cannot
be ascribed to black-on-
black violence in the
simplistic fashion adopt-
ed by the mass media...
(It) is complex and has
roots in the security
forces as well as in acts
of criminality."

He was speaking at a
function where the In-
ternational Apostolic
Humanitarian Award
was bestowed on him.

Abundant evidence
existed that the state's
security forces and
right-wing surrogates
were involved in the vio-
lence, he charged.

The "negotiations pro-
cess has been a momen-
tous success", he said,
adding that the imple-
mentation of a Transi-
tional Executive Council
would go some way to
creating a climate of
peace, "the most urgent
task ahead". — Sapa

Talks set stage for key IFP, govt summit

Political Staff

DURBAN. — A low-key bilateral meeting between the IFP and the government was held at a hotel here yesterday to prepare for next week's "deadlock-breaking" meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President F W de Klerk.

The summit, to overcome obstacles preventing the IFP's participation in multi-party talks and next year's poll, will be held at Tuynhuys on Thursday.

● A senior Inkatha source said last night that there was pressure building in the party to participate in next year's election.

CT 11/9/93

Mandela power tested today

Assuring coloureds they have nothing to fear

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ANC leader Nelson Mandela will put his crowd-pulling power to the test in the coloured community at an Elsies River rally at Avonwood Park today.

He has been on the election trail all week, assuring coloured people they have nothing to fear from an ANC-led government.

This morning he was due at a rally in Beaufort West on his way back from Johannesburg.

At a meeting with factory workers in Woodstock, the ANC president said he regarded coloured people as part of the black community.

He stressed this point again at a subsequent meeting with high school pupils at the Peninsula Technikon.

At the factory, where work-

11A ARG 11/9/93
■ After a one-day break to attend to business on the Highveld, ANC leader Nelson Mandela returns today to continue barnstorming the Western Cape.

ers gave him a jacket and a suit, he also supported regional ANC chairman Allan Boesak's view that affirmative action should not be applied to the exclusion of coloured people.

Mr Mandela told them the ANC would not allow blacks to evict coloureds from their homes after the April 27 all-race elections.

While Mr Mandela will be out wooing coloureds, the Pan Africanist Congress will hold a rally to commemorate the 33rd anniversary of the birth of its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Former Robben Island prisoner Johnson Mlambo will speak at a rally in Guguletu today.

Mr Mlambo, said to be a

member of Apla's high command, will share a political platform with PAC (Western Cape) chairman Theo Mabusela.

Tomorrow Mr Mandela will be at what organisers have called a "mega rally" beginning at midday in the ANC stronghold of Khayelitsha.

He will begin his day's itinerary at a church service in Athlone, followed by a rally at Langa stadium and another service in Nonzkwasi Methodist Church, Guguletu. The rally in Elsies River is scheduled for 2pm.

In Johannesburg yesterday Mr Mandela said the April 27 election would take place as scheduled and called on all parties to return to the negoti-

ations, reports Sapa.

Delivering the opening address at the Congress of SA Trade Unions' special national congress, Mr Mandela said the installation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) marked the beginning of the end of apartheid.

"We have to broaden the defeat of apartheid into a process of empowerment and reconstruction."

Mr Mandela said the ANC was certain of Cosatu's unqualified support in making sure of a decisive election victory for the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

"I fully believe that the ANC will never betray the cause of democracy and the cause of the workers..."

"But if an ANC government does not deliver the goods, you must do what you did to the apartheid regime," he said to applause from about 1 700 delegates representing 13 Cosatu affiliates.

Apla rallies support

PAC leaders address followers country-wide today

■ Commander-in-chief of the Azanian People Liberation Army Johnson Mlambo believes his charges have the clout to unseat the "racist colonial" system.

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE much-maligned and widely pursued Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) will emerge from the shadows today at a number of rallies across South Africa to observe the army's 32nd anniversary.

At noon today, Pan Africanist Congress deputy president and PAC military wing commander Johnson Mlambo will address a rally at Guguletu Stadium as part of the movement's Apla Day.

Similar rallies will be addressed by PAC president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu and national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani in Sebokeng; Enoch Zulu in Border; Mark Shinnars in Pretoria and Mfanasekhaya Gqobose in Transkei.

In a precursor rally yesterday, Mr Mlambo addressed 1 500 enthusiastic high school pupils in New Crossroads.

Mr Mlambo, 53, served 20 years on Robben Island for sabotage and is one of a dwindling number of surviving contemporaries of PAC founder-member Robert Sobukwe.

He remained in the country for nine years after he was released in 1983.

He then went into exile in Tanzania where he later became the Apla commander-in-chief.

Apla was formed on September 11 1961 and had as its first commander-in-chief Templeton Tantala, who had been trained in the People's Republic of China during Mao Tse Tung's rule.

The present, Tanzanian-



Pictures: BRENTON GEACH, Weekend Argus.

□ **VIVA APLA:** Commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army Johnson Mlambo welcomes the new Pan Africanist Student Organisation executive at New Crossroads. (11A) ARG 11/9/93

based Apla commander-in-chief, Sabelo Phama, also was trained in mainland China.

The Apla high command controls the PAC military wing which, Apla says, "should be disciplined, trained members of the PAC".

In an interview yesterday Mr Mlambo described himself as an optimist who believed present-day activists would eventually "overthrow the racist colonial system".

Explaining why Apla Day had to be celebrated, Mr Mlambo said that in the past the armed wing had played a significant role in the liberation of the African people.

"Apla also has an important

role in bringing about the current political developments. It also will continue to play such a role in the future.

"Apla is working for the emergence of a new army that will differ from the SADF in that will not oppress our people or engage in hostile attacks against neighbouring Frontline states," said Mr Mlambo.

The PAC opposed the Transitional Executive Council because it did not make provisions for joint control of the army.

"The TEC falls short in terms of the regime giving up control of the SADF. We want the Defence Act to be repealed and a new one set up."



□ **PASO POWER:** Some of the 1 500 pupils at the New Crossroads rally yesterday.

The movement's immediate task was to prepare for the coming elections "if they do take place", he said.

"At the moment, the parties

at Kempton Park don't have a national mandate, but merely represent their small memberships or their governments," said Mr Mlambo.

Anglican bishops slam ANC TIA

ARC 11/9/93

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Anglican bishops said yesterday the African National Congress had lost credibility for failing to implement the recommendations of the Motsuenyane Report on human rights abuses.

"We are ... disappointed with its (the ANC's) inability to accept fully the implications of the report on the grounds that other groups and parties have been guilty of similar or worse atrocities.

"That is no excuse and we believe the ANC has lost credibility and must be criticised for failing to implement the recommendations of the report," said the Church of the Province in a statement after a conference of bishops in Bloemfontein.

The bishops said the Inkatha Freedom Party had a lot to offer the democratic process in South Africa by returning to multiparty talks.

"We believe South Africa needs to move to democratic elections quickly

and, in the name of God, call upon all the parties outside the negotiating forum to take part in its proceedings," said a church statement.

"We call especially on the IFP to return and give us all the benefit of its talent and strength in a situation which needs its support and tolerance, not war-talk and brinkmanship."

The bishops called for the immediate lifting of sanctions. Because of the recent agreement on the transitional executive council at multiparty talks, all remaining sanctions, with the exception of trade in armaments, should be lifted immediately, they said.

"We appeal to the international community for new investment in South Africa and urge that it should be made in terms of codes of conduct aimed at helping those who have been oppressed and disadvantaged in the past." — Sapa.

Labour pleases stonewalled

Mandela tells workers

not to rely on ANC

Stur 11/9/93

PAUL BELL
Labour Correspondent

COSATU and its affiliate unions are running into resistance in the ANC on how labour nominees should be included on the tripartite alliance's parliamentary list.

The question of who from the ANC-aligned movement should be released for nomination to the list has preoccupied the unions for weeks.

The list of labour nominees is believed to have undergone several revisions as the unions and COSATU have become increasingly concerned that they might lose too much skill to the political arena.

Now, with the list about to be finalised — meetings were still being held last night — differences have emerged in the ANC leadership over whether members of COSATU and its affiliate unions should be accorded special consideration in the manner of their inclusion in the alliance's electoral list.

COSATU sources said an element in the ANC — led, it was said, by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa — had been urging that COSATU's nominees be subjected to the same process as the organisation's own nominees and their names be submitted to the ANC's regional and branch structures for approval.

At least some of this is said to relate to perceived tensions between Ramaphosa and COSATU general-secretary Jay Naidoo.

Observers noted an apparently slighting reference to Naidoo by Ramaphosa when he addressed a special COSATU congress yesterday, seemingly implying that Naidoo had not shown in his mode of address to ANC president Nelson Mandela the respect accorded to an elder.

According to one leading unionist, Mandela has assured COSATU of his backing, and the federation's leaders are said to be confident that their argument for special treatment will prevail.

Those in the ANC opposed to special treatment for unionists have apparently argued that this will create an anomaly in regard to members of the Patriotic Front. The Inyandza movement from KaNgwane, for example, or the Labour Party might demand that they too be offered special treatment in securing places for their leaders on the electoral list.

Democratic

COSATU central executive committee members who met on Thursday night apparently unanimously reaffirmed the federation's intention to stick to its guns on the matter as it played a special role in the alliance, and would play a special role in the campaign to ensure the ANC's election to government.

It has already subjected its nominees to a democratic nomination process via the structures of its affiliates.

Their names will be submitted to the congress for approval during tomorrow's final session.

A COSATU source indicated that the federation was not insensitive to Ramaphosa's viewpoint and was prepared to do the necessary public relations with ANC structures.

"We're not prepared to have our nominations subjected to, say, the Hillbrow branch, for its approval. But we will ensure that we motivate and introduce our candidates to the ANC structures."

At yesterday's opening session Mandela pitched strongly for the continuation of the alliance after the elections — a matter on which at least two major COSATU affiliates have expressed degrees of reservation in recent months.

Mandela left little doubt of his view of the unions' contribution to an ANC victory. "We count on the unqualified support of COSATU to ensure that the ANC-led election front wins the election decisively," he said.

Mandela also cautioned workers not to rely solely on the ANC to defend their rights. There were many examples of how political movements had betrayed workers' interests.

While he believed the ANC would never do this, he said: "Support the ANC only if it delivers the goods. If (it does not), you must do to it what you did to the apartheid Government."

ed

Mandela wins hearts in Elsies — by speaking some Afrikaans

ANC president Nelson Mandela won the hearts and minds of thousands in Elsies River yesterday when he addressed them in Afrikaans with the words "Dames en here ek bring vir julle groete van die ANC".

He told the huge crowd that control by the National Party (NP) was past and the ANC was the organisation "of the future."

Switching to English, Mr Mandela said the ANC had received encouraging support from all sectors of the population and was fighting for decent houses, enough schools and jobs for all.

By **AYESHA ISMAIL**

After coloured people had helped the NP to come to power they were removed from the voters role he said. *[C/Metro]*

"No Black man holds a position of authority in the NP and they never will because the NP is an organisation of the past and is already dead and buried," Mr Mandela said.

• Three thousand people gathered at the Guguletu Stadium yesterday to peacefully celebrate the 32nd anniversary of APLA.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo, said that the PAC formed an army and launched an armed struggle to "achieve the aims and objectives of the PAC".

He said the PAC was unhappy with the Transitional Executive Council "which gives the regime an unwarranted advantage in defence and security-related issues.

"It puts Apla at a disadvantage," he said. *(11A)*

He said the PAC remained opposed to the "unseemly haste in the removal of sanctions".

'ANC won't turn back on workers

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

CIPress
12/19/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said a future ANC government will not turn its back on the millions of black unionists who helped topple apartheid.

Addressing 1 700 delegates at the Congress of South African Trade Unions' three-day special congress in Soweto to prepare for the April 1993 elections, Mandela said the ANC was committed to Cosatu's proposed economic reconstruction to address economic imbalances created by apartheid.

(11A)
"The ANC will not abandon its allies. We have a track record of consistency. If the ANC doesn't deliver democracy you must do it what you did to the apartheid government. The alliance is here to stay. It's this alliance that will liberate you," he told the ululating crowd.

Mandela's message allayed fears in some quarters that the ANC government would abandon Cosatu.

Mandela said an ANC government would guarantee the rights of the workers, which would be enshrined in the Bill of Rights.

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

GOING

Cl Roads 12/19/93

Biko, today is when

we need you most!

By MOSES MAMAILA

It is not anti-white, but simply pro-black. This is how Steve Bantu Biko described black consciousness — a philosophy that he played a crucial role in nourishing and developing.

And as thousands of BC adherents commemorate the September 12 1977 death in detention of Biko against the current background of continuing black-on-black violence, the million-dollar question is whether the spirit of BC, a unifying factor among blacks, has evaporated.

In talking to residents of the troubled East Rand townships, one thing stands out like a sore thumb — tribalistic sentiment.

"The Xhosas are killing us simply because we are Zulus," declare hostel inmates, some of whom have been forced to flee their homes and seek refuge at the hostel after being hunted down by other township residents.

In a counter accusation, township residents who have formed people's militias declare: "The Zulus are killing us because we are not of their tribe."

Hundreds of people, most of whom are believed to be Zulus, are trapped in several East Rand hotels because when they leave these havens they are killed by township residents.

"We will never allow a train that transports Zulus to pass here. It will have to go to Ulundi," declared a woman shortly after a railway line that leads to the hostel was barricaded.

What started as a battle for political supremacy has now degenerated into a raw tribal conflict.

Asked if she was a member of Inkatha, a Thokoza woman, whose shack was ablaze after being set alight by pro-ANC township youths, replied: "I am a Zulu and therefore I can say I am an Inkatha member."

But as early as about two decades ago, Biko, known as the father of BC, warned against tribal sentiments.

He castigated homeland leaders for leading black people to a divided struggle — to speak as Zulus, Xhosas

and Pedis.

"We are of the view that we should operate as one united whole towards the attainment of an egalitarian society for the whole of Azania.

"Therefore entrenchment of racialistic or any sectional outlook is abhorred by us. We hate it and we seek to destroy it," said Biko.

While many political leaders pay lip service to political tolerance, Biko went further and advocated a united front of the liberation movements.

"I would like to see the ANC, PAC and the BCM deciding to form one liberation group. It is only, I think, when black people are so dedicated and so united in their cause that we can effect the greatest results," said Biko.

Among the organisations to remember the death of Biko are the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), its armed wing, the Azanian Liberation Army (Azania) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

In a statement, BCMA chairman and Azania commander-in-chief Moshubi Mangena said Biko and other martyrs have been betrayed by some black leaders who have capitulated on several crucial issues, including the land question.

"We seem to have lost our way and in our confusion we are laying the foundation for more misery for ourselves and future generations.

"Biko recognised black solidarity as a prerequisite for the attainment of freedom. He realised that a disorganised or disparate black community can't match the solidarity and the power of the white racist state.

"Only a well-organised and powerful black community can effectively confront the white settler power structure and produce the desired just society in our country.

"However, what we have today is not only a fragmented oppressed community, but one that is at war with itself. We are not even killing one another over the crumbs from the master's table, but to gain dubious supremacy of the squatter camps," said Mangena.

BACK TO BC

How to bestow SA with a human face

Cl Roads 12/19/93

The basic problem in SA has been analysed by liberal whites as apartheid. They argue that in order to oppose it we have to form non-racial groups.

For the liberal racial integration is the ideal solution. (Cl Roads) Black Consciousness defines the situation differently. The thesis is in fact a strong white racism and therefore, the anti-thesis to this must, ipso facto, be solidarity among blacks who are victims.

Out of these two situations we can therefore hope to reach some kind of balance — a time for humanity where power politics will have no place.

It is perhaps fitting to stand by and examine why it is necessary for blacks to think collectively.

It is much more important for blacks to rally around each other for support, assistance and sustenance than to seek this from whites.

We must learn to accept that no group, however benevolent, can ever hand power to the vanquished on a plate. We must accept that the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

The power to eradicate violence lies in the hands of black people only. As long as we beg cap in hand, we will remain oppressed.

Our oppression is not a mistake of creation, but a deliberate act of white supremacy, and no amount of moral suasion will "correct" the situation. The system concedes nothing without demand.

When you refuse to make demands and choose to come to a round table to beg for your deliverance, you are asking for the contempt of those who have power over you.

This is the reason why we must reject the beggar tactics that are being forced on us by those who wish to appease our cruel masters.

That is why the cry, "Black person, you are on your own" is still relevant. This analysis countersthe warped logic of peace before justice. The former is a product of the latter and there-

Today marks the 16th anniversary of the death of one of South Africa's great leaders, Steve Bantu Biko. The young Black Consciousness leader died in tragic circumstances that touched the conscience of this nation. With townships today gripped by violence, Azapo's MOLATHEGI OATHALE makes a case for black consciousness.

after integration and reconciliation sets in.

Blacks must of necessity realise that the current "peace structures" are seriously flawed because their point of departure is wrong.

Signatories to the Peace Accord underestimated the De Klerk regime's tactic of legitimising the SADF and SAP.

Subsequently the regime has never stopped being involved in violence against our people, and the Goldstone Commission has never traced the source of this violence.

Recently, the SADF was deployed in the townships of Thokoza and Katlehong, to "quell" violence and restore peace — without conspicuous success.

Is the SADF to keep peace or to violate the rights of blacks? In Franz Fanon's view, masses resist and fight in a thousand ways, not only with arms in hand.

These means include violence. Black consciousness seeks to eradicate from the minds of blacks the fear of the white superstructure.

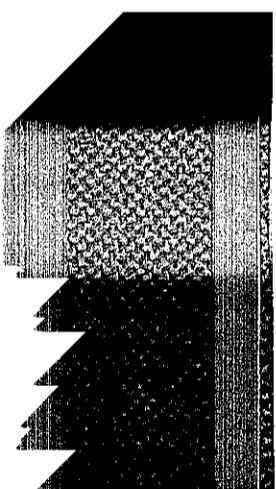
It further seeks to instil confidence in themselves as the final arbiters of their destiny.

Blacks have suffered too much to be dictated to by those in ivory towers. For Fanon the colonised must struggle against endemic famine, unemployment, high mortality, inferiority and hopelessness.

In time we can then bestow upon our country a more human face.



BIKO . . . Today is the commemoration of Steve Bantu Biko's death in detention 16 years ago. But is the spirit of black consciousness still alive today?



FIREBRAND GWALA WOOS WHITE FARMERS IN ANC MEMBERSHIP DRIVE



WELCOME THE BOER . . . the ANC's Ahmed Sader hands over a membership card to a new recruit, cattle farmer Michael Elworthy

Picture: HORACE POTTER

By RYAN CRESSWELL
and ENOCH MTHEMBU

HARDLINE ANC leader Harry Gwala has thrown his weight behind a drive to recruit white farmers in the troubled Natal Midlands. *S Times* Influential Colenso cattle rancher Michael Elworthy, 48, was the first farmer in the region to join the ANC. Ladysmith branch chairman Dr Ahmed Sader handed him the green, yellow and black card at a cattle sale near the town on Thursday.

Although Mr Gwala is a close friend of ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba — who has repeatedly encouraged the chanting of "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" — he said it was high time the ANC did more to make contact with farmers around the country and explain its policy.

The fiery Midlands leader said that, in the past, the organisation had concentrated too heavily on reaching out to businessmen and had forgotten about the farmers.

Concerned

He has already initiated a recruitment drive in his area and is excited about the latest member of the Ladysmith branch. 1219193

"The farmers in the Midlands are honest, concerned people," he said. Mr Elworthy, former president of the Ladysmith Farmers' Association, said he had never been seriously involved in politics, but had been thinking about the future lately. (IJA)

"These are new times and I think the ANC is the best party to go with," he said. "I am happy with the policies on land."

"However, I realise there are some farmers who are inefficient and have been propped up by the government for years. Perhaps some of their land could be put to better use."

Although Mr Elworthy said he was "concerned" by the anti-farmer slogans, he said he felt the leaders who encouraged them were "a fringe minority".

Another recent ANC recruit, Ladysmith cattle buyer and butcher Percy Sajoo, believes several of the farmers in the area are ready to join the ANC.

"But at the moment, they are hesitant," he said.

Blow to Azanla as chief held

CIPress 12/9/93

By MOSES MAMAILA

BLACK Consciousness Movement of Azania's armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), has been dealt a serious blow by the arrest of its chief, Nkutoeu Skaap Motsau, who might be charged with all the military operations carried out by his cadres in the country.

Motsau, BCMA's secretary for defence, and another Azanla commander, Patrick Hlahla, 29, were arrested by the Bophuthatswana police on September 5 in Motswedi after being found in possession of arms and explosives.

According to lawyer Cyril Morolo, representing the two Azanla soldiers, the police wanted to pin down Motsau as the mastermind of all the military operations carried out by Azanla since 1990. These attacks claimed a number of Bop security men.

The lawyer said the two men appeared in the Lehutse Magistrate's Court on Thursday and they were not asked to plead to the charges of possession of unlicensed firearms and entering the country illegally.

He said the case was postponed to September 23 for further investigations

as police said they were still probing the military offensive launched by Azanla.

Morolo said his clients reported they were assaulted by a police officer, a Lt Sedumedi, while they were held in Mafikeng.

He said Hlahla repeatedly complained about a hurting eardrum. He added that the two suspects sustained mainly internal injuries after being kicked by members of the security forces wearing boots.

Motsau and Hlahla were arrested in Motswedi and held at the local police station. They were transferred to Mafikeng the following day.

Azanla - which earlier this week claimed responsibility for the Lady Brand attack in which a lodge was raided by gunmen who said they wanted whites - has been active in Bophuthatswana and the Northern Transvaal.

Commenting on the treatment by the Bop police, Morolo said police did not allow him to consult privately with his clients.

A Bop police spokesman could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Mandela pacifies

AWB

'Colonel'

CIPress 12/9/93

AN aggressive AWB "colonel" in the Karoo yesterday met ANC president Nelson Mandela and warned him the AWB would "hit back hard" if a single hair of a white conservative head was harmed.

Afterwards, "Colonel" Ferrus Munro, AWB deputy commander in the Cape, said begrudgingly: "He (Mandela) does his thing well (IA)".

The encounter, in a Beaufort West hotel room, was brokered by police after a tense standoff between 36 heavily armed AWB members and ANC supporters outside the hotel.

Mandela flew to the town on Saturday morning to attend a breakfast held by local "opinion-makers" as part of the ANC's western Cape election drive.

The AWB members began gathering near the hotel at 9am dressed in uniform and armed with pistols, truncheons, knives and rifles.

Six of the AWB men were told by police to remove their balaclavas.

When Mandela arrived they marched up to the hotel and stood outside.

ANC supporters, who grew to number 100, watched in silence and some of them unfurled an ANC flag and stood directly opposite the AWB men as police kept watch.

The meeting took place after negotiations conducted by community relations cop Captain Johan van der Hoven. - Sapa

ed at striker's jailing

prisonment of Hlongwane.

"I was shocked because I never thought that a colleague who was that friendly could do something of the sort to his friend," he said, adding he was disappointed by the trial's outcome.

Baktawer recounted how one day after training in June last year he discovered his Nissan Langley had been stolen.

Although he could not remember Hlongwane's specific whereabouts that day, he believed the striker had also attended training at a Pretoria soccer ground.

Baktawer said he reported the matter to the police and after about four weeks the insurance paid him out. A few weeks later, police told him the stolen car had

been found in Themba, near Hammanskraal.

Although Hlongwane was arrested for the theft, he denied committing the offence and told Baktawer it was probably a matter of mistaken identity.

Baktawer said even if Hlongwane had stolen the car he would not have pressed charges against him, saying the insurance had been responsible for the striker's fate.

"Had he been open about the matter we would have talked it over and reached an agreement. I miss him in the team," he said, adding there were some fans who thought he was responsible for Hlongwane's jailing.

Tensions in Cape ANC over elections

ST Times 12/19/93
 [C/Metro]

(11A)

THE ANC faced a "moral and political dilemma" on whether to include coloured and Indian Tricameral parties as "partners" in the forthcoming elections, ANC chief election strategist Mr Patrick Lekota said this week.

The issue came to the fore after Labour Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse told the party's Southern Cape region congress in Oudshoorn last weekend that his party would strive to have an

By NORMAN WEST,
 Political Reporter

election "pact" endorsed by the ANC's NEC next month.

Mr Lekota, who accompanied ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on his whistle-stop election campaign tour of the Western Cape this week, admitted in an interview that there was considerable "tension" within ANC ranks on whether to have closer ties with the LP and Indian Tricameral parties.

Mr Mandela, on the other hand, is known always to have been amenable to offering the LP political sanctuary since its ousting from power in the House of Representatives by the National Party.

But the "Hendrickse factor" has caused tension in ANC ranks — particularly after ANC Western Cape Region chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, stated recently that he would have problems sharing platforms with the LP, and Mr Hendrickse in particular.

Mr Lekota said since the first Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Durban in 1990 there was a "kind of alliance"

with all political organisations in the PF, including the Labour Party, General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and other "bantustan parties".

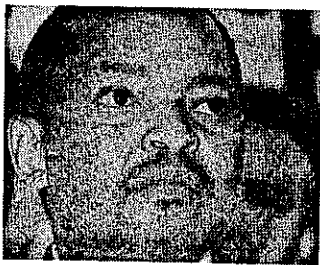
This relationship "with formerly discredited" bodies was put to good use in achieving progress at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, eventually leading to the adoption of the draft Bill that could lead to implementation of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Strategy

Asked specifically about Mr Boesak's resistance to closer ties with Mr Hendrickse, or the LP in general, Mr Lekota said: "The issue is not what certain individuals feel about it. It is a question of strategy that affects the whole country."

"The position the NEC took was that we should now be very careful. We are negotiating with Mr F W de Klerk and the NP Government, talking to the Afrikaners, and have even accepted advice from the Democratic Party, as well as accepting former DP members into the ANC."

"Why is it, therefore, so difficult for us to accept our own people (Hendrickse and the LP) who may have faulted at some stage in their political history?"



PATRICK LEKOTA

AWB 'colonel' warns Mandela of retribution

By BEN MACLENNAN

IN an unprecedented meeting with an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging "colonel", African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has been warned that the AWB will "hit back hard" if a single hair of a white conservative is harmed.

The brief meeting, in a Beaufort West hotel room, was brokered by police after a tense standoff between 30 heavily armed AWB members and ANC supporters outside the hotel.

Mr Mandela flew to the town yesterday for a breakfast arranged by local "opinion-makers" as part of the ANC's Western Cape election drive.

The AWB members were led by "Colonel" Ferrus Munro, AWB deputy commander in the Cape.

After negotiations by Captain Johan van der Hoven of the SAP Community Relations Division, Mr Munro and an Ystergarde (Iron Guard) member, Jan Louw, were disarmed and taken up to a hotel room to see Mr Mandela.

Mr Munro said neither he nor the ANC leader had offered to shake hands.

"I wanted to put over to him... he must have no doubt that if a hair on the head of a conservative white is harmed we will hit back and we will hit hard."

He said Mr Mandela had replied with conviction and said the ANC was working hard for peace.

Speaking later at a rally, Mr Mandela said black people should show leadership, even with groups which had treated them badly in the past.

"If members of the AWB, Conservative Party and National Party want to talk to you, please talk to them and say to them 'Let's stop fighting one another. Let us sit down as children of God and address the problems.'" — Sapa

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Cosatu assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa, left, vice-president Chris Dlamini and general secretary Jay Naidoo at the Cosatu congress yesterday.

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — No action would be taken against Azapo following the disruption of Saturday's Wits University/Hellenic soccer match by the organisation's supporters, police said yesterday.

Some damage was caused to the Wits stadium and rubbish and debris was thrown at spectators after about 100 people — attending an Azapo march to mark the 16th anniversary of Steve Biko's death — attempted to disrupt the game.

Police spokesman Brig Zirk Gous said police officers had been called to the stadium on Saturday afternoon to restore peace and prevent further damage of property.

A drunken man had been arrested along with another man who had attempted to rescue him. The second man had been injured by a plastic bullet.

However, Gous said no complaints had been laid by the stadium management, supporters or soccer players. "With no complaints we cannot take any further action".

The Azanian Students' Congress (Azasco) meanwhile threatened to disrupt any soccer matches scheduled to take place yesterday afternoon.

An Azasco statement said if a call to postpone the matches — so that commemoration services could be held for Biko — went unheeded, "we would be left with no option but to embark on actions that would ensure that the plans for such games are met with resistance".

New Botswana air base 'affects ANC thinking'

CAPE TOWN — The US-assisted construction of a \$2bn air base in Botswana had affected the ANC's strategic thinking on military threats in the southern African region, PWV ANC chairman Tokyo Sexwale said last week.

Several sources later denied US involvement, saying the project had been initiated by the Botswana defence force.

Sexwale, addressing a conference called Positively Speaking... In a Time of Transition, Initiatives that Work, said the ANC would try to persuade the US to use its influence to get the base used for commercial and technical training for southern African states, rather than for military purposes. He said the US had repeatedly denied it was involved.

Sexwale said potential threats from land, air and sea had been investigated and, apart from the Botswana air base, had been found non-existent. It would be a waste to channel resources into building a defence force when the money could be used for reconstruction.

Jane's Defence Weekly SA correspondent Helmoed Heitman said the air base at Molepolole was begun in 1987/88, a period of great political and military instability in the southern African region. It was funded by a soft loan from France. While the cost

was estimated last year to be \$350m on the basis of the project being finalised shortly, it would probably only be completed in 1995 at a cost of \$600m. Heitman was convinced the US was not involved.

US Information Service press officer Jim Callahan said the US had no base in Botswana and had no intention of using the new base. Two US airforce military exercises with Botswana over the last 18 months had led to the confusion, even though exercises with several countries were common US practice.

In February, the Botswana parliament denied US involvement. The Speaker of the House said the allegations were "without foundation" and it was regrettable that this rumour "continues to surface".

Botswana had no arrangements for stationing foreign forces in Botswana. It was a non-aligned country which did not host foreign military bases or personnel.

Africa Institute research director Simon Baynham suggested the air base was the brainchild of Botswana airforce chief, Lt-Gen Ian Khama, son of former prime minister Seretse Khama, who spearheaded the project to win prestige and support for his presidential ambitions.

LINDA ENSOR

ANC agrees in principle to adopt Cosatu reconstruction programme

IN RETURN for Cosatu's support at the polls, the ANC has agreed in principle to adopt Cosatu's reconstruction and development programme after details have been thrashed out by the alliance partners.

The major resolution passed by the 1 700 delegates at this weekend's Cosatu congress concerned the reconstruction and development programme, Cosatu's contribution to the ANC's election drive.

Union factions suggested 64 amendments to the programme's fourth draft, the working document accepted by congress.

Fundamental differences arose over two issues: economic principles, especially those referring to macroeconomic stability, and worker rights.

Macro-economic concerns revolved around unions' problems with the necessity to redress past imbalances despite severe economic constraints. The programme called for such things as affordable housing, health care, free and compulsory education and living wages for all.

Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) deputy general secretary Ebrahim Patel responded to the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) proposal to scrap the macroeconomic programme by reminding delegates this could jeopardise the whole process.

Union sources said the major problem with the draft was that the economic component was devised by the ANC's economic policy unit and was geared towards at-

tracting overseas and local investment.

However, the macroeconomic clause stayed in and delegates decided the ANC would have to decide on funding.

Many unions said they feared the programme was just an election manifesto and did not contain enough detail for affiliates to sell the concept to members.

On the issue of workers' rights, Numsa again expressed its serious concern at their relegation to a subsection of a general rights clause in the document. Numsa wanted a detailed accord between Cosatu and the ANC spelling out legislative changes required to guarantee rights under an ANC government.

Of concern were central bargaining structures for all sectors, the right to strike and to bargain collectively and human resource development.

Labour legislation was also highlighted by delegates who insisted a single labour statute be passed as well as the protection of wage determinations governing various sectors. They called for employers to be obligated to negotiate major changes at factory or industry level.

Delegates called for their rights to be enshrined in the constitution rather than the bill of rights. Workers expressed concern that their rights would be viewed as secondary under an ANC-dominated government without such an accord.

ERICA JANKOWITZ

'Lost-generation' needs army training

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on Saturday, was a tremendous suc- cess from a business point of view.

ANC campaigners 'should set example'

81 Day 13/9/93
JOHANNES NGCOBO

ANC election campaigners should provide an example of exemplary behaviour to all other political organisations by "displaying utmost tolerance", ANC election co-ordinator Amos Masondo said yesterday.

He was speaking at a rally in the East Rand township of Vosloorus to launch the organisation's second door-to-door election cam-

paign on the Reef.

He told a crowd of about 2 000 people: "We must not speak ill of other political organisations and we must promote the fact that those organisations are also fighting for freedom. (11A)

Masondo said during the election campaign, volun-

teers should be sure to be sober and not smoke or drink in people's houses while canvassing.

Yesterday's rally went off without incident despite the fact that the crowd shouted freedom songs and carried traditional weapons. ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, scheduled to be guest speaker, did not arrive.

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Racist slogans used at PAC anniversary rally

Staff Reporter (11A)

THOUSANDS of supporters of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) shouted racist slogans at a rally in Guguletu on Saturday near the site where American Fulbright scholar Ms Amy Biehl was slain.

The rally, to mark the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the PAC's paramilitary wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), resounded to the traditional PAC cry: "One settler, one bullet".

At the rally Apla refused to renounce its armed struggle until political power was transferred from the white minority to the black majority.

Speakers denied charges of racism and said Apla was simply fighting white domination.

CT13/9/93

Woman crushed at Mandela rally

(11A) ET 13/9/93

MR Nelson Mandela's Khayelitsha rally ended in tragedy yesterday when a woman was crushed to death and 140 people were injured as spectators surged out of the stadium.

Screaming men, woman and children were trampled underfoot as the crowd of more than 45 000 poured out of a single exit after the ANC leader's address.

The co-ordinator of the nearby first aid post, Ms Elize Appel, said that by 5.30pm, 12 people had been sent to hospital and another 30 treated at the post.

A Metro spokesman said last night a single Metro ambulance and a large mobile medical treatment unit stood by as people left the stadium, and medical staff were "flooded" with casualties.

Ms Appel said she had warned the organisers of the rally about the danger of a single entrance.

A doctor said the woman, whose name was not known, was "dead when she got here".

"She went down and people couldn't get in to save her because people were running over her," he said.

Several others were treated for facial injuries after impatient members of the crowd, unable to get out, began throwing stones at those in the gateway.

Forced

A reporter saw a man stagger out of the crowd with a boy in his arms and hammer on the door of an ambulance that was trying to reverse out of the mass of people without running over anyone on the ground.

The ambulance was already full of injured people, but someone forced open the rear door, and the boy was pushed in on top of the people already there.

Just inside the stadium gate, the first aid

post was littered with people. Some sat in silence, others lay with eyes closed.

Doctors huddled over a woman on a stretcher. Her face was hidden by an oxygen mask. There was a drip in her arm, an electric cardiac stimulator on her chest.

Across from her, Mrs Vivien Mhlakaza sat on a blanket sipping water. "I fell down and people walked all over me," she said. "I was thinking about my life. I thought I was going to die."

Outside, where the crush had lessened, people were making piles of shoes and items of torn clothing.

Inside, the doctors gave up trying to resuscitate the woman on the stretcher.

They removed the oxygen mask, pulled a blue Cape Provincial Administration blanket over her face, and turned their attention to those who still needed their attention. — Sapa, Staff Reporter

● 'Whites our brothers and sisters'

— Page 2

ANC to adopt Cosatu plan

(115A)
5/11/93

CT 13/9/93

JOHANNESBURG. — In return for support at the polls, the ANC has agreed in principle to adopt Cosatu's reconstruction and development programme after details have been thrashed out by the alliance partners.

The programme — Cosatu's contribution to the ANC's election drive — is an ambitious plan to eradicate poverty and secure workers' rights.

It was the main item on the agenda when about 1 700 Cosatu (Congress of SA Trade Unions) delegates met in Soweto at the weekend for a special national congress.

Cosatu wants its 20 senior nominees, including former general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, to be included in the top 51% of the ANC's list of candidates for the national assembly elections on April 27 next year and has committed them to push for wide-ranging social reconstruction.

Mr Naidoo, who stood down

Support at polls in exchange

after eight years as executive chief of the 1,2 million-member body, was succeeded by his former assistant, Mr Sam Shilowa.

The congress resolved that Cosatu's reconstruction programme should be put to the ANC as part of its election platform, while binding it to a legal framework that guaranteed unions the right to fight around key principles.

Delegates warned against allowing market forces and World Bank and IMF-related programmes to decide the extent of change.

In his opening address to the congress, ANC president Mr Nel-

son Mandela said the success of restructuring depended on close co-operation between the ANC, Cosatu and its communist allies.

"We have to broaden the defeat of apartheid into a process of empowerment and reconstruction. If an ANC government does not deliver the goods, you must do what you did to the apartheid regime," Mr Mandela said.

Cosatu resolved to call on the Transitional Executive Council to ensure that workers were repaid excessive SITE tax deductions, plus interest, before the April elections.

It also pledged its opposition to regional government and unilateral restructuring, demanding a moratorium on the renewal of all civil service appointments until a democratically-elected government was in place.

Cosatu reaffirmed its commitment to peace initiatives and condemned "irresponsible utterances such as the call to civil war, attacks on communities and a boycott of elections". — Sapa

□ Wider support needed

Cosatu drops plan to pin down ANC in writing

1452
114
ARC 13/9/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Cosatu has changed plans to bind the ANC in writing to the implementation of a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) being developed by the Tripartite Alliance.

Instead, it has resolved to describe the RDP as a "fighting platform" that will underpin the alliance's ANC-led election campaign, but which will need to be supported by all elements of society.

This position emerged after debate on key issues at Cosatu's special congress at the weekend. The RDP, now in its fourth draft, was adopted as a working document, still to be fleshed out in detail.

It focuses on democratising the state; building a new economy; attacking poverty and deprivation; human resources development and the rights of women, workers and young people.

The decision not to bind the ANC to a written agreement effectively shifts the burden of responsibility for implementation from an ANC-led government alone, to a nation-wide initiative involving unions, civic associations, non-governmental organisations and the private sector.

Some affiliates had initially favoured a signed agreement, but the big unions were understood to be concerned that efforts to bind the ANC were impractical.

They are also understood to fear that a binding Cosatu-ANC

agreement might later be damaging to Cosatu as well as the next government, were implementation to run into difficulties.

Delegates also expressed alarm at a section in the RDP proposal — written by the ANC's department of economic planning — on the need to maintain macro-economic stability while implementing the programme.

The section would have committed Cosatu against jeopardising "the success of the RDP by short-sighted, expedient and ineffective actions that might lead to excessive inflation, the dislocation of the financial system, misuse of savings and unsustainable balance of payments deficits".

It concludes: "Macro-economic stability is vital to the success of our programme. For this fundamental reason, coherent, strict and effective monetary and fiscal policies will be a cornerstone of our RDP."

This was too rich for most delegates' blood, who feared the inclusion of this section would undermine Cosatu's drive for socialism by offering the next government a get-out clause should it be reluctant to implement the programme to workers' satisfaction.

The congress resolved that references to macro-economic stability should be "substantially reworked".

Cosatu is also to press for a distinct agreement with the ANC on workers' rights, to be incorporated in the RDP, possibly as a signed accord with the ANC.

Apla celebrates in military style

Star 12/19/93

East London — The PAC celebrated Apla's 32nd birthday with rallies in Ciskei and Transkei on Saturday — and presented two new military-style formations.

At rallies in Umtata and Ilitha, a village outside King William's Town, units of men and women in camouflage paraded to cheers from the crowds. (UFA)

In Ilitha, two units of 15 members each were referred to as being from the "task force", while in Umtata, a similarly sized contingent was introduced as the "people's revolutionary militia". Neither unit was armed.

Enoch Zulu, Apla's former director of operations, said the task force "protects PAC structures against attacks by the enemy and their allies".

Zulu, now chief security adviser to PAC president Clarence Makwetu, claimed the force had been established in the '60s and was revived by members of Apla in 1992.

The Border regional commander of the force, Malusi

Mpondo, said it was being trained by Apla members.

Two units of 20 members each marched through Umtata to the rally in the Independence Stadium, and performed drill exercises before about 2 000 people.

Speakers from the police union Poperu, the New Unity Movement, Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA and the Transkei Defence Force also brought messages of solidarity.

Colonel VM Mdletye, speaking for the TDF, saluted Apla's "achievements" and promised to work with the organisation.

■ Thousands of blacks shouting racist slogans gathered to mark Apla's anniversary in the Guguletu stadium on Saturday, near the site where American Army Biehl was slain last month.

The PAC reaffirmed its opposition to ending international sanctions on South Africa, claiming the country's democratic future had not yet been secured.
— Staff Reporter, Eena, Sapa-AFP.

Star 13/9/93

Improvements take years - Mandela

11A

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Liberation would not immediately bring houses, jobs, schools and medical facilities, ANC president Nelson Mandela told an estimated 30 000 to 40 000-strong crowd at Khayelitsha stadium yesterday.

Blacks could make sure that on April 27 — when South Africans go to the polls in the country's first nonracial elections — the suffering endured over the past three centuries ends.

"Don't think when we win the elections you'll get houses, schools and jobs. It takes years. We will start the process, but it will take some time before all your problems are addressed," he said.

Stressing that the ANC was involved in nation-building, he said whites were not more important than blacks. Whites had had more money and opportunities than blacks.

"As a result they have acquired skills and knowledge which we don't have. They are doctors and lawyers. We want them to help us rebuild South

Africa," he said.

Some whites had already helped. The ANC did not want to frighten whites and drive them away, he said.

"We want them to remain and help us with their skills to rebuild the country.

"We fought them insofar as racial oppression is concerned and defeated them."

Whites were very important and it was criminal for young people to attack whites working in the townships.

Animals

He said he was glad the regional leadership of the ANC had condemned the murder of American scholar Amy Biehl.

"The people who murdered Amy Biehl are no longer human beings, they are animals. We condemn that in the strongest terms," he said.

He warned the ANC not to assume the battle against the National Party was over.

"Weak as it is, it can still beat you," he concluded.



HONORARY INDIAN: A garlanded Nelson Mandela at Elsies River (111)

'Lions' roar praises of the leader

AG 1991/93

Political Staff

IT was a time for Nelson Mandela to listen.

As thousands of ululating supporters waited outside Nonzwakazi Methodist Church in Guguletu, Mr Mandela attended his third service of the day.

The Guguletu service was to commemorate fallen heroes.

Youths, who spoke in the church, said they saw themselves as "young lions of the church" because Mr Mandela had referred to them as "young lions".

Two praise-singers held the packed church spellbound as step-by-step they retraced Mr Mandela's history.

As they ended their rendition, they told him they were sending him to President De Klerk.

But he had to stop along the way to tell:

● Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi he "must not waste our time";

● Ciskeian military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo "he must not delay us"; and

● Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope "he must not delay us".

The message to Mr De Klerk was that "enough is enough" and that far too many blacks had died in Boipatong, Katerhony and Natal.

Speaking to the congregation, which included several township ministers, Mr Mandela, a Methodist, said he was a product of mission schools.

"Today I have returned to my roots."

He said the ANC was strong because it enjoyed the support of many religious leaders.

Mandela holds private meeting with squatters

Staff Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has met Peninsula squatter leaders behind closed doors.

The meeting, from which the media were barred, was held at the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) premises in Philippi.

Sources said the meeting with the squatter leaders, all members of the Western Cape United Squatters Association (WCUSA), was held at the request of the leaders.

It is understood housing and squatter violence would be top of the agenda.

Pupils of the nearby Mandela High School tried to get a glimpse of the ANC leader by going to the venue as early as 9am.

But when they arrived the gates were locked and security men refused them entry.

'War, war' chants at Amy Biehl hearing

APR 13 1993

HENRIETTE GELDENHUYS
Staff Reporter

SUPPORTERS of the two men being held in connection with the death of American student Amy Biehl kicked and banged on the Mitchell's Plain Magistrate's courtroom doors today chanting "war, war".

Mongezi Manqina, 21, and Mzikhona "Easy" Nofomela, 22, appeared briefly before magistrate Johan Loots. They were told that in terms of a certificate issued by Attorney-General Frank Kahn, they could not be released on bail.

About 30 Pan Africanist Student Organisation supporters protested angrily when they were barred from attending court proceedings, held in camera, when the men, from Guguletu, appeared.

They chanted: "Settler, settler, war, war" and "one SAP, one bullet" and "we want war" outside and inside the court building.

Youths stabbed Miss Biehl to death in Guguletu on August 25.

A man who said he was a cousin of Mr Manqina told reporters outside court: "We want war, not peace. What he (Manqina) did is what Strydom (Barend) did. He did the right thing. They should let him free."

Mr Loots postponed the matter to September 27 for further investigation.

The men's lawyers were not present today. Nortier Meintjies appeared for the state.

'We'll make his seat too hot to hold'

Cosatu takes aim at director-general

BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

As part of a planned campaign against the Government's "unilateral restructuring", Cosatu has decided to target Manpower Director-General Joel Fourie by "making his seat too hot to hold".

The federation has also resolved to pressure the next government to introduce a law that would permit the review of all State "employment contracts made in the transitional period". It will also seek a moratorium on such appointments.

Fourie was reappointed recently for a further three years. Cosatu has objected because it believes it should have been consulted on this and other appointments, and that these may

COSATU has objected to the reappointment of Manpower supremo Joel Fourie, believing it should have been consulted

be detrimental to a future democratically elected government.

The Government's initial response has been that it is not prepared to surrender its right to make such appointments while it remains in power.

The other appointment on which Cosatu has trained its sights is that of new Finance Director-General Estian Callitz, who was named last week as Gerhard Croeser's successor.

Fourie, who is heartily disliked by Cosatu and cited as a major obstacle to the legislative labour reforms it seeks, received special attention throughout Cosatu's special congress at the weekend.

Fourie's unpopularity with Cosatu stems from what the federation regards as his stalling on the extension of rights to farm-workers and his alleged pandering to right-wing farming interests.

Outgoing general-secretary Jay Naidoo fulminated against Fourie, saying Cosatu would "make his seat too hot for him to hold".

Although the federation has yet to lay out its line of attack, non-co-operation with Fourie seemed to senior officials the most likely place to start.

Plan to bind ANC dropped

LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

Cosatu has backed away from an attempt to bind the ANC to a written agreement to implement the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), currently being developed by the tripartite alliance, if the alliance comes to power.

Instead, the federation has resolved to describe the RDP as a "fighting platform" that will underpin the alliance's ANC-led election campaign, but which will need to be implemented with the active co-operation of organs of civil society.

This position emerged after considerable debate on one of the key issues to be decided at Cosatu's special congress at the weekend.

The RDP, which is now in its fourth draft, was adopted as a working document, to be fleshed out in detail in the months ahead.

It has five major focuses: democratising the State; building a new economy; attacking poverty and deprivation; human resources development; and the rights of women, workers and

young people.

The decision not to bind the ANC to a written agreement effectively shifts the burden of responsibility for implementation from an ANC-led government alone, to a nationwide initiative involving unions, civic associations, non-governmental organisations as well as the private sector.

A number of smaller affiliates had initially favoured a signed agreement but the big unions were understood to be concerned that efforts to bind the ANC were impractical.

Stability

They are also understood to fear that a binding Cosatu-ANC agreement might later be damaging to Cosatu as well as the next government, if implementation ran into difficulties.

Delegates also expressed alarm at a section in the RDP proposal — written by the ANC's department of economic planning — on the need to maintain macro-economic stability while implementing the programme.

The section would have com-

mitted Cosatu "not to jeopardise the success of the RDP by short-sighted, expedient and ineffective actions which may lead to excessive inflation, the dislocation of the financial system, misuse of savings and unsustainable balance of payments deficits".

It concludes: "Macro-economic stability is vital to the success of our programme. For this fundamental reason, coherent, strict and effective monetary and fiscal policies will be a cornerstone of our RDP."

This was too rich for most delegates' blood, who feared the inclusion of this section would undermine Cosatu's drive for socialism by offering the next government a get-out clause if it were reluctant to implement the programme to workers' satisfaction.

The congress resolved that references to macro-economic stability should be "substantially reworked".

Cosatu is also to press for a distinct agreement with the ANC on workers' rights, to be incorporated in the RDP, possibly as a signed accord with the ANC.

'Curb power of technical committees'

BY PAUL BELL

Cosatu is demanding that the powers of the technical committees serving the multiparty Negotiating Council be reined in.

The federation regards the committees' "wide-ranging terms of reference" as unacceptable and has warned them not to tamper with "hard-won worker rights".

This is among the major points of a Cosatu special-congress resolution on constitutional negotiations.

It reflects a concern generally held among Cosatu's rank and file that — as one metalworker put it — "concessions to the negotiating process have been overreactions that will see us ending up with far less than we bargained for".

It also reflects labour's unhappiness over the handling of workers' rights at the World Trade Centre (WTC).

In an effort to wrest back control over a negotiating process that labour fears is slipping away from it, the congress also instructed its executive to demand a meeting of national executive committees of the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

Demand

The manner in which alliance representatives are to proceed in the Transitional Executive Council and general negotiations would be discussed.

Cosatu also reiterated its demand that a constituent assembly must be able to reverse any provisions in the Interim Constitution.

Delegates, clearly anxious that strong powers for regional governments will frustrate Cosatu's proposed reconstruction and development proposals, also resolved that these governments should have limited powers.

These should "not include provision of services and infrastructure such as water, electricity, policing and correctional services, telecommunications, health, education, transport, roads, housing and jurisdiction over local government".

Nor should regional governments have jurisdiction over labour legislation, collective bargaining and economic planning.

□ Rally warned on high hopes for homes, schools and jobs

Mandela tones down expectations

ARG 13/9/93

ARG 13/9/93

11A

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

AN African National Congress government could not immediately bring houses, jobs, schools and medical facilities. ANC president Nelson Mandela warned a rally at Khayelitsha.

He told about 35 000 there yesterday: "Don't think when we win the elections you'll get houses, schools, medical facilities and jobs."

These things could not be provided overnight.

"It takes years. Give us time. We will begin the process, but it will take some time before all your problems are addressed."

Emphasising that the ANC was involved in nation-building, he said whites had had more money and opportunities than blacks.

"As a result they have acquired skills and knowledge we don't have. They are doctors and lawyers. We want their support. We want them to help us rebuild South Africa."

The ANC did not want to frighten whites and drive them away.

The ANC did not fear whites. "We fought them in so far as racial oppression is concerned and defeated them."

Whites were very important and it was criminal for young people to attack whites working in the townships.

He said he was glad the regional leadership of the ANC had condemned the cruel murder of American Fulbright scholar Amy Biehl.

"The people who murdered Amy Biehl are no longer human beings, they are animals. We condemn that in the strongest terms."

During its armed struggle the ANC had hit military targets.

"It is not military action to kill innocent civilians."

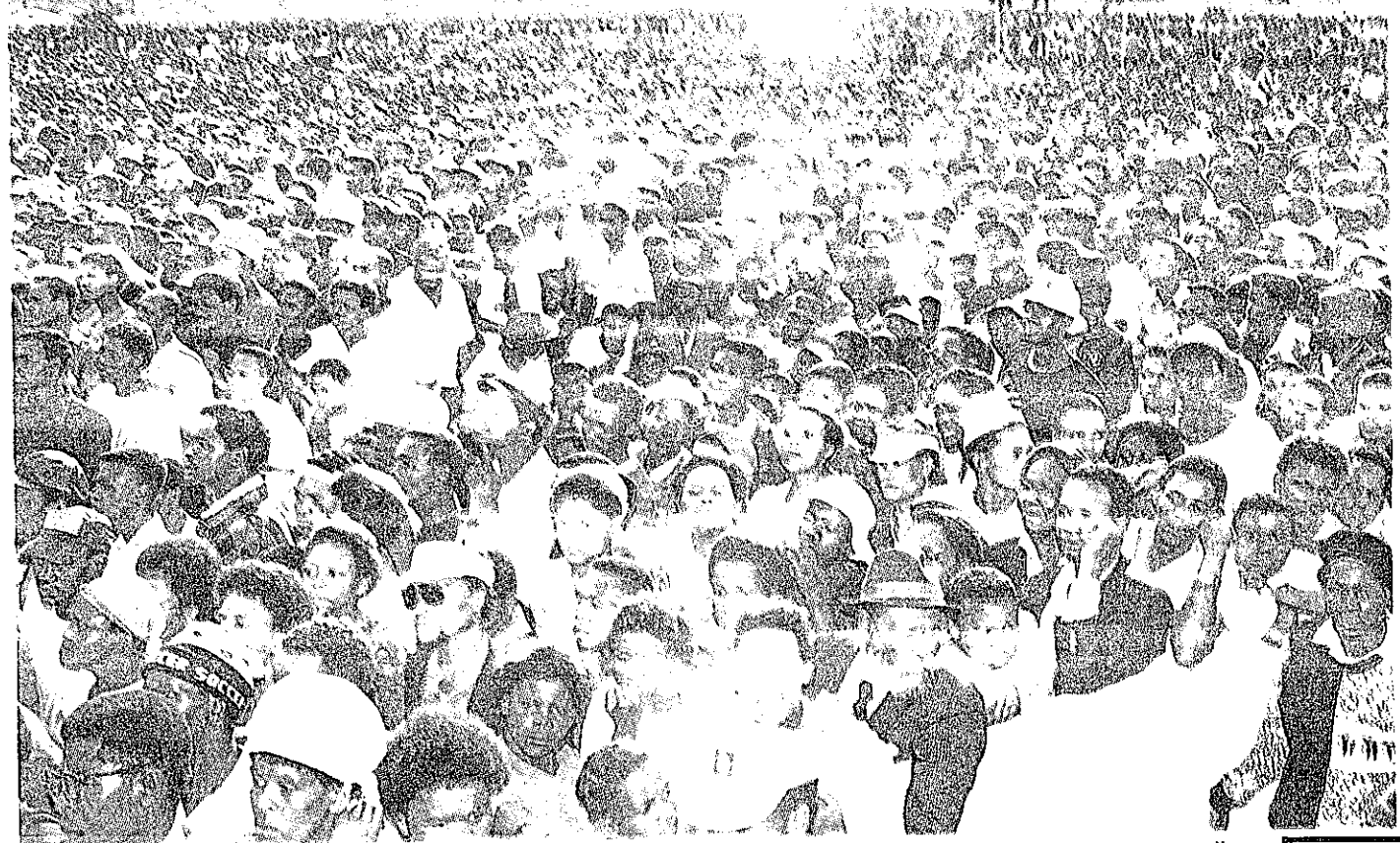
He appealed to those present to follow the example of their regional leadership.

"People who are building a new nation will refrain from doing anything that will frighten members of other groups."

It was also the ANC's duty to comfort frightened blacks.

He warned the ANC not to rest on its laurels and assume the battle against the National Party was over.

"Weak as it is, it can still beat you."



SEA OF FACES: Thousands turned up at Khayelitsha stadium to listen to the ANC president.

Chatter was just too much

VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

A VISIBLY upset Nelson Mandela intermittently halted his speech at the Khayaletshi stadium to tell noisemakers in Xhosa to "keep quiet or come here in front to make your point."

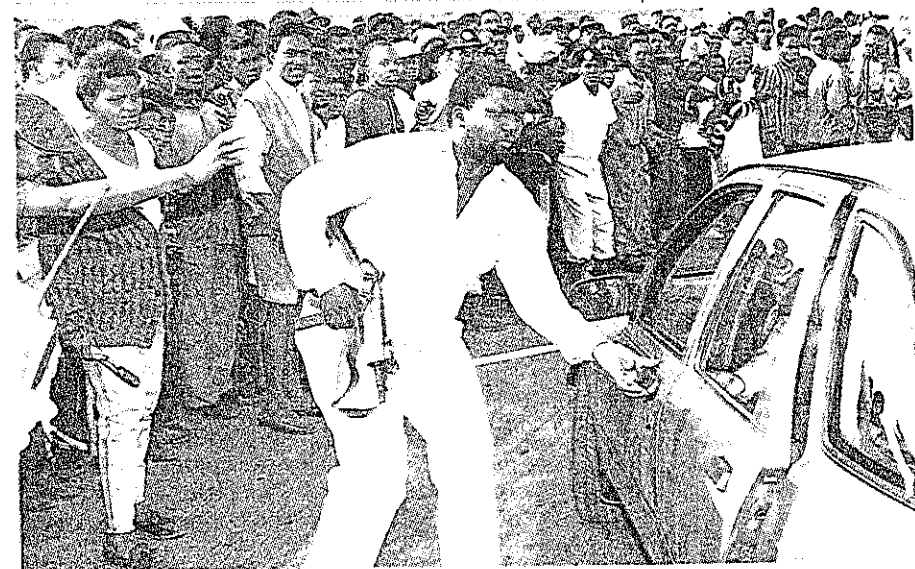
At one stage Mr Mandela told a man who was talking to "shut up or I will ask marshals to take you out."

"I can't even remember what I was talking about. What was I saying?" Mr Mandela said, but quickly continued his speech.

At another time he told a woman to "shut up while you are being addressed or come to the stage to make you point".

Before he spoke he appealed to people five metres from the stage to "sit down and keep quiet."

Mr Mandela said: "Please lend me your ears. I have come to speak to you about the coun-



try's problems. I won't start until I get respect."

Later, however, in a light-hearted moment, the ANC leader, dubbed president of South Africa, openly laughed when an admirer in the crowd said: "Awu, iXhego lam! (Oh,

my dear old man)."

Mr Mandela said the man reminded him of when he used to pour white ash on his hair because he had idolised his father's grey hair.

"But now I am no longer proud of my grey hair," he said to cheers.

MINDER: An armed bodyguard checks the door of the vehicle taking Mandela from Khayelitsha stadium.

AWB 'will be crushed' if it attempts to use force

Political Staff

NELSON Mandela has warned the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging it will be crushed if it tries to use force to solve South Africa's problems.

The warning was given in Beaufort West on Saturday when the ANC president had a face-to-face meeting with senior AWB members.

Mr Mandela told a meeting in Langa yesterday that the AWB had wanted to see him.

"I spoke to them. I assured them we are an organisation of peace. But at the same time I warned them if they want to solve problems with force we will crush them."

He said he was prepared to meet AWB leaders tomorrow "if they want to solve the problems of this country peacefully."

The ANC would not tolerate a trace of racism in a future government and would not allow smaller parties to undermine majority rule.

Mr Mandela spoke in Langa, Cape Town's oldest black township, after attending a service in Athlone.

Welcomed as "Our Moses", Mr Mandela arrived at Langa Stadium to be greeted by thousands who through their presence dispelled the myth that the township was a Pan Africanist Congress of Azania stronghold.

He made a strong plea for political tolerance, mutual respect and discipline.

Africans should not only respect one another, but also those classified as coloured, the biggest population group in the Western Cape.

"They are a very important section of our community."

President De Klerk and the National Party were saying the ANC would take jobs away from coloureds.

"Coloureds should not fear the future."

ANC members should accept coloureds as their brothers and

sisters.

Mr Mandela condemned the killing of whites and assaults on white teachers and coloureds.

These actions were driving potential ANC supporters to the NP.

"We should take disciplinary action against our members who are found to be harassing white and coloured teachers. They are our friends. Together we've fought over the years and together we'll be victori-

ous." **ARC 13/9/93 (11A)**

The same could be said about the Indian community.

"They have produced great leaders. They have fought together with us."

Because the ANC was building a new nation, whites should not be afraid to come to the movement's meetings.

"They must not fear our meetings. There are some whites who are as good as you. Many whites have rendered better service to the struggle for liberation than many of us."



BODY OF CHRIST: Cape Town's Catholic Archbishop Lawrence Henry gives Nelson Mandela Holy Communion in St Mary of the Angels Church, Athlone. Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

NELSON Mandela hopes to convince whites that the African National Congress is the only organisation with the will and courage to reconstruct a divided and war-torn South Africa.

The ANC president, who is on a whistle-stop tour of the Western Cape, will speak at the Cape Town Civic Centre tonight.

He said he had been delighted by the warmth and sincerity of people in the region, who were working together for non-racialism and unity.

"Your welcome has been overwhelming and has boosted my confidence in this region and its commitment to bring about a peaceful transition to democracy."

Tonight's meeting was important because he would address the fears of those, especially whites, who still had misgivings about the ANC.

"I hope to persuade you that we are,

1975/3/21/93 (114)
Mandela
sets sights
on winning
over whites

in reality, the only organisation with the commitment, will and courage to reconstruct our war-torn and divided society."

His call to every region had been for South Africans to work together for a just and democratic society.

"Every region has its own problems, but the appeal is universal and addressed to all who share our hopes, visions and ideals of a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa."

● See page 5.

Umkhonto urges members to register

PATRICK BULGER

8/Day
THE ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe yesterday gave its members seven days to register at regional commands in preparation for transitional executive council (TEC) control of Umkhonto and the inclusion of its members in a national peacekeeping force. 14/9/93

The call is a further step in a process that began with the suspension of the armed struggle three years ago and which will culminate in the dissolution of Umkhonto after next year's election, Umkhonto chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda said.

He said Umkhonto was taking urgent steps to finalise its membership list. In terms of the draft TEC Bill, a consolidated personnel list of armed formations' members has to be submitted to the TEC within

21 days of its promulgation. Failure to do so will disqualify soldiers from any financial assistance from the TEC.

Nyanda said it was imperative that Umkhonto cadres registered. "After months of painstaking negotiations, the ANC has emerged from the multiparty talks with agreements which have far-reaching implications for the peoples' army, Umkhonto we Sizwe." (11A)

Those who failed to register would not be able to claim membership later. Also, those who registered would be eligible for some of the R10m in aid that ANC president Nelson Mandela had put at Umkhonto's disposal, he said.

Mandela tells city to 'bury past'

Staff Reporter

THE message of the ANC is reconciliation not retribution, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told a huge audience in the Civic Centre last night.

Speaking in Afrikaans to an enthusiastic crowd of about 5 000 people who packed the Civic Centre foyer, he said: "Let us bury the past because that is the way of reconciliation."

Mr Mandela scathingly attacked President F W de Klerk for attacks and killings in black communities, saying that the NP did not care about black lives.

Before his speech he introduced several academics and ANC MPs. Mrs Melanie Verwoerd, wife of H F Verwoerd's grandson Wilhelm, gave a brief talk on how important it was for whites to

remain in South Africa.

A choir of the Vorentoe Primary School in Ravensmead sang a hymn and hundreds of candles were lit by the crowd to signify peace while the peace song was sung.

Mr Mandela said whites had a special responsibility in transforming South Africa and "now is not the time to think of emigrating to Australia".

(11) OCT 14 1993

LP 'will' seek
votes with ANC

Political Staff

THE Labour Party has reaffirmed it will fight elections under the ANC banner despite opposition from the Western Cape ANC. Some ANC members oppose campaigning with a party that joined the tri-cameral system.

(17) 12/23

'Biko book not closed'

CT14/9/93

PRETORIA. — A cabinet minister has called for the "book" on the death of black consciousness leader Mr Bantu Steven Biko to be "opened".

Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels assured a peace rally at Laudium near here that the "book" about the past will not be closed until we have fully opened it and have a better understanding about the substance in that book".

Mr Wessels said that over the years South Africans had harmed, maimed and killed one another.

"We want to know more about this tragedy."

The 16th anniversary of Mr Biko's death in security police detention was marked at weekend rallies by the Azanian People's Organisation, which demanded that the inquest into his death be re-opened.

Mr Wessels said he did not want to re-open old wounds, but to help "build national reconciliation and ensure that these tragic events never happen again".

He said Mr Biko and Mr Abraham Tiro, who also died in detention, were his contemporaries.

"The death of any South African should never leave us cold," he added, warning that any action to "wipe these tragic events under the carpet will not succeed".

Forgive each other — Mandela

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

RECONCILIATION, not retribution, is central to the African National Congress's message — without it there can be no reconstruction, says ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He told a cheering crowd at the Cape Town Civic Centre last night that South Africans should not forget the past, but they had to forgive each other.

Whites in particular had skills and resources that would be vital to South Africa's development.

"This is not a time to panic, this is not a time to think of emigrating to Australia. There is too much work to be done here. We need you at this vital time."

But he sharply attacked President

De Klerk, accusing his government of being "members of the white community who are absolutely insensitive to blacks in this country".

He also singled out the Press "which is controlled by the white minority and is insensitive to the suffering of black people".

More than 4 000 people of all races packed a colourful, poster-decked civic centre concourse.

Other speakers included mayor Clive Keegan, the ANC's sports head Steve Tshwete, Melanie Verwoerd, granddaughter-in-law of apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd, municipal workers' union regional leader Salie Manie and ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni, who led the candle-lit singing of the peace song. Western Cape ANC chairman Allan

Boesak chaired the rally.

Children from Ravensmead's Vor-entoe Primary led the rally in singing Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika and poet Tatamkulu Afrika read two of his works.

Mr Mandela told the rally: "Only by forgiving each other can we possibly hope to create a climate in which reconciliation and reconstruction is possible."

Mr Mandela, who said he had been "delighted at the warmth and sincerity" of efforts in the Western Cape to work for unity and non-racialism, hoped to convince whites that the ANC was "the only organisation with the commitment, will and courage to reconstruct our war-torn and divided country".

(11A) ARG 149/93
● Report, pictures page 13

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

REC 14/9/93 (11A)

Mandela vows Plain

NELSON Mandela conquered Mitchell's Plain, but encountered some opposition from National Party supporters in the process.

During an election drive in Cape Town's biggest coloured township yesterday, he pledged that an African National Congress-led government would outlaw "any practice of racial discrimination".

Drawing big crowds as he whizzed through Mitchell's Plain, the ANC president said he was encouraged by the warm reception he got in Tafelsig.

"What a pity there are those who are raising the flag of the National Party."

He counted out aloud that five flag-waving National Party supporters were present.

He added: "I have seen the faces of the so-called NP. They are not sober. They only have courage to hoist the NP flag, because they are not sober."

The NP was the party of the past while the ANC represented the future.

"That is why hundreds of you have come to greet me."

A small group of NP supporters also held a placard demonstration in Portlands where they traded words with

ANC supporters.

But that was the only opposition Mr Mandela encountered in his triumphant visit.

Thousands, many waving ANC flags, gathered at Glendale Senior Secondary School where he unveiled a plaque.

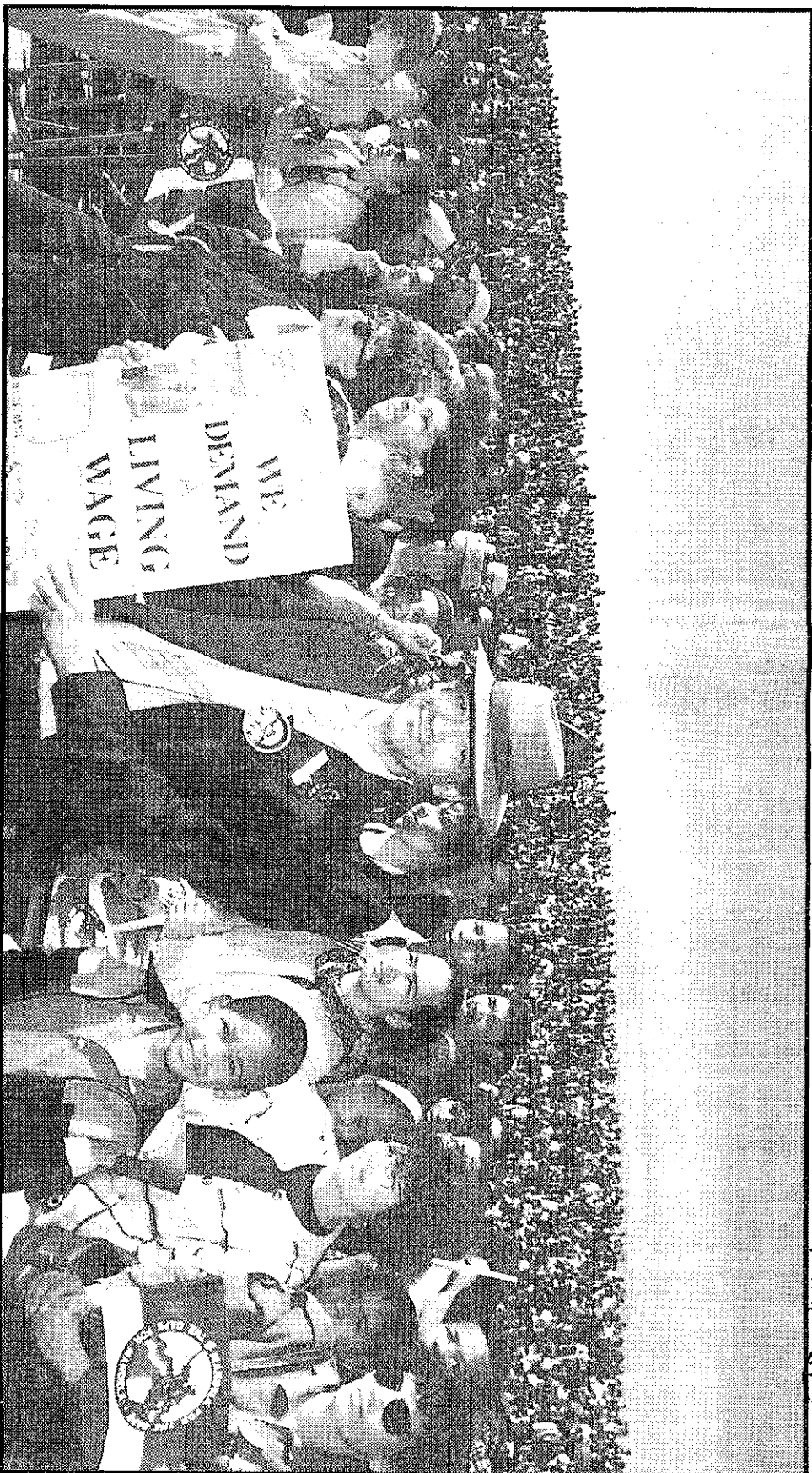
He told the crowd: "For decades we've been weeping together. I've come to say let's wipe out those tears and together prepare for a new South Africa where there will be no crime."

Mr Mandela said education was one of a country's most important assets, more powerful than bombs, tanks and guns. Yet the government had retrenched scores of coloured teachers.

The ANC was the only organisation that could address the problems facing South Africa. "We are not saying so because we want your vote. That's not our aim."

Assuring coloured people that they would have a place in the sun under an ANC government, he said he had worked together with coloured leaders, such as ANC national executive committee member Reggie September, since 1940.

He also mentioned other prominent coloured members of the ANC, including regional chairman Allan Boesak. "Our people must not fear the future."

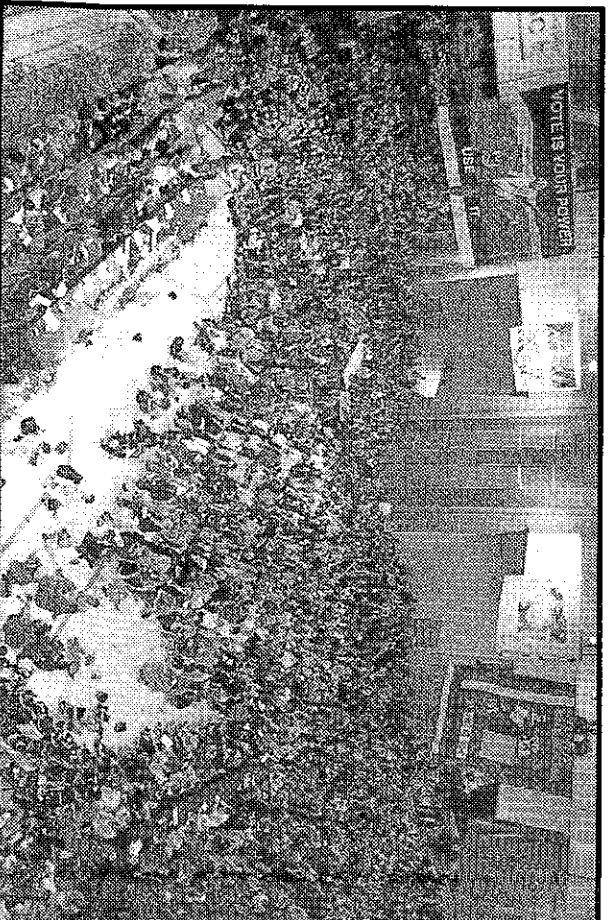


CLEAR MESSAGE: Scores of placards, each with its own personal message, were displayed at Nelson Mandela's meeting at Glendale Senior Secondary School, Mitchell's Plain.

Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus.



HYPED UP: Nelson Mandela enjoys a quiet moment during last night's Civic Centre meeting.



MANDELA MAGIC: Nelson Mandela once again proved his pulling power when hundreds packed into the Civic Centre last night to listen to him.

Pictures: BRENTON GEACH, The Argus.



SALAAM ALAIKOM: Nelson Mandela, with Western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak next to him, greets members of the Muslim community and other residents in Mitchell's Plain.

Homeland armies to parade at APLA rally

EAST LONDON — Security forces from Transkei and Venda will take part in the first anniversary rally south of the Limpopo of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) in Umtata tomorrow. (11A)

The secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress's central Transkei region, Mfanelo Skwatsha, confirmed that members of "friendly armed formations" would parade and show their support for APLA.

These included the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), Transkei Police, Venda Defence Force (VDF) and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

A representative of Lesotho's Basotho Congress Party, Transkei police commissioner General Richmond Mankahla and officials of the TDF and VDF will address the rally.

Skwatsha declined to confirm the participation of APLA chief commander Sebelo Phama. However,

Phama's name and face appeared on posters in the Transkei capital advertising the rally this week.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bañtu Holomisa has also been invited to address the event, but is scheduled to play in a rugby match in Cape Town.

The meeting, at Umtata's Independence Stadium, has been billed as "APLA's 32nd anniversary rally".

The PAC's armed struggle began with the Poqo "uprising" in the early 1960s, a largely spontaneous popular movement with little contact with the PAC leadership after its banning in 1960. Attacks on whites in Paarl and the Transkei, and on police in the Eastern Cape followed.

In 1968 the PAC's armed wing became known as APLA. In the past two years more than a dozen terror attacks have been attributed to it. — Ecna.

Sowetan
ANC calls meeting

A MEMBER of the African National Congress' national executive committee has called for a meeting between the Bophuthatswana government, led by Chief Lucas Mangope, and the ANC at regional level. (11A)

Mr Rocky Malebana-Metsing said yesterday the meeting should be convened to address regional matters, as most of Bophuthatswana would fall under one region which would be governed by the ANC or by the Bophuthatswana government.—
Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa.

ANC talks

to would-be defectors

Star 15/9/93

■ BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH

The ANC is holding discussions with "a number of" Johannesburg city councillors who are considering joining the organisation, ANC local government spokesman Mthole Motshekga said yesterday.

However, Motshekga would not say how many councillors were interested and no immediate announcement would be made about defections to the ANC.

Motshekga said the interested councillors came from "more than one political party".

Responding to the news that councillors Barry Dunne and Clive Gilbert had publicised their intention to join the ANC, Mtshekga said. "Their intention is not sufficient. They have to apply for membership, then they have to be accepted by the relevant structures."

"We want people who will understand and defend our organisation's policy," he said.

"We are not in a hurry to sign up people as members."

Gilbert, councillor for Orange Grove, and Dunne, councillor for Malvern, said earlier this week that they had been contacted by residents in their wards who supported their intention to join the ANC.

MK member to face trial

CT/S/9/23
A UNIFORMED member of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) was told in the Wynberg Regional Court yesterday he would stand trial in the Supreme Court on nine charges, including two of murder and four of attempted murder.

No charges have yet been put to Mr Isaac Pumelelo Bengo, 28, of New Crossroads. He has not been asked to plead.

He is accused of, inter alia, murdering his cousin Mr Mzwanele Bengo and an unnamed man.

He was told the attorney-general had determined he would be tried in the Supreme Court.

The matter was postponed to October 26 for a Supreme Court trial date, and bail of R500 was extended.

(11A) (213)
CT 15/9/93
DP 'defections' to
ANC didn't happen

THE widely expected defection of Democratic Party city councillors to the ANC this week flopped — to the surprise of both the DP and the ANC.

Ever since the ANC announced that "prominent" Cape Town people would join the ANC at a rally held on Monday, speculation mounted about which councillors would make the move.

The names included former mayors, Mr Frank van der Velde and Mr Gordon Oliver, mayor Mr Clive Keegan, Mrs Eulalie Stott, and Mr Neil Ross.

MK gets ready for TEC rule

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) yesterday gave its members seven days to register at regional commands to prepare for Transitional Executive Council (TEC) control of MK and the inclusion of its members in a peacekeeping force.

The call follows the suspension of the armed struggle three years ago, which will culminate in the dissolution of MK after next year's election, MK chief of staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda said.

He said MK was taking steps to finalise its membership list.

In the draft TEC Bill, a consolidated staff list of members of armed formations has to be submitted to the TEC within 21 days of its promulgation. Failure to do so would disqualify soldiers from any financial help from the TEC.

Mandela speaks out on ANC hopes and fears

11A CT 15/9/93

By GERALD SHAW

THE visit to the Western Cape by Mr Nelson Mandela has been a great success, the ANC believes, but the final verdict will not be pronounced until the general election on April 27 next year.

Both the National and Democratic parties have high hopes of beating off the ANC assault and gaining control of the regional government.

The ANC has scant support in the white community here and at first seemed to be making little impression on the dominant population group of the region, the coloured community. But this could be changing.

Mr Mandela's message to the Cape has been one of reconciliation and reassurance, seeking to damp down the incipient panic and emigration fever which has taken hold in some business and professional circles, while building up support in the middle and working-class communities of the Cape Flats which will hold the balance on April 27.

In Bonteheuwel and Mitchells Plain, as well as in Khayelitsha, his personal impact this time seems to have been considerable.

Right wing

As his visit was ending yesterday Mr Mandela met a small group of journalists before breakfast at his Sea Point hotel, having been up since long before



WINNING FRIENDS: Mr Mandela listens to the voice of a young supporter, Linda Jacobs (6) during his Western Cape tour.

dawn, as is his custom, and having already spent some time with a diplomatic caller on important business.

Looking fresh and alert, despite the punishing succession of meetings, interviews and public appearances in the last few days and nights, Mr Mandela spoke confidently and fluently on the ANC's hopes and concerns.

Would the election still be held on April 27?

He believed it would be held on schedule, although there were certainly problems. His concern was not Inkatha but the right wing inside the Cabinet and the ultra-right outside.

The Conservative Party's trend of thought had polled 800 000 votes in the referendum, he recalled, splitting the Afrikaners between the NP and the CP. The right wing was represented throughout the bureaucracy, the security forces and State corporations, and could yet be a problem.

On the right wing inside the Cabinet, Mr Mandela appears to be genuinely concerned that Mr De Klerk's freedom of movement is becoming circumscribed. He said there were instances — such as the clash over the SABC board — where Mr De Klerk had gone back on agreements made with him (Mandela) after pressure from the NP right wing.

And it was the row over the SABC board which led to the unfortunate stand-off in the United States, he said,

and wrecked an understanding with Mr De Klerk, which Mr Mandela said was at his (Mandela's) initiative, that they would not clash in public while in America but would work together for renewed investment in the country.

Mr Mandela was also concerned that Mr De Klerk had refused to disclose to him the evidence which had been found of Military Intelligence involvement in anti-ANC operations when the Goldstone Commission stumbled on a clandestine operations centre in Pretoria in November last year.

Communication

He contrasted Mr De Klerk's policy of non-disclosure of MI abuses with the ANC's decision to publish the report of the independent Motsuenyane Commission into ANC abuses of human rights.

On the rebellious, poorly educated and unemployed youth, Mr Mandela said he found it best to take a strong line with the more militant elements who wanted to return to armed struggle and who thought violence was a solution to their problems. The problem was to find a way to get through to the youth. There was a problem of communication. He had warned the school-going youth that they would be left behind if they neglected their education.

He sees the solution to youth problems, apart from educational programmes, in a revival of investment and econo-

mic activity in the country and is looking to several promised World Bank projects.

Mr Mandela praised Mr De Klerk's political courage and re-asserted the ANC's view that the ANC and the NP needed each other. Co-operation was the only way ahead.

On General Constand Viljoen, Mr Mandela believed that the general was playing a constructive role, warning Afrikaners of the folly of resorting to violence.

On white fears and emigration, he said he believed that improved communication of ANC policies and attitudes would help a great deal to ease white fears. He cited various conservative groups which he had addressed — the Landbou Unie, a gathering of SAP generals, the DRC leadership, maize producers at Bothaville, the Afrikaner Volksunie, Karel Boshoff's group and others — and he said their response had been good.

Discussing control of the security forces and the TEC, Mr Mandela said the ANC had good relations with the SADF and SAP and the intelligence community on the professional working level but there were problems at the political level.

There were still areas of disagreement with the NP government on Umkhonto we Siswe formations which were outside the country, and the giving up of the ANC's arms caches. The disagreements concerned the timing of the external MK's return and the hand-over of the arms caches.

Clearly, there are limits to the trust between the two main parties which will dominate the Transitional Executive Council and, after April 27, the government of national unity.

On the violence, he conceded that continuing ANC-Inkatha hostilities were part of the problem but he also cited the Trust Feeds case in Natal as an example of the involvement of the security forces.

In the Trust Feeds case, he said, a family of 11 people were targeted by an SAP captain as ANC supporters and killed — but they turned out to be Inkatha supporters. Although top police chiefs had tried to block the investigation, a conscientious detective, Captain Dutton, had brought the killers to justice.

Mr Mandela reiterated his belief that the violence would not be curbed until a new government of national unity had been elected.

Most South Africans were for peace, he said, appealing to the media to make it easier for the ANC to mobilise the peace-loving majority.

ANC 'checking' on stadium

(11A) cr 19/93

Staff Reporter

THE ANC's Western Cape branch said yesterday they would check with the ANC in Khayelitsha about the arrangements they had made with the local council about facilities for Mr Nelson Mandela's rally on Sunday.

A woman was killed and 139 injured in the stampede as thousands of spectators left by the only opened exit.

The Lingeletshu town council has said the ANC and the council had had several meetings about the rally and the ANC had specifically asked that only one exit be opened for Mr Mandela's meeting.

Questioned about an earlier statement about the gates, ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr replied: "I will have to discuss this with the ANC in Khayelitsha first."

Mandela says he has a job

(11A)
for F W

ARG 15/9/93
DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

NELSON Mandela has a place in his government of national unity for F W de Klerk, but as what he declined to say as he ended his Western Cape tour.

All political parties which won more than 5 percent of the total vote in the April 27 election would be invited to serve in a government of national unity, he said.

"The idea is to divide power equally among parties, depending on the competence of their representatives.

"Cabinet positions will have to be discussed. Nobody knows what the key cabinet positions will be.

"Under a programme of reconstruction and development, departments previously not key departments could become crucial."

Mr Mandela said the African National Congress's election campaign would be positive.

"It's going to concentrate on what should be done to improve the living conditions of blacks in this country."

The ANC's priority would be to ensure blacks had decent houses, medical facilities, jobs and political power.

The movement also wanted to end the "unacceptably" high crime rate, and allay the fears of whites.

He had been overwhelmed by his reception in Cape Town.

"The support of those classified as coloured has been overwhelming.

"I expected improvement in our support, but not to the extent demonstrated.

"I'm very happy about this because the so-called coloured community has produced some of the most outstanding freedom fighters."

He ruled out an Afrikaner homeland.

"We have already destroyed the policy of the bantustans. We can't begin this process again.

"Although we are sympathetic, we can't give in to those who want an Afrikaner homeland."

NEWS Demanding the right to be heard ● Soldiers have one week to register

Call goes out for all MK members

Sowetan 15/9/93

THE African National Congress has given Umkhonto we Sizwe members a week to come in from the cold and register as part of its new-look armed wing, due to be integrated shortly with the enemy it fought in a low intensity guerilla war for almost two decades.

MK chief of staff Mr Sipiwe Nyanda said in Johannesburg yesterday the move was an effort to consolidate and finalise its list of MK members and was in line with the ANC's view that all armed formations should be confined at "reception points" during the April 1994 elections.

It was also in line with the understanding reached in multiparty negotiations that all armed forces, including MK and the South African Defence Force, would be integrated after elections.

"Registration should affect every cadre of Umkhonto we Sizwe, comrades who trained outside and those who were

internally based.

"Those who fail to register by the set deadline may not claim membership at a later date," said Nyanda.

But it falls just before the parliamentary debate, scheduled for next week on the Transitional Executive Council, a sub-council of which will consider the question of the various armed forces during this period and the formation of a government-salaried, national peace force.

Nyanda said MK also wanted to consolidate its list of cadres who were destitute and eligible for part of the R10 million relief fund announced by ANC president and MK commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela at the September 3 MK conference in Nelspruit.

Nyanda said 16 000 cadres had been trained over the years 6000 members being trained in Uganda, Tanzania and India. — Sapa.

(11A)

Dead woman 'not our fault'

Staff Reporter

THE ANC yesterday said it was not to be blamed for the incident in which a woman died and 140 injured when people stampeded after the ANC's Mandela rally at the Khayelitsha stadium on Sunday. (11A)

The organisation was blamed for only opening one gate to facilitate exit. 01619193

Police have opened an inquest docket.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that there was in fact "only one gate" at the stadium, the other access being through "through the soccer stadium next door" — a narrow gap.

The main gate had vibracrete walls built to control the flow of people. These broke under the crush of people. Their "only error" was to believe the walls would contain the crowd, the ANC said.

3 000 from ANC arrested in a year

MORE than 3 000 members of the ANC and 113 PAC members had been arrested for crimes of violence over the past 12 months, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

He said in reply to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr Koos van der Merwe (Independent, Overvaal), that 3 258 ANC/uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members

had been arrested for crimes of violence. (117)

Mr Kriel also said in reply to another question, tabled by Mr David Dalling (ANC, Sandton), that 81 people were arrested by the police in its action against PAC and Apla between May 24 and June 7 this year.

He said 64 of these people had been released without charge, 16 were charged and one was still in detention. (274) CT 16/9/93

It was not possible to provide separate figures for ANC and MK, or for PAC and Apla members.

"Statistics are only available in respect of investigations in terms of the National Peace Accord.

"The statistics cannot be considered to be absolutely correct, as the political affiliation of many persons cannot be determined beyond all doubt."

Church
honours
Mandela

071619192
JOHANNESBURG. —
Decisive action against
the right-wing and cer-
tain black organisations
was needed to end the
violence in the country,
African National Con-
gress leader Mr Nelson
Mandela said last night.

"The violence cannot
be ascribed to black-on-
black violence in the
simplistic fashion adopt-
ed by the mass media . . .
(It) is complex and has
roots in the security
forces as well as in acts
of criminality."

He was speaking at a
function where the In-
ternational Apostolic
Humanitarian Award
was bestowed on him.

Abundant evidence
existed that the state's
security forces and
right-wing surrogates
were involved in the vio-
lence, he charged.

The "negotiations pro-
cess has been a momen-
tous success", he said,
adding that the imple-
mentation of a Transi-
tional Executive Council
would go some way to
creating a climate of
peace, "the most urgent
task ahead". — Sapa

Mandela to woo foreigners

ANC president Nelson Mandela would tell the world community SA was not on the verge of collapse when he met political and business leaders during a three-week visit abroad, the ANC said yesterday.

Mandela leaves on Wednesday for a visit to the US, Portugal, Belgium and the UK. It was "fairly likely" he would use his address to the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid next Friday to call for the lifting of the remaining trade and investment sanctions on SA, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said. *Biday*

However, any call to lift sanctions depended on the progress through Parliament of four Bills that would pave the way for the establishment of a transitional executive council and the holding of elections on April 27 next year, ANC international affairs deputy head Aziz Pahad said.

"Obviously the next few weeks are vital in determining whether the sanctions go," Pahad said. *1719193 (11A)*

"Of equal importance, however, would be Mandela's attempts to persuade the

PATRICK BULGER

world community that SA was a viable investment target in spite of ongoing violence," he said.

Apart from his UN address, Mandela will address a corporate investment conference in Washington. He will also hold talks with US mayors and state governors about the sanctions that about 130 states, counties and cities still maintain on SA. Pahad said preparations had to be made now for the lifting of those sanctions so that an open relationship was not delayed beyond a formal end to sanctions.

Mandela will also visit the current EC president country, Belgium, to discuss SA-EC ties. He will visit Portugal, a visit delayed earlier this year due to the death of former ANC chairman Oliver Tambo.

Pahad said the ANC viewed Portugal in an important light as up to 30% of southern Africa's people spoke Portuguese and Portugal remained an important role player in the sub-Saharan region.

Labour MPs to join ANC

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The majority of the Labour Party's 27-member parliamentary caucus will become members of the ANC in coming months, senior party sources said yesterday.

This follows a decision by the party's national executive committee which permitted LP members to take out dual membership with the ANC.

The party has already decided to fight next year's election under the ANC banner. *B. Day*

"At least half the MPs and many of the ordinary members are likely to join the ANC as a result of this decision," one source said.

MPs Desmond Lockey (Northern Cape) and Peter Hendrickse (Addo) are likely to be among the first batch of parliamentarians to join the ANC. *(HA)*

It is understood that Labour leader Allan Hendrickse is likely to join the ANC after the April election. *17/9/93*

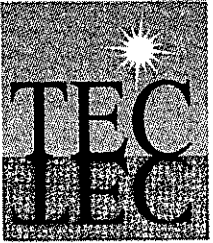
NELSON MANDELA

Can he deliver?

Fu 17/9/93

(11A)

The ANC leader is vital to the political centre but can't produce miracles



Few would disagree that ANC president Nelson Mandela is the SA leader with the greatest political stature at home and abroad. No-one else — including President F W de Klerk, formal head of a lame-duck government, and Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the biggest potential spoiler — has the same aura and popular appeal. Mandela more than anyone holds the key to a settlement and is essential to the process.

But can Mandela be reconciling statesman and party political leader at the same time? Will he be able to hold black expectations in check? What can he do to end the violence? In short, can he deliver?

On his own, probably not.

The whole process of negotiation and transition is designed so that it's not dependent on any one person but is multilateral and as inclusive as possible, observes Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman.

Going further, Eugene Nyati, of the Centre for African Studies, believes that Mandela and the ANC will be so constrained — especially in relation to control over the security forces and, therefore, the violence — in terms of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill due before parliament this week "that they are almost being set up to fail." In any event, he believes it is dangerous to depend on one man and assume that an individual could be a panacea. "Mandela is old and was out of touch for 27 years. We should invest in the right institutions instead. Granted, Mandela serves an important and symbolic purpose, but let's not expect too much from one individual."

Though Mandela came out of prison as something of a demigod and there are some who almost worship him, he has limitations. To get SA to function properly will require more than the efforts of an individual.

Our expectations of him are unrealistic, says Nyati, adding that Mandela is human after all and that when he proposes "foolish things" like votes for 14-year-olds, or pulling white policemen out of the townships, he should be criticised just like any other politician exploiting situations for political gain.

The ANC's backing of the black teachers' recent 30% wage demand was another typical example of electoral opportunism, which could come back to haunt Mandela when and if he is in power in seven months' time and faces other spending priorities.

Nyati argues that we need a strong government capable of taking firm decisions. So he opposes a mandatory Cabinet of national

unity. "We need a government capable of deciding, for example, how much welfare spending can be afforded without strangling the economy through taxation. A national unity government may not be as decisive (as one based on the majority party)."

Furthermore, he points out that the main parties in such a Cabinet — the ANC, NP, Inkatha and Pan Africanist Congress — have no history of working together and such a government could suffer paralysis. "Mandela will be operating under severe constraints, some self-imposed by the ANC, in a multiparty Cabinet where some will act as spoilers."

Aside from that, Nyati maintains that the ANC was foolish to propose a sunset clause intended to lubricate the transition by, for instance, guaranteeing existing civil service salaries. This will tie the ANC's hands when it comes to spending on development and reconstruction, which form the crucial flip side of any political settlement. ANC leaders do not understand the economic cost of political decisions, avers Nyati.

People shouldn't expect Mandela to deliver anything when it comes to security force control over violence, says Nyati. He argues that power will remain in the hands of the

handle the issue of Buthelezi and Inkatha skilfully to ensure a peaceable transition.

Arguably the centre — and Mandela, to the extent that he epitomises the centre — could do more to get Buthelezi to rejoin or endorse the process. To his credit, Mandela has consistently held out the olive branch.

But the question is whether anything short of restarting negotiations from scratch will satisfy Buthelezi, whose party has made no concessions and even now seems to leave no way out. "What Mandela can deliver also depends on what his bargaining partners allow him to deliver," Friedman notes.

Though Mandela is not in control of the violence and cannot deliver the security forces (who can?), there is much that a leader of his calibre could do, based on the fact that, at grass-roots level, blacks and whites overwhelmingly favour tough action against violence.

However, it would seem that in Natal, at least, Mandela is to a large extent a prisoner of the Midlands branch of the ANC under the militant Harry Gwala.

The time has come for Mandela to go over the heads of militant lieutenants and, in joint rallies with Buthelezi, appeal directly to his grass-roots support for an end to hostilities.

"A commitment to peace and stability is when you appeal to your own followers to abide by it — and have a credible security force to enforce it," says Friedman.

On this point, says Stellenbosch University's Willie Breytenbach, a big imponderable for Mandela is how he handles the

shadowy Third Force (if there is one), which not even De Klerk can deal with. Assuming the existence of this force — which, Breytenbach observes, seems capable of striking each time there's a breakthrough in the talks — it seems to be largely a Reef phenomenon.

Without control over the security forces, says Breytenbach, Mandela is in a no-win situation. His only way out lies in a joint declaration, with De Klerk, of a state of emergency through the TEC.

"What Mandela gets from the TEC will be so small in relation to security force control that he will be dependent on how the security forces view the transition. They could hold him and the transition hostage. He is in an invidious position on security matters, because there are rejectionists on the Left as well as the Right who strike with



Friedman



Mandela



Nyati

present government and security establishment for a long time after the TEC is formed. The relationship between the military establishment and the ANC will be critical to a workable settlement.

To deal with violence, says Nyati, requires, first, understanding its causes, then restructuring the security forces into a credible animal which could isolate pure criminal activity and deal with it harshly.

"There's nothing Mandela can do in the transition other than to preach and appeal for peace. De Klerk has said that effective control will remain in the hands of the present Cabinet. The nature of the settlement will leave SA very difficult to govern even if it were led by an angel," says Nyati.

To Friedman, the real question is whether the political centre can deliver. The centre, basically the negotiating parties, will have to

Continued on page 28

LEADING ARTICLES

Continued from page 24

impunity whenever there's a breakthrough."

Rejectionists on the Left should not be underestimated in attempts to hold the centre together. It's significant that leftwingers, still clinging to fond dreams of an insurrectionist seizure of power, see Mandela as behaving increasingly like a civil rights leader, making concessions at talks, appealing for peace and warning against inflated expectations and higher taxation.

Breytenbach, who agrees that our fortunes are mainly in Mandela's hands, points out that his ability to manage blacks' expectations rests largely on the economy. Whether he'll be able to deliver, says Breytenbach, will depend on how blacks perceive his contributions to peace, jobs and welfare.

There is a fair chance that an upswing could coincide with the ANC's sharing of power — something denied De Klerk, whose rule coincided with sustained recession. There may also be some dividend from the



Buthlezi



De Klerk

end of sanctions, which would redound to Mandela's credit.

But the task of reconstruction and black upliftment will be enormous. Realising this, Mandela has recently begun attempting to dampen black expectations, though how much effect this will have is hard to tell.

One danger in the months ahead, says Breytenbach, is that bitter electoral competition accompanies progress in the negotiations. This rivalry will have its own momentum and lead to politicians, including

11A

Mandela, making silly promises and heightening tension among parties.

Mandela is not superhuman and cannot wave magic wands — witness his fruitless call to antagonists in Natal two years ago to throw their weapons into the sea. The politics of transition are complex and involve players with different agendas.

As a politician, too, Mandela is not above playing politics by sometimes saying contradictory and outlandish things designed for electoral gain or to mollify factions in the ANC. To fulfil others' expectations of him and to preserve the country, he must drop the pretence of being merely "a disciplined member of the ANC" and, using his still enormous influence, lead from the front.

Whether Mandela can deliver in the end depends on whether the centre can hold. If it does, says Breytenbach, SA will have spawned a new culture of political coalition. If not, it faces the ghastly consequences of splitting apart. ■

Mandela wants Youth Minister

27/7/93
PIETERSBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has called for a "house of youth" and a Youth Minister for the new South Africa. (14)

Presenting the University of the North with its new principal and Vice-Chancellor, Professor Njabulo Ndebele, he also made a strong appeal for women's rights and academic freedom.

He called for elected national and regional youth councils.

Speaking in his capacity as chancellor of the university he called on students to turn to their studies to contribute to the future of the country.

— Sapa

Reopen Biko inquest — Azapo

Political Staff

(11A) ARG 17/9/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has called for the reopening of the judicial inquiry into the death in police custody 16 years ago of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko.

Azapo's call, which has the support of some political organisations, follows shocking revelations made at the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Biko, who died in Pretoria on September 12 1977 after he had been driven in the back of a vehicle from Port Elizabeth, enjoyed huge support among South Africa's blacks, particularly the youth.

Azapo publicity secretary Gomo-

leno Mokae said yesterday that although it was now "common wisdom that the police killed Biko", they had yet "to own up to the crime".

It was therefore important that the inquest was reopened and those responsible for Mr Biko's premature death were identified and punished, he said.

"We think that just to go along with the thinking that we should let bygones be bygones and not punish those responsible is playing with fire.

"Revelations at the Goniwe inquest vindicate Azapo's conviction over the years that the finding of the earlier Biko inquest left much to be desired. The truth still has to come out," said Dr Mokae.

Mandela mania hits the Cape

South 17/9 - 21/9/93

By Quentin Wilson

NELSON MANDELA'S whistle-stop six-day visit to the Cape ended on Monday night as comrades tried their best to honour their president with a 21-gun salute inside a jam-packed Cape Town civic centre.

Of course there were no guns. This was a "peace and reconciliation" rally where people swayed to the national peace song while holding lit candles.

But at the end, when a mass of black, green and gold balloons descended on the crowd, nothing could be heard above the bursting of balloons and cries of "Viva MK!".

It marked the end of a punishing schedule for the 75-year-old ANC president.

In six days he addressed business leaders, workers, woman leaders, students, the religious community and a range of other opinion-makers.

Mega-rallies in Elsies River and Khayelitsha plus stop-overs in Guguletu, Langa and a whizzed trip around Mitchells Plain on Monday. A meeting with AWB leaders in Beaufort West, plus an array of hosted meals.

While local ANC organisers and his security entourage showed definite signs of fatigue on Monday, Mandela could not stop quipping how much the trip had "refreshed" him.

Indeed, in addition to his hectic programme, he still managed to wake up every day at 4am for his daily walk of more than five kilometres and an hour's gym session.

One story to have leaked from his tight security circle was that on one occasion, Mandela woke up his driver at 3am to demand that he be taken to the top of Adderley Street in the centre of Cape Town where he walked alone. It was his only time when he was not being hounded by photographers, reporters or hysterical "Mandela-groupies".

Mandela mania hit Cape Town on Wednesday last week. One could tell by the newly hoisted ANC flags atop the organisation's regional office in Woodstock that the big boss was coming to

town.

Thousands of supporters flocked to the airport. Young Pioneers with cardboard helmets and wooden toy rifles executed a newly learnt "drill" alongside an airport road.

Welcoming banners were draped on nearly all the bridges on the N2 from the airport to the city. Some squatters took to the roofs of their shacks to catch a glimpse of their president.

The purpose of Mandela's trip was made clear when he spoke to clothing workers at Salt River's Rex Trueform factory.

He told workers that he loved them. He started his speech in Afrikaans, apologising that he spoke like a "tsotsi". Afterwards he said how "unforgettable" the experience had been for him.

He fielded questions from the factory floor and spent a great deal of his allotted time addressing "coloured fears".

The man was on election trail and needed no warming up.

No, he promised, the ANC was not going to take people's homes from them. No, he explained, affirmative action did not mean choosing Africans above coloureds for jobs.

Instead, he argued, the ANC was the only organisation in the country where "all the country's different national groups" were represented at all levels in the organisation.

He listed a string of coloured ANC leaders on the organisation's national executive committee to support his claim, such as Dr Allan Boesak, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Trevor Manuel.

It was an argument used whenever he had an opportunity to address predominantly coloured audiences.

It went down well enough at Rex Trueform. Workers sang to him, the shopstewards presented him with a specially made suit and those from neighbouring factories tried to get in on the action.

One worker, dressed in her Sunday best and standing in front of Mandela, did everything to catch the eye of the "sexy" president while he was interviewed for radio.

She winked at him, modelled her hips with her hands and blew kisses between her lipstick smiles.

Then the music was turned up, the factory floor became a disco and Shaggy's hit-single, "O Carolina", instantly became "O-O Mandela".

For the next six days, Mandela did not need his diary to remind him that he had hit the Cape.



PUCKER UP: Nelson Mandela kisses a child during his visit to Woodlands, Mitchells Plain

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

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South 17/9 - 21/9/93

Comrade didn't know his leader

(11A)

ANC president, Nelson Mandela, does not often speak in public about his time on Robben Island, where he served 18 of his 27 years behind bars.

But on Monday night, before reading a prepared speech in the foyer of Cape Town's civic centre, he shared his tale of the isolation of prison life: "This story, I think, will go a long way in showing the contradiction between what was said all around the world about us and what actually happened."

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with those from other sections.

"Our group arrived in 1964. Five years later, I happened to meet a comrade from another section and we got talking.

"He asked: 'Who are you?' So I told him. He asked 'Where do you come from?' I told him.

"He asked 'To which organisation do you belong?' And so I told him.

"I asked him the same set of questions and it turned out he was also an ANC comrade — from Port Elizabeth.

"The man had been on the island for several years and he had never heard my name, or I his. It just shows that there are times when you are not known in your own country."

South 17/9 - 21/9/93

Rally passes acid test

By Quentin Wilson

NELSON Mandela's election campaign in Elsies River and Mitchells Plain met with considerable success. (11A)

Although the crowds in no way could be compared to the monster rally in Khayelitsha on Sunday when more than 40 000 people turned up, 15 000 were at Elsies River.

Considered by observers as the "real acid test" of ANC support in the Cape's coloured community, the organisation succeeded in matching the NP's own "mega-rally" effort in Goodwood earlier this year.

The ANC used every organising trick in the book.

Bands rocked the Avonwood sportsfields and a colourful street procession, with a horse-drawn carriage and 25 drum

majorettes, led residents to the stadium from the town centre.

In the streets one could hear "Mandela" being said at every turn. Everyone knew he was coming to town and everybody wanted to be the first to spot him.

Speaking after Mandela's address, Mr Patrick Hearne from Elsies River said it was "a great sign" that Mandela chose "to come and speak to ordinary people for a change".

Another Elsies River resident, Mr Bert Erasmus, warned that it might be too late for a successful ANC campaign in the area.

"The NP have already been here for quite some time putting out feelers and trying to win our support. The ANC must come again soon if they want to build on today," Erasmus said.

By Christelle Terreblanche

Task-group seals end of white rule



MAC MAHARAJ

THE end of National Party and white rule in South Africa will be sealed when a World Trade Centre task-group visits parliament in Cape Town during the current two week session. It is expected that they will sit in on joint and standing committee meetings where draft transitional legislation will be discussed.

And included among them will be Transkei's Mr Zam Titus, who will be the first African to play a role in parliament, as well as senior ANC official Mr Mac Maharaj.

"We are trying to organise a group consisting of negotiators and planning committee members to attend the parliamentary session," Mr Theuns Eloff, head of the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) confirmed. The CBM runs the administration of the negotiation process.

The group will probably include Titus, also a member of the planning committee and the Transkei

Government's chief negotiator.

With him will be Mr Mac Maharaj, the ANC's organiser at the World Trade Centre and prominent member of the South African Communist Party.

"If they sit in on committee meetings and are allowed to speak, this will effectively mean the end of parliament's sovereignty," says Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown and ANC member.

"The government has not signed

any documentation that carries over the sovereignty to the transitional structures, but this move would mean that parliament effectively becomes nothing more than the rubber stamp of decisions at the World Trade Centre."

He and other ANC MPs welcomed the move, saying that it could ensure that not only the letter of the transitional legislation, but also the spirit of the negotiations that led to it are instilled in the par-

liamentary process.

The task-group's visit also sets the seal on the major victory by ANC negotiators on Friday, which ensured that the NP and government have no outright veto on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its sub-councils. They brought down the consensus percentage from 80 to 75 percent.

This victory has been analysed as effectively ending nearly three and a half centuries of white rule

and 45 years of NP rule.

The TEC legislation is due to be tabled later this week or early next week and is expected to be implemented next month. The parliamentary debate promises "fireworks" with the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party trying to make amendments to the already signed, sealed and delivered package of draft legislation.

Maharaj told SOUTH it is still unclear when the task-group will visit parliament. According to Eloff it will depend on the situation at the negotiating council, where urgent matters will take preference above the trip to Cape Town.

The trip was scheduled for this week, but problems at the negotiating council made it impossible before Thursday.

Other members of the task-group are said to include Dr Fanie van der Merwe, member of the sub-council on planning and the South African government's chief negotiations adviser and Ciskei's Mr Mick Webb, a planning committee member.

Half of LP set to join the ANC

By Christelle Terreblanche

MORE than half of the 27 Labour Party (LP) members of parliament are set to join the ANC after an amendment to the party's constitution by its National Executive Council (NEC) over the weekend.

"We have decided to scrap the stipulation that double membership is forbidden as well as the anti-communist and anti-armed struggle clauses," Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo and LP spokesperson confirmed to SOUTH. "This opens the way for our members to join the ANC."

The NEC also reaffirmed its intention to fight the election under the banner of the ANC at its weekend meeting in Cape Town

For the past few months, the Western Cape Region of the ANC's decision not to co-opt the LP into its ranks has generated controversy. But now a number of LP MPs have decided to join at local branch level. They say they will deliver "significant numbers" of their members to the ANC.

The decision to accept joint membership goes hand in hand with the party leaders' conviction that it would be foolish to disband the LP before the elections.

"If we all just walk over to the ANC now, the Patriotic Front lobby in the negotiations and the Transitional Executive Council loses one of its voices," says Hendrickse.

Several MPs told SOUTH they see no future for the party beyond the election in April next year. The

NEC decisions still have to be ratified by its congress in December, but MPs feel the time to join the ANC is now and they will go ahead.

First to join is Mr Desmond Lockey, MP for Northern Cape. The Kimberley chairperson of the ANC, Mr Manne Dipico, confirmed he would sign this week.

"The ANC has had a number of meetings with him and Mr Moza Theron (MP for Upington) and our relationship has improved significantly," Dipico says. "They have really strong pockets of support, where we have not been able to reach. Both of them will join on Wednesday."

Western Cape MPs will caucus about joining on Thursday. "We are meeting certain persons from the regional ANC office this week and our decision to join at either branch or regional level will depend on this," says Mr Kenny Lategan, the LP's Western Cape chairperson.

"We will consult our branches, but we believe we will take large numbers of supporters with us."

Mr Harold Ross, MP for Rietvlei, also confirmed his intention to join. "I think we are all in favour of joining now, although not everybody will take up the opportunity."

The LP leader, Reverend Allen Hendrickse, is said to have decided not to join in his capacity as party head.

Other names mentioned as part of the the pro-ANC line-up are Mr Peter Hendrickse, Mr Llewelyn Landers of Durban, the party's negotiator, and Mr Tommy Abrahams of Wentwort



PETER HENDRICKSE

ET's visit turned Spur white

By Barbara-Ann Boswell

NO efforts were spared when the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche visited a Spur restaurant in Roodepoort last week. The Timber Creek Spur welcomed the leader and 30 other AWB members with a banner while black staff were forced to hide in the kitchen, a Roodepoort newspaper reported.

The newspaper reported Terre'Blanche booked in advance and demanded that no black staff prepare or serve food to the AWB members. Mr Richard Leahey, the manager of the restaurant, obliged.

While the AWB leader dismissed the incident as "bullshit" and claimed that he "was not even in Roodepoort last week", Mr Jannie Ferguson, owner of the Timber Creek Spur, said Leahey was not working there any more because of the incident and a new, black, manager had been appointed.

"We had a meeting here after Terre'Blanche's visit, and decided that this was not the way to do things," said Ferguson.

"I wasn't here that night, or something like that would never have happened. The banner was organised by the previous manager (Leahey), and it represented his own political views. But there was nothing political on the banner. It just said 'Welcome Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche'."

Ferguson further claimed that no exception was made for Terre'Blanche: "His steak was prepared by the manager on his request, but the chips and onions were made by the black staff. All the other food was also made by black staff."

When Ferguson was asked if black staff were prevented from waiting on Terre'Blanche, he said: "No blacks serve at our tables — you won't find that at any Spur. But they did clear the tables afterwards. It has always been done like that; it's the Spur way."

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South 17/9-21/9/93

Comrade didn't know his leader

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(IIA)

with those from other sections.

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Photo: Yunus Monamed

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"The NP have already been here for quite some time putting out feelers and trying to win our support. The ANC must come again soon if they want to build on today," Erasmus said.

Watchdogs turn on their masters

Every black politician at the World Trade Centre deserves a bullet, claim the Revolutionary Watchdogs, a militant faction which is challenging the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress. **Pamela Dube reports**

TENSIONS between the Pan Africanist Congress leadership and a militant youth faction, the Revolutionary Watchdogs, have taken a violent turn.

In recent weeks ideological differences between the two sides — which centre on the Watchdogs' implacable opposition to the PAC presence at the World Trade Centre and the proposed constituent assembly — have spilled over into mutual recriminations, threats, the disruption of meetings and gunfire.

A committee under PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke has been set up to tackle the conflict.

Watchdogs interviewed this week said they did not recognise the current PAC leadership. They were particularly dismissive of foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, whom they accused of manipulating the leadership and pushing for the suspension of the armed struggle.

They have formed what they describe as a "PAC national steering committee", consisting of Tsietso Molebatsi (secretary general), Malungisa Styothula (chairman), Edison Molefe (treasurer), Sandile Sibeko (organiser), Livingstone Gobodo (legal affairs), Victor Petu (publicity secretary), and three additional members, Kgositsile Mabuza, Ngwato Mamabolo and Monde Ngwenya, to challenge the current "constitutionally elected" leadership.

The Watchdogs said they were following the philosophy of PAC founder Robert Sobukwe, who had insisted the "land would not be returned on a silver plate — it has to be fought for".

Said a Watchdog: "Every black politician at the World Trade Centre deserves a bullet, including the so-called PAC leadership. Every negotiator there who claims to represent the Africans is a betrayer of our struggle."

PAC leaders for their part accuse the Watchdogs of being "state agents" and "counter-revolutionaries". They allege they are constantly seen in the company of security force members.

Watchdog Tsietso Molebatsi said this week the bodyguards of PAC president Clarence Makwetu had fired on "two Africanists" when they had marched past Makwetu's house on September 4. "Africanists were rallying the streets of Daveyton. They happened to have passed along Makwetu's street."

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani confirmed the shooting, saying the Watchdogs "were posing a threat to the president's family". He alleged they had staged a protest in which the slogan "One Makwetu, one bullet" had been chanted.

"A group of them came here last week to apologise and collect their shoes and placards which they left at the scene. If they really wanted to meet our president, why couldn't they come to the PAC office, instead of going to his house in his absence?"

"It was not the first time they have done this, and we will shoot at them again if they try to tamper with our leaders. What gives these people the right to harass our members, and why do they tend to be counter-revolutionary?"

Last Friday, shots were fired at the car of Makwetu's bodyguards, but the PAC has not directly accused the Watchdogs of this.

Four weeks ago, said the Watchdogs, Nemadzivhanani threatened them at a meeting in Daveyton. A source who asked to remain anonymous said the PAC leader had used "James Bond tactics, and threatened to shoot us if we didn't leave the meeting".

In an interview, Nemadzivhanani confirmed he had used threats. "I was called in when the Watchdogs came to disrupt our relaunch of a local branch. They had chased our members out and had physically abused women and children."

Explaining the committee set up to resolve divisions, Seroke said: "When the liberation movements were unbanned, many people rushed to join the PAC as an outlet in which they could advance their anger without understanding PAC policies."



Maxwell Nemadzivhanani ... Threatened Watchdogs PHOTOS: PETER MCKENZIE

They thought we were just here to fight and nothing else. What they don't understand is that politics lead the gun.

"So we felt it is our duty educate our members politically. Some, on realising what PAC stands for, left the misleading group of the Watchdogs, and joined the PAC."

He said the Watchdogs were not registered members of the PAC or its affiliates. Some of their leaders were known to have worked with "the system", Seroke said, citing former Watchdog leader Ntsele Mohloa, who "had worked for the Information Bureau during the State of Emergency in the 1980s". However, Mohloa is said to have broken ties with the main body of the Watchdogs, to form "a new organisation outside the PAC structures as the only way of pursuing the armed struggle without continuous harassment by the PAC leadership".

Seroke added: "They (the Watchdogs) say they want to come into the PAC to occupy leadership positions they had before we were unbanned. Nobody is stopping them from becoming members, but people must apply as individuals not groups."

Reacting, Molebatsi strongly rejected PAC accusations that the Watchdogs were "defectors" and "dissidents", as well as the allegations of security force links. "We see ourselves as playing the role of the ANC Youth League when it was formed in 1944: to move the adult leadership and membership from appeasement, demonstrations and peaceful protests to radical militancy."

He insisted his group was the true custodian of Pan Africanism. "We are the PAC, with Azanyu (African National Youth Unity), Paso (Pan Africanist Students' Organisation), and Awo (African Women's Organisation) as affiliates."

On the constituent assembly proposal, Molebatsi said: "It liquidates the national question. It brings together the dispossessor and the dispossessed under the guise of democracy. It blurs irreconcilable contradictions."

He continued: "The captured leadership (of the PAC) has gone down to the level of slander and character assassination. We shall tackle them ideologically. Whatever they say will not deter us from pursuing the aims and objectives of the PAC."

War talk from PAC's 'Saddam'

(11A) Wm 17-23/9/93

Pamela Dube

HE was introduced at Sebokeng stadium as "the Saddam Hussein of the PAC". His message was clear and simple: "Find a settler and give him his bullet."

Maxwell Nemadzivhanani is the youthful national organiser of the Pan Africanist Congress. His war talk at the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) rally in Sebokeng last Saturday, addressed by PAC leaders, was in pointed contrast to the measured talk of elderly PAC politicians such as Clarence Makwetu.

PAC president Makwetu's articulate speech on the history of Apla was greeted with silence by the 5 000-strong crowd, mainly youths.

Nemadzivhanani, in military uniform, was the object of a 10-minute salute by a "military task force", while Makwetu was honoured by a group of elderly female praise poets.

Nemadzivhanani received a standing ovation when he told the crowd Apla was not fighting for power-sharing but to "get the land back from the settlers". "This is not like a cowboy shoot-out game," he declared. "... It is war to win and liberate the Africans."

"We will always see the farmers as our targets, until they produce land certificates and tell us who sold them our land. The more you kill them, the more you come closer to liberation. Only when the Scorpion (machine pistol) rings will the chameleon De Klerk move fast."

Nemadzivhanani told the crowd that Judge Richard Goldstone had appealed to the United Nations to pressure the PAC to allow him to investigate Apla camps outside the country. "Goldstone is welcome to enter Apla camps, but he should remember what happened to Piet Retief in Dingane's kraal," he warned.

He continued: "That man, you should know, shines like gold when he deals with the regime, and hardens like a stone when dealing with the African masses. That's why he is called Goldstone."

At a rally marked by chants of "One settler, one bullet" and "Are you ready? Ready for war", the PAC's director of publicity, Walters Toboti, evidently felt there was a threat to journalists covering the event. He told the crowd: "Please, be reminded that journalists are not our target. Journalists, white or black, are not settlers, let them do their job."

Among the crowd were young men dressed in African National Congress T-shirts. Asked what they were doing at an Apla rally, one who called himself "Zimbiri of MK" said: "I am an ANC member. But we are one."

Azapo promises mass action

11/11
11/11-23/9/93

Vuyo Mvoko

THE Azanian People's Organisation is to mount a year-long programme of mass action to give it visibility among black people. Sources say it includes disruption of homeland governments and "certain media", as well as intensified armed activity by the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla).

At a rally in Johannesburg this week to commemorate the death of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, Azapo deputy-president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe called on members to "enhance the activities" of the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) by making available "food, money and cars".

Azanla recently claimed responsibility for the attack on the Riverside Lodge in Ladybrand and for the bombing of an electrical sub-station in the Vaal.

Azapo has been strongly criticised in the past, even by sympathisers, for doing nothing more than unleashing verbal attacks at the African National Congress and the negotiation process.

At the rally, which followed a march to the John Vorster police headquarters, Nefolovhodwe said: "Today you have started that process that will make this organisation to be again with black people, and to be married with their liberation".

Nefolovhodwe urged members to "reflect the capacity and power" of the organisation. But "more importantly", he said: "be prepared to enhance the activities of Azanla (its armed wing)".

In an interview, Nefolovhodwe said the first phase of Azapo's mass action programme was "village to village, township to township". Azapo members were being taught how to form branches and to make the organisation's presence felt throughout the country.

The second phase, which was due to start, comprised "specific projects" which he said "will be seen rather than heard". He declined to give details.

Sources say the programme will include the disruption aimed at frustrating the homeland governments and some sectors of the media, as well as intensified armed confrontation. Nefolovhodwe, however, said he is not "qualified" to speak about Azanla activities, saying that their sister organisation, the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azanla was in control of the cadres, and not Azapo.

ANC election list: 'members will decide'

REHANA ROSSOUW spoke to ANC elections commission deputy head Patrick 'Terror' Lekota (right) about the list: of candidates the organisation will compile for the election:

SOUTH Africa's next president will almost certainly head the list the ANC compiles of its candidates for government.

But the organisation is in no hurry to begin drafting the list. It is promising members full participation in deciding who represents them in the national assembly.

Because the election will be held on a proportional representation basis, voters will make their crosses for political parties, not candidates.

Each party will compile a list of 400 names.

"The national executive committee recently endorsed a process which ensures that our list will be drafted by every branch and structure of the ANC," said ANC elections commission deputy head Patrick 'Terror' Lekota.

The final list will include the names of ANC members as well as alliance partners — organisations in the tripartite alliance (ANC/South African Communist Party/Cosatu) and the Patriotic Front.

The ANC will have to juggle the nominees carefully to ensure the list meets members' expectations, that it is inclusive and gender sensitive.

ANC branches throughout the country will nominate candidates for regional lists in the next two months as well as recommend names for the national list.

"Parallel to the nominations, branches also have to begin the process of drawing up a manifesto for

the elections," Lekota said.

After all the regions have nominated choices for the list, the ANC will call a national conference.

Unlike previous national conferences, participation will be scaled down, but "without compromising representivity", Lekota said.

"The purpose of the conference will be to finalise the national list and adopt the manifesto."

Once names have been forwarded, the order in which they appear will have to be finalised. Some names on the list will be of people who will not go to parliament.

"We will be asking people with credibility to endorse the list and the ANC's campaign by adding their names," Lekota said.

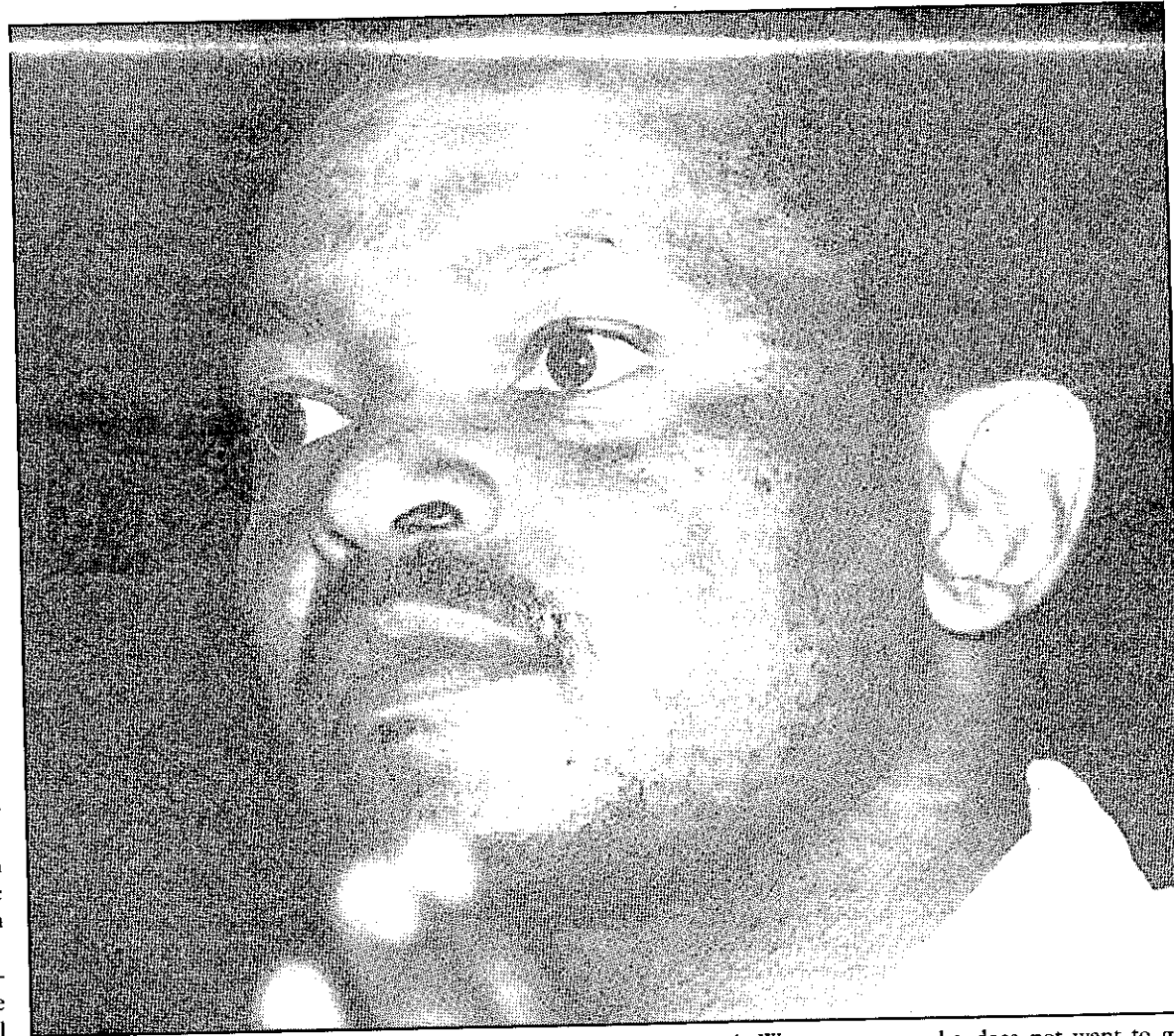
"These will be put at the bottom of the list, in the lower 300s, where there is little likelihood of them being asked to go to parliament."

But not all the ANC membership's candidates will make the national list. The organisation will have to retain some of their leaders to represent the ANC at regional and local government level.

Yet another consideration is leaving behind a core of leadership to continue the ANC's organisational work, although the operations will be scaled down considerably.

"We have to keep in mind that we have to reserve some people for the other important structures of government," Lekota said.

"Regional government, for instance, is going to be an important theatre of struggle for survival



and the best way of interacting with people closely. So we cannot take all our best people to serve the country at a national level."

Lekota said that while drafting the list will be as democratic as possible, the nominees would have to be rationalised by another body.

"Because this is a very sensitive and complicated procedure, we will establish a national list committee comprised of people with credibility to perform this task.

"The committee will be dealing with a red hot poker, and they will

have to be seen to be neutral. We are giving them the responsibility of running the process in every region. They will explain to branches how the process will work and develop criteria for the nominations."

The ANC embarked on this process after attempts by the national executive committee to draft a list for members' ratification collapsed.

There will be some room for individuals nominated to decide their fate and the list committee could rule against popular decisions.

"Obviously we cannot force

someone who does not want to go to parliament to do so just because the members decided," Lekota said.

Deadlines for the process have been set. The national conference will be held at the end of November or early December, as well as conferences of the ANC Womens' and Youth Leagues.

The manifesto and list will then be presented to voters to decide whether they have enough confidence in the ANC to make their crosses on the ballot paper next to the ANC's logo.

Two more LP
MPs join ANC

KIMBERLEY. — Two Northern Cape Labour Party MPs and a senior LP official joined the ANC yesterday, according to a statement by Northern Cape ANC spokesman Mr Pakes Dikgetso.

(S7/11A)
The new ANC members are Mr Desmond Lockey, MP for Northern Cape, Mr Moza Theron, MP for Upington and last year's Diamant LP by-election candidate Mr John Scholts. — Sapa

Future is bright, says Mandela

11 APR 1993

WILL the election next April come off? What is your conviction?

My opinion is that it will take place.

There are problems which threaten to prevent (it) and we must treat them seriously. My worry is not Buthelezi, because President De Klerk could put a measure of control on Buthelezi if he wanted to. He gives them R4,5 billion a year and if he said Buthelezi should pay his own bills from now on that would be a form of pressure which he could not ignore.

What is a cause of worry to me is the rightwing inside the cabinet and the ultra-rightwing represented by the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront. In spite of the fact that they lost the last general election, they polled about 500 000 votes. The Afrikaner vote was generally split between the National Party and the CP. What gave Mr De Klerk the edge was the English vote, but the Afrikaner community in terms of that election was equally divided between the parties.

Then in the referendum last year Mr De Klerk won comfortably, but not until the rightwing had won more than 800 000 votes. Apart from that they have got a substantial following in the civil service, in the security forces... some of them have taken part in building powerful communication systems and so on. That worries me.

Umkhonto weSizwe, in relation to the strength of the rightwing, was a far smaller organisation but we hit where we liked in spite of that. In spite of the fact that the government had deployed its power, we were able to hit where we liked. However, the rightwing can create a great deal of problems. That is my concern. But we are not sitting idle, even in regard to the right wing.

As you know, I met one of the officials of the AWB in Beaufort West at their request and if we are engaged on a wide scale of discussions with the rightwing we are not going to regard that as a confidential matter.

THE comments you made about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, does it mean there are bilateral talks between the ANC and Buthelezi?

There are bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha. I've met with Buthelezi on three different occasions, the last one in June. His most serious complaint has been that he is very evasive because we decided one of his most serious complaints has been the fact was that I have never gone to Ulundi but I've been to other capitals. So I made them an offer to go to Ulundi provided that he came to Shell House (ANC headquarters, Johannesburg) and also agreed to go to various unrest areas to address our followers.

About three times now I have sent a delegation at the highest level led by Comrade Jacob Zuma, the assistant secretary-general of the ANC, to go and arrange a date... we have sent him some suggestions as to the date when he can go to the unrest areas. He has not even been prepared to commit himself, but we are trying to continue discussions with him.

ALL things being equal and that the election does take place next year, what sort of action do you think the new administration would take to subdue the violence which rents this country so?

Well, that is going to be a process. It is not something that's going to be achieved overnight. We must examine the question in relation to the interim government of national unity which we have decided upon; that every political

On his political barnstorming tour of the Western Cape, ANC president Nelson Mandela took time out this week to answer questions from senior journalists, among them **ANDREW DRYSDALE**, The Argus/Weekend Argus editor-in-chief.

This is an edited version of the conversation.

party which polls more than five percent of the total votes cast in an election, will be represented in the government.

As one of our colleagues has said, when we win an election we merely occupy office, we don't actually gain power, because to gain power is going to take some time. It means that we must reorganise the civil service and be able to develop it to defend the democratic aim.

We must reorganise the security forces, both the SAP and the SADF, which were developed, established and trained to defend white supremacy and to regard any black demonstrations, of blacks, no matter how peaceful, disciplined and non-violent, as a declaration of war against the white minority.

We have to reorganise that to make those services capable of defending democracy.

We already know what the causes of this violence are in spite of the fact that we are not in government. And we already have an idea what the real source is and once we have the forces of government, it will be comparatively easy to address the question of violence.

What is clear is that the majority of South Africans want are for peace as you will have noticed on September 2. It was estimated that more than a million people took part in that demonstration. If we are discussing with all political parties (of) all tendencies we would be aware of people who are committed to peace, right across the spectrum.

I might say that (General) Constand Viljoen has made several public statements to say that violence is not in the interests of the Afrikaner. That is very interesting and it's a term not only to be welcomed but to be encouraged.

WHAT is the ANC's thinking on ways to tackle the problem of the inadequately educated and unemployed youth in the townships?

We're all concerned about that. We have noticed One of the things we notice that when we address the youth and point out to them the dangers of violence, they tend to listen.

I addressed a broad conference where there were youth from Azapo, PAC, ANC, IFP and so on. My theme was responsible leadership; that it is easy to break down but what is not so easy is to build and that South Africa wants young people today who can participate in the building of a nation.

I discussed the question of education... if the youth do not take education seriously, what will be going to happen is that the educated youth from our neighbouring states will be going to take over positions of leadership in South Africa and our youth will go out on the roads and work on the roads.

and so on, because they will not have the skills to serve the community.

Once I was standing on a corner where there was this slogan "One settler, one bullet" and I ignored that. When I was leaving, I went to that corner and I had a chat with them. Clearly, these were members of a well-known organisation. When I spoke to them they thanked me and asked for a further meeting, asked whether I could address their followers. I agreed to that... this is perhaps an isolated case which cannot be generalised, but it shows what could happen if you are upfront in trying to

correct the people's perceptions...

We heard the youth when they took the position when we decided to suspend the armed struggle. They were not happy about that but our youth are fully behind us although there have been cases where, because of the violence, they have been impatient with our appeals for peace.

When violence erupted in the East Rand I went there to address our followers and I made an appeal for peace.

As I arrived there was a placard attached to the platform: "Mandela, we don't want peace, we want guns." When I said one of the best ways of dealing with this violence is that we must stop it at grassroots; go to members of the IFP and say to them, "Why should we be slaughtering one another when we can sit down and talk?" There were jeers. So I said to them, you have been fighting Inkatha since 1984, you will never defeat them just as they will never defeat us. Continuation of violence means more innocent people are going to die, children, the aged and women. If you want me to lead, I am going to tell you what I believe to be the correct strategy. If you don't want me to tell you, tell me to resign and I'll walk away now and go and attend to my family.

They immediately fell into line and by the time I left it was they who were clapping and cheering. But I had to take a stand before I could influence them and this has happened on a number of occasions.

I think it's a question of a communication system with the youth.

ARE your education and economics people working on programmes to try to do something about education, even adult education?

We have the National Economic Forum which we have been very instrumental in establishing, which is composed of representatives of the government, employers and Cosatu... they are making remarkable progress in working out schemes which are going to involve a large number of skilled and unskilled people.

When I went to the United States I saw (President) Clinton; I asked for the US government to inject massive funds into our economy and that he should encourage both private and public sector investment in this country. He was on the eve of attending a seven-day congress in Tokyo and I asked him to try to organise the G7 countries to invest in South Africa, all of which he tried to do.

We have been in discussion with discussing with both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Mr Preston, president of the World Bank, has been here and has had discussions with us. They're working on economic projects... and they are ready to begin lending as soon as we lift sanctions.

As you know, we have already decided to lift sanctions as soon as the transitional apparatus is in place. The only aspect of those arrangements that is outstanding is legislation to sort out the TEC.

I WAS wondering about the TEC. What practical difference do you think it will make in terms of the internal situation in South Africa. Do you think the TEC will be able to do anything to affect the violence or other problems now?

One of the things was to establish a sub-council on security. Unfortunately Mr De Klerk is facing his problems inside the NP. You have people who think that by supporting reforms he is capitulating to the ANC. There is quite a strong opposition inside the NP, inside the cabinet, which feels he is going too fast. He finds himself therefore in a position where he makes some very clear arrangement with us and he repudiates this the following day. He has made the statement that this council on defence doesn't mean to say there's going to be joint control — that is the purpose of the sub-council.

But we are sorting that out and we're getting more support from the generals from the army generals, than from the government. The army generals are more understanding and they realise the importance of joint control, but the politicians tend to play politics.

WHAT is your relationship with Mr De Klerk nowadays?

Mr De Klerk is a man who has had the courage to bring about reforms. Whatever criticisms one has one must take that into account. He is, as an individual, very smart, and I am prepared to accept that he is a man of integrity in spite of the rightwing problems of the rightwing inside his own cabinet.

Whatever I think of him, the reality is that destiny has put us together in South Africa and we can never succeed in normalising the political situation in this country without the co-operation of the NP and the present government, just as they can never ignore the ANC. Therefore if we want to move swiftly towards a peaceful settlement, Mr De Klerk is very crucial, as well as other leaders, of course. In spite of the problems, I am nevertheless able to discuss problems with him and to make progress.

This question of the TEC, there was a great deal of opposition and I have had several meetings with him in which we have discussed the question of setting up this TEC because our economy is being shattered and we cannot afford to wait for a long time because if we do by the time we try to pick up the pieces it will be a waste land.

So, whatever mistakes have been made we just can't ignore it just as it would be fatal for him to ignore the ANC. From that angle one likes to concentrate on those positive aspects of his efforts and not the negative.

IF you reflect on events since 1990, what is your over-riding impression?

It is one of confidence, of progress — progress which has been registered as a result of discussions between the ANC and the NP.

I've pointed out several times (to) the unbanning of political organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency which had lasted for almost three years, the release of political prisoners — of hundreds of political prisoners and the return of a little more than 15 000 political exiles, the repeal of oppressive legislation — that process is going on — and the introduction of a climate of free political activity in the country.

Now we have had a breakthrough... attempts are being made to pass legislation setting up the TEC and defining its power. That is solid progress, if you take into account that we have 26 political parties which have different backgrounds and which are pulling in different directions. We have made this progress and although it's tragic that the CP and Buthelezi are not there, in fact we have made more progress than during the time when they were there. Nevertheless we want them back.

It seems to me that peace forces from all sides are contributing to the creation of a climate of confidence and positive achievements.

PAC to decide on poll today

11A
APR 18/9/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IT is high noon today for the militant Pan Africanist Congress: it must decide at a special meeting of its national executive committee in Johannesburg whether to take part in the April 27 general elections.

The meeting begins this afternoon.

Up to now the PAC, which is negotiating at the World Trade Centre, despite the armed struggle waged by its military wing, has not decided whether to take part in elections.

"We'll map out our future and discuss the elections," said secretary-general Benny Alexander, who is in Cape Town to brief the regional leadership about negotiations.

"We have to decide whether to take part in elections, the implications and when to launch our campaign."

Asked if the PAC would suspend the armed struggle fought by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Mr Alexander said the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) would have no control over the SADF.

"Power lies with De Klerk. That means the playing fields have not been levelled."

The PAC would also discuss whether it wants to be part of the TEC.

Mr Alexander said "We don't want any form of power sharing and believe the majority party must appoint the executive from its own ranks, including the president."

been working for the church for 33 years, said she was "very excited" and the medal gave it." She felt "splendid", she said. "I have worked so hard for it."

Labour Party ready to join forces with ANC

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

LABOUR Party leader Reverend Allan Hendrickse will join the African National Congress if his party decides to disband at the end of the year.

But he felt that, as party leader, "I should not join the ANC at this stage".

His son — national public relations officer of the LP — Peter Hendrickse, has decided to join the ANC, while retaining his LP membership.

The party leadership this week sanctioned dual membership for party members.

Mr Hendrickse's son-in-law, MP Desmond Lockey, is having discussions today with the

ANC. ~~(S)~~ (11A)

Mr Hendrickse said he expected other MPs to follow suit.

He said that while he would not join the ANC at this stage, "if the party decides to disband at its national conference at the end of the year, then I will certainly join the ANC".

Commenting on the principle of allowing LP members to join the ANC, he said: "I think that having agreed to support the ANC and fight the election under their banner, it is obvious we should go that way.

"This is the time to show that what we have done in the past has been complementary to what the liberation movements have done," he said.

Mandela calls for forum to deal with youth issues

(11A)

ARG 18/9/93

PHIL MOLEFE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — ANC President Nelson Mandela yesterday called for the establishment of a National Youth Forum to deal with issues affecting the youth and to have powers to perform some of the functions of the legislature.

Speaking at the University of the North, near Pietersburg, at the inauguration of the college's vice-chancellor, Professor Ngavulo Mdebele, Mr Mandela said the forum should be "empowered to see draft legislation, to question and criticise government and to hear and evaluate ministerial policy statements".

Mr Mandela said such a forum would perform some functions of the legislature, short of

approving or rejecting legislation.

"As we work out the structure of the interim Government of National Unity, we must give urgent and serious consideration for the need for a Minister for Youth, who will be the representative of all the aspirations and needs of our youth in the cabinet."

Mr Mandela said the forum would be one of the elements of the new order and regional youth councils would elect members of the National Forum.

He said election to each regional council would be through student representative councils, sports bodies, cultural associations and religious institutions.

Mr Mandela, who is also chancellor of the University of

the North, added his voice to growing calls for the transformation of South African universities, saying these institutions "must be truly national universities".

"The transformation we envisage is one in which Stellenbosch and Wits will not be white.

"Pretoria will not be male. Durban Westville will not be black. The nurse's colleges will not be female."

Mr Mandela said there would not be historically white universities or historically black universities, but only true South African universities which belonged to all South Africans.

The ceremony was attended by distinguished academics, political leaders and educationalists from across the country.

ANC 'duality': Labour Party set to disband

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE decision by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to step down as party head at the end of the year could bring the LP to the brink of collapse.

At least 14 out of the 27 LP MPs in the House of Representatives (HoR) — including Mr Hendrickse, his two sons and son-in-law — plan to take out "dual" membership with the ANC, increasing speculation that the party's demise could be imminent.

The entire "Hendrickse clan" have committed themselves to throwing in their lot with the ANC during the run-up to the April 27 elections.

The NP still holds a clear majority of 46 of the HoR's 85 seats with six DP members in the House.

Mr Jac Rabie, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the HoR, said yesterday: "The Hendrickse clan is deserting a paralysed and politically impotent party which no longer has any relevance or viability in the new South African politics."

It is still not clear who will take over Mr Hendrickse's leadership mantle in the unlikely event that the party does not disband. (11A)

Mr Hendrickse has confirmed he will not be available for re-election. *ST Times CC memo*

Sources say he will only then take out formal ANC membership and help the organisation in its campaign in the Eastern Cape. 19/9/93

10 More MPs

But he will not make himself available as a candidate for the ANC national list, Mr Peter Hendrickse, LP National Press Officer, confirmed yesterday.

He also confirmed that his brother-in-law, Mr Desmond Lockey, MP for Northern Cape and Mr M M Theron, MP for Upington, this week became the first LP MPs to take out ANC membership in terms of a decision by the LP NEC last week to allow "dual" membership of the ANC for LP MPs and ordinary members.

He also confirmed that he and his brother Michael, MP for Schauderville, are also about to take out "dual" ANC membership.

He named 10 other MPs, apart from Mr Lockey and Mr Theron, out of 27 LP MPs, who were expected to apply for ANC membership.

Six 'tortured' by ANC go to World Court

By BRIAN SOKUTU

SIX former ANC members who were detained by the organisation are taking the ANC to the International Court of Justice, demanding compensation from the organisation and calling on those who tortured them to be punished in the countries where the crimes took place. *ST Times*

In a memorandum to the court, the men — Shadrack Lebona Sepamla, Omry Mathabatha Makgoale, Samuel Olefile Mngqibisa, Robert Vusumzi Shange, David Makhubedu and Luthando Nicholas Dyasop, have noted the ANC's acknowledgment of human-rights violations in its camps. *(IIP)*

The men say those responsible for their torture had been identified by the Motsuenyane commission.

Arguing that Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia had "no legal right" to detain

them "on behalf of the ANC or to provide facilities for detention" — the six are also calling on the court to institute a case of human-rights violations against these countries.

"We deserve compensation for having been deprived of the right to education, denial of liberty and our wasted time during the period of our detention," the memorandum reads. *19/9/93*

Commenting on the move, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday that the organisation "didn't believe that this is the way to go".

"The ANC instituted the Skweyiya and the Motsuenyane commissions to make proposals on how the issue of torture should be treated," he said.

Mr Niehaus called for compensation for all victims of torture in South Africa, including activists detained by the state under the state of emergency.

The rural vote will hold sway!

CIPress 19/9/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE campaign for the hearts and minds of black voters in preparation for next year's elections has not yet started in earnest.

It is their votes, about 14,5-million in all, that will decide which political party dominates the often mooted government of national unity (GNU).

Although it is still early days, the National Party has already let it be known that it intends winning a substantial slice of this vote in order to become the majority party in the GNU.

Expectations of winning support among blacks run contrary to two conventional wisdoms. The first being that given its massive support in the black communities in particular, the ANC is seen as the obvious government in waiting.

In the second place and more importantly, it is argued that a party which introduced apartheid had no hope of winning any substantial black support.

NP leaders and functionaries dismiss the idea that the ANC will be the major party and also pooh-pooh claims that the NP are still stigmatised by apartheid.

They argue that most analysts agree they will perform better than the ANC in the coloured and Indian communities.

They also point out that while Mandela has attracted a large number of people at his recent rallies among coloured people in the Cape, these potential voters come largely from the main cities.

Comforting to the Nats are reports that in the Cape Flats apathy reigns as a large number of supporters of the former UDF are no longer politically active.

Such is the confidence of the Nats that at their recent provincial congresses in Natal, the Free State and Transvaal, the party was in an upbeat mood.

Observers say the party did not resemble an outgoing government at these congresses. Party leaders were always quick to point at the new black and coloured members as proof that they were being accepted outside the traditional white community.

The new Nats were also in high spirits and dismissed any claims that they were aboard a sinking ship. Their occasional shouts of "Viva de Klerk, Viva the National Party" added vibrancy to the pro-



MAVUSO ... Remembered for his government links.

ceedings.

While the party showed a brave face at these congresses, there are whispers that tensions are running deep between supporters of NP leader FW de Klerk and the hardliners led by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel.

The fact that no defections have taken place so far amid widespread rumours that they were imminent, show the cohesion of the party. But for how long this unity will hold remains to be seen.

According to NP insiders, they hope to attract blacks by projecting an image of a party with sound economic policies and the ability to deliver much-needed jobs and social services like housing.

Put another way, they will try and project the ANC as a party that is going to drive away potential investors by implementing failed socialist policies, because of the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

Trying to win over blacks will be a gargantuan task. To achieve this, the NP would need, among other strategies, to recruit blacks with high standing in their communities in order to sell NP policies.

So far the "catches" that the party has made are largely unknown quantities. One of these "catches", former exile David Chuenyane, has seemingly politically correct credentials. Ex PAC man and guerilla. But no one knows much about him.

Another, John Mavuso, invoked his membership of the ANC before

it was banned. However, he is likely to be remembered for his links with the government on the Transvaal MEC for housing.

The party also has a baggage of people with controversial backgrounds like John Gogotya, the former president of the Federal Independent Democratic Association.

This phantom political party applied unsuccessfully to join the Multi-Party Negotiating Council.

For the Nats to provide a strong challenge to the ANC and PAC for black votes, people like Gogotya and Mavuso could prove costly.

Tricking people to attend NP rallies by offering them food, as happened in the northern Transvaal recently, will not do much to help the NP cause.

The rural communities are going to play a crucial role in the coming elections. Unlike their urban counterparts, they are not solidly behind the ANC, PAC or Azapo formations.

It is in the rural areas that parties such as Inkatha and other homeland-based parties are strongest. Though most surveys indicate Inkatha's declining popularity, none of these surveys have been conducted in rural KwaZulu.

Inkatha has a strong infrastructure in these areas and with most chiefs reportedly behind the party, they cannot be taken lightly. Most importantly, the fact that elections are only seven months away does not give parties like the ANC and PAC enough time to canvass in the rural areas.

By forging an alliance (formal or loose) with Inkatha and other homeland-based parties, the Nats will be provided with the only realistic way of making inroads into the black vote.

Inkatha's claims of a deal between the ANC and the government for joint rule might not be unfounded, but this is not likely to stand in the way of a possible alliance between Ulundi and Pretoria.

Inkatha and the NP have a lot in common. They are both supporters of strong federal government and both also advocate a free-market economy.

Verwoerd must be smiling at the prospects of his creations (the homelands) continuing to serve the Nats so well.

I'll teach Mandela to vote — Ramaphosa

Star 20/9/93
Uitenhage — ANC president Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the National Party, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday. (1A)

Addressing an ANC election rally in KwaNobhule township, Ramaphosa told the crowd that he would personally teach Mandela and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu how to vote.

He emphasised the need for an ANC house-to-house voter education campaign and called on all people in the Eastern Cape to get identity documents so they could vote in the coun-

try's first democratic election.

"We must ensure that everyone learns to vote. I've never voted in my life. Comrade Madiba (Mandela) has never voted. Even we must learn to vote. If we do not learn we may end up putting our cross next to the National Party."

Ramaphosa said people such as Ciskei military dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelez and the 15 generals in the Afrikaner Volksfront must not be allowed to prevent the election from taking place. — Sapa.

Ramaphosa warns on delaying April election

PORT ELIZABETH — Upheaval would result if the country's first democratic election was prevented from taking place on April 27 next year, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned at the weekend.

Addressing an ANC fundraising banquet in Port Elizabeth, Ramaphosa said people had pinned their hopes on April 27 and it was incumbent on the ANC to ensure that it became a reality.

"It is absolutely essential that elections take place on April 27, or we will have failed and history will never forgive us."

He said no person or party should be allowed to hold the country to ransom.

While a settlement should be as inclusive as possible, it should not be

prevented by those hell-bent on stopping the democratic process.

"This is an election I believe is unstoppable."

Ramaphosa said the levels of violence would drop once a new democratic government had been installed.

He was confident the negotiating forum would have completed an interim constitution by the end of September or mid-October.

Ramaphosa said a new democratic government would have to create a balance when addressing the fears of those who had benefited through apartheid and the expectations of those who had suffered under the system.

Ramaphosa is in the eastern Cape to boost the ANC's election campaign in the region. — Sapa

Mandela, Sisulu to be taught how to vote

UITENHAGE. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote next week so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the National Party, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Addressing an ANC election rally in KwaNobuhle township near here, Mr Ramaphosa told the cheering crowd that he would personally teach Mr Mandela and ANC chairman Mr Walter Sisulu how to vote so that they would put their cross next to the right party in April next year.

He called for a house-to-house voter education campaign. — Sapa (11A) CT20/9/93

IFP and ANC youth meet

DURBAN. — Youth leaders of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party met here on Saturday for a second round of peace talks.

But the meeting deadlocked and both sides agreed to meet again on Wednesday.

The IFP Youth Brigade had demanded an apology for a remark by ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was a "puppet".

The ANC's regional youth league had taken exception to an IFP Youth Brigade resolution which called uMkhonto we Sizwe a "killing machine". — Sapa

'No holding SA to ransom'

(11A)
~~SECRET~~
CT20/9/93

PORT ELIZABETH.

— The ANC would not allow the right-wing parties and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to hold the country to ransom, ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

He said any attempts to disrupt the April 27, 1994 election would not be tolerated by the ANC and nobody should have any illusions about this date, including the National Party.

Mr Ramaphosa was addressing more than 5 000 people at a rally at the Dan Qeqe Stadium, Zwide, on Saturday. He spent the weekend in the Eastern Cape to boost the ANC's election campaign.

The right-wing had 15 generals who said they were prepared to

ANC vows to fight petrol hike

PORT ELIZABETH. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa vowed the ANC would fight the petrol price hike.

Addressing an ANC rally at Zwide township on Saturday, Mr Ramaphosa warned that taxi organisations and trade unions would prevent the implementation of petrol hikes. "We will not accept the government imposing such a decision on us without majority consent," he told the 5 000-strong crowd.

assist the Afrikaner Volksfront, Mr Ramaphosa said.

"We must warn the generals that if they think they are going to hold the country to ransom they are making a big mistake. The same applies to the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Azanian People's Party."

Mr Ramaphosa said Chief Buthelezi must return to the negotiating table "or be left howling outside".

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would continue to fight the government's decision to issue cellular telephone licences to international businesses.

The ANC has expressed outrage at what it described as the government's "secret moves" to introduce legislation to deregulate public telecommunications and postal services during the present session of Parliament. — Sapa

Also, people who wanted to vote in kwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei would do so despite the opposition of the homeland leaders, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the new government would "be under pressure with problems it cannot solve overnight".

A reconstruction programme was needed. "People have no houses. Many townships have no tarred roads and houses have no electricity."

Call by Ramaphosa

Source: 2019103 (11A)
THE government must answer to a Truth Commission on the atrocities it had committed in the past, African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said

Sowetan 20/9/93

on Saturday.

Speaking to journalists in Zwide township near Port Elizabeth where he had addressed an ANC rally, he said the military should also "come clean" on its past actions and that a Commission of Truth should be established to pronounce itself on such matters. (CIA)

"The country must cleanse itself of the atrocities of the past so we can move with confidence into a new democratic order."

National force:

Apla, MK

meet in

Star 20/9/93

Harare

■ BY ROBIN DREW
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

ed no.

Harare — Top-level talks by military commanders of the armed wings of the PAC and the ANC of South Africa are being held in Harare to discuss matters relating to the proposed national peacekeeping force. (11A)

Also involved in the talks are military leaders from the homeland territories.

According to The Herald today, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe was fully briefed by the PAC's Clarence Makwethu when the PAC leader visited Harare last week.

The paper quoted sources as saying commanders of Apla, the PAC's armed wing, had been meeting here for some days and will be joined today by a delegation from the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Siswe.

Discussed

The Apla delegation is headed by chief of staff, Barney Mzolo. His MK counterpart is Sipiwe Nyanda.

The Apla group last week had a secret meeting in Harare with the Transkei's military commander, Major-General T T Matanzima who left Harare yesterday.

Plans were discussed for a joint meeting of military chiefs from Ciskei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Transkei with the commanders of Apla and MK.

The paper said although Inkatha had no military wing, the feeling was that Chief Buthelezi's party should also be invited.

President Mugabe has been urging black movements to get together in a united front to achieve genuine majority rule in South Africa.

ANC and PAC army chiefs (1/19) meet in Harare ^{ARG 20/1/93}

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the armed wings of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress began a two-day meeting in the Zimbabwean capital of Harare today on "matters related to the transitional process", including the proposed National Peacekeeping Force, it was confirmed this morning.

The talks are understood to also include military leaders from some homelands.

The TEC's sub-council on defence makes provision for the establishment of a National Peacekeeping Force, believed to be the issue at the top of the agenda of today's meeting between the two armies.

The Zimbabwean Herald newspaper today reported that PAC president Clarence Makwetu had "fully briefed" President Robert Mugabe about today's meeting.

The newspaper also reported plans for a joint meeting of military chiefs from Ciskei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Transkei with the commanders of Apla and MK — to which the Inkatha Freedom Party might be invited.

focus on politics

IT IS NOT ONLY the people of South Africa that are cracking up. A close look at the political parties of this beleaguered country reveal some serious fractures.

The ANC is seriously questioning the future of its alliance with Cosatu and the South African Communist Party as political leaders in the Freedom Charter axis are positioning themselves for Parliamentary politics, Government and South Africa beyond the election.

Cosatu earlier this month formally released some of its most senior leaders for inclusion on the ANC's election list and there is wide understanding among the alliance that "an evaluation of the alliance would take place" after the election.

Writing in *Mayibuye*, the ANC's mouth-piece, Cosatu's former secretary general Mr Jay Naidoo, who was released by the union for possible parliamentary duty, explains that this evaluation of the alliance would be based on conditions that would exist beyond the election.

"The alliance was formed in order to dislodge the apartheid system. The nature of the alliance now begins to change as the central issue is no longer the struggle against apartheid, but what the form and content of the system that will replace apartheid is," Naidoo says.

An enigma and inscrutable

There appear to be no discernible differences or looming splits in the ranks of Azapo. The marginalised position of the flagship of the Black Consciousness Movement, however, is likely to produce strains in the longterm as constitutional developments unfold.

The PAC is an enigma and as inscrutable as can be. The activities of its armed wing Apla are known to have resulted in differences among the leadership.

There has also to be greater clarity about a dissident PAC grouping, the Watchdogs of the Revolution.

Last week it was reported that the PAC's congenial and very articulate secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim was a sell-out.

The IFP seems fragile at this stage. There is a growing tendency within the party which favours a return to negotiations and participation in next year's elections. If the party continues to be marginalised, a split is likely to occur before the elections.

Currently, an intense battle is under way for the 'rear' of party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is apparently being given "bad advice" by a rightwing element being led by Walter Felgate.

It is, however, the parties in Parliament that are the most fragile.

The Democratic Party is facing a critical period and it is showing. It was revealed this

The political parties in South Africa are echoing the fragmentation found in the nation. All have dissident groups which may pull out after the elections, argues Political Correspondent **Ismail**

Lagardien: Sowetan 20/9/93



Jay Naidoo.

week that the present leader Dr Zac de Beer was falling out of fashion with the liberals and that attempts have been made to replace the old man with the Member of Parliament for Houghton, Mr Tony Leon.

Leon, who is a fine academic and an extremely erudite man, is given to tempestuous ranting and is becoming increasingly reactionary. His speeches in Parliament, one can be forgiven to feel, are more for effect than for any other use.

Yet, Leon is probably what the DP feels it needs as the country lies bare, exposed to the



The only two parties likely to make it to the elections in April next year relatively unscathed are the ANC and Azapo. Beyond that lies great uncertainty for all.

uncertainty of democracy.

Across the floor, in the National Party, there is dissent. It is widely believed that if another whites-only poll of any sort were called today, the National Party would lose to the Conservative Party.

Its traditional support base is almost completely eroded and it is trying hard to build up black support. On another level, there is a serious attempt by far-rightists in the NP to seek closer links with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Labour Party has announced that it would contest the election under the banner and leadership of the ANC - that is if the Hendrickse dynasty actually makes it to April 27.

Barrel of a gun

Most of the LP Members of Parliament have either already joined the ANC or are on the verge of doing so.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, has already said that he would not be available for re-election as party leader at the end of the year when the party meets for its annual congress.

The Conservative Party is dead on its feet and has declared that its options lie through the barrel of a gun and the Afrikaner Volksunie's founders all resigned from the party over the past weeks.

The parties in the (Indian) House of Delegates are incidental to the process.

NEWS Mandela in class

Nelson to learn how to vote

Sowetan 20/9/93

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela would be taught to vote so that he would not embarrass the organisation by voting for the National Party, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Addressing an ANC election rally in KwaNobhule township near Uitenhage, Ramaphosa told the cheering crowd that he would personally teach Mandela and ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu how to vote so that they would put their cross next to the right party in April next year.

"We must ensure that everyone learns to vote. I've never voted in my life. Comrade Madiba (Mandela) has never voted. If we do not learn we may end up putting our cross next to the National Party."

Ramaphosa said people such as Ciskei military dictator Brig Oupa Gqoza, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha Freedom Party President Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the 15 generals in the Afrikaner Volksfront must not be allowed to prevent the election.

"The April 27 election will not be stopped by anyone. We will vote whether the IFP likes it or not, whether Oupa Gqozo likes it or not, whether Lucas Mangope likes it or not."

He warned militants in the Afrikaner Volksfront that they could not play war games with the future of the country.

"We defeated the apartheid regime and we will defeat you," he said. He said the ANC had embarked on the "last mile of the struggle".

"We want to clip the wings of the National Party government, of the IFP, of Mangope, the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo.

"We say to Oupa Gqozo: You will be washed away in the storm of history."

While boosting the ANC's Eastern Cape election campaign over the weekend, Ramaphosa coined a new election slogan.

"One President, One Mandela," is now firmly entrenched in the region and will be used to encourage people to cast their vote in favour of the organisation. —

Sapa.

L. J. V.

PAC reads riot act to its youth

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff

(11A)
ARC 20/9/93
THE Pan Africanist Congress has read the riot act to its turbulent youth wing, accusing it of tarnishing the PAC image.

An urgent meeting with the Pan Africanist Students' organisation (Paso), was called to tell the students to stop attacking hospitals, clinics, ambulances and journalists.

"No doctors, black or white, must be attacked. Paso must no longer be destructive because they are tarnishing the image of the PAC," said regional PAC secretary Bathembu Lugulwana.

The regional leadership said the meeting with Paso was "necessary because of the whole question of Amy (Biehl), and Paso members being accused of a number of atrocities".

The American Fulbright

Scholar was knifed to death in Guguletu last month.

Another factor was the "the incident at UCT last week when they went on the rampage".

But Paso leaders "made it clear they were not involved".

Pupils were told PAC policy had nothing to do with racism and that they must familiarise themselves with PAC ideology. Paso's role was to mobilise pupils and students and nothing else.

In future Paso would have to refer all its programmes to the PAC.

The pupils pledged to bring those responsible for anti-social acts to the PAC "to discipline them and not hand them over to the police".

Paso complained of having been infiltrated by *agents provocateurs* and it was agreed that "during marches they

would wear school uniforms and identity tags which would clearly identify them as Paso members".

The meeting agreed there was a need for workshops where Paso members could develop leadership skills and familiarise themselves with the PAC's ideology and the needs of the community.

"They must also attend branch meetings to find out what the PAC is all about.

"They must seek the support of parents and workers and not antagonise them the way they have done.

Paso complained to the PAC of conditions at schools, of harassment by teachers, and a shortage of money.

"We agreed to assist in initiating programmes which would create a climate of learning and to arrange a meeting with teachers.

ANC can decide on seats - SACP

Star 21/9/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The SA Communist Party will not insist on a quota of seats on the ANC national and regional lists for the April 27 election, says central committee member Jeremy Cronin.

(11A)
The party would contest the elections under an ANC banner,

he confirmed yesterday.

Cronin said the SACP would follow the nomination process envisaged by the ANC. This would involve nomination conferences at branch, regional and national levels convened by the tripartite alliance - the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

Cronin said no decision had been taken yet on which SACP leaders would stand.

PAC shuns the TEC

Star 21/9/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said it will not take part in the multiparty transitional executive council (TEC), which it described as "a toothless body which will give more muscle to De Klerk's regime".

Elections

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told a Johannesburg press conference that his organisation's national executive council had decided at its two-day meeting at the weekend against taking part in the TEC.

However, the organisation

remained "open to discuss and put into place a sovereign transitional authority" which would ensure that elections were free and fair, and which would fight elections for an unfettered constituent assembly.

Makwetu said the TEC gave the Government "exclusive powers over the South African Defence Force and the South African Police" by retaining the Defence Act, and that did not bode well "for the reduction of the on-going cycle of violence".

The South African Defence Force and the South African Police, said the PAC leader, were "main actors in all conflicts in the country".

"The TEC Bill also reduces people's liberation armies into mere auxiliaries of the SA Defence Force and the SA Police. The Bill bails the regime from committing itself to a mutually negotiated cessation of hostilities," said Makwetu.

'Rubber stamps'

He said his organisation also took exception to the fact that the TEC and other Bills were taken to the tricameral Parliament before they were formally adopted by the multiparty process's plenary session.

That, Makwetu said, put the PAC leadership "in an invidious position of being rubber stamps".

Umkhonto, Apla talks collapse after six hours

Biday 21/9/93

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Two days of scheduled talks on the formation of a united command embracing the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) collapsed after only six hours yesterday because of "irreconcilable differences".

ANC representative Kingsley Mamadolo said: "Serious differences emerged over the future of the proposed peacekeeping force." These were "irreconcilable", he said.

The central problem was

the ANC's willingness to work alongside the SADF and SAP in the period up to next April's election and the PAC's contrasting determination to continue with its "armed struggle" until either a ceasefire was negotiated with President F W de Klerk or white control of the security forces was surrendered.

A three-member Umkhonto delegation led by chief of staff Sphiwe Nyany arrived in Harare yesterday morning. Apla chief of staff Barney Mzolo led a five-member delegation which last week reportedly reached agreement with the Transkei's Maj-Gen T T Matanzima on

the homeland becoming a "liberated zone" under the umbrella of the proposed national peacekeeping force uniting all black armed units.

The failure of the meeting represented a severe disappointment for Frontline states' chairman President Robert Mugabe who sponsored the initiative after meeting PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

Mamadolo said a preliminary meeting between Umkhonto and Apla had been held two months ago in Windhoek. Early plans for the talks to be held inside SA were cancelled because of fears that white paramilitary groups would make it a target.

Apla-MK 'irreconcilable'

Star 21/9/93

■ BY ROBIN DREW
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Harare — Serious differences still remain between the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC over their approach to the proposed National Peacekeeping Force in South Africa, it transpired at a meeting in Harare yesterday.

Delegations from Apla and the ANC's MK had a one-day meeting under tight security. All reporters were barred.

However, an ANC member present told reporters afterwards that the differences between the two at this stage were "irreconcilable".

Kingsley Mamadolo, the ANC representative in Zimbabwe, said there was progress in the sense that there had been consultation and there could be further meetings.

The five-man Apla delegation was led by Chief of Staff Barney Mzolo and the three-man ANC group was headed by MK Chief of Staff Sphiwe Nyanda.

MK, Apla summit breaks down

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Two days of scheduled talks here on a united command embracing the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe and the PAC's Azanian Peoples Liberation Army collapsed after six hours late yesterday because of "irreconcilable differences".

Local ANC representative Mr Kingsley Mamadolo said "very serious differences emerged over the future of the proposed peacekeeping force".

Differences reportedly centred on MK's willingness to work alongside the SADF and SAP prior to democratic elections, while the PAC was determined to continue "armed struggle" until either a ceasefire was negotiated with security forces or white control of such forces was surrendered.

The talks were held amid tight security at a local hotel.

Apla last week reportedly reached

(114) CT 21/9/93
agreement with Transkei army commander Major General T T Mathanzima on the homeland becoming a "liberated zone" under the umbrella of the proposed "National Peacekeeping Force" uniting all black armed units.

Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe had sponsored the talks after consultations here last week with PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Spanner in TEC

works

Sowetan 21/9/93

By Themba Molefe and
Ismail Lagardien, Political Staff

THE PROPOSED TRANSITIONAL executive Council yesterday received the thumbs down from parties within and outside Parliament. (IIF)

The first blow came from the Pan Africanist Congress which announced it would not participate in the proposed council. The organisation also said it would not take part in next year's elections if the polls were to be for a government of national unity and not for a constituent assembly.

In Parliament, leader of the Conservative Party Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said his party would not support the TEC or serve on it.

Speaking during the debate on the TEC Bill, Hartzenberg said the Bill was a realisation of the "revolutionary objectives of the South African Communist Party which controlled the African National Congress and which would, through the legislation, control the Government".

The tabling of the Bill was, however, hailed by all the other parties in Parliament as the dawning of a new era in South Africa.

The PAC's decision was taken at its national executive committee meeting at the weekend.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said the draft Bill prevented the Government from committing itself to a mutually negotiated cessation of hostilities — a condition the PAC had said was necessary for the ending of its armed struggle by its military, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

He also criticised the passage of the draft Bill through Parliament before being presented to the negotiating plenary heads of the parties at the talks.

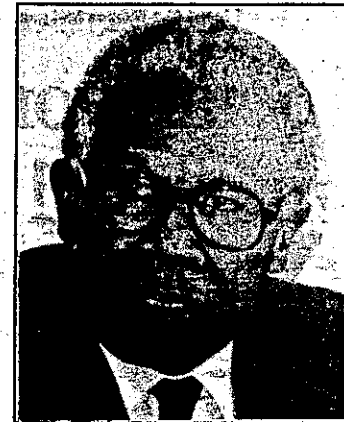
The TEC Bill is the most important of four Bills adopted by the majority of parties involved in the World Trade Centre talks.

These are crucial to ensuring multiparty power sharing in the build-up to elections.

However, the PAC said it would remain in constitutional negotiations as it was committed to elections for an "unfettered" constituent assembly.



Six members of the Witv/Vaal Peace Secretariat arrived at Jan Smuts Airport last night after taking part in a 700km peace walk to Durban. They are Tebogo Louie, Victor Mphahlele, Desmond Khumalo, Prince Kgoletsane, Thabo Mooketala and Bonginkosi Dlamini.



Mr Clarence Makwetu ... rejects TEC

PAC negotiators have consistently maintained that the 26 parties in the negotiating process had no legitimacy to decide or draft any constitution except a democratically elected constituent assembly.

In his opening remarks after tabling the TEC Bill in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said: "The new South Africa is now about to become a reality."

"We are proud and delighted to be able to announce to the world that we have reached the beginning of the transition and we look forward in anticipation to the positive reaction which has been promised once the TEC is in place," said Meyer.

The Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin said the Bill was "the most significant piece of legislation to be put to Parliament in the 83 years of its existence".

He said the message of the Bill was clear. "It is that the days of unilateral decision making are over — and that the days for transforming our country into a true democracy have arrived," he said.

The mild cigarette that satisfies

Peace force talks will be resumed

HARARE — The PAC and ANC would meet again soon to discuss setting up a joint peacekeeping force, an official said yesterday. 22/9/83

ANC official Jeremiah Mamabolo denied SA reports yesterday which said the one-day talks in Harare on Monday had "collapsed" because of irreconcilable differences between them.

"There were some differences on how to create the national peacekeeping force, but there was accord on the need for such a body because we all recognise the need to stamp out intimidation during the election campaign," Mamabolo said.

"The talks were held in a cordial mood and we made progress and agreed to meet again for further discussions," Mamabolo said. (IA)

Attacks by Apla, the PAC's armed wing, in the past have driven a wedge between the ANC and PAC.

The peacekeeping force, once set up, will oversee SA's transition during the period before elections in April.

It could also form the nucleus for the country's future army.

Mamabolo said the PAC wanted the international community to contribute troops to the proposed force, while the ANC felt soldiers of SA's black opposition groups should participate. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANC fails in bid to ~~stop~~ CT22/9/93 (119) stop Apla

HARARE. — The ANC said yesterday it had failed to persuade the PAC to end attacks on the government.

Mr Siphwe Nyanda, chief of staff for the ANC's uMkhonto weSizwe, said the military wing of the PAC, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), had refused to call off attacks or participate in a transitional peacekeeping force before elections set for April 27.

"Tentatively, they are saying they won't attack the national peacekeeping force, but they say they will continue fighting against the present regime and the security forces," Mr Nyanda said.

His comments follow an ANC statement on Monday that talks between the two organisations on a joint peacekeeping force had collapsed.

The PAC also decided at the weekend to boycott the Transitional Executive Council, Mr Nyanda said.

But Apla's participation in the national peacekeeping force proposed under transitional arrangements was "not critical", Mr Nyanda said.

"If they don't want to take part, the process will go on. I don't think they have sufficient strength to hold up the process."

Mr Nyanda said talks with Apla would continue and another meeting was scheduled within the next fortnight.

Apla commanders refused to comment. — Sapa

NEWS Deadlock on peace force

ANC, PAC fail to agree on force

Sowetan 22/9/93

THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress have ended talks in Harare without agreeing how to set up a joint peacekeeping force but the two parties will meet again soon.

"There were some differences on the modalities of how to create the National Peacekeeping Force, but there was accord on the need for such a body because we all recognise the need to stamp out intimidation during the election campaign," ANC official Mr Jeremiah Mamabolo said in Harare.

Mamabolo denied South African radio and newspaper reports yesterday which said the one-day talks on Monday had "collapsed" because of irreconcilable differences between the ANC and PAC.

"Press reports that the talks collapsed are mischievous. The talks were held in a cordial, brotherly mood and we did make progress and agreed to meet again soon for further discussions," Mamabolo said.

The ANC and PAC together control thousands of guerillas who fought against South Africa's white minority rule. Attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, PAC's armed wing, in the past have driven a wedge between the ANC and PAC.

(11A)

The peacekeeping force, once set up, will oversee South Africa's transition to its first one-person, one-vote elections next April. It could also form the nucleus for the country's future army.

Mamabolo said the PAC wanted the international community to contribute troops to the proposed force, while the ANC felt South Africa's black opposition groups' soldiers should take part.

"You can't call that irreconcilable differences, can you? It was agreed that the military chiefs of both the ANC and PAC should hold consultations and set a date soon for further talks," he added. — *Sapa-Reuters.*

MK units on the move

AKCT2219192 (114) (21)
HARARE. — The ANC is preparing to move personnel of its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe into assembly points, according to a report here following the meeting between leaders of MK and the PAC's Apla.

The Herald, quoting MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda, said the party was preparing to send its cadres into assembly points within three weeks of the passing of legislation to establish the Transitional Executive Council.

Mr. Nyanda said: "There is no question of us joining with the SADF ... Only after elections will there be a measure of armed forces integration."

ANC 'yes' to visits

Political Staff APG22A/13

JOHANNESBURG.

Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and to welcome him to ANC headquarters here, according to church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two.

In a statement after their meeting with Mr Mandela yesterday, clerics said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Chief Buthelezi."

NEWS TEC Bill to sail through Parliament today ● Mandela waves olive branch

The end of white rule

Sowetan 22/9/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE final nail will be driven into the coffin of white domination in South Africa tomorrow when Parliament is expected to pass legislation for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The TEC Bill and proposed laws for the creation of an Independent Media Commission and Electoral Commission will be voted on soon after 3pm and are expected to sail through Parliament.

The National Party majority in all three Houses, the Democratic Party, Labour Party and a smattering of Indian parties will vote for the Bill while the

Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party Members of Parliament will oppose them.

The IFP has said it would support the Bills for the Electoral Commission and Media Commission as well as that for the Independent Broadcast Authority but that it would oppose the TEC legislation.

Concession

It is understood that the IFP was holding out for a concession on "constitutional matters" as a quid pro quo before it gives its support for the TEC Bill.

The thinking in the IFP is that the other three Bills were "good Bills" and that they were necessary if an election

was to be held.

"An election will be held at some point anyway," an Inkatha source said yesterday.

The draft legislation for the Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA) was tabled in Parliament yesterday completing the quartet of laws agreed on in the Negotiating Council and nailed together by the relevant technical committee.

The IBA allows for the opening of new radio and television stations in opposition to the South African Broadcasting Corporation. It also provides for the monitoring of broadcasts and regulates political advertising and coverage aimed at ensuring equitable treatment for political parties.



Sowetan 22/9/93

Mandela ready to visit Ulundi

ANC president Nelson Mandela has reiterated his readiness to visit Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi.

He also said he would welcome Buthelezi to the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, according to the church leaders who arranged the June 23 meeting between the two leaders.

In a statement after their meeting with Mandela yesterday, Methodist Church Presiding Bishop Dr Stanley Mogoba and the Church of the Province of Southern Africa's Bishop Michael Nuttall said the ANC leader also "indicated his continued willingness to address joint rallies in violence-stricken areas with Buthelezi".

Bisho march an 'error'

Political Staff (11A) (8)
THE ANC "without doubt" had made an error of judgment in last year's massacre at Bisho, according to one of the central figures in the incident, Mr Ronnie Kasrils. CT 23/9/93

"We had underestimated the cynicism of our adversary and paid heavily for it in lives lost," he wrote in his autobiography, *Armed and Danger-*

ous, which is to be published in November.

Mr Kasrils led a procession of people through a fence at Bisho Stadium. The group was fired on by Ciskei soldiers, and 28 people died and more than 200 were wounded.

He said the ANC miscalculated in believing that President F W de Klerk would not allow Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, to go ahead with the massacre.

ANC economic policies 'impress'

WASHINGTON — American executives are "impressed" by the ANC's shift to "feasible and relatively moderate" economic policies, the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre asserts in a survey of US business released yesterday.

The Centre also reports that SA is not losing out to the newly open markets of the former East bloc in the competition for US investment.

One businessman is quoted as say-

ing, "We're going into Russia, which is dicey, too, now. But in SA, the highly developed economy counterbalances the instability risk."

Even so, IIRC's interviews with several dozen company officials indicated they see SA as an enticing market for products made elsewhere, but few are considering establishment of job-creating manufacturing facilities until they get a better look at the apartheid government's policies.

ANC economic policies 'impress'

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Even so, IIRC's interviews with several dozen company officials indicated they see SA as an enticing market for products made elsewhere, but few are considering establishment of job-creating manufacturing facilities until they get a better look at a post-apartheid government's policies.

US to ^(11A) help ² restore ^{24/9/73} growth in SA

From SIMON BARBER

NEW YORK. — President Bill Clinton yesterday hailed Parliament's approval of the Transitional Executive Council Bill as a "historic step" and announced that the US would launch "new initiatives to help restore economic growth" to South Africa.

He vowed to work with Congress for "measures to engage the resources of the American private sector and the international financial and donor community to assist South Africa".

Mr Clinton's pledge to help mobilise international finance came on the eve of the IMF and World Bank AGMs and was significant in that he did not wait for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to announce the end of sanctions.

Mr Mandela is expected to call off remaining economic restrictions today in an address to the UN special committee against apartheid.

President F W de Klerk hailed the American statement, and the similar announcement by Canada that it would lift sanctions after Mr Mandela's speech.

He said that as a result of Mr Clinton's decision to support renewed South African access to the IMF and World Bank, the government could now remove "the restrictions we were forced to impose to safeguard our economy".

On the question of South Africa resuming its seat in the UN General Assembly and paying its arrears, Mr De Klerk said this would be best dealt with once the government of national unity was in place.

Labour MPs

join ANC

CT 24/1/73
Staff Reporter

SIX Labour Party MPs yesterday joined the ANC and announced that the LP would not fight the election in its own right. (SA) (287)

The six, who have dual membership of the ANC and the LP are; Mr Desmond Lockey, MP for Northern Cape, Mr Moza Theron, MP for Upington, Mr Jacobus Oosthuizen, MP for Swartland, Mr Sohrub Oosthuizen, Nominated, Mr Chris Leander, MP for Paarl and Mr Ben Theron, MP for Heidedal.

ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni welcomed the six, and said they would work together toward the realisation of a peaceful democratic South Africa.

Mr Desmond Lockey said the six were sitting in Parliament as LP and as ANC members, and they would work toward maximising support for the ANC in the elections.

11A

A fault in the line

Both sides in the cellular phone debate remain resolute. Government plans to go ahead and award the second licence while the ANC and its allies in business plan to keep up the torrent of abuse against the process.

Government has already promised one licence to Vodacom — a partnership of Telkom, the UK's Vodafone and Rembrandt. Another partnership, Mobile Telephone Networks, comprising M-Net and the UK's Cable & Wireless, is tipped to win the second.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has warned of "serious consequences" if government goes ahead and that a future government would want to immediately review "and perhaps cancel" licences. But government maintains that if its plans were scuppered now, there would be threats of litigation as well as serious implications for future foreign investment, job creation, the country's international image and the chronic shortage of telephones.

US telecommunications software provider Computer Science Corp has already threatened to scrap a multi-million rand investment in management systems for telephone operators if the ANC continues to block the initiative. Vodacom says it has stopped all investment in cellular infrastructure (estimated at over R50m to date) until the dispute has been resolved.

Mobile Telephone Networks director Ian Wilkinson denies suggestions that the company's almost R10m investment in the tender bid smacks of collusion with government prior to the issuing of the tenders. He says most of the investment has gone into market research over the past three years and that, while it has erected some infrastructure in Cape Town for testing purposes, this equipment has been procured from Swedish electronics company Ericsson on a sale and return basis. "We have taken a commercial risk. If we lose the tender, we will return the equipment to Ericsson."

But not all the potential players are demanding a quick decision. "We would consider a reasonable postponement period as it is preferable that the major political parties should reach consensus on the matter," says Gerrit Oosthuizen, bid manager for Barlow Rand/Deutsche Bundespost consortium Mobitel. "Waiting for the dust to settle is often part of the process. Our overseas partner has had to wait more than two years in Hungary and Egypt." Barlow Rand and Deutsche Bundespost Telekom each have a 34% share in Mobitel. The remainder is unallocated at present but Oosthuizen says the company would like to allocate it to black business at the appropriate time.



ANC's Ramaphosa ... threatening to cancel licences

Also keen for a slice of the cellular cake is the recently formed African Telecommunications Forum, a body representing black-owned telecommunications interests, including Thebe Investment, Afritel, Sun Telecommunications, Media Investment Trust and National Information Technologies. Many of those serving on the forum are ANC members.

Says forum convener and Afritel MD Mark Headbush: "SA lacks a coherent telecommunications policy and the introduction of cellular telephony constitutes a major restructuring of the entire industry. This will have a macro impact on the economy — yet it is being undertaken without the proper participation of all the concerned sectors of society. We strongly oppose this situation. It amounts to a unilateral restructuring of the economy, something that can only be undertaken once a representative government is in control of the country."

Headbush says the reliance on existing players in the licensing process will keep the future role of black business to a minimum. "We also take a dim view of the current moves by some players in this field to include token black participation in the proposed division of this multi-million rand industry, in the hope of gaining acceptance in the eyes of the liberation movements."

Headbush claims that Afritel's prospective partner in a cellular bid is US telecommunications giant AT&T, which has been precluded from applying for a cellular licence because of the ANC's refusal to lift sanctions. ■

ANC calls a halt to the free lunches

(11A)

WM 24-30/9/93

THE African National Congress has become the first South African political organisation to impose a code of conduct on its top-ranking members.

The code, which requires all personal financial interests, gifts or payments to be declared, puts the organisation ahead of its rivals in promoting openness and accountability.

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No such thing as a free lunch, says ANC

WJM 24-30/9/93

(11A)

The ANC has adopted a code of conduct on financial interests which puts the organisation far ahead of its rivals in promoting openness and accountability. **Iden Wetherell reports**

THE African National Congress has broken crucial new ground by adopting a code of conduct which will require disclosure of financial interests by members of its national executive committee, election candidates and employees.

Among other things, the code provides for the creation of a committee to which all financial interests must be declared, a register documenting such interests, the reporting of directorships offered to office-holders and control over gifts and payments of more than R100.

More controversially, it also clamps down on organised factions and tendencies in the movement, which it says cannot be tolerated.

The code, a copy of which is in the possession of the *Mail & Guardian*, was approved by the NEC at a meeting last month. It puts the ANC far ahead of rival parties in establishing clear, ethical guidelines and promoting openness and accountability. This followed preliminary discussions in February on a draft code, described by the NEC as "long overdue".

There has been criticism both within and outside the ANC, that office-holders are accepting gifts, directorships and other perks as new relationships are established with the business sector. Kader Asmal, NEC member and professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape, claimed the code represented "the first initiative of its kind undertaken anywhere in the world by a political organisation".

The ANC code states that "most democracies have enlightened and transparent rules concerning the disclosure of pecuniary interests and material benefits of leading officials".

The guidelines are intended "to combat perceptions concerning possible conflicts of interests", it continues. "Such disclosure is healthy for our movement and will strengthen our position when we advocate such an approach for members of our democratic national parliament in the near future".

The NEC proposes to establish a "committee on the declaration of financial interests" which will maintain a "register of financial interests". One section requires that every member of the NEC, regional executive committees, candidates for local, regional and national elections, and employees of the ANC "shall make a general disclosure of financial interests which shall be entered in the register". This will cover "the name of employer or whether self-employed, salary or income, real property interests, pensions, directorships and consultancies and personal economic interests — that is, ownership or interest

in stocks, shares, bonds, or any business".

In addition, the code requires that if any office-holder, candidate for election or employee is offered a directorship of any company in future, "such an invitation shall be reported to the committee which may recommend whether or not the acceptance of such a directorship is in the best interests of the organisation".

"The obligation to report," states the code, "arises regardless of whether the directorship is paid or unpaid or whether it is a state, parastatal or private company."

Another section of the code requires any office-holder, candidate for election or employee who is offered a gift over the value of R100 to immediately report it to the committee on financial interests, which will then recommend whether such a gift is appropriate.

Similarly, "any payment received in cash or kind above R100 for services rendered as a representative of the ANC shall be reported to the committee and handed over to the organisation", the code states. This does not include payment for travel and accommodation expenses incurred and paid for by the individual.

The code stipulates that once the initial register of interests is drawn up, it will be updated within three months by the committee on financial interests, and thereafter every six months. In the case of election candidates, the register will be reviewed once the candidates have been chosen.

In addition to the disclosure clauses, the code provides guidance on discipline and the use of ANC property. Members, officials and employees are not to make "unauthorised use of the organisation's property for personal advantage".

No doubt informed by past factionalism in the ANC, the code states that "no democratic movement can tolerate the existence of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within its structures or ranks. Members must utilise existing avenues for changes in policy and must refrain from publishing/distributing any material without authorisation which purports to be the view of any such grouping."

"The best interests of the movement are served by members respecting the need for debate within and not outside the movement," the code insists.

Officials are required to be accessible to members, communications must be replied to "as speedily as possible", and "such officials shall not abuse their office or employment by using their position to obtain material, sexual or other undue advantages from members or others".

While the code is binding on ANC members, no mention is made of members' spouses and relatives. Asked for comment, Asmal said the code should not be "unnecessarily complex". Other paradigms had been considered and "more complex and far-reaching procedures may have to be adopted in the case of members of parliament, cabinet ministers and civil servants," he said.

ANC plans peace rally in troubled Crossroads

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

TROUBLE-TORN Crossroads is set to chart a new course aimed at bringing long-lasting peace in the sprawling township. *ARG 25/9/93*

Tomorrow the African National Congress will hold a rally to cement peace between two feuding groups — one led by local ANC chairman Jeffery Nongwe and the other by youths from the ANC's Unathi branch.

Steve Tshwete, the ANC's shadow minister of sport who helped to broker the peace, is expected to address the rally to begin at 2 pm.

The township, famous for its resistance against pass laws during the arch-apartheid days, has never known peace since witdoeke-style clashes in 1986.

After the unbanning of political organisations in 1990 there were intermittent battles between Mr Nongwe and the then camp's iron-ruler Johnson Ngxobongwana.

After a bloody fight, Mr Ngxobongwana was defeated and driven out. He later set up his own camp with his supporters at Driftsand.

But in August 1991 violence flared up again in Crossroads between Mr Nongwe's supporters and the Unathi residents after disputes over the housing development plans initiated by the Cape Provincial Administration.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 40 people died and several lost their houses during the fighting.

Recently the violence died down after the Goldstone Commission finished its investigation into the conflict.

Last month the ANC movement suspended the entire Crossroads branch after complaints from residents.

But this week regional secretary Tony Yengeni was confident that the latest peace initiative would succeed.

"About three weeks ago the two groups met for the first time. The meeting was very acrimonious and lasted more than five hours.

"The factions made a lot of allegations against each other, but Steve emphasised that the way forward was important."

SA cash props up chief — Mandela

STimes

26/9/93

ANC leader Nelson Mandela claimed this week that the power of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could be "greatly reduced" if the government cut off funding to the Kwazulu homeland.

By PETER MALHERBE
London

In a television interview screened in Britain this week, Mr Mandela claimed the problem with the Inkatha leader was that President FW de Klerk's government continued to fund him. (IA)

Asked by ITN interviewer Trevor MacDonald if violence would increase if Mr Buthelezi stayed out of the negotiation process, Mr Mandela said he was "not worried".

"Buthelezi is a problem only insofar as De Klerk wants him to be a problem," said Mr Mandela.

"If De Klerk said today to Buthelezi, 'From tomorrow you pay your own bills', the power of Buthelezi would be greatly reduced."

In a separate interview with ITN, Mr Buthelezi rejected the claim that his influence would be reduced if funding from the govern-

ment was cut off.

"The R5-billion budget of Kwazulu, is not Mangosuthu Buthelezi's money. It is money for the old pensioners, it is money for benches for schools, it is money for cleaning — and now they personalise it," he said.

He described Mr Mandela's claims as "very interesting".

"It really strengthens my resolve to resist until the bitter end," he said.

Mr Buthelezi said that, on a personal level, he and the ANC leader "got on like a house on fire".

"The friendship, the affection we have had for each other for decades, normally surfaces when we are together, but as soon as we part, it disappears as well."

ANC document calls for free trade in food

SI Times [Buss]

2619193

By CIARAN RYAN

A POLICY document before the ANC spells the end of the agricultural control board system which has controlled food prices for much of this century.

More than 20 control boards stand to lose their legal powers when the new Government takes office next year, collapsing the bureaucratic empires erected to look after generations of National Party-supporting producers. Several thousand jobs are likely to be lost.

The report, prepared for the ANC by the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre (LAPC), which is researching policy options for a democratic South Africa, recommends scrapping all remaining marketing restrictions and controls over the movement of agricultural products, except for bone fide minimum health and hygiene regulations.

It recommends curtailing the institutionalised lobbying power of producers and enacting a competition policy to monitor and prevent the emergence of monopolies.

The report goes beyond the recommendations of the Kasier report published earlier this year, which recommended a phasing out of the control boards. The LAPC calls for a single regulatory and

legislative system for marketing agricultural products throughout SA, as opposed to the present system where each product has its own legislative powers.

It recommends improved access to marketing services together with the development of alternative small-scale marketing channels.

"The need to raise small-holder productivity should be addressed by improving the availability of resources and services (including land), rather than through generalised output or input subsidies," says the report.

The formation of small-holder co-operatives should be encouraged as a way of reducing marketing costs and improving bargaining power.

It also calls for a comprehensive national food policy to ensure the availability and affordability of basic food requirements. (3) Gen

Incentives should be provided for producers to increase agricultural productivity and to support the restructuring of the agricultural sector while avoiding costly levels of protection.

"Reductions in nominal protection rates for agricul-

tural commodities should proceed in parallel with reductions in protection on agricultural inputs.

"Tariffs on external trade in agricultural products should be the main mechanism used by government to influence agricultural prices, and to protect producers from dumping." (11A)

Control boards will no longer have the exclusive right to import agricultural produce, and quantitative controls will disappear.

The report calls for an end to uniform national pricing. If implemented, the price of basic foods will vary from one region to another, reflecting the different costs of production. Some regions may find it cheaper to import food from overseas than to grow it or buy from elsewhere in SA.

"The overall objective of agricultural policy should be to achieve national and household food security, but there are certainly arguments in favour of importing agricultural produce where prices are cheaper than the local commodity," says Jonathan Beynon, one of the authors of the report.

"World agricultural markets are distorted by the subsidies being paid to farmers, particularly in the US and

Europe, but why shouldn't we take advantage of these low prices if it means cheaper food in SA?"

Mr Beynon says if all signatories to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) comply with the latest recommendations to cut agricultural subsidies and tariffs, world food prices will rise by as much as 25% but will be more stable thereafter. The effect of deregulation on employment also needs to be considered.

The report says the continued deregulation of agricultural marketing should not be seen as a threat to the objectives of a democratic government.

It says the role of the State should be to support the restructuring of agriculture to the benefit of the disadvantaged, specifically through improving access to marketing services for smallholders and resettled farmers, to take action against monopolistic or discriminatory practices, and to remedy market failures.

"The present Government has tended to protect the interests of producers," says Mr Beynon. "There will be a fundamental shift in policy to protect the interests of consumers."

Coloured party to be launched

S | Times (C) Metro

THE first serious move to start a political party directed exclusively at coloured voters was made on Friday when the MP for Bosmont, Mr Trevor George, resigned from the National Party to concentrate on the spadework needed to launch the party. 26/9/93

Mr George said the foundations for the party had already been laid through the establishment of the coloured-based National Liberation Front (NLF) in April this year.

"The time is approach-

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

ing to launch a registered coloured political party," he said.

"The party will advocate a boycott of the coming elections because the NP and the ANC have already arrived at a settlement which will result in black majoritarian rule, a scenario the NLF totally rejects."

Mr George disclosed that funding for the NLF came from "sympathetic groups in Western Europe".

Mr George claims there are more coloured MPs in the House of Representatives "under pressure" from their constituencies to join the NLF. (11A)

Sovereignty

Transvaal general secretary and Wits lecturer Mr Malcolm Lupton said the NLF was launched in April with 256 delegates "from all over South Africa and Namibia". It had since grown to a membership of 2 000 in Eldorado Park alone.

He said the movement was formed out of a need for coloured people to unite and demand a separate sovereign state to avoid being swamped by a predominantly black ANC government or predominantly white government.

In this regard he agrees with the Conservative Party that there should be provision for partition of the races.

Western Cape chairman Mr Mervyn Ross, an assistant librarian at UWC, said yesterday that after three months of recruiting in the Western Cape, structures had been set up in Cape Flats areas as well as in Paarl and Vredenberg on the West Coast.

So far the organisation had "500 names on our books," he said.

Mr Ross claimed "tremendous" support among grassroots coloured people who believe that "their language, identity and history was being compromised" by the ANC and white political parties.



HONOURED HEROES ... Robert Sobukwe (left) and Steve Biko will be remembered at the Sonke Festival on October 24.

Festival is for all

26/9/98

(11A)
Press

By **FRED KHUMALO**

IF you thought modern-day South African politics was above muti, sangomas and inyangas, you better think again.

The mammoth Sonke Festival, organised by the ANC to forge unity between different political organisations and leaders, will be as much steeped in muti as it will be representative of different cultures.

Kings from southern African kingdoms, including Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Swazi monarch King Mswati, Lesotho's King Moshoeshe and other traditional leaders are likely to attend.

The festival, to be held at Durban's Kings Park on October 24, will feature ceremonious sangomas waving fly-whisks and burning muti concoctions to cleanse the nation of the evil violence that is gripping the country.

As the kings amble into the stadium to the throb of drums and ululations of their praise singers, they will pause to face each other and take a swig from a gourd of traditional beer, an expression of the brotherly love which will be the theme at the festival.

Because thousands of people are expected to cram the stadium, the ANC will screen the proceedings through huge TV monitors.

During the course of the festival, ANC president Nelson Mandela will address the masses and welcome the traditional leaders. The festival will commemorate:

- The late King Dinizulu, the current monarch's grandfather, who was also the first Zulu king to be an honorary president of the ANC in 1912.
- The late Anton Lembede, who was the first ANC Youth League president and a mentor to the likes of Mandela and Tambo;

■ 100 years since Mahatma Karamchand Gandhi first arrived in Durban;

■ 70 years since *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* was adopted;

■ 10 years since the United Democratic Front was formed;

■ Other heroes to be honoured include Steve Biko and Robert Sobukwe.

Those performing at the festival will be maskanda performers, isicathamiya ensembles, choral groups and ingoma dancers.

The performers will be representative of the country's cosmopolitan mix, with Indian dancers and sitar players in abundance alongside a handful of white performers as well.

On October 23, prior to the climax of the festival, a R500-a-head dinner will be held at the Expo Centre, where a Mandela medallion will be auctioned.

DID Mandela promise the Right their own Boerstan?

By THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Reporter

26/9/93
DID they or didn't they
strike a deal?

This is the raging question being asked about the controversial secret pact between ANC president Nelson Mandela and right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) co-leader General Constand Viljoen in which the ANC is alleged to have promised the rightwingers a semi-autonomous boere "Volkstaat" in exchange for their abstaining from violence in the run-up to the April 27 general elections.

According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, a widely read US-based newspaper, the ANC leader made this compromise to reduce the level of violence in the country and to call on rightwingers to participate in the elections next year. (NIA)

While a joint statement on Friday by the two organisations was evasive on the alleged deal, saying merely that they would intensify their bilateral talks, AVF spokesman Steven Maninger denied categorically that there was ever such a deal. (SAPA)

He said that although the two parties had had several bilaterals in the past weeks, he did not remember if Mandela and Viljoen had attended any of these.

'Arrangement'

Sapa quoted Mandela in New York on Friday as confirming the bilateral meetings between the two parties, but without saying if he had met Viljoen face-to-face.

Although he did not specify the nature of a possible deal between the

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Although he did not specify the nature of a possible deal between the parties, he seemed to imply that the parties were discussing a semi-autonomous white homeland arrangement, Sapa said.

The joint ANC/AVF statement read: "The discussions at executive leadership level had been held in the wake of both sides' statements that political leaders should exhaust all means of peaceful engagement as a matter of urgency to prevent the proliferation of violence and anarchy.

"There had been a sense of realism about the serious difference of opinion which existed on crucial issues. Yet there were also elements of commonality, for example, a sense of urgency on the importance of creating positive economic growth in the country by ensuring peace."

The *Monitor* said the CP and AWP, who are also members of the AVF, were not part of the talks because they rejected any contact with the ANC.

An AWP spokesman refused to comment on the alleged deal.

HNP leader Jaap Marais described the talks between the ANC and AVF as proof that "AVF had a hidden agenda"

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No deal, but ANC and AVF keep on talking

S Times 26/9/93

ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) officials say they have made significant progress in secret talks towards accommodating Afrikaner self-determination.

But both parties have poured cold water on media speculation that a deal has been struck on an Afrikaner homeland and AVF participation in the elections next April.

AVF official Tienie Groenewald confirmed "common ground" had been found on the entrenchment of Afrikaner rights, possibly in the bill of rights and in the new constitution. (S) (C) (I) (A)

But he added: "There is no deal. The

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

Volksfront has always been open with the media. If there is a breakthrough, people will know about it."

In New York ANC leader Nelson Mandela confirmed the ANC has been holding discussions with the white right wing and the possibility of creating a political subdivision to give them a considerable degree of autonomy.

While ruling out "an ethnic solution", he said this did not mean rejecting the basic demand of a people who want a particular region in which to run their own affairs.

A statement released by ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen said: "The desire by the Afrikaner Volksfront to have an area demarcated as a Volkstaat for Afrikaner people, where Afrikaners will be able to survive as a nation, was also tabled for frank and forthright discussions."

The Christian Science Monitor reported on Friday that the ANC had agreed to an Afrikaner homeland in exchange for the AVF's participation in the election and an undertaking not to use violence.

IMF buffer needed, says De Klerk

ANC joins FW in call to kill finrand

B/Day 27/9/93

WASHINGTON — In what seemed to be a joint policy arrangement, government and the ANC called at the weekend for the finrand to be abolished.

The ANC said stability under a strong democratic government would enable SA to do away with the dual unit.

President F W De Klerk later told businessmen at the World Economic Development Congress that he was anxious to end exchange controls as soon as possible because it was "fundamentally important to open up our economy".

The ANC released a policy statement saying foreign investment through the finrand had no impact on foreign currency reserves and merely facilitated disinvestment. "The two-tier system must therefore be abolished at the earliest opportunity."

Questioned later, De Klerk said an IMF standby facility — in addition to the \$350m loan nearing finalisation — would be one of several prerequisites for such a step.

However, in asserting the need for further IMF finance, De Klerk appeared to put government on a collision course with ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel, who said the movement was unwilling to seek IMF assistance beyond the Commodity and Contingency Financing Facility that is under discussion.

A standby facility will entail conditions considerably more stringent than those likely to be attached to the contingency facility at a time when the ANC is emphasising it wants to avoid IMF and World Bank encroachment on its sovereignty.

De Klerk told the development congress that government and the ANC had reached broad agreement on specific economic

GRETA STEYN and SIMON BARBER

policies, including the need for the contingency facility and the terms of a final debt rescheduling to be announced today.

The ANC statement formalises a comment made earlier this year by Manuel, which caused a stir among academics linked to the ANC. Their view was that scrapping exchange controls was low on the list of priorities.

The policy statement, called "Foreign Direct Investment Platform", said investments through the finrand would be valuable if they were directed at a list of approved investments and if the discount between SA's two currencies was reduced as a result.

The ANC listed 13 such types of investment. It promised to implement economic policies to encourage foreign and domestic investment in these categories, which would contribute to balanced economic growth and development.

The categories included investment in companies with a high level of social responsibility, in bonds for infrastructural development, and in small and medium-sized businesses. Apart from investments that had the direct effect of empowering disadvantaged people and creating jobs and infrastructure, those that helped companies expand exports of non-primary products would also be encouraged.

"Vehicles and instruments which fall into these categories will be actively developed and promoted. It is well understood ... that investors' requirements for

To Page 2

Finrand

B/Day 27/9/93

From Page

market-related returns and risk exposure must be met if these vehicles are to be successful," the ANC said.

The "platform for investment" was drawn up after a workshop with SA business in July. It is understood that a committee including bankers, stockbrokers and a representative of Anglo American gave advice on the policy statement.

It said investments falling within the

guidelines spelled out in the document would receive support and assistance. National economic policy would be formulated to encourage such investments. Foreign portfolio investment outside the range would also be allowed where it did not break any laws or cause severe disruption of the securities and foreign exchange markets. Foreign investors would enjoy equal treatment to local investors.

'IMF is ready to boost economy', says Mandela

Sowetan 27/9/93

■ **LOAN REQUEST** Top delegation may visit SA

THE International Monetary Fund was prepared again, after years of economic sanctions against South Africa, to provide financial assistance, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Washington at the weekend.

He was speaking after a "very positive" meeting on Saturday with the IMF managing director Mr Michel Camdessus, a day after the ANC leader's call for the lifting of economic sanctions.

"They have made it very clear they are prepared to fund us," a smiling Mandela said in an

at very short notice:

(11A)

(758)

interview immediately after the meeting between ANC and IMF delegations.

He said the ANC had discussed "the programme of development assistance which we feel is absolutely important for us to arrange for South Africa".

The hour-long meeting at one of Washington's top hotels would be followed up with a

more detailed one, Mandela said. The SA Government and the ANC have been involved in talks with the IMF in recent months in a bid to secure an 850-million US dollar loan to service the country's depleted balance of payments.

An IMF spokesman yesterday denied speculation in the media that the IMF would grant the 850 million US dollars "within days".

Repatriation of profits and dividends promised

Mandela gives assurances

Star 27/9/93

(117)

THE ANC chief has made a number of commitments to prospective investors

Washington — ANC President Nelson Mandela has moved quickly to espouse the kind of economic policies needed to attract foreign investment.

Only hours after his UN call for the lifting of sanctions, he promised foreign investors security of investment, repatriation of profits and dividends, competitive rates of tax and stable and predictable public policies in exchange for investment.

He told delegates to the second annual World Economic Development Congress in Washington that serious efforts would be made to prevent the public sector from absorbing disproportionately high levels of national savings, and to reduce the public



**IMFIWORLD
BANK ANNUAL
MEETING**

Claire Gebhardt

debt to reasonably low levels.

The ANC would seek a more sympathetic debt rescheduling agreement.

Speaking on what could amount to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank seal of approval for foreign investors, he said that any assistance from these institutions would not be allowed to impact negatively on SA's sovereignty or on

the ANC's capacity to address the needs of the majority.

Under the IMF's Compensatory and Contingency Finance Utility (CCFF), SA is eligible for an \$800 million loan to compensate for the severity of the 1992/93 drought and poor export prices.

But this is only if a country pursues the right kind of economic policies, says IMF director of External Relations,

US brokerage firms, banks and pension funds are gearing up to re-enter South Africa. Barronet Global Investors said on Friday it wanted to launch a mutual fund listed on the New York Stock Exchange as soon as New York repealed its remaining sanctions. The New Africa Fund would invest in SA and its neighbours. Barronet Global Investors president Barbara Morrow said.

The Wall Street Journal reported that the world's top securities and brokerage firms were eyeing the SA market. Among them are Merrill Lynch, Goldman Sachs, Primerica Corp's Smith Barney Shearson and American Express's Lehman Brothers.

Shallendra Anjaria.

He says that with SA in the process of transition, and with elections in April, the IMF is trying to understand the broad thrust of policies a future government intends to pursue.

He says it is up to SA to decide how much IMF involvement it wishes to seek and when.

"For a general programme,

we will have to see what kind of government comes to the fore on April."

The World Bank has also signalled its willingness to lend about \$1 billion for socio-economic development.

Over the last 18 months, it has sent several missions to SA and conducted many studies.

"What is missing is a stable government that can 'own the projects' and the lending conditions attached to them," says a top official.

But conditions are not on the ANC agenda, says ANC economics chief, Trevor Manuel.

He told journalists the ANC did not intend applying for standby facilities.

"The only funding being sought is under the IMF's Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility (CCFF) and this doesn't require conditionality, though it may be part of the dogma doled out by the IMF."

Sexwale tastes Bophuthatswana 'freedom'

PRETORIA. — African National Congress leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale yesterday received the freedom of GaRankuwa in Bophuthatswana — despite being refused entry into the township.

Mr Sexwale had to remain metres outside Bophuthatswana during a "Freedom Square" ceremony held in his honour.

Mr Sexwale said he was refused

entry into GaRankuwa by police manning a roadblock at the township's entrance.

Addressing several hundred ANC supporters, the movement's PWV regional chairman slammed the Bophuthatswana government for preventing the ceremony from taking place in GaRankuwa.

He told the cheering crowd he had led marches involving mem-

bers of the South African Police serving President F W de Klerk's government.

"What is Mangope after all?" he asked, referring to homeland president Mr Lucas Mangope.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC was not afraid of Mr Mangope and the latter should remember that he had been rescued by the SADF after being toppled in a 1988 coup.

He said he had come to GaRankuwa humbly, dressed in a suit, but mentioned he had another multi-coloured suit (camouflage) which would serve to frighten the Bophuthatswana government.

Mr Sexwale, who is also a commander of uMkhonto weSizwe, said if Mr Mandela would allow him to wear his camouflage uniform he would teach Mr Mangope a lesson.

CT 27/9/93 (11A) He said although the ANC was against civil war the organisation would be ready to deal with it.

Mangope Highway — a major road leading into the township — was renamed Chris Hani Highway during the ceremony, while other roads were renamed after Mr Bachana Mokwena, a local MK commander who died in 1991, and Ms Ruth First, slain wife Mr Joe Slovo.

Mokaba warns on poll delay

DURBAN. — African National Congress Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba warned on Saturday that violence would escalate if the date for next year's first non-racial election was postponed.

Mr Mokaba told supporters at an ANC cultural festival to commemorate Shaka Day that IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would face an angry ANC if he contributed to postponing the elections.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC had to attain power by the ballot or the bullet. — Sapa

TEC winnowing police force — ANC

THE Transitional Executive Council subcommittee on law and order has started identifying policemen who should not form part of a police force operating under a new democratic government, the ANC's Obed Bapela disclosed at the weekend.

Bapela, the ANC's PWV secretary-general, said brutal, racist policemen and those police who used the force for their own political ends, would be removed, Sapa reports.

"They will not be part of the new force, which will concentrate on community policing. We're going to transform this police force."

He repeated the call for the withdrawal of the internal stability unit from townships.

Bapela was addressing about 100 marchers from the Hillbrow branch

of the ANC Youth League.

The marchers handed in memorandums at the SA Defence Force's Witwatersrand Command and at the Hillbrow police station.

The memorandums highlighted the youth league's grievances against security force members.

The ANC Youth League accused the SAP and SADF of being reluctant to stop township violence and of harassing peace monitors.

It said SADF bases in townships were used as a springboard by faceless killers to launch attacks on residents.

Other demands were:

□ Creation of a truly representative and accountable force;

□ The return of all mercenary forces to their countries of origin; and

□ The cessation of all covert operations by security forces.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that representatives of the SA Police, the defence force, the ANC and various local organisations and civic structures held an anti-crime summit in Soweto at the weekend.

Police spokesman Major H Oosthuizen said SAP representatives at the summit had agreed to take up requests that the township be policed by personnel living in the area.

They would also look into the provision of mobile police stations.

Methods of involving the community in policing Soweto and the need for residents to do their share in crime prevention were discussed, Oosthuizen said.

He said further summits and anti-crime workshops would follow.

MK's thousands to assemble

THOUSANDS of ANC cadres are to be ordered to assembly points throughout SA.

Both the ANC and government will have to disclose full details of their forces and weapons under the Transitional Executive Council Act passed on Thursday.

Defence analyst Jakkie Cilliers said many assembly points would be close to urban areas, with one of the largest likely to be in Soweto.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda said cadres were registering in large numbers.

Nyanda put MK numbers at about 16 000, but Cilliers and other military analysts said a figure of 12 000 "able-bodied fighters" was more realistic.

About 8 000 are believed to be in SA, with most of the remainder in Uganda. Cilliers said it was not clear whether those abroad would return when the assembly points were set up. — Sapa-Reuter.

14 die in East Rand violence

FOURTEEN people died and two were wounded in violent incidents mainly in Thokoza on the East Rand at the weekend, police said.

Spokesman Lt Deon Peens said yesterday most of the victims had been either shot, stabbed, hacked or burned to death on Saturday night or early Sunday.

Of the eight bodies found in Thokoza, four had bullet wounds, two had been burned, one had been stabbed and hacked and one had multiple wounds after the victim had apparently been dragged behind a vehicle.

Most of the bodies were found at hostels in the township. A man with three bullet wounds to the head was found at Thokoza Hostel No 3 and admitted to Natalspruit Hospital in a critical condition.

In Katlehong, the bodies of four men were found. Two had been shot and two burned to death.

The body of a man with stab wounds was found in Duduza and that

of another with assegai wounds at the Selby hostel near Johannesburg.

A Tembisa man with stab wounds to the head was taken to the local hospital. His condition was described as "serious but stable".

In another East Rand development, 17 political and non-political organisations told a meeting of the Vosloorus peace co-ordinating committee on Saturday to continue with efforts to unite hostel dwellers and township residents.

Among the organisations represented were the ANC, the ANC Youth League, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Cosatu, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Police and Prison Officers' Civil Rights Union, the Congress of SA Students and the SA Police.

The SAP's Maj D J Malan told delegates the police would do everything in their power to help the committee restore peace.

The committee will meet again on Wednesday. — Sapa.

Call for curbs on Mokaba

STELLENBOSCH. — The National Party's Cape youth wing has called on the ANC to discipline its youth leader, Mr Peter Mokaba, and to consider his suspension.

At its congress in Stellenbosch at the weekend, the NP Cape youth adopted a motion that irresponsible statements by ANC officials, such as Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Mokaba, contributed to violence in the Cape.

The ANC should discipline these two in the interests of peace and stability and should seriously consider suspending them. (1/A)

The congress also resolved to call on the government to hand back all land alienated under the Group Areas Act to the original owners. — Sapa CT 27/9/83

ANC drops call for simple majority

B/Day 27/9/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC and its allies have agreed to drop their demand that the deadlock-breaking mechanism in the new constitution be approved by a simple majority.

This would remove a key stumbling block towards the new constitution. (11A)

A senior ANC negotiating source yesterday confirmed that the organisation had agreed to the deadlock-breaking mechanism being changed.

"But it is not just simply a matter of the percentages being changed to higher majorities. Possibly there have to be changes to the whole process of approving the final constitution," he said.

At present, if the elected constitutional assembly could not agree on the constitution by a two-thirds majority, a referendum would be held and if this did not result in a two-thirds majority, a new election would be called and a simple majority required to approve the constitution.

Yesterday ANC national executive committee member and SACP chairman Joe Slovo said no firm agreements had been reached but negotiations were going on "and we have to resolve the matter urgently so we can finalise the constitution within the next five weeks".

Meanwhile, government and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators met yesterday and will continue their meeting today in Pretoria to try to bridge the differences Inkatha has with the rest of the process.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi

repeated his rejection of the Transitional Executive Council yesterday and said Zulus should prepare to resist TEC rule in KwaZulu, Sapa reports.

He told a rally in Umlazi, held to celebrate Shaka Day, that the TEC was undemocratic and was dominated by the ANC.

"At the heart of the latest constitutional proposals now tabled at negotiations, is the aim to destroy KwaZulu as a political force before elections take place next year," he charged.

"No one must underestimate our determination to rule over ourselves. No one must underestimate our resolve to remain free from foreign rule," he said.

Government and the ANC met last week and the ANC will be meeting the Concerned South Africans Group and Bophuthatswana today to discuss regional powers.

Meetings between the Afrikaner Volksfront and the ANC are also set to continue although they have not made much headway in the secret meetings.

An ANC source said while there had not been any breakthrough, there had been a "warming up process and there could be scope for finding accommodation".

However, Slovo said the ANC would not accept an Afrikaner boerestaat but there "are other ways that their concerns can be addressed and we are exploring these".

Cracks in SA unity on World Bank finance

GRETA STEYN

WASHINGTON — The World Bank's efforts to start lending to SA ran into trouble at the weekend with the ANC voicing strong opposition to SA using bank finance.

Speaking ahead of a meeting yesterday with the bank's vice-president for Africa, Edward Jaycox, ANC economics head Trevor Manuel said: "World Bank finance is not on the agenda." *Biday*

He spelled out a cautious approach to foreign loans, conveying a fervent wish to avoid the bank and IMF calling the shots on economic policy. He noted the IMF's \$850m special facility was enough for the time being. IMF MD Michel Camdessus indicated after meeting the ANC that an announcement on the loan could be made "within days". *27/9/93*

Manuel expressed fear that SA might plunge into another debt crisis if it rushed into too many foreign loans. In a reference to the strings attached to IMF and bank loans, Manuel said SA should guard against losing its sovereignty. *(IA)*

He said the IMF had told the ANC it would like to see fiscal discipline in place at the earliest opportunity. The organisation had said it would take time to establish a new style of management.

Manuel said the usual stringent set of conditions attached to IMF standby facilities did not apply to the special drought-related loan. "Fiscal policy conditions might in general terms be part of the dogma of the IMF, but it is not on the agenda here."

However, the loan, known as the Compensatory and Contingency Financing Facility, requires an undertaking from the borrower to "co-operate" with the IMF. Discussions on what co-operation would entail are taking place this week. Camdessus said the finance could be paid out "as soon as negotiations are concluded and a decision approved by the executive board".

Jaycox said earlier this year \$1bn in bank finance was available for SA. The bank had invited SA to apply for loans for specific projects within the framework of a clearly defined development plan. Money would be paid out after the Transitional Executive Council was in place and the

□ To Page 2

World Bank

country's development projects had been evaluated by the bank. *Biday 27/9/93*

Government officials had hoped a development programme drawn up by a team led by Development Bank of SA chairman Wiseman Nkulu could be used to apply for World Bank finance. Before their departure for Washington, they had remained hopeful of ANC support. *(IA)*

Manuel did not rule out using World Bank finance in the longer term. "There is work to be done to determine the optimal use of bank lending. We should take care not to throw money at the problem."

He said existing inefficiencies in the public sector and high current government expenditure would take time to address after the election. At the same time, the majority of the population expected de-

mocracy to bring tangible change.

Against that background, heavy foreign borrowing was likely to be followed by a debt crisis and an IMF-devised structural adjustment programme — "a situation we would like to avoid at all costs".

Manuel's comments about bank finance could be the first sign of cracks in the facade of SA unity, although government has not publicly stated its intention to apply for bank funds.

The ANC is attending the annual general meetings as a guest of the bank and IMF, and not as members of the official SA delegation, as was expected. However, the organisation will accompany the delegation at meetings.

● Comment: Page 4

□ From Page 1

Mandela wins cash boost

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has won a pledge for \$850 million in IMF aid, securing badly needed funds for South Africa's troubled economy.

Treated like a head of state in Washington, Mandela found that his plea to tear down economic sanctions against South Africa was being met with swift action in the West.

International Monetary Fund managing director Mr Michel Camdessus said

Sowetan 27/9/93
after meeting Mandela that he was eager to channel within days the first multilateral assistance to South Africa since sanctions were first erected in the early 1980s. (S) (IA)

"I look forward in the following days to the preparation of the first disbursement from the IMF to compensate for the dramatic drop in exports," Camdessus said.

Mandela told the United Nations last

week that it was time to repeal sanctions against South Africa as the country moves towards democracy and elections next April.

While the United States and the European Community have already lifted most restrictions on trade, the appeal from Mandela — who spent 27 years in jail for his opposition to apartheid — clears the way for badly-needed investment. — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS Focus swings back to Kempton Park ● Another

Sowetan 27/9/93

Talks race resumes

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's political agenda is taken up again at the World Trade Centre tomorrow after two weeks when another race begins to finalise a draft transitional constitution for promulgation in November.

The multiparty negotiations process resumes after being held back for the 14-day special sitting of Parliament in Cape Town where four pieces of draft legislation, including the Transitional Executive Council Bill, were approved.

The Bills were adopted by sufficient consensus of the negotiating council earlier this month in preparation for elections next April 27.

On the other hand, the Pan Africanist Congress said it would "dig our heels

in" and continue to oppose the TEC and interim constitution at the talks.

Plans are that Parliament will sit again for three weeks from November 8 with a finished draft interim constitution high on its agenda, giving negotiators at least four weeks to reach agreement.

Secret venue

Also, the week kicked off with a high-powered bilateral meeting at a secret Pretoria venue between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government which began yesterday. Discussions are expected to end about noon today.

The IFP is led by its chief executive officer, Mr. Joe Matthews, and the Government by its chief negotiator, Mr. Roelf Meyer.

The meeting is a sequel to a summit between State President FW de Klerk

and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tuynhuys on September 16 aimed at getting the IFP back to the talks.

It is believed a compromise agreement with Pretoria might be struck with the IFP which would also benefit the restless Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments at the talks, as well as the Afrikaner Volksfront on the outside.

To this group compromise means those regional powers which may so wish be allowed to draft their own constitutions prior to the April 27 elections.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr. Jaki Seroke said: "Our position is firmly against entrenched regions. We will continue to fight for a broadly mandated constituent assembly, unfettered by prior agreement. The parties involved in the talks have no such mandate".

I'M SO ASHAMED... SOMEBODY PLEASE

Investors are sitting up and taking notice

FW, Mandela score in US

Star 27/9/93



BY PETER FABRICIUS
and CLAIRE GEBHARDT

Washington — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela are both making a solid impact in the US capital with their hard-sell campaigns to attract South African investment.

Potential investors are sitting up and taking notice of South Africa as a destination for their money, according to a wide range of sources who have watched the two leaders in almost non-stop action over the last few days.

The two are conducting seemingly unco-ordinated but remarkably similar drives to reassure potential investors that the Republic is a safe place for their money.

► More reports —
Pages 3 and 11

Mandela addressed hundreds of top political and corporate leaders at the World Economic Development Congress here at the weekend and promised foreign investors, security of investment, repatriation of profits and dividends, competitive rates of taxation and stable and predictable public policies.

De Klerk told the same gathering that consensus was rapidly emerging in South Africa on economic policy, citing the recent agreements on the final debt repayment to foreign bankers and the approach towards seeking IMF assistance.

South African officials be-

LEADERS have launched a hard-sell campaign following the lifting of remaining sanctions

lieve the two chose the perfect time to make their pitch, riding the wave of interest excited by the lifting of sanctions and exploiting a captive audience of influential political and financial leaders gathered for the annual IMF and World Bank meetings.

However, the situation regarding bank financing was not as clear last night, despite optimism expressed by top Government delegates.

Mandela and ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel cast a shadow of doubt over any financing which would carry stringent conditions.

Mandela told the World Economic Development Congress that any assistance from the IMF and World Bank would not be allowed to influence South Africa's economic sovereignty or its ability to address the needs of the majority of the population.

Conditions basically impose free-market parameters on borrower nations including fiscal discipline, preventing them from over-spending government funds.

However today the investment climate should be further improved. Finance Minister Derek Keys will boost our credit-worthiness by an-

► To Page 3

FW and Mandela impress investors

◀ From Page 1

nouncing the final deal for the repayment of foreign debt caught in the standstill net.

Sources in the development community believe this will boost investor confidence that SA is a good credit risk.

Meanwhile, an \$850 million (about R2 900 million) IMF drought-relief loan to South Africa is virtually assured.

Sources in the large contingent of South Africans attending the annual meetings report a high degree of interest in South Africa — and say De Klerk and Mandela are going down well.

This was apparent at

the World Economic Development Congress here at the weekend where both leaders were given standing ovations for their keynote speeches.

Coming on top of the adoption of TEC legislation and the lifting of remaining economic sanctions, they helped make South Africa the talking point of the congress.

Wall Street security firms and development bankers have expressed surprise at the level of interest in investing in South Africa

Boe Marsh, president of Saicor Securities Inc — a firm devoted to South Africa — says 90 percent of firms on Wall Street want to know more about South Africa.

'Fake' ANC pamphlets (1/1)

PETRUSVILLE. — The African National Congress yesterday disclaimed responsibility for phoney pamphlets, distributed in the Northern Cape and Western Transvaal, calling for the killing of "boers".

ANC Western Transvaal region media spokesman Mr Rankoa Molefe said the pamphlets, with a poorly-designed ANC letterhead, were fakes.

Senior ANC officials in this Northern Cape town also denied having issued the pamphlets, saying their contents corresponded more closely with views held by the PAC. — Sapa

CT-28/7/93



PEACEMAKERS PARLEY: Nelson Mandela and Shimon Peres in New York yesterday.

Mandela and Peres laud each other

NEW YORK. — In a historic first, ANC president Nelson Mandela has met Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres in New York. (11A)

The men congratulated each other on the significant recent steps towards peace in their countries. ARG 28/9/93

In the Middle East, Israel has made peace with the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, while in South Africa the process to democracy has been advanced by the go-ahead for the Transitional Executive Council.

"It was our (the ANC's) pleasant duty to be able to congratulate both the state of Israel as well as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation on

IT'S A FUNNY

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said reporters turned down an invitation to go to Norway for the peace talks that led to the deal with the PLO, saying no progress would be made. 'The solitude helped us so much,' he said.

OLD WORLD

their accord," Mr Mandela told Mr Peres at their meeting in the ANC leader's New York hotel room.

"But right from the beginning we have always recognised the existence of Israel within secure borders," said Mr Mandela.

He reminded Mr Peres that

the ANC and the PLO had been allies for years, adding: "Nothing makes us more happy than that both Israel and the PLO should be able to sit down to sort out their differences peacefully."

Mr Mandela is on a three-week US and European tour, aimed mainly at wooing business to South Africa following his call for the lifting of economic sanctions, and Mr Peres is in New York for the official opening of the 48th session of the UN General Assembly.

Mr Peres responded by saying that the democratic process in South Africa — piloted by President De Klerk and Mr Mandela — held out "some of the greatest promises of our age". — Sapa.

Thebe, Macmillan in joint venture

ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation yesterday announced its entry into SA's R800m-a-year educational book publishing market. **BIDAY**

Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile said the company was linking up with international publisher Macmillan and local publisher Skotaville on terms that gave Thebe 42,5% of a new company called Nolwazi Educational Publishers. Macmillan will have 47,5% and Skotaville the remaining 10%.

The shares have a nominal value of 50c each and Macmillan is providing R2m to assist Nolwazi's start-up. The company's formation marks Macmillan's return to SA and pits it against five local competitors in the school textbook field. **29/9/93**

Spokesmen said they wanted the new company to break with the tradition of government awarding book contracts as a political favour. However, as an exclusively black-run company practising affirma-

PATRICK BULGER

tive action, and with its ANC links, it expected to be well placed to tender for a new government's school book needs.

"Our responsiveness to many of the new situations will be quicker than our competitors," Macmillan director Christopher Paterson said. Khanyile said the company had not yet concluded any agreements.

Nolwazi would be committed to efforts to improve the current book per capita ratio in SA schools. **(11/9) (1/93)**

Its board consists of Khanyile, Skotaville MD Mthobi Mutloatse, Paterson, Thebe chairman Litha Nyhonha, Macmillan Botswana MD Luchi Balarin and Macmillan's David Barge. It will elect a chairman soon.

Paterson said a team of seven to 10 people would launch the company. Expansion depended on market share captured.

● Picture: Page 3

Mandela and Buthelezi plan joint tour

B/Say 29/1/93
DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi were to visit violence-torn areas in Natal and on the East Rand together soon, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki announced yesterday.

Mbeki headed an ANC delegation in talks with Buthelezi in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi yesterday.

He said arrangements for the leaders' visits had been finalised and dates would be announced when Mandela returned from the US.

Buthelezi welcomed the proposed visits, saying he was certain his and Mandela's joint appearances would do much to reduce violence. *(15)*

The meeting followed an agreement between Mandela and Buthelezi to tour embattled areas in a bid to stem the "hideous violence". *(11A)*

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, who facilitated the meeting, said the delegations had also discussed the continuation of talks on constitutional issues.

● See Page 2

'FW's dogs must leave'

Star 29/7/93

(11A)

BY ABDUL MILAZI

In an emotional attack on the SAP Internal Stability Unit at an ANC rally in Benoni yesterday, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba demanded that "criminal De Klerk take his dogs" out of black townships.

Mokaba told thousands of ANC supporters at a rally held at the Willowmore Park Stadium in Benoni to demand the end to violence, and that peace was not possible until members of the Internal Stability Unit withdrew from the townships.

In contrast to Mokaba's bellicose style, Winnie Mandela later told the crowd that the "time for war talk is over".

Mokaba said black people wanted "community-interactive policing"

PETER Mokaba lashes out at the Internal Stability Unit, but Winnie Mandela sounds conciliatory

by black policemen living in the townships instead of by the ISU, which he accused of complicity in ongoing violence.

"They (the unit) have a choice. They either move out willingly or they will be forced out," he said. "We are here to say to criminal De Klerk: take your dogs out of our townships."

Mokaba added that township self-defence units would be strengthened to form the core of a new police force.

He also accused Presi-

dent De Klerk and Buthelezi of terrorising township residents.

Mandela, in contrast to Mokaba's speech, said the time for war talk was over.

She said the SA National Civic Organisation and the ANC had declared war on poverty and were concerned with reconstruction and development.

She called for unity between local civic structures, without which South Africa's first nonracial election could not be achieved.

After the address, Mokaba, Mandela and ANC PWV regional secretary-general Obed Bapela led a march to the Benoni police station, where two memoranda were delivered.

PAC opposes ANC call to lift sanctions

Star 29/9/93
New York — Sanctions must remain, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander told the UN yesterday, opposing the ANC's call for their lifting only a few days ago.

He said investors could lose their money because of political instability, which he blamed on the Government. (IIF)

He accused the Government of engaging in a deliberate "conspiracy to reduce the African population numerically".

Addressing a specially convened meeting of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, he argued that the Transitional Executive Council

would not introduce real black empowerment, since it "neither constitutes a new government nor a shift of power".

The international community's positive response to Mandela's call was not surprising. "These countries have for years been looking for an excuse to go back, in their own national interest, to invest in SA."

Alexander said tribunals had been set up in the past to try crimes against humanity.

"But in South Africa, where the crime against humanity persisted so long, it is business as usual." — Sapa.

Winnie tells rally: No more war talk

(11A) CT 29/9/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday that the time for war talk was over.

She was addressing ANC supporters at a rally at Benoni's Willowmoore Park stadium held to highlight demands for the internal stability unit to withdraw from townships and for an end to violence.

Mrs Mandela was speaking in her capacity as southern Transvaal chairman of the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco).

She said Sanco and the ANC had

declared war on poverty and were concerned with reconstruction.

Mrs Mandela's speech was interrupted several times by the crowd who had marched to the stadium from the East Rand townships of Daveyton, Etwatwa, Wattville and Actonville.

At the same rally, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said internal stability unit members should leave the townships willingly or be forcibly removed. He said they had two choices — bullet or ballot.

The rally was accompanied by a one-day stayaway in East Rand townships. — Sapa

Police raid (117) ANC offices

AUG 29 1973
EAST LONDON. — The offices of the African National Congress here were raided by police early today.

The raid followed the arrest of an ANC member at a roadblock near Cathcart last night in connection with the possession of firearms.

ANC spokesman Mcebisi Bata said the police found nothing during the raid. — Sapa.

Govt 'grandstanding' is slammed

Sowetan 29/9/93
PAC on the attack

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday criticised the bilateral "grandstanding" of the Government and the African National Congress in their calls for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

(11A)
PAC foreign affairs head Mr Gora Ibrahim said at a Johannesburg Press conference the PAC viewed current political developments with trepidation

and repeated that an "all-inclusive" democratic solution to political problems be found before sanctions are lifted. "All patriots and those who sincerely believe in genuine democracy are upset that there exists the perception that the regime and a section of the leadership of the ANC are involved in bilateral deals which they hope to impose on the rest of us," Ibrahim said. — Sapa.

PAC wants sanctions to stay until after elections

B/Say 29/9/93

THE PAC said yesterday it wanted to remind the ANC and government that multi-party agreements like the transitional executive still needed to be ratified by all negotiating participants.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said the ANC and government were giving the international community the impression that they alone could lift sanctions.

The PAC remained in favour of sanctions until the April election. Their imposition had been a collective effort and they should be lifted collectively. (11A)

Ebrahim said the PAC still had problems with the Transitional Executive Council Bill, including the

PATRICK BULGER

fact that President F W de Klerk had not yet signed it and that it left security force control in the hands of the present government.

The De Klerk-Mandela "showmanship" in the US did not augur well for democracy. He accused "elements" within the ANC of making common cause with De Klerk and said there were divisions within the ANC of which the PAC was aware. To exploit such divisions, the PAC was talking to ANC youth.

Any loans from the international community now would undermine the chance for free and fair elections.

Thebe textbook deal sealed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation yesterday announced its entry into South Africa's R800m-a-year educational book publishing market.

Thebe managing director Mr Vusi Khanyile said Thebe was linking with international publisher Macmillan and local pub-

lisher Skotaville on terms giving Thebe 42,5% of a new company called Nolwazi Educational Publishers. Macmillan will have 47,5% and Skotaville 10%.

The shares have a nominal value of 50c each and Macmillan is providing R2m to assist Nolwazi's start-up. The company's formation marks Macmillan's return to South Africa and puts it up against five local competitors

in the school textbook field.

Spokesmen said they wanted the new company to break with the tradition of the government awarding textbook contracts as a political favour. As a black-run company practising affirmative action, and with its ANC links, it expected to be well placed to tender for a new government's schoolbook needs.

CF 29/9/93

(11A)

Star 2919193

Buthelezi is accused of 'declaring war'

BY PETER FABRICIUS
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday launched a scathing attack on Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whom he accused of having "declared war" by calling on Zulus to arm themselves.

Speaking at a press conference after meeting the board of

the South African Free Election Fund in New York, Mandela contrasted Buthelezi's attitude with that of Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen, whom he called "a responsible man".

Mandela detailed extensive foreign and domestic efforts made to draw Buthelezi back

into negotiations, and said the ANC would continue to talk to the IFP leader.

"Now he has declared war and has called on Zulus to arm themselves to fight. I hope wiser counsel will warn him of the dangers," he said.

The ANC leader's criticism of

Buthelezi came on the same day the organisation's national chairman Thabo Mbeki and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma held talks with the Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister in Ulundi to finalise arrangements for Mandela and Buthelezi to address joint rallies in war-torn areas.

IFP national communications

director Dr Ziba Jiyane today told The Star the planned joint rallies would go ahead despite Mandela's latest criticism of Buthelezi.

He said it was strange that Mandela would not concede that Buthelezi's call was merely meant to arm Zulus with self-defence in the face of unrelenting attacks from the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe.



Allow homeland vote, says ANC

Bill Day 30/9/93

THE ANC yesterday made an impassioned plea for residents of the TBVC states to be given the right to vote in the forthcoming elections.

During the debate on the Electoral Bill at the World Trade Centre, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, absent from the debate, suddenly entered the chamber and said that it was time to "stop sidestepping this vital issue".

He said that regardless of whether the TBVC states were reincorporated into SA by the time of the election, their residents "cannot be deprived of their basic democratic right to exercise their vote". He urged Home Affairs to start issuing these residents with identity documents.

The negotiating council did not decide on the matter but instructed the technical committee to draft sections into the Bill to allow for further discussion.

Ramaphosa's intervention was aimed at mobilising support within these territories to push for this right, a senior ANC source disclosed later.

"It is an attempt to put further pressure on the administrations to not delay on the reincorporation question and, even if this cannot happen in time, at least people there can vote," he said.

Ramaphosa was opposed by the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana delegations which said the Bill would not be enforceable within their territories.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said government could, within weeks, force acquiescence from these administrations by squeezing them financially.

Ramaphosa said he could not believe these governments would want to deprive their residents of the vote.

"They have not stood up and said

BILLY PADDOCK

this. I call on them now to state if they refuse to allow their residents to vote. If they had said this then they are in the wrong forum because this forum is designed precisely to achieve that aim," he said.

It also became obvious in yesterday's discussions on the Bill that negotiators felt prisoners should be given the right to vote for the first time in SA's history.

Only government, the DP and the Afrikaner Volksunie opposed the suggestion. Government argued that if prisoners were eligible to vote they could also sit in Parliament.

DP negotiator Dene Smuts said she recognised that consensus among negotiators was that prisoners be given the vote on the basis that socio-economic crimes were committed because of apartheid. However, she called for prisoners to be categorised so that rapists and murderers could not vote as they had deprived others of their basic rights.

The ANC and SACP, supported by all the other parties, argued that "sick and criminal people should not be doubly punished", saying voting was a basic right. Slovo said it might even contribute to rehabilitating them.

The technical committee responded by stating that granting voting rights to prisoners was a new development in human rights which had been allowed in the US and Canada.

Prof Dennis Davis added that Judge Richard Goldstone, in a minority judgment in *Goldberg vs the State*, argued that prisoners be deprived of only the minimum rights necessary for their incarceration.

The debate will continue next week with the council avoiding any decisions on the Bill.

Teachers' body to join ANC's voting campaign

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) is to apply for immediate affiliation with Cosatu and throw its weight behind the ANC election campaign.

The union made these announcements in a statement yesterday after a two-day national council meeting here.

Sadtu also suggested five of its office bearers be included in the ANC's election list. — Sapa

17.00: The hero and the beautiful
 18.00: Top 20. Hit parade. Presenters Lawrence Dube, Neil Johnson.
 18.57: Devotion
 19.00: News
 19.30: Prospects. Magazine programme with profiles, consumerism, technology, health, the arts.
 20.00: The Puppet Masters. Xhosa series about a young man forced into a life of crime. English simulcast.
 20.30: Ezodumo. Traditional music.
 21.00: News
 21.12: Cassidy. Becoming more and more involved, Charlie has to think deeply about her future. Final.

20.00: 48 Hours. News magazine.
 21.00: Absolution. A student wants to get even with the priest who forbade him to have contact with a drifter. Richard Burton, Dominic Guard, Dai Bradley, Andrew Keir, Willboughby Gray.
 23.00: K-9. A narcotics policeman and his four-legged partner. James Belushi, Kevin Tighe.
 01.00: Judgment in Berlin. One plane passenger and three defectors. Martin Sheen, Sean Penn.
 03.00: Deceived. A widow discovers her husband's double life. Goldie Hawn, John Heard.
 00.05: Transmission ends

Four killed in station attack

JOHANNESBURG. — Gunmen opened fire on passengers at Soweto's Ikwezi station last night, killing three men and a woman. Police said they were expecting arrests shortly.

And on Tuesday, a commuter was stabbed while travelling to Germiston station. He later died.

Three people were wounded when up to 20 men fired AK-47 rifles and small arms into the Scaw Metals hostel in Wa-

deville, Germiston, this week. They used a sledgehammer to smash a hole in a wall.

Twelve people were killed and 20 injured at the same hostel a month ago.

An IFP spokesman said members of the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe had attacked them in a bid to drive Inkatha out of the hostel.

In KwaThema an IFP official Mr Samuel Motha, 35, was shot dead early yesterday as he left home for work.

The bodies of seven people, including two policemen, were found in Thokoza, Katlehong and Tsakane on the East Rand on Tuesday and yesterday.

All seven had been shot dead, and two of the bodies had also been burned.

Taxi driver Mr Peter Mapane, was shot dead near Thokoza on Tuesday morning.

In Natal two men were shot dead and a woman was wounded when gunmen fired on them in their huts near Estcourt. The huts were set alight. — Sapa

Top IFP man hurt on campus

JOHANNESBURG. — IFP central committee member Mr Themba Khoza was slightly injured after Vista University students disrupted a panel debate at the university's Soweto campus yesterday, an IFP statement said. — Sapa

More than 200 police officers on strike in PE

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — More than 200 members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcu) went on strike yesterday at all police stations and the New Brighton Magistrate's Courts, bringing the administration of justice to a halt.

Senior police officers and a delegation representing the striking police met yesterday. The meeting will continue today.

The strike is in protest against the "sudden and unacceptable" transfer of the strikers' popular leader, Captain Mzingisi Moshara.

Police in pre-dawn swoop on ANC office

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Police swooped on the ANC office here in a pre-dawn raid yesterday morning after an MK soldier and two other people were arrested for carrying illegal arms.

The MK member, identified by the Border ANC as Mr Petros "Bushy" Vantyu, is a regional ANC liaison officer.

Mr Vantyu, 30, Mr Luthondo Beza, 30, and an unidentified woman were detained at a road-block in Cathcart late on Tuesday night.

Two R5 rifles, a BXP sub-machinegun and 75 9mm rounds of ammunitions were confiscated from the car in which they were travelling.



Teachers' body to join ANC's voting campaign

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) is to apply for immediate affiliation with Cosatu and throw its weight behind the ANC election campaign.

The union made these announcements in a statement yesterday after a two-day national council meeting here.

Sadtu also suggested five of its office bearers be included in the ANC's election list. — Sapa

CT 30/9/93

Plot to kill Sowetan 30/10/93 youth leader

A RIGHTWING plot to assassinate outspoken African National Congress Youth League president Mr. Peter Mokaba was uncovered this week, according to ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. (S) (IA)

The plot, disclosed by the individuals concerned in a confession to the police, was reported to the ANC by SAP Crime Combating and Investigations Unit head Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux on Tuesday.

Ramaphosa said yesterday the police obtained confessions from rightwingers arrested in connection with the bomb planted outside an Indian trader's shop at the Bronkhorstpruit Mall last week that another bomb was to be placed at or near Mokaba's Johannesburg home.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed that an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member arrested last week told the police about the plot.

Mokaba spews fire, brimstone

Sowetan 30/9/93

■ RECONSIDER PLEA Youth leader warns

PAC and IFP not to talk war:

AFRICAN National Congress Youth League president Peter Mokaba yesterday urged the Azanian People's Liberation Army to accept joint peacekeeping units of the Transitional Executive Council.

Speaking at the University of Durban-Westville, he also castigated Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He pressed the Pan Africanist Congress' armed wing Apla to reconsider its stance towards the Transitional Executive Council's proposed joint peacekeeping force. (IIF)

He said: "We have been told by our sister liberation movement that if we form the TEC peacekeeping force they will still attack us ... the PAC must sit back and reconsider."

"No one talks war with the ANC. Hold hands with us, we are in the eye of the storm and we must defeat a common enemy."

While he appealed for a compromise with Apla, saying there could never be freedom for

the ANC if there was oppression of the PAC, Mokaba warned: "There is no way we can allow anyone to direct his guns against us and live to tell the story."

He condemned Apla for not speaking to him in 1984 when he was immersed in the armed struggle, saying: "When there were conditions to shoot they were nowhere to be found. Only now when we have a platform to debate, they go underground."

Mokaba said Buthelezi was a Savimbi, referring to rebel Unita leader Jonas Savimbi who reverted to war after losing the election in Angola.

"The Savimbis of South Africa are beginning to rear their heads ... shouting violence," he said.

Lashing out at Buthelezi he said: "What does Gatsha (Buthelezi) know about war, we will defeat Gatsha (Buthelezi) — if he survives we will be able to arrest him."

Mokaba later toned down his remarks and said it was not the ANC's policy to target individuals but systems. — Sapa.

BLACK POLITICS
1993

OCT.

Govt, KwaZulu talks continue

Sowetan
A HIGH-LEVEL team of Government negotiators met KwaZulu leaders in Durban yesterday as part of a series of bilateral talks between the two parties aimed at facilitating the homeland's return to negotiations. (13) (14)

The South African Government was represented by its chief negotiator Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and included Ministers Leon Wessels, Dawie de Villiers and Reiner

11/10/93
Schoeman. The KwaZulu delegation was led by Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane. (15)

A spokesman for Meyer, Mr Izak Retief, said it was unlikely either party would make any public statement.

"They're very tight-lipped because this is a series of meetings and they don't want to make statements that might jeopardise future negotiation," said Retief. — Sapa.

NEGOTIATIONS
FUM 1/10/93
Inkatha on board

"We are confident that the cookie is now crumbling in the right way," says a "totally buoyed" senior Inkatha official; "quite confident" that a federal republic will be delivered over the next four weeks of crucial bilateral and multilateral negotiations.

At this rate, it looks as though Mangosuthu Buthelezi will, after all, attend the leadership summit planned for early November, at which the "package" of interim constitutional measures, including the Transitional Executive Council Act, are to be given the formal go-ahead, after having been passed by parliament. (118)

Though Inkatha has been absent from the democracy talks at Kempton Park, which resumed on Tuesday to tackle the last lap of debate on the interim constitution, its demands are being relayed to the multi-party forum by government.

What Inkatha primarily wants to see — if it is to take part in the April 27 election — is:

- The completeness of the constitution;
- Preservation of key agreements, including — but not limited to — the principles already agreed; and
- The elimination of the final, 51% major-

ity deadlock-breaking mechanism for adopting the final constitution. FUM 1/10/93

If all this washes, it's hard to see what the elected constituent assembly will have to do bar dotting i's and crossing t's. This is precisely Inkatha's aim — a constitution so defined that it is tamper-proof.

Aside from the 26 constitutional principles adopted by the multi-party negotiating process in July as the framework that will guide the constituent assembly, Inkatha insists on having the powers, boundaries and functions of regional governments "defined now and left inviolate". (118)

In line with its argument for regional "asymmetry", Inkatha says it is in a position — before any election — to finalise and adopt a KwaZulu/Natal constitution based on the Buthelezi Commission and the Joint Executive Authority of the province. These have 12 years of negotiation behind them and must be preserved, the party maintains.

And it has the backing of Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte, who said in Durban this week that he is convinced KwaZulu/Natal should have its own, strongly federal constitution. Schutte says the National Party's federal model, soon to be unveiled at Kempton Park, would go far enough to draw Inkatha back to the talks.

On regional powers, the party is sticking to its demand that anything a regional government is capable of discharging should be left at that level as an original power. It also wants residual powers left with the regions and not, as presently envisaged, with the central government.

Inkatha further says that the future senate, made up of regional representatives, should be able to originate draft legislation where powers are concurrently held by the region and the centre.

The question of the party's participation in the election "revolves entirely" on the success of the new constitution; it will "certainly not take part if the constituent assembly can, *de novo*, rewrite it."

Nor if the ANC should dig in its heels as a result of a backlash from its regions. ■

IFP may take part in poll' (18)

27 10 93
PIETERSBURG — IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi hinted at his party's contesting next year's April 27 election, but reiterated his demand that a final federal constitution be written before the poll.

Addressing IFP recruits at Paulpietersburg in northern Natal yesterday he said: "It is time that you told the National Party that you will no longer be the scapegoat for their mistakes.

"Next year, you will get the opportunity to finally tell the government how you feel at the polling booth," read a copy of his speech.

But Chief Buthelezi reiterated that the IFP would not return to multi-party talks until a final federal constitution was written by specialists before an election.

Writing a constitution after an election held risks for democracy.

He again accused the NP and the ANC of secret deals which would supposedly see the former as junior partner. — Sapa

CT 2/10/43
(115) (23)

IFP prisoners on hunger strike

PRETORIA. Forty-nine IFP prisoners have embarked on a hunger strike, the Correctional Services Department confirmed yesterday.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillett disputed the figure, saying the state was deliberately understating the situation.

Correctional Services headquarters said there were 34 IFP prisoners on hunger strike in Durban and 15 in Maritzburg.

The strikers are demanding their immediate release in accordance with the Further Indemnity Bill. — Sapa



(11B) Mangosuthu Buthelezi
IFP claims army, ANC 'war party'
ARC 2/10/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has accused soldiers of leading a 1000-strong African National Congress "war party" on the rampage in Thokoza on the East Rand yesterday.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said black South African Defence Force soldiers escorted the "war party" into Thokoza's Phenduka Section and laughed at helpless residents while ANC youths plundered and torched homes in Dube Street.

He said at least 150 people fled their homes when the Ncala Section youths, helped by soldiers, attacked.

"Residents watched helplessly as their homes went up in flames, and claim soldiers present did nothing to stop the attack," said Mr Tillett.

He said residents sought temporary refuge at three Tokoza hostels.

SADF complicity in yesterday's attack was reported to a Captain Nota of Group 72, said local IFP leader and peace committee representative Gertrude Mzizi.

Asked to comment, Witwatersrand Command spokesman Major Neels Visser strongly denied the claims and said the SADF deployed soldiers in the area to "stabilise the situation" after sporadic shootings.

"We are in Tokoza to create a presence and be seen there, and therefore have nothing to hide."

An East Rand police spokesman confirmed five houses were burned down in an attack. — Sapa.

Buthelezi hints at election aims

(11B) ARC 2/10/93

Weekend Argus
Correspondent and Sapa

PAULPIETERSBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday hinted that his party would contest next year's April 27 election, but reiterated his demand that a final federal constitution be written before the poll.

Addressing IFP recruits in northern Natal, Chief Buthelezi said: "It is time that you told the National Party that you will no longer be the scapegoat for their mistakes.

"Next year you will get the opportunity to finally tell the government how you feel at the polling booth."

The IFP walked out of talks in July in protest against the setting of the election date and the process leading to a constitution.

"By allowing the present two-phased process to run its course, we will allow South Africa's final constitution to be written up by a popularly-elected constituent assembly," the IFP leader said.

"Writing a constitution after an election will see an election campaign being waged on who would write the constitution.

"This holds with it many risks for federalism and democracy. There is a danger that if we allow this to happen, the winner at the poll will view the writing of the constitution as the spoils of victory.

"In such a case, we can forget about a constitution which will reflect the views of all of South Africa's people and which will stand the test of time."

Chief Buthelezi again accused the NP and the ANC of secret deals which would make the former a junior partner.

"Has no one yet told them (the NP) that revolutionaries do not like to share power?"

"The ANC wants all the power for themselves.

"If this means that they will secure it through the back-door, then so be it.

"While we can gain comfort from the fact that there are millions of South Africans, both black and white, who think like us, and who are not prepared to hand our country over to the ANC, we must also remember

that if we do not act now, then there will be nothing to salvage."

■ Weekend Argus Correspondent MARTIN CHALLENGER reports from Durban that Chief Buthelezi said a total of 127 Inkatha Freedom Party office bearers had been "specifically targeted for assassination" and subsequently murdered in political violence since the National Peace Accord was signed on September 14, 1991.

Of these, 103 murders were in Natal/Kwazulu, and 24 in the Transvaal.

This year alone, 32 IFP leaders had been killed in Natal/Kwazulu, and 14 in the Transvaal.

The murder of IFP branch chairman Samuel Motha, shot outside his home in Kwathema, "further confirms Inkatha's insistence that our leaders are being specifically targeted for assassination throughout the country," Chief Buthelezi said, adding that there was a campaign to smash Inkatha and its leadership.

There was a "suspicious" lack of national and international attention given to the ongoing deaths, he said.

"The failure of the police to apprehend the killers involved in such a vast number of assassinations is appalling and nothing short of a national disgrace."

The IFP had been castigated by various political leaders, including those whose own organisations had private armies, "for seeing the necessity now for the party to urgently establish its own self-protection units to enable members to defend themselves", Chief Buthelezi said.

He said IFP central committee member Velaphi Ndlovu and his wife had survived more than 25 assassination attempts in the past few years.

"It appears to us, regrettably so, that in some quarters there has been a conspiracy of silence in the media when it comes to effectively highlighting the extent of the carnage being deliberately perpetrated against our leaders and party branch structures.

"There has been no outcry by church leaders and other political organisations have remained equally mute."

IFP poised to sit on four more MPs

THE Inkatha Freedom Party expects to have at least 11 members in Parliament when it reopens in November. *S Times (C/M24)*
They will include four more Indian MPs and the IFP's first coloured parliamentarian, Mr Peter Klink, MP for Liesbeeck, who joined the party on the last day of the recent session.
The IFP has six MPs, the most recent recruit being Dr Kisten Rajoo, independent MP for Merbank and a former Minister of Education in the House of Delegates. *3/10/93*
Senior IFP MP Mr Farouk Cassim said he regarded Mr Rajoo as an "important asset".
The IFP has three MPs in the House of Delegates, three in the House of Assembly and one in the House of Representatives. *(118)*

INKATHA will never realise its dream of a federal state in Natal and KwaZulu no matter how hard they try, ANC leader Nelson Mandela allegedly told Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their meeting at Kempton Park in July.

Addressing guests in Johannesburg during a debate on the role of the TEC, Inkatha spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said during their second man-to-man meeting to try and find a solution to the inter-party political violence among their supporters. Mandela told Buthelezi in no uncertain terms that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government should forget about pursuing the idea of establishing an autonomous federal state.

Jiyane expressed little hope of Inkatha achieving its goals at multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre as "deals were pre-cooked at bilaterals and bosberade (secret bush talks) between the government and the ANC".

In a surprise disclosure, Jiyane said during their recent visit to Namibia, President Sam Nujoma told the Inkatha delegation that Pretoria and the ANC were making a serious mistake by sidelining them from the multiparty talks.

Said Jiyane: "Nujoma vindicated our stance with regard to the talks and said although his government consisted of a Constituent Assembly, it was ruled by consensus rather than through decisions being taken unilaterally by the ruling party."

Jiyane shared the platform with speakers from the PAC, NP and Azapo on the theme: "TEC - Sellout or Compromise", which was organised by the Dr Oscar Dloomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

However, despite their absence from the World Trade Centre, Inkatha continued to hold bilateral talks with both the ANC and Pretoria to put across its point on the type of federalism Inkatha and KwaZulu envisaged.

"We stand less chance of making our point inside the multiparty talks than outside. The government has spent more time striking deals with the ANC in secret talks and they expect us to hop along with those decisions."

Jiyane said in their current bilateral talks with the Pretoria, the government was trying to force Inkatha



BUTHELEZI ... Sticks to his demand for a federal state.



MANDELA ... Allegedly told Buthelezi to drop demand.



NUJOMA ... Serious mistake to sideline Inkatha.



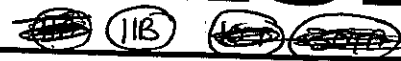
NEMADZIVHANANI ... Rein in disbanded battalions.



NKADIMENG ... Azapo will push for blacks not to vote.

TEC: SELL-OUT OR COMPROMISE?

C/Poods 3/10/93



and KwaZulu delegates to agree to "pre-arranged" decisions in a week, yet the government spent a longer period with the ANC in similar talks.

During their meeting last week, government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Ruelif Meyer could not explain why Pretoria spent so much time with the ANC in their secret talks. All he was interested in was to sell the government's views on the draft constitution, Jiyane said.

Jiyane accused SACP national chairman Joe Slovo of "grandstanding" after he moved that April 27 be accepted as an election date. Subsequently, the agreement was en-

dorsed by a sufficient consensus, which caused Inkatha, KwaZulu and CP delegates to walk out.

Jiyane said Inkatha and KwaZulu stuck to their demand for an autonomous federal system for their region, because it was the only form of regional majority government which was close to the people and thus able to exercise their will.

He added that a simple majority was not a guarantee to democratic rule here, because the ruling party in a Constituent Assembly might decide to do away with the transitional constitution "on the spur of the moment".

NP executive director Olaus Van

Zyl said any party that was interested in bringing about democracy in this country should be prepared to compromise. Contrary to popular belief, compromising was not a sign of weakness, but of strength, he said.

Most whites polled by the NP recently believed that the party had compromised a lot to the ANC, whereas the same number of blacks also contended that the ANC had gone overboard with its compromises to the government, Van Zyl said.

He disputed Jiyane's allegations that the government struck secret deals with the ANC and said Pretoria had held secret meetings with every party that wanted them. These

included Inkatha, the PAC and General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The NP has dropped its past racial principles and more blacks, Coloureds and Indians were joining it since the party opened its membership to all races two years ago. In the western Cape there were more Coloured NP members than whites, he said.

He said the NP's revamped constitution was based on three principles: The free market economy, a federal system and a Bill of Rights with an independent judiciary.

On the walkout by Inkatha and KwaZulu from the multiparty talks, Van Zyl said the government tried

unsuccessfully to convince them not to leave, but the delegates of the two parties said they had been instructed by their principals to quit.

"The doors of negotiations remain open to them and we believe they can make more contributions to the peace process inside the talks than outside," said Van Zyl.

PAC national organiser Maxwell NEMADZIVHANANI said his party rejected the TEC because it was a toothless structure, with only supervisory and not advisory powers in the run-up to the elections.

The TEC, he said, lacked the "wings and teeth to protect the interests of the black majority during the

transition". The control of the security forces and lethal weapons (including guns and sophisticated armoury) was more important to the PAC than anything else because these determined the political scenario during any transition, he said.

He cited the civil war in Angola as a classical example of what normally happened if one party would not accept the outcome of democratic elections.

"Both the MPLA and Unita have dangerous weapons in their arsenals and it's these weapons that are determining the political scenario in that country."

NEMADZIVHANANI also said there was no guarantee that SADF soldiers would not attack and kill guerrillas at the proposed assembly points during the transition.

He said the concept of power-sharing during the transition undermined the efforts and sacrifices of the liberation movements to fight for the transfer of power from the hands of the white minority to those of the black majority.

NEMADZIVHANANI warned that as long as the members of the disbanded battalions (Koevoet, 31st and 32nd) were on the loose, they would always be suspected as the ones who were used by the government to kill blacks in massacres at taxi ranks and elsewhere. They must be confined to barracks with the aim of being repatriated back to their own countries.

Azapo general secretary Don NKADIMENG warned blacks against approving the proposed transitional constitution and said under its dispensation they would find themselves worse off than they were.

Nkadimeng, whose speech was largely dominated by sarcasm for those participating in the multiparty talks, referred to section 29 of the draft constitution, and said it addressed the question of the land in only one paragraph.

He said: "The gentlemen at the World Trade Centre have assured those who stole your land that the future government would not expropriate it from them. That's why we insist on the type of elections that will result in the transfer of power from the white minority."

"We'll encourage blacks not to vote on the election day, but I'm not sure if De Klerk will lose, because there are leaders who are fighting for parliamentary seats rather than total liberation of the oppressed."

Inkatha takes heart from secret meetings and prepares for elections

INKATHA looks set to be drawn back into formal negotiations — and is also preparing to contest the April 27 elections.

This follows a series of secret talks with government and the ANC since the party walked out of the Kempton Park negotiating forum in July.

Government and the ANC are understood to have gone a long way towards accommodating Inkatha's demands for substantial regional autonomy and for the early finalisation of key elements of the constitution.

What Inkatha sources described as "the

latest positive development" was forged during three meetings with government last week. A senior Inkatha negotiator said: "We are confident that the cookie is crumbling our way."

And at the weekend the Inkatha central committee decided to start preparing for the scheduled elections despite the party's previous unbending opposition to the poll.

The committee said it would gear up for elections in the hope that "a final constitution which entrenches federalism" would be won.

(113)
Constitutional Development Minister

BIDAY 4/10/93
BILLY PADDOCK

Roelf Meyer refused to be drawn on Inkatha's positive new approach, but said developments were at a sensitive stage. The next 10 days would be crucial, he said. However, another government source confirmed there was positive progress and said he believed Inkatha could be brought back into talks.

Government has been wooing Inkatha back to the negotiating process by undertaking a reformulation of the "federal principles" in its constitutional proposals.

It is also promising to ensure that these cannot be tampered with by the elected constitutional assembly.

Inkatha has also been given assurances that the draft deadlock-breaking mechanism, which favoured the ANC and could have resulted in it redrafting the entire negotiated constitution, will be changed.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said last week that government's new federal proposals, with built-in guarantees, would be sufficient to accommodate Inkatha demands. Government will table these new submissions to a constitutional

technical committee this week.

It is understood that the constitution being negotiated will be so comprehensive that only minor technical redrafting will be left to a constitutional assembly.

Regions are also likely to be granted more original powers — to the extent that the functions currently under the power of the homeland governments will be changed only slightly.

Despite the progress, Inkatha is not expected to rejoin negotiators at the World Trade Centre table. Instead, once the con-

To Page 2

Inkatha BIDAY 4/10/93

From Page 1

stitution is finalised, its leader Mangosuthu Buthezi will approve it at a plenary meeting of leaders and senior negotiators scheduled for the end of October. (113)

The leaders will be approving a package of agreements, including the constitution, the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Electoral Commission, the Media Commission, the Independent Broadcast Authority and the Electoral Bill, as well as a Bill of Rights for the transition.

Meanwhile, it appears the TBVC states' reincorporation has been resolved in principle, with only detail and logistics remaining to be decided.

A senior Bophuthatswana source confirmed that officials had held a series of "very successful meetings" with the ANC, which had "conceded many issues" it had previously rejected. These included more autonomy for the regions, allowing them to develop their own tax bases, and permitting the drawing up of regional constitutions, within limitations.

The past week's flurry of bilateral meetings comes to an end today as the negotiating council resumes discussions on the constitution. A key element on the agenda is the structure of the judiciary and how to ensure its independence.

Inkatha 'looks set to return'

014/10/93 (11B)

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha looks set to be drawn back into formal negotiations — and is also preparing to contest the April 27 elections.

This follows a series of secret talks with the government and the ANC. Both are understood to have gone a long way towards accommodating demands for substantial regional autonomy and the early finalisation of key elements of the constitution.

And at the weekend the Inkatha central committee decided to start preparing for the scheduled elections in the hope that "a final constitution entrenching federalism" would be won.

Reformulation

A government source said he believed Inkatha could be brought back into talks.

The government has undertaken a reformulation of the "federal principles" in its constitutional proposals.

Inkatha has also been given assurances that the draft deadlock-breaking mechanism will be changed.

● The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) should form a work group to look at steps needed to terminate the World Trade Centre process before it reached the stage of a final plenary, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi proposed yesterday. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



OL' BLUE EYES... R farm at the Waterfront

Petro

JOHANNESBURG. National Economic task force — setup to inv the fuel industry — is to

Star 4/10/93

IFP will contest April elections

Ulundi — The IFP will prepare for the April 27 election, but only in the hope that the poll will follow a final federal constitution.

This resolution was adopted by the IFP's central committee in Ulundi,

KwaZulu, on Saturday.

The committee also resolved "to continue to persuade fellow South Africans that elections for a democratic government should take place next year rather than be postponed for five years".

The IFP reiterated its call for the disbandment of private armies, but said it was unacceptable for parties such as the ANC to criticise IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's call for self-protection units. — Sapa.

NEWS Three suspects arrested by police after shooting ● TV personalities honoured

IFP preparing for elections

Sowetan 4/10/93

(118)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will prepare for next year's April 27 elections but only in the hope that the poll will follow a final federal constitution.

This was one of five resolutions adopted by the IFP's central committee at Ulundi in KwaZulu at the weekend.

"The members of the central committee reaffirm their belief that South Africa needs a finalised constitution which entrenches federalism as a condition for the IFP's participation in elections.

"We therefore resolve to continue to prepare for elections in the expectation that these elections will be for a new democratic government and not for a transitional body," the IFP said in a

statement on Saturday night.

The IFP has said it would not participate in elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a final constitution.

On the planned poll, the committee also resolved "to continue to persuade fellow South Africans that elections for a democratic government should take place next year rather than be postponed for five years".

The IFP reiterated its call for the disbandment of private armies.

"In the face of the widespread serial killings of IFP members and officials, and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the IFP has exercised the utmost restraint and patience over the years." — *Sapa*.

Cracks in Cosag threaten existence

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Concerned South Africans Group looks set to fragment and cease being a united force opposing government and the ANC at negotiations following discussions this week among some of its leaders.

And waiting to step into a new co-ordinating role to harness momentum for its own negotiating position is the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu. ~~BIDAN~~

On Sunday Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen met "to take stock" of the political circumstances a year after Cosag's formation. 5110193

Inkatha had tried to control the group and use it mainly as a battering ram at the ANC and government. But as negotiations restarted and other members of Cosag realised how they were being used, Buthelezi and his chief negotiators "started getting increasingly disenchanted that we would not dance to their tune," a Cosag participant said. (11B) (12) (13)

The fact that other Cosag members were negotiating their own deals had resulted in Buthelezi wanting to scupper the group and form another type of forum where he could control the process, a source said.

Buthelezi was now trying to foist on the other members a proposal that KwaZulu broker three-sided meetings between government and Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the AVF where it would always be present.

Inkatha "could be part of all, or some of these," Buthelezi said putting forward his proposal to the leaders on Sunday.

In his address to the other leaders, Buthelezi expressed anger at the lack of unity and said he was disappointed that Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksonie had not joined his negotiators and the CP in walking out. He said they should accept that Cosag existed only in name.

"Maybe it has outlived its usefulness," he said.

The leaders had agreed at the meeting that only a brief two-line statement would be issued stating that the meeting had happened, further meetings would take place and announcements would follow later this week.

However, after the meeting Buthelezi broke the agreement and sent out his speech to the media, raising further strains within the group.

It is understood that later this week there would be another meeting of Cosag members where participation in the negotiations process will be discussed, possibly resulting in a rift before the weekend.

"As long as we see hope of achieving a good settlement we will remain in the process," a negotiator said.

Cosag looks set to disband after talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) looks set to split following a series of discussions this week among some of its leaders.

And waiting to step into a new coordinating role to harness momentum for their own negotiating position are Inkatha and KwaZulu.

On Sunday Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen met "to take stock" of the political circumstances a year after its formation.

The organisation was set up at the instigation of Inkatha who rejected the decisions made by the government and the ANC in September last year at the record of understanding. Inkatha has tried to control the group, according to one source within Cosag.

In his address to the other leaders Chief Buthelezi expressed his anger at the lack of unity and said he was disappointed that Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie had not joined his negotiators and the CP in walking out.

"We should accept that Cosag exists only in name. Maybe it has outlived its usefulness," he said. (115) (115)

NATIONAL

Return to
talks, ⁽¹¹⁸⁾~~(119)~~

DP urges
Buthelezi

ARG 5/10/93

DURBAN. — Democratic Party leader Zac de Beer has urged Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to return to negotiations or face handing South Africa to the African National Congress on a platter.

Dr De Beer described Chief Buthelezi's address to other leaders of the Concerned South Africans Group at a meeting in Durban at the weekend as "alarming".

While he agreed with the IFP leader's statement that the National Party would "not have enough clout to keep the ANC reasonable, and keep it from snatching all power for itself ... surely this is the moment for Chief Minister Buthelezi and the other Cosag leaders to come back to multi-party negotiations" (at the World Trade Centre in Kempston Park).

Chief Buthelezi suggested at the weekend Cosag should form a working group to consider steps needed to terminate the negotiations process before it reached the stage of a final plenary.

Dr De Beer said: "What is vital in the interests of South Africa as a whole is to prevent any single party from obtaining a two-thirds majority in next year's election.

"Surely Chief Minister Buthelezi will wish to join in this effort? I cannot believe he would wish, by default, to hand the country to the ANC on a platter." — Sapa.

IFP hunger strikers monitored

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party members who are on hunger strike at two Natal jails have been moved into single cells and are being monitored by medics. *ARG 5/10/93*

Brigadier Chris Olckers, Director of Communication Services in the Department of Correctional Services, said today that 23 prisoners at the Maritzburg New Prison and 21 at Westville Prison were now on hunger strike.

For some of the prisoners this is their fifth day without food in the protest, aimed at their release as political prisoners.

Originally 50 IFP prisoners in the two jails went on hunger strike.

Brigadier Olckers said that when prisoners went on a hunger strike they were placed in single cells for medical purposes, as they were monitored by medical staff.

"They receive their meals like all other prisoners."

Ed Tillett, spokesman for the IFP, said he planned to see the IFP hunger strikers in Westville Prison today.

He believes they qualify for release as political prisoners in terms of the guidelines worked out between the government and the ANC.

'Progress' on IFP (B)

ST 6/10/93
PRETORIA. — Good progress was being made by government negotiators to woo the Inkatha Freedom Party back to multiparty negotiations, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

On events in Russia, Mr De Klerk said his government supported President Boris Yeltsin's action. He was looking forward to a first-hand report on the events from cabinet ministers Mr Hernus Kriel and Dr Dawie de Villiers, who were in Moscow. — Sapa

CT6/10/93

Zulu call for cash — 'tax'

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu government yesterday said the request for contributions to "Zulu protection units" was a revival of a special tax proclaimed by the homeland's Legislative Assembly in 1978.

"As far as this law is concerned, all KwaZulu citizens are expected to pay, but it's not compulsory," said KwaZulu government spokesman Mr T C Memela. He explained that those refusing to pay the tax would not be charged with an offence.

Inkatha president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi recently asked Zulus to

donate at least R5 each to protection units to counter "attacks against the Zulu nation" (115)

Mr Memela explained this was in fact a request to renew the 1978 "KwaZulu special tax" which fell away after it was not paid regularly. It had been used for government resources.

The ANC's northern Natal secretary, Mr Senzo Mchunu, said the imposition of a "special tax" could lead to more violence in Natal/KwaZulu.

"I am a Zulu and I won't feel comfortable contributing towards a protection unit that is bound to become another force for Inkatha." — Sapa

IFP

CT7/10/93 (11B)

accuses

MK

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe, is recruiting and training youths in various townships here during the day and the police are doing nothing to stop it, claimed IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose here yesterday.

He said much of the recruiting was taking place in KwaMashu and Umlazi.

He criticised the central government for not acting against MK because it was still its responsibility to provide security for all South Africans.

Disputed

The IFP showed journalists footage allegedly of MK members in a training session in Section N at KwaMashu.

However, some reporters present disputed whether the scene in the video recording resembled Section N in KwaMashu.

IFP media spokesman Dr Zina Jiyane argued that the footage was clandestinely recorded by an amateur IFP crew in Manciza Road in Section N.

The video footage showed a group of marching youths at a distance and at least three of them carried something which resembled weapons.

Responding to the allegations last night, ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said he believed the video was "stage managed" and described the IFP allegations as "nonsense".

He said this was the latest ploy by the IFP to block negotiations.

SAP spokesman Major Bala Naidoo called on the IFP to submit the video to the police and said a proper investigation would be conducted.

Federalism stalemate could be resolved

Star 7/10/93

Optimism over talks

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Encouraging progress in behind-the-scenes talks between various parties has given rise to optimism among negotiators that the impasse over federalism could be resolved soon.

However, a senior source close to the negotiations cautioned last night that it would be premature to suggest that "we will make up tomorrow with a breakthrough". He said the "whole topic" of powers and functions of regions was being thrashed out in a series of bilateral meetings.

The ANC, the Govern-

IFP and Bophuthatswana give hope, but little progress with Volksfront

ment and Cosag parties have been involved in the talks.

According to the source there were sharp differences in the attitude of Cosag parties to proposals being aired.

Asked to rate the chances of a breakthrough on a scale of 0 to 10, the source said "with some Cosag parties it is seven, but with others it is one".

It is understood that

the best progress has been made in talks between Government and ANC delegations with the IFP and Bophuthatswana.

But major question marks exist over the prospects of agreement being reached with the Afrikaner Volksfront and, in particular, the Conservative Party.

A Government source said yesterday: "If the CP sticks to its existing policies the chances for an agreement with them are slim."

Meanwhile, former CP general secretary and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers has blasted the Afrikaner

Volksfront, saying in a letter to General Constand Viljoen that he had sat and watched while radicals in the CP forbade the AVF from negotiating with the NP and ANC.

Beyers was responding to a letter from Viljoen telling the MP he was being expelled from the Afrikaner Volksfront for voting in Parliament in favour of the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

● The ANC was not prepared to make any further concessions on regionalism, particularly to the Inkatha Freedom Party. ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Lisbon yesterday.

Thousands left homeless

Ciskei, Bop walk out of negotiations

Sowetan 8/10/93

■ **FREEDOM ALLIANCE** Cosag

members form 'political movement':

Sowetan Correspondent

BOPHUTATSWANA AND CISKEI walked out of the World Trade Centre talks yesterday to join the new Freedom Alliance, a "political movement" forged out of Concerned South Africans Group members. (18) (30/11)

The alliance will now form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties". Member organisations have also ended all bilateral discussions with the Government and the African National Congress. (118)

The alliance will be led by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen.

The development may annul progress made in extensive bilateral discussions between the Government, ANC and various

Cosag parties in the past. The absence of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei from the talks will also add force to those on the rightwing who reject agreements struck in deliberations at the World Trade Centre.

There was, however, no indication last night as to whether the alliance would be forging a common policy or fighting an election together.

The Bophuthatswana government said last night: "The Freedom Alliance considers the present situation in South Africa so serious that only a summit of all major South African leaders can resolve the negotiating crisis. In this regard the Freedom Alliance leadership will be liaising with State President FW de Klerk as a matter of national urgency."

They indicated the alliance would fight for a powerful form of federation.

It hit out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's comments in Lisbon this week, in which he reportedly said his organisation was not prepared to make any further concessions on regionalism.

SOUTH 8/10 - 12/10/93

Mass DP defections to IFP claimed

By Quentin Wilson

A FORMER DP branch chairperson in the Western Cape, Mr Patrick Damons, who defected to the IFP two weeks ago, now claims he has successfully poached the entire membership of five DP branches into his new political home.

According to Damons, who used to be chairperson of the DP's Eerste Rivier/Blue Downs branch, his entire branch membership "of more than 1 000" people has switched allegiance to the IFP.

In addition, Damons alleges he has captured all the membership of DP branches in Athlone, Manenberg, Elsies River and Mitchells Plain. He insists that 13 other DP branches across the Western Cape are soon to join the IFP fold.

Mr Stuart McClaughlin, DP Western Cape organiser, told SOUTH he did "not want to get involved in Damons' exaggerated claims" but pointed out that the DP had only 94 signed-up



PATRICK DAMONS

(118)
members in the Eerste Rivier/Blue Downs branch.

"It's all absolute nonsense," says McClaughlin, "I think Mr Damons must now prove his claims and start showing us people. It is time for him to start putting his money where his mouth is."

McClaughlin said the IFP had succeeded in poaching "about half" of the Manenberg branch, but apart from Damons and the vice-chairperson of the

Manenberg branch, he knew of no other defections.

Mr Geoffrey Pheiffer, chairperson of the DP's Athlone branch, said he was "completely unaware" of any branch members moving to the IFP.

"I have heard nothing to this effect and as far as I am concerned, the branch is very much a DP branch. I can't see any members moving to the IFP," Pheiffer said.

According to IFP regional chairperson, Mr Danie van der Heever, 54 branches have been set up in the Western Cape, with a signed-up membership totalling 13 000.

If this is the IFP, it must be October

South 8/10 - 12/10/93

113

By Quentin Wilson

FORMER vice-chairperson of the DP's Manenberg branch, Mr John Marthinus, has now settled in the IFP — after brief flings with the ANC and NP.

During the last six months, Marthinus has moved from a leadership position in the DP to a spell in the ANC — and after considering joining the NP — has now reappeared in the IFP.

"I'm in the IFP to stay," pledges Marthinus. "Unlike the other organisations, one can go far in the structures of the IFP — although I am not after a top position."

Marthinus' political career started at the end of March this year when he joined the DP in Manenberg. He immediately got the post of vice-chairperson of the branch, but then four months later he left in the wake of an alleged DP housing scam.



JOHN MARTHINUS

In August, he was at an ANC press conference announcing his intention to join the organisation. But according to Marthinus he never formally signed up.

"I asked to get a copy of the ANC constitution so I could see what the ANC was all about. I was told that I would have to pay R7 for it, which I was not prepared to do. The NP and the IFP for example, gave their constitution to me for free," Marthinus said.

He said he then thought of joining the NP, but was convinced by IFP organisers to enter their fold.

"I suppose what really swung the pendulum towards the IFP," says Marthinus, "was the fact that I am strongly against the country's violence."

"Although that may seem contradictory because the IFP is also involved in the violence — I believe there are two sides to every story. I believe the violence of the IFP to be more retaliatory than anything else."

Marthinus said he was convinced he was not a political opportunist.

Alliance a spanner in the works

Star 9/10/93

(11B) (10) (300A)

THE forging of the Freedom Alliance out of COSAG has dashed growing consensus between the Government and both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana on how to bridge the impasse over regional powers.

The divergent views embraced by the somewhat unlikely alliance — from committed federalists in the IFP to the Conservative Party, which will not tolerate suggestions of a federal solution — are bound to complicate negotiations.

Caught unawares

The alliance has signalled that none of its parties will negotiate individually with the Government or the ANC. Instead it will form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties".

It appears likely that the Government and ANC teams involved in talks with the alliance will now have to go back to square one for a solution that will accommodate the demands of KwaZulu and the white right-wing organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday charged that the

WHAT effect will the newly formed Freedom Alliance have on negotiations? Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD investigates.

latest developments constituted a breach of the instructions given on September 16 by President de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their negotiators.

But it is reliably understood that senior KwaZulu and IFP negotiators were caught completely unawares by the announcement on Thursday night that the alliance had been formed.

Meyer told a press briefing yesterday that the Government had been involved until recently in bilateral discussions with both the KwaZulu government and the Afrikaner Volksfront "directed at reaching an understanding on the contents of the interim constitution".

"I don't want to go into details of possible agreements, but I can give the assurance that (the talks were) constructive and fruitful," he said.

Senior KwaZulu government and

IFP negotiators contacted about the alliance late on Thursday evening said they knew nothing about it. But IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the announcement came as the result of a long process, starting with the formation of COSAG, and that all negotiators had been party to developments in this process.

Meanwhile, Government and ANC sources have indicated that they intend to press ahead with the process at the World Trade Centre. Some negotiators claim to be confident that the interim constitution being thrashed out will contain enough in the way of regional powers to bring KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana back.

IFP alliance catches members off-guard

DALE LAUTENBACH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

SENIOR members of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have been caught totally unawares by their organisation's newly strengthened links with the far rightwing in the formation of the Freedom Alliance.

Those who were at the summit meeting of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in Pretoria this week, which gave birth to the new alliance, are taking a triumphant, upbeat view that it is a significant breakthrough for "real negotiations".

But senior IFP members have serious questions about the strategy they knew nothing about.

"This is a major policy decision that was taken without our knowledge," said a senior IFP member who hopes to find out what happened and why.

"This is far from democratic ... suddenly we hear this," said one who, among others, was optimistic that the IFP negotiators had been on the verge of a breakthrough in their bilateral meetings with the government.

They had hoped to get the government "on our side" in the face of what they perceive as the ANC drive to crush the IFP militarily in Natal.

They fear now that by associating with the far rightwing and its war-talk, they have an ally for the worst-case scenario, namely a boycott of the elections and a potential escalation of confrontation.

"I don't know how this new alliance will help us, because if the IFP does not fight the elections it will be marginalised," said a senior IFP man.

Those who were party to the decision by Cosag members to strengthen their bonds in the creation of the

Freedom Alliance — negotiating as a bloc while halting all their separate negotiation attempts — said it was a positive and constructive step.

Asked if the creation of the alliance meant that the Afrikaner Volksfront was now back at the negotiation table (following its suspension of talks with the government and ANC) AVF's General Tienie Groenewald said: "I suppose so, but on a completely different basis. We now have a stronger base from which to negotiate. This is one of the most significant political developments in South Africa recently."

The IFP sources who did not anticipate this move were concerned though that it was an ill-timed reaction to the ANC's attempts to drive a wedge between the far right and the IFP.

The new alliance will be led by Chief Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen.

It has not been lost on those IFP members struggling to make sense of this development that the white right has dual representation in this line-up.

Meanwhile, President De Klerk said that arrangements for talks with the new alliance would be made "as soon as possible" and welcomed its willingness to enter into discussions.

The ANC's Ronnie Mamoepa said he believed most would see through "an attempt to delay the liberation of our people and to hold the country to ransom".

He saw the alliance as "an attempt to consolidate the ranks of the right wings of both black and white organisations".

ARG 9/10/93

113 204A

By SEKOLA SELLO

Buthelezi's political life is at stake

CIPress 10/10/93

stake

South Africans

AS South Africans and indeed the international community wait with bated breath to hear whether Inkatha will take part in next year's elections, the party is playing its cards very close to the chest.

Inkatha gave away very little after its central committee meeting last Saturday in Ulundi – a meeting observers anxiously hoped would throw light on what is to become one of the country's most vexing questions.

Inkatha merely restated that it would continue to prepare for next year's elections in the expectation that these will be for a new democratic government and not for a transitional body.

In other words, Inkatha is implying that if next year's elections are for the constituent assembly/constitution making body which are both transitional, they will not take part.

Although this is implicit in Inkatha's resolution released after the Ulundi meeting, the party refuses to be pinned down on whether they will indeed boycott the elections if they are for the constituent assembly/constitution making body.

Late this week the party threw more confusion into the political arena when it announced that it had formed a new alliance, the Freedom Alliance, with several rightwing groupings. The aims of the alliance have not yet been spelt out.

Keeping all guessing amid increasing talk of worsening civil war seems to be part of Inkatha's multi-pronged political strategy.

Since their walkout from constitutional talks three months ago over the controversial issue of sufficient consensus, their war rhetoric has become increasingly strident.

Adding to fears of civil war are this week's claims by retired general Tienie Groenewald of the Afrikaner Volksfront that the Concerned South Africans Group, which includes Inkatha and the AVF as members, is considering opposing next year's elections. Groenewald added a more ominous note when he declared this opposition would "not (be) through the ballot box".

Groenewald was reported saying that "under the current circumstances, nobody in Cosag, including Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will take part in the elections".

Senior Cosag members including Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and AVF chairman Constand Viljoen have been meeting in the past few days to formulate plans to oppose the coming elections. With Buthelezi, they form the leadership of the new alliance.

ful that Inkatha will boycott the elections.

Buthelezi could be using the threat of civil war as part of his negotiating strategy. His Inkatha has extracted a lot of concessions from the government and the ANC precisely because of fears that antagonising him could lead to civil war.

Although Inkatha is still pressing hard for more powers for regional governments, some high ranking members of the party privately concede that the constitution that is before negotiators at the World Trade Centre is more federalist (which Inkatha favours) than unitarist (favoured by the ANC).

In short, Inkatha's strategy of walking out of the multi-party talks, engaging in war talk and threatening to boycott the elections has so far worked in their favour.

Buthelezi's highly publicised meetings with close allies like British premier John Major could well form part of an elaborate plan to create the impression that Inkatha was digging in its heels.

However, time is running out and Buthelezi's political longevity is on the line.

(113)

Buthelezi is already likened by detractors to Angola's rebel leader Jonas Savimbi whose rejection of the outcome of Angola's first democratic elections precipitated what some journalists describe as the "world's worst civil war".

It is tempting to liken Buthelezi to Savimbi. The two have a lot in common. In the days of the Cold War both leaders were the favourites of the West and were regularly feted by former United States president Ronald Reagan.

Both had cosy relations with Pretoria and were also in the good books of conservative rightwing foundations in the US and West Germany. Their political parties are tribally based – Savimbi concentrates on the Ovimbundu and Buthelezi the Zulus.

In spite of these shared backgrounds, it is simplistic to view Buthelezi as another Savimbi. It is even doubt-

Crucial talks on hold until new alliance states its case

B/Say 11/10/93

ALL fundamental negotiations have been postponed until the new Freedom Alliance reveals its agenda and its approach to the ANC and government.

The alliance, formed last Thursday, consists of five key Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members: the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The negotiating council meets again on Wednesday, but it has been accepted that while the parties still at the table will continue discussing a human rights charter and an electoral Bill, the crucial issues of the new constitution — regional autonomy and the separation of powers between the three tiers of government — will be delayed until the Freedom Alliance enters talks with government and the ANC.

However, there is concern that the new formation is not "completely on the level" about its intention to enter negotiations on the new constitution.

It is alleged that it merely wants to prevent a plenary meeting of the negotiating forum to ratify the new constitution from taking place in time for the constitution to be promulgated during the special short session of Parliament in November.

A senior ANC source said: "It is difficult to understand how they will be able to negotiate with a united front on constitutional matters when they are so clearly divided among themselves on a new dispensation. It looks like a desperate attempt to stall the process."

BILLY PADDOCK

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday the Freedom Alliance appeared to be merely a name change from Cosag, although it was a more formal alliance. ~~(11B)~~ ~~(11B)~~

"But it will be easier to deal with one group if they can manage to find one point of view. The problem is, which party's point of view are they going to adopt? (11B)"

"If the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront are now prepared to drop their demand for confederalism and adopt federalism, there would be absolutely no problem," he said.

A "great deal" of progress had been made in bilateral talks with Inkatha and the AVF but the new alliance had to recognise that the only solution for SA was a negotiated settlement with which all parties could live.

However, the process had to continue and could not be delayed by the alliance, he said, adding that only a few areas of the constitution still needed to be finalised.

These were the most contentious, and if it took a while to get going on talks with the new alliance, this could cause problems for the scheduled parliamentary session, he said.

The alliance has said that it wants talks with government urgently, particularly with President F W de Klerk, to discuss the calling of a leaders' summit to find ways of breaking the impasse.

Call for women's ministry

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A ministry of women's affairs should be established by a new South African government and a certain number of jobs in the public sector should be reserved for women, the Inkatha Women's Brigade decided at the weekend.

Several thousand women attended the brigade's national conference in Ulundi, at which Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a democratic transition that would eliminate not only racism but also discrimination against and the exploitation of women.

115 333 257 CT 1110/93
The resolution also called on a future government to sign the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

● The brigade also slammed the SA Defence Force for its "inhuman action" during the raid on a house in Transkei in which alleged Apla members were killed.

Very strange bedfellows

Comment by Hugh Roberton

THE purpose of forming the Freedom Alliance, one would think, was because its sum would be greater in both political power and attractiveness than its individual parts.

That the CP, AVF, IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would count for a lot more by standing together than they would by fighting for their causes separately is apparent.

As President FW de Klerk said in Stellenbosch last night, after having just spent two hours talking to the assorted member parties (and showing a remarkable freshness of countenance in the circumstances), they wish to negotiate in future as a single entity and will no longer take part in one-on-one discussions. For all practical purposes, therefore, we have a new political party.

Interracial synergy

But the dearth of analytical and intellectual talent around the leaders of the white Far Right probably was responsible for them failing to see what a huge contradiction their alliance represents to the ideals which they claim to stand for — not that the rest of us should complain, for what they have done, apparently unwittingly, is an encouraging and commendable acceptance of the great potential there is in interracial synergy in South Africa.

By forming the multiracial, multi-ethnic Freedom Alliance, the white Far Right has publicly conceded for the first time both the weakness of a

Sowetan

13/10/93

Have the far right and the IFP begun a marriage of convenience?

IFP ~~CP~~ ~~AVF~~ ~~Ciskei~~ ~~Bophuthatswana~~
racially exclusive political power base in the greater national context, and the contrasting advantages of interracial co-operation.

That is a burst of sunlight on their hitherto benighted response to the realities of the country, and rather than poke fun at the absurdity of their forming a multiracial political alliance with blacks on the one hand, but standing for a whites-only homeland on the other, we should welcome this breakthrough. But it is a breakthrough which is diaphanously fragile.

We cannot assume that the Far Right rank and file, or even the leadership of the CP and the AVF, actually grasp the importance of what they have done or realise that they have denied themselves, at the very least, the emotional satisfaction of pointing to the mottled complexion of the "new" NP and shouting "traitors!"

They have now embarked on much the same course, and their argument that the different elements which go to make up the Freedom Alliance all stand for ethnically separate or autonomous states is a deeply unconvincing reason for their decision to stand together.

For instance, when the Far Right

eventually does put forward an actual map of their proposed white homeland, they will know, and the rest of the Freedom Alliance will know, that there cannot be an economically viable part of it where blacks do not form an overwhelming majority of the population.

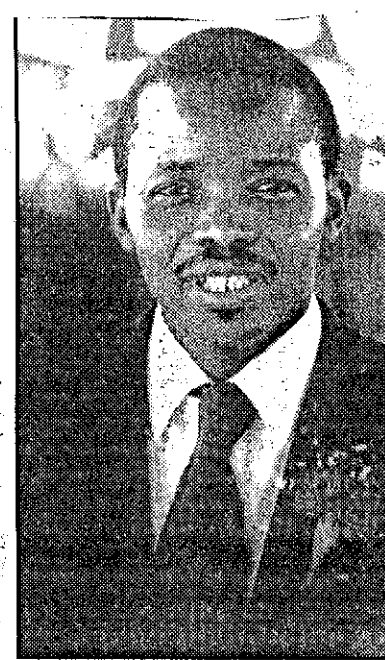
That being so, what is the IFP's response going to be to the rights of Zulus in that homeland? Or the Ciskei's feelings about the Xhosas there? Or Bop's sentiments about the Tswanas? Do the IFP, Ciskei and Bop actually embrace the concept of a white homeland? Almost certainly not.

Sticking together

But they are sticking together with the white Far Right nevertheless, which raises the question: If the Freedom Alliance have embarked upon the politics of racial and ethnic co-operation without actually meaning to, and if there is no agreement among them on a white homeland, then what did they have in mind?

Other than their shared desire for their own chunk of territory (the economic and demographic impossibility of that in the case of whites notwithstanding) the thing which the two most powerful groups in the alliance — the CP and IFP — have in common, is their talk of "war".

Is this, then, a war alliance? It would be most surprising indeed if any of the rightist radicals believed they could launch armed resistance to change on their own, or at least without attempting to find allies wherever they could. But at the same time, it is difficult to conceive armed resistance by groups which essentially differ on the issue of a white



Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo.



IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

homeland.

Unless, of course, the IFP has in mind a white homeland in which blacks who are not Zulus would be relegated to perpetual subservience. What, indeed, is the IFP's view on the future destiny of the non-Zulu black majority who now are clustered around greater Pretoria, the supposed epicentre of the white homeland?

Have the IFP swung a deal with the white far right about the destiny of non-Zulu blacks which the country does not know of?

If they have not, then on what basis do they justify standing with the white Far Right in an alliance to pursue a white homeland? And in what way could the white Far Right justify armed resistance to change which certainly would entail black supporters of the Freedom Alli-

ance killing their fellow white Afrikaners?

On these treacherous foundations have the white Far Right, and the IFP, begun their mixed marriage of convenience.

The chances of a whites only homeland being achieved through the Freedom Alliance are ridiculously slender. But reaching that conclusion would entail traversing a course of multiracial politics which might well persuade the white far right to abandon its geographical idiocy and accept that if it can work together politically with blacks it can do so on a bigger and wider scale. If it can feel trustful of the IFP, Ciskei and Bop, there is no reason why, in time, it cannot summon the courage to face the ANC, PAC and, who knows, even the NP.

NEWS Freedom Alliance releases manifesto ● FNB freight division to close down

'Kei vents anger

WIDESPREAD intimidation of white traders in certain Transkei towns is gaining root, presumably as a result of the raid by the South African Defence Force in Transkei last week. *Sowetan 13/10/93*

A shop belonging to Mr Chris Finn in Cala in western Transkei was gutted by fire in the early hours of Monday morning.

Speaking from his home in Elliot, Finn said that on Saturday youths chanting "one settler, one bullet" surrounded stores run by whites, telling them not to return to Transkei on Monday until the funeral of the five boys was over.

There are also reports that white traders in the town of Engcobo have been told to leave but no incidents have been reported. In another incident, an Umtata man had shots fired at his house in the early hours of Monday morning. Mr Wynne Rayn said he thought the shots could have been fired from an AK-47 rifle.

The roof and a geyser were damaged.

Alliance spells out its policies

Sowetan 13/10/93

■ BIZARRE FEELING FA says it is committed to peace, freedom and democracy:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE FREEDOM ALLIANCE, a new "political movement" comprising parties opposed to the current constitutional negotiations, yesterday spelled out its policies and said South Africa would not be a unitary state.

A bizarre feeling pervaded the Pretoria hotel where the parties held a Press conference.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope shared the platform with Con-

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They all said they had something in common. In reply to a question, Buthelezi said Hartzenberg had never called him a "kaffir".

The alliance declared in its manifesto that it had committed itself to working within "our respective policies and ideologies to ensure long-lasting peace, freedom and democracy in Southern Africa."

It said it was "committed to the principles of recognising the guidance of God and of the right to self-determination". It rejected the notion of a unitary state, racism and sexism.

Sowetan 13/10/93

200 jobs on the line

By Glenn McKenzie

MORE than 200 workers face retrenchment following the closure of First National Bank's First Freight Division.

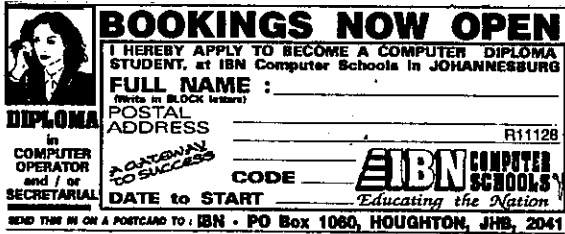
Yesterday, the South African Society of Banking Officials announced that First Freight would be replaced by sub-contracted freight services.

Two hundred FNB drivers and office workers could be laid off by the end of the year. Another 140 workers will probably be redeployed within the company. According to the union, 95 percent of the employees are black.

Sasbo official Mr Graham Rowan said the layoffs were the first in the union's 77-year relationship with FNB.

"We reacted to this announcement with dismay. We couldn't believe that a company with profits of half a billion dollars could make such a move," said Rowan.

FNB officials said the company's freight services would be sub-contracted to other companies by next year. According to Mr Louis Moll, chief manager of industrial relations, FNB's freight division was not economical.



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Referendum idea opposed

Star 13/10/93

■ POLITICAL STAFF

The Government faces resistance to its proposal of a referendum if negotiations bog down.

Nelson Mandela expressed concern at a London news conference yesterday that President de Klerk's suggestion of a deadlock-breaking referendum might be used as a tactic to delay the April election.

"Our position, as the ANC, on the matter is very clear. We are having an election only six months away and we are determined to keep to that time-frame."

In Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said that only the Negotiating Council could call a referendum, and then only after an interim constitution had been enacted by Parliament.

The newly formed Freedom Alliance (FA) — comprising the IFP, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana — could not achieve unity on a referendum at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday, but proposed a "summit of leaders" to replace the Negotiating Council talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Cape National Party congress yesterday the first prize would be to get approval from all, including the FA, for the interim constitution.

In spite of the FA's lack of unity on the issue, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, in a seeming agreement in principle to the idea, said a referendum would address the "problem of legitimacy" in negotiations.

Earlier yesterday the CP said it would insist on being involved in the formulation of the question put in any referendum.

Meyer and ANC secretary-

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

TRANSKEI RAID: The PAC's request for a special session of the Negotiating Council to discuss the SADF raid on an Umata house on Friday will be discussed at today's meeting of the planning committee.

However, indications are that the PAC will raise the issue in the council if the planning committee decides against a special session.

Negotiators are also scheduled to discuss the draft Interim Constitution's property and custom law clauses, which will be contained in a chapter on fundamental human rights during the transition.

The chapter on human rights will not form a complete Bill of Rights. Such a Bill will be drafted by an elected constitution-making body.

ESTHER WAUGH

general Cyril Ramaphosa last night agreed a referendum was one of several options being considered — and Ramaphosa made it clear the decision should be taken by the multiparty negotiating process.

Ramaphosa said once the draft interim constitution had been agreed to at the Negotiating Council, it should be passed by Parliament before an attempt was made to "broaden consensus".

Meyer added that some of the measures already agreed to, such as the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, could be implemented before a referendum was held.

Meyer and Ramaphosa said their parties were committed to holding elections on April 27 and a referendum would not postpone the country's first democratic poll.

The IFP and PAC yesterday rejected the idea.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could not see what De Klerk stood to achieve through a referendum that he could not get by holding the real elections. However, the DP would co-operate if it were convinced that a referendum would help the negotiations process.

The Azanian People's Organisation has also opposed the call for a referendum.

The Star's London Bureau reports Mandela yesterday stressed that a referendum could come about only with the agreement of the multiparty forum and, even then, he doubted that various members of the FA would take part in or make an impact on such a vote.

The FA and the referendum proposal dominated talks Mandela held yesterday with British Prime Minister John Major.

► Alliance rejects unitary state — Page 9

e releases manifesto ● FNB freight divisio

Alliance spells out its policies

Sowetan 13/10/93

■ **BIZARRE FEELING** FA says it is com
mitted to peace, freedom and democracy:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE FREEDOM ALLIANCE, a new "political movement" comprising parties opposed to the current constitutional negotiations, yesterday spelled out its policies and said South Africa would not be a unitary state.

A bizarre feeling pervaded the Pretoria hotel where the parties held a Press conference.

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Inkatha appeal on prisoners

PRETORIA — The Inkatha Freedom Party appealed to Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday to speed up the evaluation of imprisoned Inkatha members likely to fall under the ambit of the Further Indemnity Act (118). But, at a meeting between the Minister and an Inkatha delegation in Pretoria yesterday, Vlok said he was not in a position to interfere with the procedures of the National Council of Indemnity, which undertook the evaluations. Inkatha had requested that the applications be considered as soon as possible, preferably by the end of the year. A council source said this was likely.

2/10/93
ADRIAN HADLAND

Buthelezi denies 'army' plan

KWAZULU chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday moved to counter reports that his administration would establish a fully fledged army to ward off attacks against Zulus.

Buthelezi said the voluntary R5 levy in KwaZulu would be used to set up "plain self-protection units" to defend the Zulus.

He said KwaZulu had

people to train these units. "We have no intention of stating where the training will take place although it is not secret," he said.

He would not divulge the nature of the training members of the planned units would receive, but said KwaZulu had no plans to establish "anything more than self-defence units".



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Interim report for the six months ended 31 August 1993

(R000)	Unaudited		Audited year to
	6 months ended	6 months ended	
Consolidated income statement			
Turnover	141	189	499
Net income before taxation and extraordinary items	176	282	533
Taxation	72	135	254
Net income before extraordinary items	104	147	279
Extraordinary items	570	71	(1 523)
Transfer (to)/from capital reserve	(435)	(71)	1 388
Net income attributable to shareholders	239	147	144
Earnings per share before extraordinary items (cents)	2,0	2,8	5,4
Dividends per share (cents)	0,0	0,0	3,0

Abridged balance sheet

Shareholders' interest	7 685	10 902	9 185
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New checks on public service

BILLY PADDOCK

GOLDEN handshakes, improper, irregular and rushed public service appointments and promotions are to be reviewed and the recipients stripped of the benefits.

This provision was being entrenched in the constitution "to prevent exploitation of the circumstances surrounding constitutional and political transition", negotiators heard yesterday.

They were considering a section of the constitution dealing with setting up an independent Commission of Administration, giving security of tenure to public servants for a period after the new constitution comes into force.

But the final clause states that the appointment, promotion and awarding of permanent benefits in terms of legislation passed prior to the constitution, may be reviewed within a year of the new constitution being enforced.

The period covered by the review has still to be decided, but the technical committee has suggested October 1 1993 to September 30 1994.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said he was concerned that the recipients were being punished, not those who granted the promotions and appointments. But he agreed with the concept.

He was also concerned that the security of tenure of appointments could prevent the restructuring of the public service and halt affirmative action. The technical committee disputed this. No party opposed the clause.

Solution soon on local government

PATRICK BULGER

Sanco co-ordinator Andrew Boraine — met a government delegation in Cape Town on Tuesday to add the finishing touches to proposed legislation for local government in the transitional period.

Civics negotiators said they had stressed three non-negotiable aspects. These were:

- No arrangement in terms of which richer parts of towns or cities enjoyed preference and weighted votes;
- No subcouncils or wards that could frustrate the will of the duly-elected majority in any local government elections; and
- That there be an agreement to write off debts incurred during the apartheid local government era.

However, Sanco negotiators felt despite the distance that separated the two parties' negotiating positions, they had arrived at what was described as a "tentative agreement".

The local government negotiating process has now been attached to the national negotiating process at Kempton Park.

A committee on local government affairs has been established there, comprising Transkei delegate Zam Titus, negotiations heavyweight Praeven Gordhan and Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje.

Three meetings had taken place between a committee representing the Local Government Negotiating Forum and national constitutional negotiators.

GOVERNMENT and civic organisations were within days of agreement on local government restructuring, civic and government sources said yesterday.

Local Government Minister Tertius Delport met a delegation representing the ANC and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) on Tuesday. Delport warned at the meeting that unless there was agreement on local government restructuring — which he said would constitute chapter 10 of the interim constitution in terms of which elections would be held in April next year — there would be no agreement on any aspect of the constitution.

Civic sources said they understood Delport to mean that without an interim constitution there would be no election.

An indication of how serious government was approaching this crucial and decisive round of local government negotiations was the fact that the government delegation included three Cabinet Ministers — Delport, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie and Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

TPA MEC Andre Cornelissen was also present.

The negotiators had drawn up a Local Government Transition Bill which they intended to submit to Parliament on November 8.

Sanco/ANC negotiators — ANC local affairs head Thozamile Botha, Salie Manie, Lechesa Tsenoli and

Buthelezi rejects referendum plan

Star 19/10/93
Ulundi — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected the proposed referendum as a deadlock-breaking mechanism in the democracy talks. (107) (118)

Addressing the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Buthelezi accused President de Klerk of attempting to substitute consensus with a referendum which would empower a majority to silence the aspirations of the minority.

"We say that, if we are serious about reaching an all-inclusive solution, the fundamental needs of both the majority and the minority must be accommodated," he said. — Sapa.

Freedom Alliance meets Govt, ANC

Wrap-up deadline for talks

Star 19/10/93

BY ESTHER WAUGH
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Negotiators last night agreed to a deadline, just 17 days away, for the completion of the Kempton Park negotiations.

However, sharp differences were expressed yesterday in the Negotiating Council on proposed regional boundaries for the new South Africa.

The November 5 deadline means the Council will have to wrap up the draft Interim Constitution, including fundamental human rights during the transition and the regions, within the next three weeks.

But it is still unclear whether the Freedom Alliance (FA) — made up of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront — will accept the final outcome.

Last week the FA proposed that the Negotiating Council be replaced with a summit of leaders, but said it was still open to negotiating with other parties.

The FA and Government met last night for talks which

SHARP differences emerge among Kempton Park negotiating parties over boundaries of future regions

are expected to continue today and will meet the ANC today at 11 am at the World Trade Centre (WTC). The talks aim to narrow the differences between the alliance and multiparty negotiators at the WTC.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will lead his organisation's delegation.

At the WTC, parties will be formally invited this week to nominate personnel for the Transitional Executive Council and its seven sub-councils, which will be implemented only once the final transition package had been agreed on.

During the discussion on regions yesterday, seemingly insurmountable positions emerged especially over the western Cape, northern Cape and Pretoria.

An ad hoc committee has been appointed to find common ground among the negotiating parties.

One sticking point was whether Pretoria should be included in the eastern Transvaal or the PWV-area.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, which said that the report on the delimitation of regions did not refer to self-determination, wanted Pretoria as part of the eastern Transvaal.

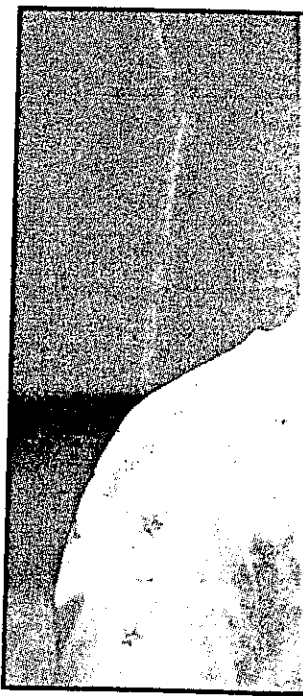
The ANC voiced its suspicion that the AVU wanted to create a "racial region".

KwaNdebele's Intando ye Sizwe party wanted the self-governing territory and Pretoria included.

The Labour Party, supported by the SACP, proposed that Pretoria be incorporated into the PWV-area and KwaNdebele into the eastern Transvaal.

The Democratic Party also supported the suggestion that Pretoria form part of the eastern Transvaal.

The Government favoured a western Cape region separate from a northern Cape region, but this was opposed by the ANC and SACP.



ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected the proposed referendum as a deadlock-breaking mechanism in the democracy negotiations.

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Buthelezi rejects proposed referendum

B/Say 19/10/93

fundamental needs of both the majority and the minority must be accommodated ... elections and the empowerment of a new government ought not to take place until such solutions are fully negotiated."

An interim constitution would not allow KwaZulu to choose and regulate itself, Buthelezi said.

KwaZulu had to have the power to adopt its own rules governing subjects

such as family law, labour law, commerce and industry and criminal law, he added.

"If the rest of SA rejects our offer to be included in the new SA as a federal state, then we will consider our options." (11B)

He said KwaZulu negotiators had scratched the bottom of the negotiations barrel in bilateral talks with both the government and the ANC.

Buthelezi vowed to stick to a non-violent solution.

"In spite of the growing climate of civil war, which is affecting our people, killing our friends and comrades, destroying our communities and destabilising our political structures, we shall never abandon our fundamental policy of non-violent form of negotiations."

Now was the time for action which could no longer

wait, he said.

"Our action is going to be within the parameters of our tradition and will be characterised by non-violence, reasonableness and defence of our rights.

"We will not destroy, intimidate or resort to disruptive mass action, for the protection of law and order is of too great a value to us.

"Today we say to Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela that they cannot

go it alone without us, and that consensus with us must be achieved through the recognition of our right of self-determination."

Buthelezi urged the immediate suspension of negotiations to seek consensus-based agreement on the form of state and the process from which an expeditious finalisation of a final constitution would proceed to the holding of the elections.

He said the Zulu nation did not recognise the legitimacy of the interim constitution and would not be bound by it. — Sapa.

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April poll won't end deadlock — Buthelezi

CT 19/10/93 (11B)

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ity and the minority must be accommodated ... elections and the empowerment of a new government ought not to take place until such solutions are fully negotiated."

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"If the rest of South Africa rejects our offer to be included in the new South Africa as a federal state, then we will consider our options." — Sapa

We won't delay talks

Star 20/10/93

- Freedom Alliance

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Freedom Alliance (FA) has given the ANC and Government an assurance that its separate negotiating forum will not halt progress in the multiparty negotiations process in Kempton Park.

Broad agreement appears to have been reached that bilateral talks with the newly formed alliance will not start from scratch.

The FA — comprising the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu government, Bophuthatswana government, Ciskei government, Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) — yesterday met the ANC after meeting the Government on Monday evening.

These talks will be followed up on Friday with the Government and on Monday with the ANC.

The chairman of the FA negotiating team, Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje, said

there was a willingness on both sides to negotiate.

The discussions the FA had held over the past two days with the ANC and Government signalled the official return to talks by the AVF. The development further confirms that negotiations will take place both in the Negotiating Council and behind the scenes.

Concern

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the issues on Monday's agenda were whether there would be an elected constitution-making body, self-determination and the powers and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said some FA members had said they could not judge the process until the draft Interim Constitution had been completed. Negotiations to finalise the draft document would therefore

continue in tandem with talks with the FA.

Newly appointed Ciskei Foreign and Constitutional Development Minister Mickey Webb said there seemed to be concern over the FA proposal for a summit of leaders to be held.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would prefer "second level leadership" to meet first. A meeting of leaders where agreements would be endorsed and remaining differences resolved would be the culmination of a negotiations process.

Meyer said a summit of leaders could be held only once negotiators were clear on the purpose of such a meeting.

The ANC secretary-general stressed that talks were on a tight schedule from which his organisation would not deviate. The Negotiating Council will wrap up its work on November 5, and a plenary session with the leaders is scheduled for November 6 and 7.

workers die in raging waters

Warning of secession

Sowetan 20/10/93

■ NEW CONSTITUTION Threat 'if

Inkatha Freedom Party is not happy':

A DEFIANT CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened that KwaZulu will secede from the "new South Africa" if the Inkatha Freedom Party is not happy with the constitution being worked out at negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

Opening a special sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Monday, Buthelezi took a strongly federal and Zulu nationalist stand that underlined the differences, rather than the common ground, between him and the multiparty talks. He was particularly scathing of President de Klerk. (IB)

He made it clear the KwaZulu government and the IFP would only be part of a new federal constitution, and only on their terms.

His address came against the background of preparations in the Freedom Alliance for talks with the South Africa Government and African National Congress.

Also, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night passed a Bill that extends its

life for a year, as its term of office expires on March 10 next year.

Buthelezi said: "There shall not be a new South Africa which we as Zulus did not help shape and establish. I tell the world that no decision will ever again be imposed on the Zulu nation."

Bottom line

Buthelezi also said: "Federalism is our bottom line, for it represents the furthest degree of accommodation to which we can concede without jeopardising the survival of the Zulus as a nation.

"I will not lead this House and KwaZulu into a unitary state. If the rest of South Africa rejects the offer we make to be included in the new South Africa as a federal state in a federal republic of South Africa, then we will consider our options, and one of our options will be to refuse to be included at all.

"If they want to force us into it by using soldiers of the SADF and the Umkhonto army of the ANC, so be it," he said. -- Sowetan Correspondent.

Millions reject TEC, says Buthelezi

Star 20/10/93

■ POLITICAL STAFF and
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday told United Nations secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali that the Transitional Executive Council would have to be implemented by "force of arms" against millions of whites and blacks who rejected it.

In a memorandum delivered to the UN chief during their meeting in Maputo and given to The Star's correspondent, Buthelezi said: "We do not feel bound by the TEC decisions. We do not feel any obligation to implement the TEC.

"That, in a final analysis, will have to be done by a force of arms against a very widespread rejection of the TEC."

Boutros-Ghali also met yesterday with PAC president Clarence Makwetu and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Difficult

According to a statement from the UN, Boutros-Ghali stressed "the importance accorded to... the TEC... (and) stressed that by participating in the negotiations, no matter how difficult, all parties could ensure that their views were heard, discussed and reflected in the Interim Constitution".

Legislation making provision for the TEC has been adopted by Parliament but will not be promulgated until a multi-party talks plenary session has approved the Interim Constitution. This is scheduled for early next month.

In his memorandum Buthelezi said a TEC which could "take on whatever powers it deems necessary to seize control of all regional governments in the name of levelling political playing fields before

► To Page 3

'Millions reject TEC'

Star 20/10/93
◀ From Page 1

elections is nothing less than monstrous".

He added that although the Government and ANC knew that KwaZulu would not accept these things, they were proceeding "as though our rejection of them is of no significance".

Buthelezi said KwaZulu and "something like half the voters in the country" rejected proceedings at the World Trade Centre. (118)

He also rejected President de Klerk's proposed referendum.

Buthelezi said after his meeting that he would not be returning to the Kempton Park talks table, but would concen-

trate on negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and Government.

Boutros-Ghali emphasised in his meeting with Makwetu that there was a need for all to take part in the TEC.

However, Makwetu said after the meeting that he could not comply with the request.

Botha met Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama yesterday and will meet Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano today.

The UN chief also met the Mozambican leaders as well as National Peace Committee leaders John Hall and Dr Antonie Gil-denhuys.

► 'We won't delay talks' - Page 10

11B
ARCT 20/10/73

IFP student leader, friend knifed to death

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — An Inkatha Freedom Party student leader at the University of Zululand and a friend have been stabbed to death.

Michion Mkhize, 26, vice-chairman of the IFP at the university, was with a group of IFP sympathisers in Vulindlela township, near Empangeni, when they were attacked by eight men about 8pm yesterday.

Mr Mkhize and the other student were stabbed to death and three people were injured. The other victim's name has not yet been released.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillett said in a statement that the attack was politically motivated and linked to a IFP meeting on the campus planned for Saturday.

Mr Tillett said Mr Mkhize was the second IFP leader killed in Natal since the weekend.

Wembezi IFP leader Duke Mbongwa was hacked to death during a "so-called faction fight" at Mangweni, near Lōskop, at the weekend, Mr Tillett said.

ANC cautions Buthelezi on war threats

(113)
ARG 20/10/93

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The African National Congress has cautioned Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that it will not be dragged into a war over the issue of Zulu self-determination.

This follows threats by the IFP president that Kwazulu would opt for secession from the new South Africa if the multiparty negotiations process ignored his demands for federalism.

In Ulundi at a special sitting of the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi took a strongly federal, strongly Zulu nationalist stand that underlined his differences with the multiparty talks.

African National Congress Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said today Chief Buthelezi's threats were "empty" because he did not speak on behalf of all the Zulus of the region.

He added that the ANC would not be "blackmailed into a war".

The Democratic Party also attacked Chief Buthelezi's latest statements, but said it warned that secession would be the IFP's leader's last option if he did not get his way at multiparty negotiations.

DP MP Kobus Jordaan said: "Chief Buthelezi would use everything from Zulu nationalism to the Volksfront generals to achieve for himself the leadership position in South Africa. If that is not feasible, then Natal-Kwazulu, and as a last resort Kwazulu north of the Tugela."

The only support for Chief Buthelezi came from Conservative Party Natal leader Carl Werth, who said the statements were in keeping with the manifesto of the Freedom Alliance.

Join in TEC, says UN chief

CF 20/10/93 (11B)

MAPUTO. — UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali emphasised yesterday the Transitional Executive Council's importance in the eyes of the United Nations and the need for the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress to take part in it.

At a meeting here with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Boutros-Ghali said the IFP and the ANC had to follow up the June 23 summit between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela with a grassroots peace process.

After Dr Boutros-Ghali told Chief Buthelezi of the importance the international community attached to negotiations, Chief Buthelezi said his party would not return to the negotiating table under any circumstances.

After the meeting, Chief Buthelezi told journalists he thought the multi-party negotiations were off course and that the Freedom Alliance's bilateral talks with the government and the ANC were of more value.

A later meeting between Dr Boutros-Ghali and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu focused on practical measures to end violence in South Africa, and Dr Boutros-Ghali again emphasised the need to participate in the TEC.

At the meeting Mr Makwetu said he could not comply with Dr Boutros-Ghali's request that the party take part in the TEC.

He said continued violence by the government made such steps impossible.

Dr Boutros-Ghali also met Peace Accord leaders Mr John Hall and Dr Antonie Gildenhuys to discuss how peace structures could be strengthened and broadened, and how the UN observer mission could be "enhanced to assist" in the electoral process.

Dr Boutros-Ghali said South Africa's Peace Accord was unique in the world. — Sapa



HELPING HAND . . . UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali says goodbye to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi after their meeting in Maputo yesterday.

Picture: AP

INKATHA Fm 22/10/93

To the brink?

In his toughest speech yet, Inkatha and KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week came within a whisker of telling government and the ANC to go to blazes unless they are willing to make real concessions on a federal constitution.

Opening a special session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Buthelezi rekindled the threat of a KwaZulu declaration of UDI unless a broad accommodation is reached. "(President F W) de Klerk has often indicated that the final solution has to be all-inclusive. Our most essential needs have been disregarded and what is emerging from the World Trade Centre does not have the required legitimacy (11B) (1993)"

"I will not lead this house and KwaZulu into a unitary state. If the rest of the country rejects the offer we make, to be included in the new SA as a federal state in a federal republic, then we will consider our options and one of those is not to be included at all.

"If they want to force us into it by using the SADF and the Umkhonto army of the ANC, then so be it. No decision will ever again be imposed on the Zulu nation. We claim our right to participate and consent to

Fm 22/10/93
any decision which affects our future. It will take the full might of the SA State to impose the Transitional Executive Council on the Zulu nation." (11B) (1993)

Buthelezi's fiery delivery reiterated that Inkatha's bottom line is a federal state which guarantees sovereignty — the right to exist with constitutional autonomy and defined decision-making powers which exceed those already enjoyed by KwaZulu as a self-governing territory; and the right of member states to participate in the legislative decision-making process at a federal level.

"This notion of federalism represents our bottom line, the furthest degree of accommodation we can concede without jeopardising the Zulus as a nation. We in KwaZulu must have the power to adopt our own rules governing matters such as family law, commerce & trade, criminal law and so on."

De Klerk's idea of a pre-election referendum on the constitution is flatly rejected by Buthelezi. The big question is: just how far can this brinkmanship go?

Unless there is a breakthrough in this week's meeting between the ANC and Inkatha, the outlook seems bleak indeed. ■

IFP 'has 60% support in Natal'

(11B)

ARCT 22/10/93

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party is winning the election battle for support in Natal and Kwazulu by two votes to one against the African National Congress, IFP national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said today.

He was responding to remarks by ANC leader Nelson Mandela on SABC TV last night.

Mr Mandela was adamant that the April 27 election would go ahead, saying the ANC would resist any attempt to prevent the election from taking place.

He said no "spillers" could slow down this process. And, he predicted, the ANC would win more than 50 percent of the vote in Natal and Kwazulu, while the IFP would win 31 percent.

But Dr Jiyane told Mr Mandela today: "You are wrong. The IFP has not less than 60 percent of the support in Natal and Kwazulu. The ANC will be lucky to get even 30 percent of the vote.

"Mr Mandela is free to quote whatever number he likes. But that is meaningless and not true, and he knows that."

Inkatha praises

AWB 'food aid'

C/Press 24/10/93

By MOSES MAMAILA

INKATHA welcomed the AWB's initiative to feed pro-Inkatha Kwesine hostel inmates who have been trapped inside the hostel for months, spokesman Thabani Dlamini said this week.

Dlamini was commenting on the "humanitarian mission" by AWB members who supplied hostel inmates with food and medical facilities under the cover of darkness last Saturday morning. (IB) (20/10/93)

He said the government had failed to secure free movement for the hostel dwellers and they were trapped in the compound without food.

AWB Donkerhoek Commando spokesman Frans Kruger said they had decided to supply food to the pro-Inkatha hostel inmates because Inkatha was a member of the Freedom Alliance.

Kruger said the operation had to be launched under the cover of darkness as the rightwingers did not want confrontation with pro-ANC Phola Park squatters.

He said the AWB would continue to provide Inkatha with all the material support they needed.

Kruger said he was "not qualified" to say if hostel inmates would be provided with weapons.

of hypocrisy and Holomisa accuses Buthelezi

Sowetan 25/10/93

Speech angers IFP

AN ANGRY Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has accused African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela of generating anarchy in the KwaZulu region one day and the next day turning to the people with "facile gestures of peace".

Addressing a gathering at Madadeni in northern Natal at the weekend, he said this was hypocrisy and was recognised as such by the ANC in the region.

"The president of the ANC seems to be an expert in talking out of both sides of his mouth when he talks peace in one breath and in the next vilifies us by calling us all sorts of vile names."

Message to Mandela

Buthelezi said his message to Mandela was: "You cannot one day recruit impressionable young children to learn to kill other black people and generate

anarchy in the region, and the next day turn to them with facile gestures of peace."

The IFP leader, who is also Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, said there was only one way to stop the ANC and the Government in their tracks and that was to actively demonstrate to South Africa and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them. — *Sapa*.

quired confidence to turn this country into a dream world".

He reassured the privileged that the ANC would respect the right to private property.

Mandela said: "We've shifted on

not allow the Natal-KwaZulu region to secede under Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "It's not an individual who decides on secession: it's the people of SA," he

21 towns give notice of plans to remain white

TWENTY-ONE Western Transvaal towns indicated on Saturday they would defy the authority of the Transitional Executive Council and keep their towns white.

Representatives of the towns handed motions of defiance to CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg in Ottosdal. Hartzenberg, who received the freedom of the town, described the move as a historic step, which he saw as the beginning of an Afrikaner volk republic.

Hartzenberg rejected President F.W. de Klerk's warning that action would be taken against leaders who would not accept results of a future election, and said the Freedom Alliance would never accept any election brokered in current circumstances.

Addressing a meeting at the town's showgrounds after the ceremony, Hartzenberg predicted that more towns would follow the example of the 21 councils. "Those who go along will become part of the new republic and those who don't will fall prey to De Klerk's and (ANC president Nelson) Mandela's bleak future."

Hartzenberg said whites were not prepared to compromise their free-

dom and right to self-determination and would fight with everything at their disposal if necessary.

He repeated that the Afrikaner Volksfront would next year establish its own transitional government of which AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche would be a member. "Then we can make arrangements to elect our own government."

Terre-Blanche said at the meeting it was meaningless to continue negotiations with Mandela, who was not prepared to grant whites their own volkstaat. The borders of a volkstaat would be drawn by war. "A country-wide full-scale war is on the cards. We will fight against you if you give us no land. We want a land where the farmer is boss."

□ About 2 500 people marched to the Boksburg City Council on Saturday to demand the establishment of one town council embracing Boksburg, Delmore, Vosloorus, Villarisa and Reiger Park. Civic leader Danny Cassell said the marchers handed over a petition calling for one council and dissolution of the present management committee. — Sapa.

there are black leaders who are willing instruments of the diehard white right to prolong black suffering, deprivation and oppression," Holomisa said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Buthelezi lashes out at ANC leader

DURBAN — Angry Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused ANC president Nelson Mandela on Saturday of generating anarchy in the KwaZulu region one day and the next day turning to the people with "facile gestures of peace".

Addressing a gathering at Madadeni in northern Natal, he said this was hypocrisy and was recognised as such by the ANC in the region.

"The president of the ANC seems to be an expert in talking out of both sides of his mouth when he talks peace in one breath and in the next vilifies us by calling us all sorts of vile names."

"We have never answered him in kind in the interests of peace and reconciliation," he said.

Buthelezi said there was only one way to stop the ANC and government in their tracks, which was to demonstrate actively to SA and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them.

"We will act under the banner of the Freedom Alliance and fight together for our demands for federalism and a strong democratic constitution before elections," he said. — Sapa.

Bleak future forecast for 500 000 matrics

BIDAY 25/10/93

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Economists have warned that SA's unemployment will soar next year when about 500 000 matriculants try to find jobs in a still-stagnant market.

Econometrix chief economist Azar Jammine said the job market in 1994 would, at best, be marginally better than in 1993, when it was estimated that only five in 100 school-leavers would find jobs.

He said even if there was an economic turnaround, it would take time before new jobs were created in any number.

According to the DET, 360 000 pupils have registered for this year's matric examinations. Last year, 325 000 pupils wrote the examinations.

White pupils registered for this year's examinations total 67 549.

The DET said it was not possible to forecast this year's pass rate. Any attempt to do so would have to take into account the teacher strikes and stayaways by pupils. Last year, the pass rate was 43,8%.

Although no figures on school days lost this year were available, educationists said disruptions had been more widespread this year. They said it was unlikely this year's pass rate would equal or surpass last year's.

Sapa reports that DET deputy director-general Dirk Meiring has said the examinations would start on November 1.

He said more than 5,4-million papers had been printed for 142 examinations in 81 subjects. The packaging and delivering of the papers to 2 325 examination centres had been done under strict security.

"So far, in spite of having to make alternative arrangements because of the postponement of the start of examinations, the procedure has been smoothly completed as a result of the co-operation and competence of those involved in the process," Meiring said.

Merger talks off between two top law firms

LAW firms Webber Wentzel and Deneys Reitz have decided not to merge, the firms said in a statement. They rejected some points made in Insider Trading on Friday.

"It is not true that a merger would have involved Deneys Reitz moving to Webber Wentzel's offices at 60 Main Street. Also quite untrue is the statement that the Re-

serve Bank's recent request to Webber Wentzel for assistance in certain client forex dealings had resulted in Deneys Reitz 'factoring this into their calculations' regarding merger possibilities.

"For reasons entirely divorced from the Reserve Bank's inquiries, the firms' merger discussions are not continuing."

Soweto to

Let us talk, says Mandela to those preparing for war

B15 Day 25/10/93

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela warned on Saturday that there were groups in SA stockpiling weapons and preparing for civil war.

He was addressing about 800 mostly business people at a celebration of his 75th birthday in Durban.

His message to groups stockpiling weapons was: "Violence is not in your interest. Let's sit down and talk."

Mandela said the civil war option would lead to the death of innocent women and children and the only way to avoid this was through negotiations. "Let's talk peace," he urged.

He said SA had the potential to become the most powerful country on the African continent but it required confidence to "turn this country into a dream world".

He reassured the privileged that the ANC would respect the right to private property.

Mandela said: "We've shifted on

our nationalisation policy", and said the ANC's policy was now identical to that of the Federal Republic of Germany, which maintained an "option of nationalisation".

"... But they haven't used it for decades because it hasn't been necessary," he said.

He assured whites his organisation was aware of white fears and "we have no intention of putting you on the sideline in building the new SA".

Mandela said a meeting between him and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was needed to help stabilise the volatile political situation in SA. But efforts to arrange such a meeting had so far been fruitless.

Mandela, who favours strong central government, said the ANC would not allow the Natal-KwaZulu region to secede under Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"It's not an individual who decides on secession: it's the people of SA," he

declared.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa has cautioned the ANC against paying too much attention to the newly formed Freedom Alliance. Instead of focusing on negotiations with President F W de Klerk.

"He (De Klerk) is the custodian of apartheid. The leadership must concentrate on De Klerk because he is using the Freedom Alliance to prolong his stay in power."

Addressing delegates to the ANC's Midlands annual conference in Edendale, Maritzburg, on Saturday, Holomisa said the "unholy collusion" between the white right wing and conservative black leaders, aimed at holding the transformation process to ransom, was mind-boggling.

"It baffles one to even imagine that there are black leaders who are willing instruments of the diehard white right to prolong black suffering, deprivation and oppression," Holomisa said. — Sapa-Reuter.

21 towns give notice of Buthelezi lashes

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NEWS Buthelezi attributes anarchy in parts of SA to Umkhonto we Sizwe

Southam 25/10/93

Chief slates ANC

ZULU Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress had driven parts of South Africa into anarchy.

"The anarchy now reigning in some parts of South Africa is a direct result of the ANC's historic campaign to render South Africa ungovernable," Buthelezi told supporters at a rally near the northern Natal town of Newcastle on Saturday.

Buthelezi said the levels of political murder in remote areas of his black homeland KwaZulu had soared.

This, he said, was the direct result of an ANC destabilisation campaign spearheaded by its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"They have embarked on a frenzied

■ **UNENDING VIOLENCE** Since

July 1 900 people have been killed:

recruitment drive and training...in an attempt to silence the voice of the IFP and of the Zulu people," Buthelezi said.

Rivalry

Police blame much of the violence in South Africa on rivalry between the two organisations.

Nearly 1 900 people have been killed, mainly in Natal and in Johannesburg townships, since early July, when multiparty negotiators set April 27 as the date for the first all-race election.

"I want the ANC to hear my anger today. I want them to stand before my people and acknowledge the havoc and destruction they have caused...We are sick and tired of the ANC's lies to the people of South Africa," Buthelezi said.

Earlier, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said he wanted to meet Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to help end the bloodshed.

But Mandela, speaking in Natal in the heartland of support for Buthelezi, said attempts to arrange a meeting had so far been fruitless. — *Sapa-Reuter.*

Buthelezi hits out at 'facile' Mandela

DURBAN. — An angry Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday accused ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela of generating anarchy in the KwaZulu region one day and on the next day turning to the people with "facile gestures of peace".

Addressing a gathering at Madadeni in northern Natal, he said this was hypocrisy and

was recognised as such by the ANC in the region.

"The president of the ANC seems to be an expert in talking out of both sides of his mouth, when he talks peace in one breath and in the next vilifies us by calling us all sorts of vile names.

"We have never answered him in kind in the interests of peace and reconciliation," Chief Buthelezi said.

The IFP leader, who is also

Chief Minister of the KwaZulu homeland, said there was only one way to stop the ANC and the government in their tracks and that was to actively demonstrate to South Africa and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them.

"We will act under the banner of the Freedom Alliance and fight together for our demands for federalism and a

strong democratic constitution before elections," he said.

"Already we have forced the State President to postpone the parliamentary endorsement of the draft interim constitution. *CT 25/10/93*

"We have made it very clear that for the sake of freedom and democracy the ANC and the government cannot be allowed to carry on without us." — Sapa (11B)

Alliance seeks talks with FW

Sowetan 27/10/93

■ **EXPLOSIVE SITUATION** South Africa is approaching 'a crisis of historic proportions':

THE Freedom Alliance is to seek an urgent meeting with State President FW de Klerk in a bid to defuse the explosive situation in negotiations.

The announcement yesterday followed a lengthy meeting of Alliance leaders at Ulundi, KwaZulu, after the breakdown in bilateral talks with the African National Congress on Monday.

The alliance repeated its demand — rejected by the ANC — for an urgent summit of leaders to resolve outstanding issues and chart the constitutional road. (12) (118) (3000)

In a statement after the leaders' meeting, the Alliance called on "opinion makers and men and women of stature in South Africa to support our call for urgent talks between national leaders".

"The Freedom Alliance rejects the right of the South African Government and the ANC to determine the future of this country bilaterally. We call for support of this rejection."

Present at the Ulundi meeting were Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Con-

servative Party, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei president Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

"The leaders of the Freedom Alliance wish to state that South Africa is approaching a crisis of historic proportions," the statement said.

The multiparty negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, which the Alliance is boycotting, was "insufficiently representative to consider the national issues at stake".

The Alliance called for recognition that "in reality" there had been a political realignment in the country which had resulted in the emergence of "three dominant blocs of political parties and leaders" — the Alliance, the ANC-South African Communist Party-led Patriotic Front and the South African Government-National Party.

"A constitutional dispensation for a future democracy...needs to be adopted by consensus which will, at the very least, involve the three major political blocs," the statement added. — Sapa.

an attempt to woo breakaways

Sowetan 29/10/93

FW meets Alliance

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk will meet the Freedom Alliance this afternoon in Pretoria in the latest bid to prevent a complete negotiations breakdown with the Alliance. (SAPA)

The agreement to meet was finalised at a three-hour bilateral meeting between the Alliance and the Government in Pretoria yesterday. Alliance spokesman Mr Rowan Cronjé said afterwards the bilateral had "generally been constructive and progress has been made on

a number of issues".

He declined to divulge details, except to reiterate the Alliance warning that the negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park was moving too fast. (IIB)

"I think South Africa must ask itself ... is a week more important than an all-inclusive solution," Cronjé said, referring to the Kempton Park deadline next Friday for finalisation of the constitutional transition package. — Sapa.

Inkatha march will protest against MK-Popcrü 'merger'

Bibay 29/10/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party plans to march through Johannesburg tomorrow to protest against the apparent "merger" of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcrü).

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said yesterday Inkatha was disturbed by the public show of allegiance between Popcrü and MK, Sapa reports.

A recent meeting between Inkatha and Popcrü failed to end conflict, he said. Popcrü did not convince Inkatha that its members were not co-operating with MK soldiers in self-defence units.

Transvaal Popcrü spokesman Andile Ndlebe said police, Popcrü and MK were separate. The union was not politically aligned. Although ANC supporters attended Popcrü demonstrations, the union invited support from all organisations, including Inkatha.

MARIANNE MERTEN reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Agenda last night that the politicisation of the SAP was undermining its effectiveness to fight crime and created distrust between police and communities.

Community policing was the way to

break this distrust. Without the co-operation of the community, police effectiveness was cut by 40%. The officer corps realised "community relations was the way to go", though there might be a few individuals at ground level who were not convinced.

Stopping violence in areas such as the East Rand was not solely the task of the police. "We need the involvement of political leaders," he said. (118) (25)

Meanwhile, Popcrü was warned that members who marched in police or correctional services uniform with MK in East London tomorrow could face charges or dismissal. Deputy Commissioner Brig Nico Slabber said while freedom of association and collective bargaining were basic human rights, the way in which they were exercised was "of vital importance for the image of the police as well as for the principle of the rendering of an impartial and professional service".

Police also said yesterday that the 375 Popcrü members dismissed from the SAP in Port Elizabeth had 30 days to appeal for re-enlistment. The statement followed claims by several members that they were ill or on study leave at the time.

Lonely hearts on the right

C/Read 31/10/93

118

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
Political Reporter

IT failed to prevent the ANC and government from agreeing to write a final constitution before going to the polls in April, and now the embattled Freedom Alliance is looking towards President FW De Klerk for a shoulder to cry on.

The alliance, consisting of conservative black and white organisations, has asked for an urgent meeting with De Klerk in a bid to have their grievances addressed before the November 5 deadline during which the 21 negotiating parties are expected to wind up their constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre.

This follows the alliance's failure to make any headway during their bilateral talks with the ANC and Pretoria at two separate meetings this week. Their bid to have an urgent summit of all political leaders also fell through.

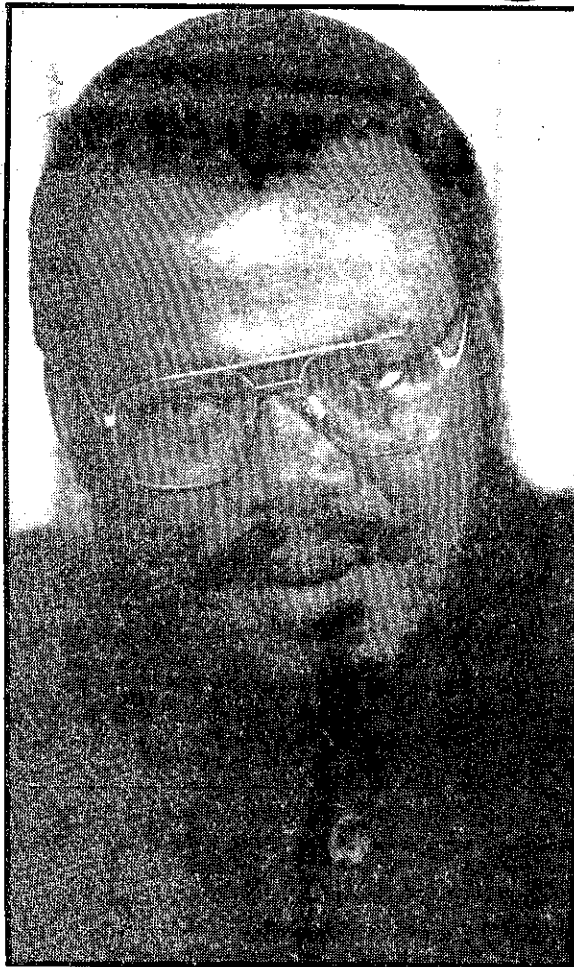
Instead, the government and the ANC retreated to a two-day *bosberaad* meeting on Tuesday and Wednesday where they agreed on important constitutional issues such as the role of a deputy state president and the powers of regional governments during the transition.

They agreed the deputy state president should come from the party with the second highest number of votes after the election.

Time is not exactly on the side of the FA and with odds heavily stacked against them, the alliance – formerly called the Concerned South African Group – has little option but to iron out their differences at the WTC.

Wherever they go for sympathy the FA leaders are advised that there is no better place for the resolution of their problems than the WTC.

During Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's



COLD SHOULDER . . . Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been directed back to the World Trade Centre.

meeting last week with UN general secretary Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Buthelezi was told in no uncertain terms to return to the conference table at the WTC to sort out his political problems.

After the meeting, Buthelezi, eager to avenge his dented political pride, vowed not to do so under any circumstances.

While De Klerk is ready to give the FA leaders a second hearing and wants them back at the multiparty talks, it is very unlikely that he will make further concessions to them.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA executive director Dr Alex Boraine made similar observations in his institute's monthly publication.

He said: "An even more difficult problem surrounding the final stages of negotiations is

the attitude of Buthelezi and Inkatha. Despite concessions made by the ANC and the government, Buthelezi remains obstinate and obdurate."

"Asking for further concessions, from the ANC in particular, is almost asking too much, but the responsibility for bringing the IFP back to the negotiating table, rests largely with Mandela and his colleagues."

Boutros-Ghali and Boraine are seasoned, widely-respected politicians. It would be foolish to dismiss as irrational or myopic their opinions on sensitive matters such as this.

In the past the government and the ANC have gone to great lengths to accommodate rightwing sentiments. Black homeland leaders, feeling their power gradually slipping away, called for the es-

tablishment of regional governments and federal states with entrenched regional powers.

Of greater concern is the claim by Buthelezi that Zulus would like to retain their nationhood via an almost autonomous federal government comprising KwaZulu and Natal.

Concerned about this claim, the ANC held a massive Zulu cultural festival-cum-political rally at Kings Park Stadium last Sunday precisely to expose Buthelezi's claims as inflated, if not mythical.

To avoid any possible cause for criticism, the ANC made sure that no supporters were bussed in from other provinces because that would have implied that half the crowd at the stadium were non-Zulus.

Dubbed "Sonke", the event went so far as to shake even those die-hard Buthelezi supporters among Natal's business magnates.

This is reflected in Boraine's comment: "Not only is Buthelezi losing support in KwaZulu/Natal, but the business community which for so long supported him is becoming restless, feeling that he should return to the negotiating table to present his demands there."

"This so far has not bought him any nearer to a sense of reality, but has made him even more desperate. His constant threats of civil war have brought upon him the ire and criticism of his erstwhile ally, De Klerk, and this bodes ill for any compromise."

Meanwhile, the nominal support Buthelezi receives from some affiliates of the FA is highly suspect.

The human rights record in Bophuthatswana leaves much to be desired. President Lucas Mangope's administration through his heavy handed security forces have angered even the Tswanas, who tolerated him in the hope he might turn out a democrat.



Volksfront's Viljoen ... pursuing his dream with the ANC

creation of such an entity might not be as far-fetched as they once were.

Success would bring with it the white Right's participation in the April 27 general election, adding legitimacy to the result. It would also go a long way towards allaying ANC fears of a violent post-election backlash that could simmer for years, as in the case of Angola's and Mozambique's rebel movements. The ANC clearly believes the white Right has the potential to sabotage the new State unless some of its demands are met.

Talks between the rightwing and the ANC became possible since the now-defunct Volksunie announced its willingness to talk to anyone "including communists." The more pragmatic rightwing leaders, including Viljoen, obviously realised that sooner or later they had to talk to the ANC as the probable election victor, if there was to be any hope of their aspirations being realised.

The Volksfront was established to resolve

security problems, particularly in relation to attacks on farmers, and to press for self-determination for Afrikaners who want their own patch. (IIA) (300A)

Both issues intimately concern the ANC, particularly since it is accused by the Right of being the main instigator of violence and insecurity and because it favours a unitary State — a notion that has been much watered-down in the negotiations process.

It was, therefore, almost inevitable, says Unisa senior lecturer in political science Dirk Kotze, that the Volksfront would sooner or later take up these issues with the ANC. Top-level talks between the two began in August.

Viljoen's preference for a *volkstaat* is an area around the Witwatersrand which embraces 80% of Afrikaners who constitute a 52% majority in it. But it excludes the "rich areas".

The timing of the negotiations is also probably no accident. The multi-party negotiation's technical committee on regionalism is busy finalising recommendations on regional demarcation. The negotiators are also nearing the completion of the interim constitution, which will identify the country's regions. Because of this, Kotze says it is now essential for the Volksfront to make its final bid for its own State.

Viljoen appears to recognise this, pointing out that the next four to six weeks are the most crucial to his organisation's cause.

Though it seems improbable the ANC will agree to a full-blown Afrikaner homeland, Kotze believes there are factors which could favour some area in which a high level of autonomy is given to whites.

"I'm not suggesting an independent State, but possibly some sort of federal dispensation." There is, of course, a danger that it could create a precedent where, for example, homelands might use any such agreement to seek similar status. It could also be a difficult concept to sell to the ANC rank and file, though, as Kotze points out, it would be sold on the basis that the ANC had to compromise.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Kotze doubts that the country will be balkanised, but it could be divided into federal entities accommodating various sectoral interests. (300A) (IIA)

Clearly, bilateral talks aimed at neutralising or accommodating potential spoilers have become as important as the multi-lateral process at Kempton Park. On the one hand, there are bilateral talks between government and Inkatha, which is on the brink of getting its federal demands largely met; on the other, the ANC tries to bring the white Right on board.

Their ability to find pragmatic compromises could well be one of the issues on which peace in the new SA hinges. ■

ETHNIC AUTONOMY



Bending over backwards

The revelation of talks between the ANC and Gen Constand Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront on establishing a semi-autonomous *boerestaat* may have come as a bolt from the blue, but contact was made some time ago. Moreover, it now seems that hopes for the

Great and good honour ANC leader

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela was feted at a reception and dinner given here in his honour by the British ambassador to the US, Sir Robin Renwick — formerly ambassador to South Africa.

Mr Mandela was greeted with something like the reverence normally reserved for royalty when he arrived at Sir Robin's residence on Massachusetts Avenue.

Flashbulbs popped and the guests stood in line to shake his hand.

(11A) ARG 11/10/93
The occasion was a conspicuous gathering of South Africans — most of them here for the IMF and World Bank annual meetings — and for South Africa watchers.

Among the guests were President Bill Clinton's Health Secretary Donna Shalala, British Foreign Affairs Minister Baroness Chalker, South African Finance Minister Derek Keys, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George Moose, former US Assistant Secretaries of State for Africa Chester Crocker and Herman Cohen, South Africa's ambassador Harry Schwarz and past US ambassadors to South Africa Herman Nickel, Carl Perkins and Bill Swing.

'Traitors' won't say sorry

South 1/10 - 5/10/93

Reverend Allan Hendrickse is retiring at the end of the year after a lifetime of politics. At the same time he is contemplating ANC membership while watching his Labour Party fading away.

He spoke to **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE:**

THE MAN accused of saying sorry after defying apartheid and swimming on a whites-only beach, says he is not sorry about the role he played in the tricameral parliament.

During the eighties Reverend Allen Hendrickse was seen by the UDF as an arch collaborator in PW Botha's bid to co-opt coloureds as apartheid's junior partners.

Now he says: "I don't think we need to ask forgiveness of anybody. Our intentions were good and honest and I believe we succeeded in complementing the liberation struggle."

The Rev Hendrickse — leader of the official opposition in the House of Representatives — sits in his sunny parliamentary study and says he has no regrets about the controversial decisions he took as leader of the Labour Party of South Africa (LP).

And yes, there are also no regrets about the decision to participate in the three chamber parliament in 1983, which made him a collaborator and traitor in the eyes of many.

He denies that refusing to say he is sorry puts him in the same league as state president FW de Klerk, who maintains that apartheid was not immoral, that it just did not work.

"No, the intentions of apartheid were never good. And they are still trying to justify it. That is not what I am doing," Hendrickse says adamantly.

mently.

"But I am sad that we were misunderstood by people and through misapprehensions," he says. "My rationale was based on the fact that when I met with Oliver Tambo and Reggie September in London in 1978 they said participation as a strategy was acceptable to them. Two days before we took the decision I met with the Natal Indian Congress in Durban and they too endorsed the strategy of participation."

Yet, by the time the Labour Party was firmly entrenched in most of the seats in the House of Representatives, things weren't so positive anymore. The UDF had been formed and he at many times found himself at loggerheads with the national non-racial movement on the one side and with the white cabinet and state president PW Botha on the other.

Hendrickse insists he never contradicted or compromised the values of the liberation movements.

"Even in the days of the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) we made it clear that we were fighting alongside the liberation movements. The records will show that the LP was the first party to openly call for the release of Mr Mandela and the other political prisoners.

"And we adopted Black Consciousness as our policy. Certainly, the LP must be historically praised for a reappraisal of attitudes in the coloured community. We taught



ALLEN HENDRICKSE

South 1/10 - 5/10/93 (IA)
Hendrickse insists he never contradicted or compromised the values of the liberation movements'

people to be proud, while the old Federal Party still campaigned with the slogan — Wil jy neffens 'n kaffer bly?," Hendrickse adds.

But during the eighties the LP was seen as the enemy of the liberation struggle. Community accusations against the party range from helping to forcibly remove people to enriching themselves through the parliamentary gravy train.

Hendrickse is still being accused of sending the army into the townships in 1985 to ensure that pupils write exams.

"Not once during the time we were in control did we use the army or the police," he retorts.

"The state of emergency was taken to the President's Council to push it through after we rejected it. We took a clear stand against PW Botha.

"Yes, we had our differences with the UDF, but not ideologically. But we saw them breaking up our meetings and they would not allow us to work with them."

Another issue held against Hendrickse is his apology to PW Botha for swimming on a whites only beach as a media trick.

He denies apologising. He said he wrote a letter stating that he will not apologise after being put under pressure and accuses "UDF-aligned newspapers" of misinformation.

"Being misunderstood on this issue was a low point in my career," he says. "I definitely have no regrets about the swimming, because it made international headlines.

"As far as I am concerned the criticism came from people who were not prepared to defy apartheid like we were."

Hendrickse also vehemently denies benefiting from the parliamentary "gravy train". "We were the ones fighting for the equalisation of salaries and once that was done, our salaries became an issue.

"For me being in parliament was a sacrifice. I had to give up a career in teaching and sacrificed my wife and family. And whether people think otherwise or not, I see myself and the LP as an integral part of the liberation struggle."

Now Hendrickse is on the brink of joining the ANC himself, while at the same time retiring from active politics.

He explains: "Once a politician, always a politician. I will only leave active politics. But I turn 66 next month and having seen the manifestation of the realisation of our dreams, I think the younger ones must now take the lead.

"I will go back to the ministry to serve the church, but at the same time I will give my full support in the campaigns to get rid of the NP."

A veteran of more than 40 years in politics, he traces his conscientisation back to high school in Claremont, where teachers did political studies through the New Era Fellowship. During his years studying for a BA and theology diploma at Fort Hare he rubbed shoulders with many African leaders-to-be and became a close friend of Robert Sobukwe, deceased PAC president.

Hendrickse himself was a member of the Teachers League/Non-European Unity Movement/All Africa Convention alliance during his student years.

Later, as a minister of the Congregational Church and as a teacher, he moved closer to the ANC through the South African Coloured People's Convention.

In 1969 he was approached to stand for the CRC and was "elected by the largest majority anybody in the country knew".

ANC position on deputy president

8/10/93
PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC favoured having a deputy president drawn from the party that did not win next April's election, ANC negotiations commission secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa said in the latest edition of the ANC journal Mayibuye.

Asked about the presidency in the interim government of national unity, Valli Moosa said the ANC was engaged in a debate on aspects of the presidency which it felt should be elected by a simple majority of the interim parliament.

"There are a number of areas still being debated — firstly whether a position of deputy president should be established and whether he or she should come from another party in order to provide for national unity

and reconciliation.

"The ANC has been having discussions on this question and we are of the view that we should consider this positively," Valli Moosa said.

The president will appoint all ministers but ministers could be chosen from parties other than the majority party.

"But the leader of such a party would not be able to impose anyone on the president. He could say I do not want so-and-so for given reasons, give me another name," Valli Moosa said.

He said the ANC favoured the approach that Parliament rather than the Cabinet should decide on policy

directions.

He said a constituent assembly would abide by constitutional principles decided on by the negotiating parties.

However, the assembly would have the full power to alter interim arrangements which related to powers, duties, functions and borders of regions.

He said an interim government should continue until the first elections under a new constitution drafted at the constituent assembly.

"But the actual lifespan may depend on the needs or other factors. If it is not functional you would want to end it sooner rather than later," he said.

BARPROP

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("the company")

Directors: C G Steyn (Chairman), E P M Moses (Managing), G H Bulterman, W A M Clewlow,

Preliminary report to shareholders and loan stockholder

The unaudited consolidated results of the company and its subsidiaries for the year ended 30 September 1993, are set out below.

Unaudited	Actual	
1993	1992	Change
R000	R000	%

Comments

In spite of the difficult trading conditions in the market place during the first results achieved to 30 September 1993 those forecast when the 1992 annual 1993 interim report were published. The improvement is due to the comp

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Outcome 'will be authentic'

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

~~SAF~~ (IA)
THE outcome of the present negotiations process would be authentic and ought to be accepted as a democratic resolution to South Africa's political conflict, at least the African National Congress and the

Sowetan 11/10/93
Government concurred this week.

ANC negotiations strategist Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer spoke to *Sowetan* in separate interviews.

Their comments were against a background of bilateral meetings between the Government and the Afrikaner Volksfront, on the one

hand, and the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party on the other.

The IFP is boycotting the Kempton Park table and demands a federal settlement while the AVF is seeking a *volkstaat*. Meyer said present talks with the IFP had shifted from being confrontational to discussing constitutional issues and were bearing fruit.

PAC set ^(11A) to contest election 11/10/93

Own Correspondent

UMTATA. — The PAC would contest next year's elections because it understood them to be for a constituent assembly, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said here yesterday.

He is in Transkei to attend the unveiling today of a tombstone at the burial site of former Tembu leader Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.

Mr Makwetu told a press conference the PAC still opposed the lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

But because the PAC was not in power it could not force investors to leave the country, Mr Makwetu added.

"They (investors) are here to assist the oppressor and not to assist the oppressed," he said.

He said the PAC would boycott the Transitional Executive Council as it had no executive powers. It was clear to "any straight-thinking person" that the intention was to impress the world that something had been achieved at the World Trade Centre.

quate reserves, there was no reason why it would not be able to service claims.

He said that policyholders with annual premiums should therefore be covered.

As to the threat of liquidation, Nestant said that this was unlikely if the business was run properly.

According to a statement by the FSB, the short-term insurance industry has experienced "fierce competition" over the past three years which resulted in many insurers making under-

proach the Supreme Court for a provisional order for curatorship.

Guardian National Insurance Company last night announced that its offices would remain open all day today, as well as tomorrow, to provide cover for people fearing that IGI would not be in a position to meet its financial commitments in the event of claims.

If IGI is liquidated, policyholders with claims against IGI would be treated as normal creditors and could wait several years to get their capital back.

Quake

FROM PAGE 1.

United Nations sources said could be on the spot within 12 hours of an invitation.

Chavan told reporters in New Delhi that India was grateful for the offers, but added: "We have yet to consider and assess all this."

India has, as a matter of long-standing principle in its philosophy of self-reliance, declined outside help to deal with the earthquakes and floods that regularly ravage the country of 880 million people.

Chavan said the immediate problem was to shelter the homeless, feed them and provide them with clean drinking water.

He said the rural development ministry had been asked to send a team immediately to find ways to provide drinking water, which is in short supply. The government decided to sup-

ply essential commodities free to the victims for a month.

Some survivors, huddled around fires in open fields during the cool of the night, were numb with devastation.

"I don't need any help, because I have no one to live for," said one woman who lost her entire family.

Prime Minister P V Narasimha Rao, who will visit the stricken area today, appeared to the public to help the victims. Cabinet ministers have donated one month's pay.

The Cabinet met yesterday and decided to suspend all state ceremonies and banquets for a week in mourning for the victims.

Restorers said whole families had been wiped out as houses made of stone, mud and gipsy-gated iron roofing collapsed. In some places, the debris lay between 3 and 4 1/2 m high.

Maharashtra Health Secretary K S Siddh said some villages had only one or two houses left. Sapa-Rauter.

Plot foiled

FROM PAGE 1.

going constitutional negotiations and which was invaded by the AWB in June — with "long-distance explosive devices", most probably either mortars or other missiles such as RPG-5 rockets.

Other sensitive targets had also been ear-

Left livings in a time warp

Star 2/10/93

Nelson Mandela's call for the lifting of sanctions has been widely praised — except by AZAPO and the PAC. Political Correspondent KAZIER NYATSUMBA examines their strategies.

IT HAS become obvious for the umpteenth time that some organisations enjoying pride of place on the ultra-Left are living in a time warp.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's call last week to the international community to lift all remaining economic sanctions against South Africa, excluding the oil and arms embargo, was greeted with immense relief by many in South Africa and abroad.

But AZAPO and the PAC opposed the move — with the latter even sending its secretary-general Benny Alexander to the UN to lobby for sanctions to stay.

For an organisation which is cash-strapped and will need the money for next year's election, the case used to fly Alexander to New York could have been put to better use.

Pressure

AZAPO and the PAC struggle to be taken seriously both at home and abroad. They have the Organisation of African Peoples' Organisation (OAP) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, as liberation movements.

Both the OAU and the UN, however, have over the years given such recognition to the ANC and the PAC, but clearly attach more weight to the ANC's views than to the PAC's.

Both the OAU and the UN have put pressure on the liberation movements to enter into dialogue with Pretoria following their unhelpful on February 2 1990, and when the PAC first hesitated, the OAU and the Frontline states urged the organisation to negotiate.

But even as it half-heartedly rejoined multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre in April this year — it had participated in, and later pulled out of, the multiparty preparatory conference in December 1991 — the PAC remained sceptical of the Government and ANC, against

whom it continued to level accusations of collusion and secret deals, and maintained that all punitive sanctions should remain.

Forever ideologically pure and big on theory, but short on action, AZAPO, on the other hand, has doggedly remained outside the process, constantly throwing bricks at those inside the talks and calling them stooges, puppets, lackeys and even sellouts.

For this group of mostly black intellectuals, nothing much has changed in South Africa in the past three years, and they see a grave danger of the ANC allowing itself to be co-opted into government.

However, neither the PAC's nor AZAPO's somewhat antediluvian view of the world to often breathtaking failure to grasp the new reality in South African politics appear to be based on any real strategic thinking.

If there is any strategy behind their political agendas, it would be difficult to put a finger on anything other than their own narrow interests. In the case of the PAC, it is to pressure the Government to accept their demands for a self-elected cabinet and to clearly establish themselves as an alternative to the bigger and more influential ANC.

Since its unbanning in 1990, the PAC has a track record of enacting a missionary zeal for unattainable ideals — such as forming a united patriotic front with the ANC.

Significantly, the organisation has now refused to be part of the Transitional Executive Council and to second ADPA cadres into the proposed national peacekeeping force. Here it has serious reservations: the powers given to the sub-councils do not go far enough.



SWAPOY GROW/ ENERGIES: The revolutionary "Watchdogs" are mending their influence after they endorsed the ANC's demands and support accepting the armed struggle.

PAC youths rebel against 'sellouts'

JOE LOUW

black politician at the World Trade Centre deserves a bullet, including the so-called PAC leadership. Every negotiator there who claims to represent the Africans is a betrayer of our struggle."

Although nobody knows the extent of the following the "Watchdogs" have within the PAC, Victor Peto, publicity secretary and spokesman for the group, claimed that in 1991 they had counted 64 branches.

The "Watchdogs" claim a large following among the militant youth within the PAC, he said. Sources inside the mainstream

aligned to the PAC, are mending their influence after they endorsed the ANC's demands and support accepting the armed struggle.

PAC said the group was confined mainly to East Rand townships. The PAC leadership is nevertheless taking the threat of a split very seriously, said Jaki Seroke, the PAC's national education secretary, who has been appointed to mediate the dispute.

"Given the history of splits within the PAC," Seroke said, "the PAC leadership felt it necessary to attempt to reconcile and educate these cadres. We decided not to opt for confrontation and conflict, but to try arguing with the facts."

"Many of the young people who joined the PAC did not rally unreservedly after they observed AP/As actions. They rushed to join, not realising that the PAC puts politics before the bullet." Seroke also raised the possibility that groups such as the "Watchdogs" might have been "used by the SAP and Military Intelligence to destabilise the organisation". It was "known" that R64 million had been set aside by the regime to destabilise the liberation movements.

A spokesman for the "Watchdogs" explained that the group was not a separatist movement. "We model ourselves on, and take our name from, the ANC Youth League's aims and objectives formulated in 1959 under the leadership of Anton Lembede. It was there that the struggle of the African people was changed from appeasement, petitions and demonstrations to a militantly radical focus on our usurped land — when it was identified as the item of the struggle of the oppressed."

"We do not accept recognition of any settler regime or state, and the issue of land is non-negotiable."

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
Political Reporter

INKATHA will never realise its dream of a federal state in Natal and KwaZulu no matter how hard they try, ANC leader Nelson Mandela allegedly told Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their meeting at Kempton Park in July.

Addressing guests in Johannesburg during a debate on the role of the TEC, Inkatha spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said during their second man-to-man meeting to try and find a solution to the inter-party political violence among their supporters. Mandela told Buthelezi in no uncertain terms that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government should forget about pursuing the idea of establishing an autonomous federal state.

Jiyane expressed little hope of Inkatha achieving its goals at multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre as "deals were pre-cooked at bilaterals and bosberade (secret bush talks) between the government and the ANC".

In a surprise disclosure, Jiyane said during their recent visit to Namibia, President Sam Nujoma told the Inkatha delegation that Pretoria and the ANC were making a serious mistake by sidelining them from the multiparty talks.

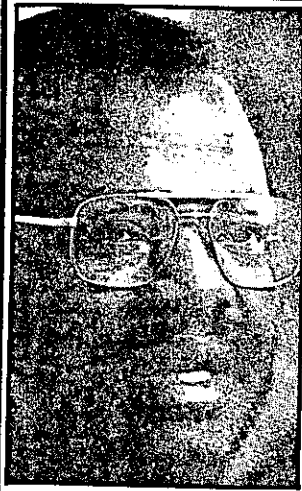
Said Jiyane: "Nujoma vindicated our stance with regard to the talks and said although his government consisted of a Constituent Assembly, it was ruled by consensus rather than through decisions being taken unilaterally by the ruling party."

Jiyane shared the platform with speakers from the PAC, NP and Azapo on the theme: "TEC - Sellout or Compromise", which was organised by the Dr Oscar Dloomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

However, despite their absence from the World Trade Centre, Inkatha continued to hold bilateral talks with both the ANC and Pretoria to put across its point on the type of federalist Inkatha and KwaZulu envisaged.

"We stand less chance of making our point inside the multiparty talks than outside. The government has spent more time striking deals with the ANC in secret talks and they expect us to hop along with those decisions."

Jiyane said in their current bilateral talks with the Pretoria, the government was trying to force Inkatha



BUTHELEZI ... Sticks to his demand for a federal state.



MANDELA ... Allegedly told Buthelezi to drop demand.



NUJOMA ... Serious mistake to sideline Inkatha.



NEMADZIVHANANI ... Rein in disbanded battalions.



NKADIMENG ... Azapo will push for blacks not to vote.

TEC: SELL-OUT OR COMPROMISE?

C/P 1000 3/10/93

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and KwaZulu delegates to agree to "pre-arranged" decisions in a week, yet the government spent a longer period with the ANC in similar talks.

During their meeting last week, government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer could not explain why Pretoria spent so much time with the ANC in their secret talks. All he was interested in was to sell the government's views on the draft constitution, Jiyane said.

Jiyane accused SACP national chairman Joe Slovo of "grandstanding" after he moved that April 27 be accepted as an election date. Subsequently, the agreement was en-

dorsed by a sufficient consensus, which caused Inkatha, KwaZulu and CP delegates to walk out.

Jiyane said Inkatha and KwaZulu stuck to by their demand for an autonomous federal system for their region, because it was the only form of regional majority government which was close to the people and thus able to exercise their will.

He added that a simple majority was not a guarantee to democratic rule here, because the ruling party in a Constituent Assembly might decide to do away with the transitional constitution "on the spur of the moment".

NP executive director Olaus Van

Zyl said any party that was interested in bringing about democracy in this country should be prepared to compromise. Contrary to popular belief, compromising was not a sign of weakness, but of strength, he said.

Most whites polled by the NP recently believed that the party had compromised a lot to the ANC, whereas the same number of blacks also contended that the ANC had gone overboard with its compromises to the government, Van Zyl said.

He disputed Jiyane's allegations that the government struck secret deals with the ANC and said Pretoria had held secret meetings with every party that wanted them. These

included Inkatha, the PAC and General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The NP has dropped its past racial principles and more blacks, Coloureds and Indians were joining it since the party opened its membership to all races two years ago. In the western Cape there were more Coloured NP members than whites, he said.

He said the NP's revamped constitution was based on three principles: The free market economy, a federal system and a Bill of Rights with an independent judiciary.

On the walkout by Inkatha and KwaZulu from the multiparty talks, Van Zyl said the government tried

unsuccessfully to convince them not to leave, but the delegates of the two parties said they had been instructed by their principals to quit.

"The doors of negotiations remain open to them and we believe they can make more contributions to the peace process inside the talks than outside," said Van Zyl.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nkomo said his party rejected the TEC because it was a toothless structure, with only supervisory and not advisory powers in the run-up to the elections.

The TEC, he said, lacked the "wings and teeth to protect the interests of the black majority during the

transition". The control of the security forces and lethal weapons (including guns and sophisticated armoured) was more important to the PAC than anything else because these determined the political scenario during any transition, he said.

He cited the civil war in Angola as a classical example of what normally happened if one party would not accept the outcome of democratic elections.

"Both the MPLA and Unita have dangerous weapons in their arsenals and it's these weapons that are determining the political scenario in that country."

Nkomo also said there was no guarantee that SADF soldiers would not attack and kill guerrillas at the proposed assembly points during the transition.

He said the concept of power-sharing during the transition undermined the efforts and sacrifices of the liberation movements to fight for the transfer of power from the hands of the white minority to those of the black majority.

Nkomo warned that as long as the members of the disbanded battalions (Koevoet, 31st and 32nd) were on the loose, they would always be suspected as the ones who were used by the government to kill blacks in massacres at taxi ranks and elsewhere. They must be confined to barracks with the aim of being repatriated back to their own countries.

Azapo general secretary Don Nkomo warned blacks against approving the proposed transitional constitution and said under its dispensation they would find themselves worse off than they were.

Nkomo, whose speech was largely dominated by sarcasm for those participating in the multiparty talks, referred to section 29 of the draft constitution, and said it addressed the question of the land in only one paragraph.

He said: "The gentlemen at the World Trade Centre have assured those who stole your land that the future government would not expropriate it from them. That's why we insist on the type of elections that will result in the transfer of power from the white minority."

"We'll encourage blacks not to vote on the election day, but I'm not sure if De Klerk will lose, because there are leaders who are fighting for parliamentary seats rather than total liberation of the oppressed."

ANC may ^(11A) ~~grant~~ ^{AR CT 4/10/93} region to Afrikaners

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is considering accommodating Afrikaners in a particular region in South Africa, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

Speaking at the end of his US visit, he said the right-wing had given the ANC a map and it was being considered.

"I have said to the right-wing: Stop talking about Afrikaners — indicate to me what area is predominantly Afrikaans."

He said the ANC was prepared to accommodate the right-wing in one of the country's regions.

Mr Mandela said he opposed ethnicity as a basis for drafting a constitution, but the ANC was prepared to compromise to accommodate Afrikaners by allowing them to settle in one of the regions into which the country is to be divided under a new constitution.

European trip

He said he was confident South Africa would attract foreign investment.

"The response has been far more than I expected," he said on Saturday before jetting out for the European leg of his trip, which starts today.

"It has been a successful visit," he added.

Mr Mandela's campaign to sell South Africa began with his call at the UN for the lifting of economic sanctions.

In New York and Washington, he addressed two conferences on South Africa, met senior officials and interest groups at the UN and held talks with top business and political leaders.

He revealed that the 170 or so pieces of US sanctions legislation at federal, state and city level would be repealed in the next three months, a record by US legislature standards. — UPI, Sapa

ANC considers Afrikaner region

WASHINGTON — The ANC was considering accommodating Afrikaans-speakers in a particular region, ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend. (17)

"They (the right wing) have given us a map," Mandela said on Saturday before leaving Washington.

"We are studying that map now, and we are serious when we say we want to address the fears of all communities."

Ethnicity was not, however, acceptable. The ANC was determined a solution be found "in a united SA where people stop thinking about ethnicity". It was prepared to make a number of compromises within that principle.

Mandela was speaking at the end of a 10-day trip to the US, before continuing to Europe. He is expected in Lisbon late today, and his visit kicks off tomorrow at a dinner given by President Mario Soares. Mandela will see Prime Minister Anibel

Cavaco Silva and Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso on Wednesday.

He will try to reassure his hosts that the interests of the 500 000-strong Portuguese community in SA will be protected as the country moves towards majority rule. At the same time he will be seeking Lisbon's backing for increased EC support to SA.

On Wednesday Mandela leaves for Brussels, where he will hold talks with European Commission president Jacques Delors and address delegates from the EC and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

Today in Luxembourg, EC foreign ministers will debate the commission's ideas for a sliding programme of EC aid to accompany SA's transition. The commission has suggested fresh EC aid to prepare for elections due next April, plus more economic links with the prospect of a formal co-operation agreement after the poll.

— Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Top ANC, PAC men in clash ^{11A}

UMTATA. — Top ANC and PAC members lashed out at each other this weekend over the participation of their organisations in multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. ^{27/4/10/193}

ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Steve Tshwete told a gathering here that the Transitional Executive Council's main task was "to level the political playing field" in a run-up to the April 27 election.

He said the TEC was not an interim government nor was the ANC acting in partnership with the government.

TEC

Mr Tshwete told the gathering the TEC would act as a watchdog over President FW de Klerk and his government "so that they should not act alone" and "to safeguard the misuse of government funds which are sometimes used by the NP to fight elections".

The PAC's executive member Mr Victor Zamela told the crowd Mr De Klerk was the only person who could "hire or fire" within the TEC structure.

Mr Zamela insisted the land issue should be included in the constitution. He ended his address with "one settler, one bullet, kill the farmer, kill the boer." — Sapa

Stay and help, Sexwale urges Sandton whites

Star 4/10/93

■ BY ANNA COX
SANDTON BUREAU

Those who prospered and benefited under the apartheid system — "like many Sandton residents" — owed it to the country to stay and help rebuild it, ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale said on Saturday.

Addressing the first annual general meeting of the Sandton branch of the ANC, Sexwale said Sandtonians should not think about emigrating. (11A)

They had obtained an education and a good living at the cost of others and were now needed in the new system. "They should consider South Africa their home. Things are looking good and we need them to help rebuild the country."

Sexwale added that certain people "in the heart of Government" were responsible for the violence in the country.

"It is illogical that blacks, who have now been freed from the oppression of apartheid, should be doing this to each other. It is strange that, with few exceptions, the white community has escaped the violence."

Sexwale said that although he hoped it did not happen, it was only a matter of time before the violence became "mindless" and split into white areas.

PAC a viable option to ANC

Sowetan 4/10/93
11A

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE Pan Africanist Congress was formed by a group of renegade ANC members in Orlando, Soweto, on April 5 and 6 1959.

The breakaway group was led by members of the so-called Africanist movement.

Along with the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress is the only "official" South African liberation movement recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

The Africanists experienced many difficulties with the views of the ANC. They were primarily members of the Youth League of the ANC, formed in 1944 under the leadership of Anton Lembede.

According to them, membership of the Youth League was open to all who "lived like and with blacks". They felt the ANC had made too many concessions in respect of oppression, and was incapable of promoting black liberation.

They felt blacks should be in control of their own liberation struggle, and should not be prompted by white liberals, including communists.

They also rejected the Freedom Charter, mainly because of the guarantees it contained for minority rights. These guarantees, they felt, would entrench minority domination.

The Africanists believed that the land which the white settlers had "stolen" from the indigenous people should be returned to the latter.

They also rejected the ANC view that disciplined leadership was necessary for the struggle.

Instead, they believed that if the notion of liberation was correctly propagated by the leadership, resistance would be spontaneously created among the masses.

For the Africanists the armed struggle is the primary struggle and they support the principle that political power will never be relinquished and must therefore be seized by force.

Initially the Pan Africanist Congress had considerable success in mobilising support.

However, this support was not countrywide. The PAC only gained significant support on the Witwatersrand, where its leaders were concentrated and in areas such as the Vaal Triangle and the Western Cape, which had been neglected by the ANC.

By the end of 1959 the PAC membership of 25 000 exceeded that of the ANC.

The PAC's success was probably due to the fact that its message was simple and easily understood.

It also promised to break the stalemate between the state and the black resistance movements.

While the PAC tried to evade allegations of extremism and anti-white attitudes, its supporters in the organisation saw the opportunity of retribution for decades of oppression by whites.

One of the first campaigns to be launched by the PAC was the "status campaign".

It was aimed at weaning the black

population of its psychological subservience, embodied in for example blacks reference to white men as "baas" or white's condescending reference to blacks as "boy" or "girl".

At the PAC's first annual congress in December 1959 it was decided to launch a positive action campaign to canvass mass support.

An anti-pass campaign was announced by the PAC's charismatic leader, Robert Sobukwe.

The date for the launch of the campaign was March 21 1960 — 10 days before a similar ANC campaign was to be launched.

There was little support for the PAC campaign in most parts of the country.

In some black neighbourhoods there was military and police action.

Sabre fighter aircraft were even used to intimidate the crowds.

In Sharpeville this tactic failed. In the early afternoon of March 21 1960, 69 people were killed when police fired at crowds.

Two people were also killed in the Cape Peninsula when police opened fire on a crowd of 6 000 in Langa.

After the Sharpeville tragedy and the arrest of most of the Transvaal PAC leadership, the situation calmed down. The shooting incident in the Cape Peninsula had the opposite effect, though.

A week of protest and stayaway actions followed and on 30 March 1960, 30 000 blacks marched to Parliament.

After negotiations with the police the crowd dispersed. These events led to a massive Government crackdown.

All public meetings of more than 10 people were prohibited and a state of emergency was declared.

On April 8 1960 the PAC and the ANC were banned. The entire PAC leadership was sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment on the grounds of inciting violence.

The organisation went underground and Potlako Leballo took over as acting president after his release from prison.

Militant PAC supporters formed a quasi-military movement Poqo (a Xhosa name for UmAfrika Poqo — meaning "blacks only") which drew most of its support from the Vaal Triangle and the Western Cape.

By the mid-1960s the PAC had ceased to be an important participant in South African politics.

With the exception of odd attempts by guerillas to infiltrate the country, the organisation was gained little publicity.

After 1968 the military wing of the PAC became known as the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In the late 1980s opinion polls indicated that the PAC enjoyed limited support. By the end of 1990 the PAC had a signed-up membership of 25 000.

At the PAC congress held in Johannesburg in 1990 a new leadership structure was elected and policies were reaffirmed.

In supporting the negotiation process now going on, the PAC projects itself as a viable alternative to the ANC — a party that stands for actual interests of blacks, but which is also flexible enough to take part in negotiations.

The PAC may still emerge as the winner in the struggle.

Government and Apla in talks soon

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the Azanian People's Liberation Army will meet soon on the issue of violence.

The parties remain worlds apart and give contradictory versions of the agenda for the meeting.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said: "The purpose of the meeting is to end violence and the Pan-Africanist Congress's armed struggle. It has nothing to do with the so-called cessa-

tion of mutual hostilities."

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said: "Minister HERNUS KRIEL asked for the meeting and the PAC agreed to such a meeting as long as the talks centre on ending mutual hostilities."

Mr Seroke said the meeting would be held on October 28, but the venue had not been decided. Captain Kotze said there was agreement on holding a meeting with Apla but no date or venue had been decided on. — Sapa.

ARG 5/10/93

(SAPA) (11A)

ANC squares up as talks resume

Sowetan 5/10/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

BATTLE lines have been drawn between the African National Congress alliance and Ciskei/Bophuthatswana negotiators over the proposed extension of the franchise to the two homelands.

Negotiations at the World Trade Centre resume today and issues to be tackled this week include the Electoral Bill and the draft interim constitution.

The Bill, together with the four tran-

sitional Bills, which include the Transitional Executive Council Bill, will be enacted as a package after Parliament resumes on November 8 and after approval by plenary of the leaders of the negotiators. (SABA) (11A)

When the negotiating council went into recess last Wednesday, the two homelands had already indicated opposition to the proposal, contained in the draft Electoral Bill which explains who is entitled to vote on April 27.

The ANC and South African Com-

munist Party had argued that the vote be extended to the "independent" homelands as they were part of South Africa.

Ciskei's Mr Mickey Webb said the proposed law would not be enforceable in the homeland. Bophuthatswana said the law could not be applied "extra-territorially".

Debate is expected to be as spirited as last week. However, issues arising from a series of bilateral meetings, notably between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, could be tabled.

Government, Apla agree to hold talks

Sowetan 5/10/93

MEETINGS AGENDA Mutual

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

A HIGH-POWERED meeting between the Government and Azanian People's Liberation Army to discuss a "mutual cessation of hostilities" is to be held later this month, *Sowetan* has been exclusively told.

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Ministry of Law and Order confirmed the meeting would be held on October 28.

However, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said that the date was "on the cards", saying Minister Hernus Kriel was "committed to discussing the ending of violence with anyone".

The PAC said the meeting's agenda would be the mutual ending of hostilities.

Sources within the Ministry said Kriel had initiated the meeting on condition that Apla chief commander and PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama was present.

ending of hostilities will be discussed:

~~SOWETAN~~ IIA
PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said the meeting would seek a political solution to the conflict with the Government.

Four African states have been lined up as possible venues while a neutral chairman is being sought.

Information is that Libya has agreed to host the summit.

Phama yesterday flew from Dar es Salaam to Uganda on the PAC's orders to secure its use as a venue.

Other countries earmarked are Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

The latter is however the likely venue, it was said.

Previous meetings between the two parties held both inside and outside the country had yielded no results, primarily because of the Government's refusal to accede to the PAC's demand for what it called a mutual cessation of

hostilities.

The PAC argued that Apla was at war with South African security forces and could not agree to a unilateral ending of the armed struggle.

The Government's delegation would possibly be led by Kriel and include Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and Chief of the Army General Georg Meiring.

Apla would be led by Phama and include its chief of staff Mr Barney Mzolo and political commissar Mr Romero Daniels.

A series of bilateral meetings ordered by the negotiating council, following the raids on PAC offices, broke down.

Meanwhile, a follow-up meeting between Apla and the African National Congress's Umkhonto we Sizwe will be held in Harare next week.

Stop civil war talk ^{(11A) (574)} Sexwale

CT 5/10/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE threat of South Africa being turned into a killing field by its own "Jonas Savimbis" dare not be used as an excuse for delaying next April's elections, ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Although some politicians scared of losing the poll "will do anything and everything" to block the contest, he was

confident South Africa would be able to avert a civil war.

The former senior uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) commander and Robben Island prisoner told a President 100 Club meeting in Cape Town yesterday that what South Africa needed most now was national unity, an end to violence, a growing economy — and an election.

Mr Sexwale, who has been tipped as a future leader of the ANC, told his spell-bound audience that the time had arrived

for "Ulundi and the (Afrikaner Volksfront) generals" to stop talking about civil war and prepare instead to accept the outcome of an election.

"We just do not want that war in South Africa," he said.

The ANC was prepared to make compromises in granting greater powers to regions, he said.

"You cannot have a winner-takes-all situation — there must be a bridge."

ANC 'curbing women'

(114)

Political Staff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE ANC's approach to the representation of women in its structures has been strongly criticised by a senior member of the ANC alliance, Ms Thenjiwe Mtintso. *CT 5/10/93*

She said the organisation had "systematically" made sure that women were under represented in decision-making bodies.

Ms Mtintso, a former uMkhonto we-Sizwe commander and a member of the SA Communist Party central com-

mittee, said the ANC had decisively buried the issue of quotas after an attempt to impose a 30% quota was averted two years ago.

Ms Mtintso, head of the SACP's gender desk and a former Daily Dispatch journalist, said leaders had tended to respond to the question of gender oppression "with giggles or sniggers of 30%" although women formed more than 50% of the electorate.

She said that unless the ANC put the matter at the top of its agenda the future was "indeed bleak".

...count world country-wide
after wage negotiations broke
down last week, a spokesman said.
REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Sapa,
Own Correspondent.

...coming through
Auto and General's joint MD Nick
Mew said since the end of last week
his company had received 3 612 calls,
of which about 1 000 would represent

ANC warns companies

Bilsey 5/10/93

THE ANC would levy charges against companies that did not implement legislated affirmative action, ANC human resources programmes co-ordinator Papie Moloto told a Euromoney conference on affirmative action in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Companies will find that it does not pay to be racist. Their profits will tell them not to discriminate."

However, the ANC would not impose quotas on companies as it was "easy to hide behind numbers".

If need be, some businesses would make a cleaner a manager of toilets.

"We would like to see companies gravitating towards affirmative action because it makes business sense," he said.

The ANC proposed an ombudsman to oversee implementation of affirmative action and an inspectorate to examine progress. Every town and city should also have a state-financed watchdog body to monitor and evaluate problems and report to the ombudsman, said Moloto.

"If civil society is involved in the process, it cannot be hijacked."

Moloto said while there was agreement in principle not to fire civil servants, "all structures in the public service must be representative".

He asked how long it would take

before government was representative of the people, but did not elaborate on how the ANC would correct this imbalance.

"Affirmative action should be seen as the survival mechanism the new SA is looking for."

Consultative Business Movement executive director Colin Coleman said affirmative action should be viewed as one of SA business's essential tools for managing change, empowering black society and revitalising the economy.

People development was essential to improve competitiveness.

SA ranked last on people criterion in 1992 and 1993, according to the world competitiveness report.

"Affirmative action is not an optional strategy for SA business, but part and parcel of SA's attempt to be globally competitive, productive and innovative," Coleman said.

While there was no overall consensus on what affirmative action policies should be followed, it was self-evident that SA corporations had to adapt to keep in step with broader political, economic and social changes. Different stakeholders, such as labour and management, should be seeking common ground, he said, so a shared commitment could be developed. — Sapa.

Bid to re-open Biko inquest

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) will campaign for a re-opening of the inquest into the death of slain Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko during mass rallies from October 16 until October 19.

Azapo Transvaal chairman Mr Nkosi Molala said: "The government

is parading itself as being in the process of undoing the evils of apartheid, and we want to give them a chance to do that."

Azapo had three witnesses willing to testify on the circumstances surrounding Mr Biko's death, Mr Molala said.

Mr Biko died in police custody in 1977. — Sapa

(11A) CT 5/10/93

Mandela receives award in Portugal

LISBON. — Portuguese President Mario Soares last night decorated Mr Nelson Mandela with an award given before only to heads of state.

The Order of Liberty was presented to the ANC leader at the presidential palace.

Accepting it, Mr Mandela said the award recognised the ANC's "crucial role" in the "fight to get rid of apartheid".

He said he was optimistic the South African peace process would succeed, "despite acrimonious differences".

Mr Soares endorsed Mr Mandela's most recent appeal for dialogue between all parties in South Africa as a way of resolving differences.

He also lauded Mr F W de Klerk's courage in freeing Mr Mandela, putting an end to apartheid and starting negotiations between the country's political leaders.

To laughter, Mr Mandela said despite the Portuguese having been the first Europeans to land in South Africa, "they did not discover South Africa". — Sapa

ANC has to 'sell patience'

By BARRY STREEK

SELLING the need for patience to its constituency is the ANC's most critical challenge, according to Witwatersrand University researcher Mr Matthew Kentrige.

Writing in a paper published by the university's Centre for Policy Studies, he says: "An ANC in government will not only have to arbitrate between competing but equally deserving claims, but will have to withstand political pressures born of frustrated economic expectations."

Mr Kentrige says the problem facing the ANC was that the crucial first years of a post-apartheid government would be characterised and, at best, low growth.

He says an ANC in government was bound to have a more strained relationship with Cosatu than an ANC as liberation movement.

A convergence in economic thinking had taken place between the major interest groups over the past three years, but this often concealed important differences in emphasis.

CT 6/10/93 (117)
The retreat from opposing ideological poles was now complete, he said.

"In future, the debate will be marked not by sweeping compromises and changes in position, but by horse-trading over increasingly narrow but complex areas of dispute."

Also, the National Economic Forum "would have to demonstrate that decisions are not simply deals struck within a new economic elite. It must deliver results quickly or pressure will mount to revert to older, adversarial modes of bargaining."

ANC self-defence units to be examined

PRETORIA. — Police will discuss ANC self-defence units (SDU) with the National Peace Secretariat following the finding by Mr Justice Levison that the units were involved in the commission of violence.

Law and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh said in a statement today the finding by an independent judge confirmed certain ANC structures were waging a deliberate "elimination campaign" against the police.

"The question that now must be asked is how many of the numerous policemen cold-bloodedly murdered, especially on the East Rand, have been killed as a result of the ANC's SDU policy?" asked Mr Myburgh.

He pointed out that Mr Justice Levison's finding should be seen in conjunction with a statement by National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gil-denhuys that a dangerous propaganda campaign was being waged against the police. — Sapa.

Saawu to support the ANC

Sowetan 7/10/93

THE SA Allied Workers' Union is to throw its lot behind the African National Congress in next year's April 27 election.

General secretary of the 285 000-strong independent Saawu, Sam Kikine, told a Durban news conference yesterday his union would "join forces strictly with the ANC".

"We foresee a landslide victory (for the ANC) that day," he predicted.

Kikine said Saawu had been at the forefront of the campaign to release ANC president Nelson Mandela and had been instrumental in founding the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

It was, therefore, natural for his union to back the ANC, adding "most of our members are ANC supporters anyway" ~~(UAF)~~ (UAF)

After the election, Saawu would support the SA Communist Party as it embarked on the second phase of its fight for socialism. — *Sapa*.

Passions were further in- port. — Sapa-Reuter.

Unita 'preparing to break ceasefire'

SAO TOME. — The Angolan government said Unita rebels were preparing to break a self-proclaimed ceasefire and attack three besieged towns in the interior.

Angolan state radio, monitored in the island state of Sao Tome and Principe, said last night that Unita was moving troops and weaponry into position for fresh onslaughts against Cuito in the central highlands, Menongue in the south and Luena in the east.

Unita said after a special meeting of its leadership at its Huambo headquarters it would maintain its ceasefire and that it wanted to resume talks with the government as soon as possible.

It said it was prepared to accept disputed elections and the validity of a 1991 peace accord, but was not prepared to trade land for peace.

Any agreement "must reflect the present position of Unita and other opposition forces", it

said in a statement sent to Lisbon and the Ivory Coast capital Abidjan.

Unita controlled three-quarters of Angola, although most of the 10 million population lived in government-held areas.

State radio said the Unita deployment suggested the rebels were preparing attacks in spite of the ceasefire they declared on September 20. The government said the truce was a sham.

The radio said Unita forces had been shelling Menongue from a distance since Sunday and two people had been killed.

Unita was also using a C-130 Hercules transport plane to bring in troops and weaponry from Huambo in the central highlands for a fresh assault on the city, it added.

The radio said the plane had landed "red beret" special forces and weapons at Kapuinde airstrip, 150km from Menongue. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela appeals to Europe for aid

BRUSSELS. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela began a two-day visit here this morning by addressing a joint sitting of the European parliament, where he appealed for aid.

He arrived in the Belgian capital from Portugal on the second leg of a four-nation European tour late last night.

In Brussels he will meet, among others, Belgian King Albert II and Prime Minister Jean Luc Dehaene, European Community commission president Jacques Delors, west European parliamentarians and leading business people.

Mr Mandela thanked the European Community for its support in the fight against apartheid, but urged the EC to continue its assistance.

He reiterated his call for the EC to get involved in the April 27 election, and "to step up its capacity to monitor the election process and the election it-

self to ensure that no single organisation can make the election unworkable or refuse to accept the election results".

The ANC leader was addressing a joint sitting of the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of countries and the EC.

Mr Mandela said apartheid destabilisation had contributed to the destruction of southern Africa's economy.

The role of the EC in the southern region was crucial and required continuous expansion.

"For our part, we will upgrade our current level of participation in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)," he said.

The ANC hoped the upcoming mission of the EC to South Africa and the Transitional Executive Council "will share ideas on the best possible form our relationship can take". — Sapa.

Blacks in Congress

THE RIGHT
Unlikely quest

Fm 8/10/93

A vast chasm exists between the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF)'s definition of self-determination and that of the ANC. Yet the two sides seem to be edging cautiously back towards negotiating the issue.

It emerged recently that leaders of the two organisations had held discussions on the issue of an Afrikaner homeland but links were abruptly severed last week because, the AVF says, of remarks made by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk while in the US last week.

AVF chairman General Constand Viljoen says the decision to pull out came with the realisation that neither the ANC nor the NP recognised the right to an independent volkstaat. The front would instead look at "other ways" of ensuring Afrikaner freedom.

But a subsequent statement by Mandela in Washington at the weekend seems to have prompted the organisation to review its hard-line stance. (IA) (3000)

AVF director Tienie Groenewald says the body will soon formulate a response to Mandela's statement that the ANC would accommodate the right wing as long as it did not demand ethnic self-determination.

In the same speech Mandela said the ANC is serious when it says it wants to address the fears of all communities, but it could not compromise on issues of ethnicity.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says it is becoming clear that some of the premises on which the front acted, based on what it understood Mandela to have said, were incorrect.

"On that basis, it is seriously reconsidering its decision to break off talks. We have urged the AVF to inform us, not only through the media but also through existing channels, of the reasons for breaking off negotiations so that we can try to address them. From our side, the door is still open."

He says the ANC has no hard-and-fast model on which to base accommodation of the Right. Its stance must be built on some "basic understandings" in negotiations.

Niehaus says Mandela's statement on a rightwing accommodation probably refers to the possibility of a certain region or sub-region having a predominantly Afrikaans culture and language.

In that context, it would provide a certain degree of self-determination for Afrikaners.

"Mandela was not talking about an entirely independent state," says Niehaus. "It will still fall within the ambit of the national

CURRENT AFFAIRS

constitution and a bill of rights will apply there." Fm 8/10/93

Still, AVF deputy general secretary Joseph Chiole says the organisation will return to negotiations only on condition the ANC acknowledges the Afrikaner right to full self-determination. (IA) (3000)

"We are not prepared to go into any talks if they don't accept our explicit precondition and departure point that we must have the right to full self-determination, independent self-government in a fully sovereign own territory."

"There is no question of even discussing any diluted form of self-determination, for example, in a federation or some sort of a region." ■

Thebe committed to retaining ANC ties

51294 8/10/92
THEBE Investment Corporation did not intend moving further away from the ANC which provided its startup funds even though hostile reaction to its ANC links had retarded Thebe's progress, Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile said yesterday.

Khanyile said just as the ANC was engaged in a political struggle, Thebe was engaged in an economic struggle. He was reacting to criticism of Thebe's ANC links. He described the links as "spiritual".

Thebe recently moved into educational book publishing by signing a

PATRICK BULGER

partnership deal with Macmillan and has interests in travel, property, catering and ANC memorabilia (IA)

"We are autonomous from the ANC. There is no ANC forum that decides who should sit on our board — that's Thebe's prerogative."

"We expect the enemies of the ANC to have a hostile attitude towards us and demand that we move further from the ANC. Frankly, we are not going to do that. But the controversy did retard our progress."

Thebe would be looking for other shareholders as "phenomenal" growth had strained capital and human resources.

"We need to raise additional capital but there is no need to rush. Within the next five years we must be a public company. We envisage a private placing of shares but we want to retain control within the community and within black institutions."

Plans included playing a role in the ANC's planned daily newspaper and a possible venture into the cellular telephone market.

Mandela goes a'wooing and wins over EC

SEA
11A

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has completed a two-day "wooing visit" to Belgium and the European Community with promises that the EC will significantly raise the level of funds for South Africa next year.

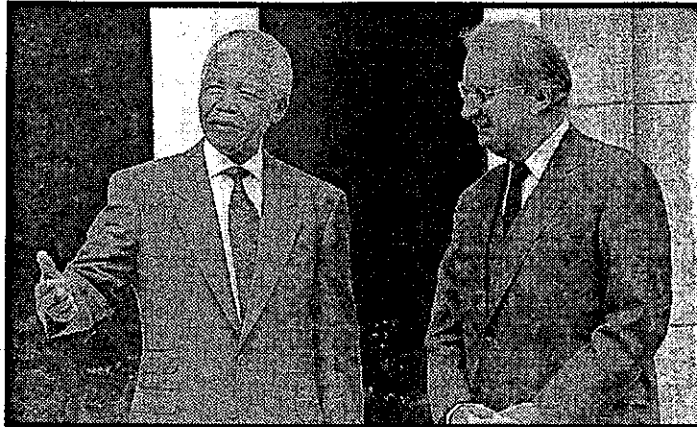
Mr Mandela met European Commission president Jacques Delors and development commissioner Manuel Marin for "extremely warm" one-hour talks yesterday which looked at EC funding in the run-up to the April 27 elections and in the longer term.

Commission officials said later: "Mandela has spoken of the transitional arrangements and the timetable for the elections. He said the timetable would be maintained despite the non-participation of Inkatha and the parties on the extreme right.

"There are a number of obstacles and there are only six months and enormous tasks to complete. Out of the 28 million population, 20 million have the right to vote. And of them 18 million have never voted before."

"Delors and Marin expressed their determination to

GARNER THOMSON in Brussels and **ANTHONY GARVEY** in Dublin



■ **ROYAL MEETING:** ANC chairman Nelson Mandela meets Belgium's new monarch, King Albert, at the royal palace in Brussels yesterday.

meet the date for the elections and to make them as open and transparent as possible. Marin promised the commission would provide funds and its experience gained in other developing countries," the officials said.

The commission has already committed 5.2 million ecu of funds in an effort to establish the democratic process in South Africa. Part of this is going to an independent

electoral forum being established by Catholic bishops.

Further EC commitments will be made on training 20 000 voting instructors to help educate the 9 million rural voters. The commission has worked on similar projects in a range of developing countries, officials added.

The money will come from the EC's 90 million ecu 1993 budget for helping deal with the aftermath of apartheid. In

ARCT 9/10/93
the longer term, significantly larger sums for economic development will be proposed by the EC, but details were not discussed yesterday's talks with Mr Mandela.

However, one item not on the agenda was EC funding of training for the police and army. This area is strictly outside the scope of the EC's budget, though individual member countries can make their own contributions.

The three men spoke of the longer-term improvement of the South African economy and of the southern Africa region in general. The commission is keen to see a regional economic and trading area there along the lines of its own common market.

There is a strong recognition by the commission of South Africa's weaknesses and the deterioration in its agriculture, industry and service sectors. However, the commission sees its infrastructure as more developed than that of its neighbours.

Mr Mandela left the commission's headquarters for the award of an honorary doctorate from the Free University of Brussels. Earlier, he had an audience with the new monarch of Belgium, King Albert.

STEEL RESOLVE: *He will be 10 years past normal retirement when he takes the reins of an anxious country and tries to bring peace and prosperity*

Tightrope to the future

Star 9/10/93

11A



NELSON MANDELA: Certain to be South Africa's first black head of state in the 342 years since Jan van Riebeeck landed.

NELSON Mandela faces immense challenges as the man — barring death or severe illness — most likely to become South Africa's first black president. PATRICK LAURENCE assesses the enormity of the task as well as Mandela's psychological and physical stamina, at the age of 75, to cope with the powerful forces that will be pulling at him from every point in the political spectrum.

tempt to tap the energies of the youth, to bring them into mainstream politics.

An element of *realpolitik* may be involved. Although Mandela has pitched for 14 as the qualifying age for the vote, he may be prepared to settle for 16. By campaigning for 14, he makes 16 (the qualifying age proposed by the ANC Youth League) seem reasonable and acceptable.

Mandela's problems do not end here. He is almost certain to head a government of national unity, in which all parties which receive between 5 and 10 percent of the vote — the precise figure has not yet been agreed to — will qualify to serve in the Cabinet.

If there are discordant notes in the ANC because of its ideological, racial and class heterogeneity, then the sounds emanating from the government of national unity are likely to be positively cacophonous.

Mandela may find himself struggling to reconcile the competing and sometimes conflicting interests of the ANC, President de Klerk's National Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. To find a middle course between alienating his governing partners and a paralysing compromise will be very difficult.

These political circumstances and the accompanying economic realities may impose severe constraints on policies designed to improve the lot of poor black people in the townships and villages. There is a great danger

disappointed and that this disappointment will turn to anger.

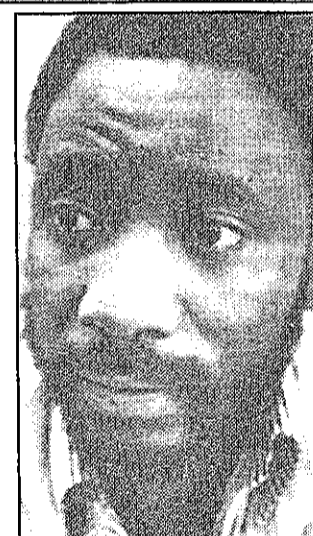
As Mandela himself has acknowledged, there is more than a whiff of suspicion in the townships that negotiations are a betrayal of the revolution, that they are another stratagem to prolong the life of the white regime rather than facilitate the transfer of power to "the people".

Mandela knows that if disillusionment sets in, if the ANC is seen to be collaborating with the "oppressor", then, as he put it after the Bisho massacre, "those who are demanding the resumption of armed struggle are going to prevail".

ALREADY, as ANC national executive member Jeremy Cronin has observed, township radicals suspect that the ANC leader is a "Manchurian candidate": they fear that the "real" Mandela was murdered by his jailers and replaced by a pliant prisoner of the same build and looks who was programmed to preach pragmatism and moderation in the interests of the white regime.

Watching and waiting to exploit the situation is the Pan Africanist Congress, with its demands for the return of the land to the indigenous owners and its chorused cries of "One settler! One bullet!"

While Mandela's ability to cope with these problems will depend



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA: Second crown prince, also pragmatic.

age, his health and stamina will be vital factors as well. Mandela is astonishingly alert and strong for his age, largely because of his healthy lifestyle.

He eats and drinks frugally, and exercises as regularly as his punishing schedule allows. As important, he knows how to "switch off", to get that vital half hour of recuperative rest. He knows, too, how to pace himself. Even so, every now and then his doctors order him to bed to recover from extreme fatigue.

Strong and careful as Mandela is, he is vulnerable to illness: he was treated for tuberculosis in prison, had minor surgery for a cyst shortly after his release, contracted pneumonia in 1990 and was ordered to take a complete break from his engagements as recently as February 1993.

If he is incapacitated by — or dies because of — his heavy load, two men are poised to succeed him: Thabo Mbeki (51), whose fortunes have been advanced by his election as national chairman to replace Tambo, and Ramaphosa (40), who is still in the running.

Both are pragmatists. They will therefore inherit many of the problems waiting to confront Mandela's skill, strength and stamina. A testing time lies ahead for whoever leads the

NELSON Mandela's widely acknowledged reserves of fortitude, patience and wisdom were honed during 28 years in prison. More than three years have lapsed since his release in February 1990 but, despite being exposed to the full and often critical glare of the media, he continues to impress many as a leader of exceptional ability. His occasional lapses — flashes of irritability when he is tired, or anger when provoked — do not reduce his stature.

If there is one predictable prospect in South Africa's complex, volatile and bloody political situation, it is that Mandela will, barring death or severe illness, be South Africa's first black president.

With political and criminal violence running at record levels, the country burdened by recession, and black impatience and white fears rising to dangerously high levels, Mandela will have to mobilise his considerable talents if the post-apartheid era is to fulfil the hopes it has aroused.

Mandela is periodically criticised for putting his position as president of the African National Congress ahead of his status as a South African leader. But he makes no secret of the fact that he feels bound by the discipline and constraints of the organisation which he has served faithfully for decades. He is a good party man, not in the sense of being a party hack but rather in terms of accepting that he is accountable to the ANC membership.

Mandela, who turned 75 in July, two years after he was unanimously elected ANC president in succession to Oliver Tambo, is a political patriarch. His immediate duty is to hold the ANC together as a coherent,

disciplined and stabilising force in the turbulent years ahead. That may prove to be more difficult than it may seem now.

The ANC is not a political monolith. It is made up of various and, in some ways, disparate elements. Its growing ranks bristle as they strain to accommodate a range of potential dichotomies: nationalists and communists, capitalists and socialists, chiefs and commoners, pragmatists and ideologues, guerillas and intellectuals, whites from affluent suburbs and blacks from impoverished squatter camps.

Each is a potential fault line which could develop into a major fissure. The ANC has been labelled a "large black United Party" by Tony Leon of the Democratic Party. The description is not meant to flatter: the United Party was an amorphous political party which attempted to appease as wide a spectrum of white opinion as possible, but which collapsed and disintegrated under the weight of its own internal contradictions.



THABO MBEKI: First crown prince and possible successor to Nelson Mandela. He is known as a pragmatist.

just that, particularly as it is anxious to present its pragmatic face to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in order to secure loans for its "reconstruction programme".

The ANC's polished secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, has given the assurance that the 20 COSATU nominees will be subject to normal ANC discipline and that they will have to accept the ANC political line. But a special correspondent in the ANC journal *Mayibuye* casts doubt on that in an article on the COSATU congress.

He writes: "Congress gave their candidates a clear and unambiguous mandate: You are leaving us, but (only) to take forward the demands of the working class and the poor." Such tensions, which Mandela will have to confront, will require the wisdom of Solomon and the patience of Job to resolve.

ANOTHER major problem that is looming is the growing anger and impatience of black youth. The median age of the numerically dominant black community is 17, meaning that a significant segment of black society — the politicised youth between the ages of say 12 and 17 — will

year's election because they won't have the vote.

Their sense of exclusion will be heightened by the fact that during the 1970s and 1980s it was black youth — the "Young Lions" as they were called — who spearheaded the struggle against apartheid.

Since the unbanning of the ANC, the release of political prisoners and the return of exiled ANC leaders, the youth have been relieved of their places at the frontline, if not actually pushed aside.

Sociologist Steve Mokwena notes: "The new leadership in many respects sidelined the youth from its former position of political prominence in the heady days of a people's war and demanded of them a diplomatic patience radically different from the calls for action in the 1980s."

Mokwena elaborates: "Many of the young people who were the one-time engine of the South African liberation struggle now lie idle and disaffected. They are a potential menace with a capacity to commit indescribable atrocities against their own people."

Mandela is sharply aware of "potential menace". It explains his repeated call for the qualifying age for the vote to be lowered from 18 to 14. His thrice repeated exhortation is not, as some commentators have suggested, a sign

Hendrickse resigns

LABOUR PARTY leader Allan Hendrickse announced yesterday that he would relinquish the leadership of the party. *S Times 10/10/93*

Speaking at the Eastern Cape Regional Congress of the Labour Party at Uitenhage, Mr Hendrickse said he would use his time to garner Labour Party votes for the African National Congress in the April 27 election.

In a strong attack on ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Alan Boesak, Mr Hendrickse, said the LP, and not Dr Boesak alone, could lead the coloured people into the ANC. *(IA)*

He also slammed the SA Defence Force cross-border raid into the Transkei and said it was "despicable" that Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee had been taking part in negotiations when he knew off the impending attack.

He said the Transitional Executive Council must take control of the Defence Force immediately. — *Sapa*

Govt and Apla talks on track

Sowetan 11/10/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

TALKS between the Government and the Azanian People's Liberation Army to discuss a "mutual cessation of hostilities" would go ahead as planned on October 28.

At least no statement to the contrary has been issued by the Government since it was plunged into crisis following Friday's raid by the South African Defence Force in Umtata which claimed five lives.

And this is in spite of Apla chief commander and Pan Africanist Congress defence secretary Mr Sabelo Phama's warning yesterday that the killings would be avenged.

However, Phama told *Sowetan* that his personal participation in the meeting, most likely to be held in Harare, depended on the attendance of Minister of Defence and of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

"We want a political solution to the conflict and that's the reason why the president of the PAC has ordered me to lead our delegation on behalf of the organisation and not Apla alone," said Phama.

He said it was also the preference of several African countries prepared to host and chair the summit that this be a political meeting and not of military commanders.

Efforts to obtain comment from both the Ministries of Defence and Law and Order failed yesterday.

Last week the Ministry of Law and Order confirmed the proposed meeting which was initi-

ated by Minister Mr Hernus Kriel because he was "committed to discussing the ending of violence with anyone". Sources said Kriel insisted that Phama must be in that meeting if a solution were to be found to what the State calls "Apla's terror attacks".

By last week plans were that the Government's delegation would possibly be led by Kriel. It would include Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe and Chief of the Army General Georg Meiring.

Apla would be led by Phama and include its chief of staff, Mr Barney Mzolo, and political commissar Mr Romero Daniels.

Meanwhile, the South African Government has warned people visiting Transkei to take extra precautionary measures following last Friday's SADF raid.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in a statement that if South Africans wished to visit Transkei, they should enter the homeland in convoys, ensure that their vehicles were in good conditions, lock all doors and travel only in daytime.

It also advised that travel documents should be in order and in case of a disturbance on the road ahead, travellers should turn back.

In a pre-dawn attack in Umtata on Friday a 12-man SADF team killed five youths aged between 12 and 19.

Two of them were sons of PAC veteran and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Siggibo Mpendulo. The five are Mzwandile Mfeya (12), Sandiso Yosa (12), twins Samora and Sadat Mpendulo (17) and Thando Mthembu (17)

● See page 2

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^{B/D ay 11/10/93}
**'No regrets' as Hendrickse
steps down as LP leader**

CAPE TOWN — Allan Hendrickse, SA's longest-serving leader of a political party, said yesterday he would be standing down as party leader with no regrets.

Hendrickse, who has been Labour Party leader for 14 years, said he would remain a party member and campaign actively for his supporters to vote for the ANC in the elections.

He will stand down at the party's annual congress in Cape Town in December, which means the congress will have to choose a new leader just four months before the proposed April 27 election. (11A)

The party has decided to campaign under an ANC banner, but it will be for the congress to decide whether to disband immediately or after the elections.

Hendrickse said it was unlikely the Labour Party

TIM COHEN

would appear on the ballot in the elections, although the party may decide to remain in existence.

If it decided to continue, it would have to choose a new leader, which Hendrickse said was likely to be long-serving member Mylie Richards.

Hendrickse, 65, said he had no regrets about his party's involvement in the tricameral system as it had helped to enlighten NP members. "We were responsible for political cross-pollination," he said.

Hendrickse, who was party leader for one year longer than B J Voster was NP leader, said "stresses and strains" had taken their toll and he was satisfied to lead the party to the brink of its main goal — the achievement of democracy.

PAC holds on to multiparty talks

Sowetan 12/10/93

By Nona Molefe
Sowetan Reporter

The Africanist Congress yesterday decided to remain in multiparty negotiations and said the Government's attempt to isolate it would fail.

The PAC's national executive committee held a review meeting at its Johannesburg headquarters following last Friday's South African Defence Force raid in Umtata where five teenage boys were killed.

The NEC was briefed by its negotiating team led by Mrs Patricia de Lille.

Meanwhile, the PAC's PWV branches would hold a lunch-hour memorial service for the five youngsters at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg tomorrow, according to Johannesburg branch chairman, Mr Patrick Baleka. The youths will be buried in Umtata on Saturday.

They were Samora and Sadat Mpendulo, the 17-year-old twin sons of Mr Sigqibo Mpendulo; Thando

Mthembu (17); Mzwandile Mfeya (12); and Sandiso Yosa (12).

"It is precisely because of such raids that we have to remain in the negotiations," said national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadziwhanani.

The Ministry of Law and Order confirmed again yesterday that plans were still afoot for a meeting between the Government and the Azanian People's Liberation Army on October 28, possibly in Harare. (IIF)

Meanwhile, the negotiating council meets again at the World Trade Centre today after being held back for two days following the Transkei debacle.

It is however unlikely that the substantive issue of the interim constitution would be tabled as a result of walkouts by Boputhatswana and Ciskei and the formation of the Freedom Alliance of black and white rightwing groups at the weekend.

The FA comprises the two homelands, Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Israel may give aid to ANC

JERUSALEM. — Israel is considering giving financial and technical aid to the ANC, a finance ministry spokesman said yesterday. (U)

Israeli Finance Minister Mr Avraham Shohat discussed the issue with ANC officials on the sidelines of an International Monetary Fund meeting in Washington last week, the spokesman said. CT 12/10/93

The technical assistance would be in agriculture and energy, and negotiations were continuing. No figures were given. — Sapa-AFP

ANC 'white paper' on foreign policy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC had drawn up a "White Paper" on a new foreign policy for a democratic South Africa, ANC international affairs administration head Mr Yusuf Saloojee said yesterday.

The paper is the result of six workshops, the first of which was an ANC effort, the next four of which involved academics and the ANC's alliance partners and the last at the weekend, involving the Foreign Affairs Department and business organisations.

Mr Saloojee said the paper would be forwarded to the ANC's national executive committee, which would consider it and probably adopt it as policy in November.

The document emphasises the observation of human rights and environmental rights as cornerstones of a new foreign policy. It does not single

out individual countries.

It does call, however, for the establishment of a professional foreign service, which Mr Saloojee said had to be broadly representative of the country's population mix and free from party political interference.

The document stressed the importance of relations with the rest of Africa but did not try to address the question of migration to SA in the event of a prosperous economy and stable society taking root.

Mr Saloojee said the lifting of sanctions and the end of South Africa's isolation had opened a new chapter in the country's foreign relations.

The Foreign Affairs delegation had not contributed to the ANC paper but took many notes.

He described as "incorrect" a recent announcement that 40 new missions were being established abroad.

ET 12/10/72 (11A)

LP espouses ANC

Sowetan 12/10/93

THE Labour Party will continue to play a role in the future government — but under the banner of the African National Congress, says party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse.

Speaking at the party's regional congress which ended at Uitenhage on Sunday he said: "I regard it as my God-given responsibility to lead the Labour Party under the banner and support of the African National Congress into the new South Africa."

Hendrickse, who confirmed his decision to retire at the end of the year, said: "The Labour

Party has a role to play in bringing to fruition the dream of freedom for all South Africans."

The party would fight next year's elections under the banner of the ANC, not separately.

The LP expects to be represented on the ANC's slate of candidates for the new parliament and has scheduled a congress in Cape Town later this year when a final decision is expected on whether or not to disband completely.

(11A)
The weekend congress gave its support to LP members holding dual ANC membership.

CPA lays out new jobs plan

Municipal Reporter

THE Cape Provincial Administration has become the first government department to tackle affirmative action head-on with a policy of preference — "all factors being equal" — for black and coloured male candidates and for women.

This is according to CPA director-general Mr Herbert Beukes, who said yesterday that nobody need lose his or her job now that an affirmative action policy had been adopted.

According to statistics quoted in the CPA's staff journal, the racial breakdown of the CPA's 58 432 employees is 44% coloured, 33,2% white, 22,5% black and 0,1% Asian.

The racial breakdown of the Cape's six million residents is 45,6% coloured, 22% white, 31,6% black and 0,74% Asian.

Apart from making the racial composition of its staff reflect that of society, the CPA had to look at "the rung of the ladder" where staff members found themselves, Mr Beukes said.

It was also important to address the managerial echelon to avoid criticism about "not making people part of its decision-making process".

According to the CPA policy, blacks will be more readily appointed, but "no prohibition or restriction is intended on appointing coloureds" even if the number of coloured staff is considered adequate.

The CPA director said the most sensitive area was likely to be in promotions, and that the experience of white employees might have to be weighed "adroitly" against other considerations.

Upbeat Mandela woos UK investors

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — "South Africa is open for business" was the message brought to British investors yesterday by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, SA Finance and Industry Minister Mr Derek Keys and UK Trade Minister Mr Richard Needham.

Speaking to hundreds of businessmen here at a Confederation of British Industry conference, Mr Mandela made an unequivocal statement on security guarantees for investors and Mr Keys said the main parties were poised to achieve consensus on economic objectives and policy.

Mr Mandela played up the commitment to make it easier for new companies to enter the market through proposed anti-trust laws and corporate unbundling and trade reform.

And he underlined the message on the eventual need to abolish exchange controls, remove South Africa from the list of debt-rescheduling countries and encourage investors.

"All companies, whether domestic or foreign, will be subject to the same policy environment," he said.



SHAKE ON IT British prime minister Mr John Major and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela shake hands at 10 Downing Street yesterday. Report — Page 2

Picture: AP

"We will guarantee the security of all investment against expropriation and ensure that companies are free to repatriate after-tax profits and proceeds accruing as a result of the sale of their business activities in SA."

14:30: Telescho
Maths (B): Business

16:00: Clinic stories
16:05: Sean van Jaarsveldes

attacks were connected
to after the PAC

a broad consensus of approval from the people of South Africa, ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramma-

'No room for DP, NP in townships'

CT 13/10/93

Own Correspondent

(119)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso), has vowed to drive DP and NP recruiters out of the townships.

Paso said yesterday it had resolved to campaign against the two parties because of "dirty tricks" they employed in recruitment drives.

The organisation said its consultative conference at the weekend had warned the parties "not to hold meetings or rallies in our communities because they will be disrupted".

Referendum 'no answer to impasse'

BILLY PADDOCK *Biday*

THE ANC yesterday gave cautious conditional support to President F W de Klerk's proposal of a referendum, but specified conditions for calling it and rejected it as a way through the impasse in negotiations.

In a strongly worded statement from the information and publicity department, after consultation with ANC president Nelson Mandela, the ANC rejected the idea that there should be a referendum if negotiators did not finalise the constitution in the next four weeks. *13/10/93*

Only when the negotiating process had completed the constitution for the transition, would it possibly be advisable to call a referendum as one of many ways to "further legitimise" the constitution.

De Klerk's proposal could be considered only on this basis. However a referendum could be decided on only by the negotiating council, not unilaterally by De Klerk.

If there was to be any "binding-in" process, the negotiating council would have to determine the question to be put to the electorate in the context of the negotiated constitution, as well as who would conduct such a referendum. *(11A)*

"Given that there are vast areas of our country, including KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, where there is no free political activity, how will it be ensured that the referendum is free and fair? Above all, any such exercise will be meaningless if all South Africans, including those in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, are not assured the right to participate."

The ANC disagreed with De Klerk that the withdrawal of the Inkatha-Freedom Party, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the CP from negotiations had under-

To Page 2

Referendum *Biday* *13/10/93* From Page 1

mined their credibility.

Criticising the Freedom Alliance, the ANC said: "Those who walked out of the process are all creations of the apartheid order. They share the common goals of perpetuating their anti-democratic vested interests which they acquired under apartheid. They are motivated by the goal of dismembering SA into ethnic and tribal entities which would entrench the seeds of endless conflict." *(11A)*

The "only legitimate process to find a negotiated settlement is the multiparty negotiations process" and the "walk-out by a handful of participants" should not be allowed to detract from this and the commitment to elections on April 27. *(11A)*

Reuter reports from London that Mandela said he did not believe a referendum was a viable option to solve the impasse in talks and was unnecessary so close to elections. The ANC was determined to keep to the time frame of elections in six months.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that senior government sources said government was "deadly serious" about holding a referendum if negotiations failed.

Reacting to criticism that the proposal was just a "scare tactic", they denied that

a referendum was just a method of forcing the Freedom Alliance into line. They said it could be overseen by the proposed Independent Electoral Commission and it would not necessarily delay the election.

Meanwhile political analysts and other political groups gave De Klerk's suggestion a lukewarm response. Initial right-wing reaction was mixed. The CP rejected the notion, but it was not ruled out by AVF leader Gen Constand Viljoen.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he would not oppose the poll, but saw no reason to vote twice on essentially the same question. "It seems to us that what is now required is to press ahead with the negotiating process, as we have been doing."

Cape Town University political analyst Robert Schrire said De Klerk's suggestion was a sign of weakness and uncertainty. "De Klerk's political position is obviously weaker than we were aware," he said.

Inkatha also rejected the referendum, saying it was a recipe for violence and De Klerk had no right to call it.

NP sources said they were not surprised at the Freedom Alliance reaction as the major purpose of the proposal was to expose their numerical weakness.

● Comment: Page 10

Referendum idea opposed

Star 13/10/93

POLITICAL STAFF

The Government faces resistance to its proposal of a referendum if negotiations bog down.

Nelson Mandela expressed concern at a London news conference yesterday that President de Klerk's suggestion of a deadlock-breaking referendum might be used as a tactic to delay the April election.

"Our position, as the ANC, on the matter is very clear. We are having an election only six months away and we are determined to keep to that time-frame."

In Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said that only the Negotiating Council could call a referendum, and then only after an interim constitution had been enacted by Parliament.

The newly formed Freedom Alliance (FA) — comprising the IFP, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana — could not achieve unity on a referendum at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday, but proposed a "summit of leaders" to replace the Negotiating Council talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Cape National Party congress yesterday the first prize would be to get approval from all, including the FA, for the interim constitution.

In spite of the FA's lack of unity on the issue, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, in a seeming agreement in principle to the idea, said a referendum would address the "problem of legitimacy" in negotiations.

Earlier yesterday the CP said it would insist on being involved in the formulation of the question put in any referendum.

Meyer and ANC secretary-

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

TRANSKEI RAID: The PAC's request for a special session of the Negotiating Council to discuss the SADF raid on an Umtata house on Friday will be discussed at today's meeting of the planning committee.

However, indications are that the PAC will raise the issue in the council if the planning committee decides against a special session.

Negotiators are also scheduled to discuss the draft Interim Constitution's property and custom law clauses, which will be contained in a chapter on fundamental human rights during the transition.

The chapter on human rights will not form a complete Bill of Rights. Such a Bill will be drafted by an elected constitution-making body.

ESTHER WAUGH

general Cyril Ramaphosa last night agreed a referendum was one of several options being considered — and Ramaphosa made it clear the decision should be taken by the multiparty negotiating process.

Ramaphosa said once the draft interim constitution had been agreed to at the Negotiating Council, it should be passed by Parliament before an attempt was made to "broaden consensus".

Meyer added that some of the measures already agreed to, such as the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, could be implemented before a referendum was held.

Meyer and Ramaphosa said their parties were committed to holding elections on April 27 and a referendum would not postpone the country's first democratic poll.

The IFP and PAC yesterday rejected the idea.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could not see what De Klerk stood to achieve through a referendum that he could not get by holding the real elections. However, the DP would co-operate if it were convinced that a referendum would help the negotiations process.

The Azanian People's Organisation has also opposed the call for a referendum.

The Star's London Bureau reports Mandela yesterday stressed that a referendum could come about only with the agreement of the multiparty forum and, even then, he doubted that various members of the FA would take part in or make an impact on such a vote.

The FA and the referendum proposal dominated talks Mandela held yesterday with British Prime Minister John Major.

► Alliance rejects unitary state — Page 9

'Programme of redistribution needed'

ANC spells out land reform plan

Star 13/10/93

Geo

11A

MEASURES to address the racial imbalance in land ownership are vital to build peace and stability, says Cyril Ramaphosa

BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The ANC is committed to a programme of land reform which goes beyond settling the particular land claims of the victims of forced removal, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa reasserted last night.

Opening a Johannesburg conference on options for land redistribution, he said: "If we turn our backs on the land question, we are no longer the ANC and we give up the history that started in 1912."

He described measures to redress the legacy of forced removals as a fundamental point of departure. "Effective measures to ensure that landless people gain access to land on



Cyril Ramaphosa ... imbalance of ownership.

fair terms, and a legal process to resolve competing claims to land, will be introduced by an ANC government as a matter of priority."

Local land committees and a land claims court would be set up to achieve equitable settlements, involving restoration of land or compensation for its loss.

However, the ANC had little doubt that this procedure, on its own, would prove inefficient and slow. A broad programme of

land redistribution would have more impact. This remained the general objective of the ANC.

Without addressing the huge racial imbalance in land ownership it would be impossible to secure peace and stability, let alone respect for a legal system of property rights, Ramaphosa said.

Other economic reasons for land reform included the prospect of increasing productive employment in the rural areas and the need to relieve poverty.

Ramaphosa appealed to whites to acknowledge that the land was the common heritage of all South Africans and promised a land policy that would be "as fair as the previous one was unfair, as participatory as the former was dictatorial".

The three-day conference has been organised by the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre, an independent research organisation based in Johannesburg. Much of the work to be presented at the conference has been produced in collaboration with the World Bank.

Paso vows to drive NP and DP out

THE PAC's student wing, the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso), has vowed to drive DP and NP recruiters out of the townships. *Biday*

Paso said yesterday it had resolved to campaign against the two parties because of "dirty tricks" employed by the DP and NP during recruitment drives.

The organisation said its consultative conference at the weekend had warned the two political parties "not to hold meetings or rallies in our communities because they will be disrupted". *13/1/93*

"We also undertook to drive out of our communities all DP and NP supporters as they pose a threat to the interests of our people ... they must join their com-

JOHANNES NGCOBO
and WILSON ZWANE

rades in the suburbs," Paso said.

DP leader Zach de Beer described Paso's resolution as "first-class racism".

While his organisation would not resort to violence, it would do whatever it could to protect its members in the townships, De Beer said.

NP youth league spokesman Dirk Bakker said the Paso leadership had no idea what democracy meant. *(IA)*

Paso assistant general secretary George Mpya said if DP and NP supporters did not leave the townships voluntarily, they would be "physically removed (from) black townships".

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Count down to ...



ANC starts nominating election candidates

B/Day 13/10/93
PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC had begun nominating its candidates for the April 27 election, ANC elections co-ordinator Popo Molefe said yesterday.

The process would culminate in a national nominations conference at the end of the November, and candidates on the list would then be approved by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). (IA)

The NEC would not have the right to add or remove names from the list, but would be entitled to move a candidate from one position to another on the list.

The process would start with regional nomination conferences in each of the 14 regions into which the ANC has divided SA.

Each region would nominate 200 names for a national list. The region would also nominate its share of the 200 names that would go forward for election to the regional component of the new Parliament.

All the names would then be forwarded to an ANC list committee, which would determine the composition of the national list. It would also allocate numbers of delegates to the national nominations conference from among the ANC's alliance partners — the SA Communist Party and Cosatu.

The final list would include names from ANC-supporting parties in the TBVC states and self-governing territories, Molefe said.

NP congress seeks ways to restrict majority govt

B/Day 13/10/93

30/19

TIM COHEN

STRAND — While a five-year period of power-sharing is taking shape at the World Trade Centre, speakers at the NP congress yesterday shifted the focus to measures which would restrict a majority government well beyond this period.

President F W de Klerk said it was fundamentally important that measures be found to limit the executive's power "deep into the future".

De Klerk told the congress there were various methods of achieving this, but did not specify any.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said government intended proposing that a two-thirds parliamentary majority would be required to amend the final constitution.

Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said government was seeking a dispensa-

tion which differed from the Westminster system where the party with 51% of the votes got all of the power.

Meyer added, however, that constitutional mechanisms would be insufficient to guarantee that the majority party did not abuse its power.

It was critically important that the NP gained sufficient votes to enforce its position after an election.

Meyer said the critical issues for the NP in negotiations over the next four weeks were:

- The functioning of the proposed government of national unity;
- The constitution-making mechanism. The outstanding issue was the deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- The powers and functions of regions. Still more specific powers had

to be allocated to regions; and The constitutional court.

De Villiers focused on the Freedom Alliance, asking whether its common objective was to slow down or even sabotage a negotiated settlement and avoid an election.

The alliance had indicated it would be represented by a single negotiating team.

"The question, however, is whether they are also agreed on one point of view. Have they, for example, already agreed on whether they stand for a federation or confederation?"

"Will they continue to remain part of SA or will they secede into four separate states as advocated by the Volkstaters? Do all four alliance partners now support the principle of a racially based voting qualification and citizenship stipulation, as the CP does?" he asked.

24

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Star 13/10/93

ANC to ask NP tough election questions

BY ESTHER WAUGH

The ANC has served notice that the Government can expect to answer tough questions in the election campaign.

Launching the organisation's election campaign among the Indian communities in Transvaal, national executive member Ahmed Kathrada said the ANC would continue to challenge the validity of the National Party's claim to be a non-racial organisation.

"We will promise the people that when it is in our power to do so we will reveal the archival records of the security police and the National Intelligence Service to show that several of the

so-called new Nats, including at least one Indian Cabinet Minister, have been longstanding agents of the regime and doing its dirty work," he said.

Speaking at a meeting at the World Trade Centre attended by about 1 000 people, Kathrada said the ANC was aware that the NP had been distributing "State-financed welfare parcels to the needy and the poor, with each parcel containing a Nationalist Party propaganda leaflet".

He challenged President de Klerk to criticise the architects of apartheid and condemn the 1948 NP election slogan "Die Kaffers en Boesmans op hulle plek en die Koelies uit die land"

(The Kaffirs and Bushmen in their place and Coolies out of the country).

"We will want to know when he will publicly distance himself from the insulting and insensitive remarks made by his wife about the coloured people." He rejected polls that Indians would be voting in large numbers for the NP.

Kathrada said the Democratic Party remained "a small, dwindling party of wealthy whites".

Turning to the IFP, he said "a handful of Chinsamys and some deserters from the tricameral Parliament was not enough to make the IFP a nonracial organisation".

ANC women lash out

JOHANNESBURG. — Suspended ANC PWV Women's League members yesterday lashed out at the league's secretary-general, Mrs Baleka Kgositsile, and threatened further legal action over claims they were involved in death threats and intimidation.

In a vitriolic attack on Mrs Kgositsile, Mrs Nompumelelo Madlala charged that a concerted campaign by a "cabal" in the league had been launched to discredit Mrs Winnie Mandela and four other women who

were suspended from the league earlier this year.

(11A) 21110193
Mrs Madlala accused Mrs Kgositsile of having done nothing for the struggle in South Africa and of being power hungry.

"She and a clique of the once Lusaka-based, non-mandated women have been wreaking havoc in the struggle since they returned to scramble for positions inside the country," she charged.

She added legal action was being sought against Mrs Kgositsile. — Sapa

Star 14/10/93

ANC denies drive to 'liquidate' Azapo

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC denied yesterday that it had embarked on a national campaign to "liquidate the Black Consciousness Movement" and vowed to take disciplinary action against any members found to have transgressed its policies.

Responding to allegations by the Azanian People's Organisation following the harassment of the organisation's members by people allegedly aligned to it, the ANC said it had never viewed organisations of the oppressed, like the BCM, as its enemies. Instead, it had always regarded them as allies in the struggle against apartheid.

"Indeed, many of our leading activists and leaders were members of the BCM during the darkest days of apartheid," the ANC said.

Following a disruption of its peace rally at Phatsima near

Rustenburg last week, Azapo — which claimed its leaders were body-searched and ordered out of the township — warned that recent developments could trigger off a deadly clash similar to that between Azapo and the United Democratic Front in the mid-eighties.

The ANC yesterday expressed its sympathies to Azapo members harassed at Phatsima and those who had their shacks razed by fire in Boiketlong this week, and distanced itself from "such conduct".

It reaffirmed its commitment to a peaceful resolution of all problems between itself and Azapo, and said it would not shelter those who undermined "efforts to create a climate of free political activity".

However, the ANC also said the purpose and destination of weapons allegedly found in the possession of Azapo Transvaal vice-president Nkosi Molala had to be probed.

Azapo unity call

Sowetan 14/10/93

By Lulama Luti

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called for the formation of a Patriotic Front that will include all major political organisations in the country.

Azapo's proposal is in response to State President FW de Klerk's threat to call for a referendum if the current negotiations crisis is not resolved in the next four weeks. (IA)

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said in a statement that the organisation did not believe the conflict between the "white minority which clings to power" and the "black majority" was a matter for referendums.

"The issue that should be addressed is how the white minority can hand over power to the black majority," he said.

Nefolovhodwe said the country's political situation needed a different forum from the one at Kempton Park. "It needs a two-sided negotiations forum

comprising the National Party, the Freedom Alliance and all parties supportive of the old on the one side.

"And a Patriotic Front of Liberation Forces comprising Azapo, the ANC, PAC, SACP, Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions and all structures of the oppressed on the other," he said.

According to Nefolovhodwe, the aims of the forum would be:

- To put into place a Transitional Authority that will arrange for the holding of elections for a Constituent Assembly;

- To work out modalities for the transfer of power from the white minority regime to the black majority;

- To set up mechanisms for an International peace-keeping force to maintain law and order during the elections; and

- To isolate the De Klerk security forces.

THE ELECTION
Fm 15/10/93
Wooring minorities

The overwhelming rejection by Indians and coloureds of the controversial tricameral parliament elections 10 years ago cannot be taken as an indicator of support for the ANC alliance in next year's election. (11A)

Campaigning on a boycott ticket then was relatively easy for the ANC-aligned Trans-

vaal and Natal Indian Congresses (TIC and NIC) — as easy as vilifying the racist NP and invoking the sainted name of Mahatma Gandhi, who founded the NIC a decade before the ANC was established.

Now, however, with the scrapping of apartheid in schools, housing and business and the opening of political competition, things have changed. The vote of the small, middle-class and relatively conservative Indian community — half of which is apparently undecided — will have to be fought for.

The ANC and TIC this week begin the task with the formal launch of their election campaign in the Indian community in the Transvaal — well aware of opinion surveys and their own assessments which place the ruling NP out in front.

According to a Gallup poll carried out by Markinor recently, the NP is the favoured party among Indians (who make up 3% of the total number of potential voters) and coloureds (9,5%). When asked which organisation they'd vote for "if there were an election tomorrow", 39% of Indians and 46% of coloureds opt for the NP as their first choice. The ANC comes second, with 17% among Indians and 16% among coloureds. The poll was conducted among samples of 400 in metropolitan areas in July.

Of the whites and blacks surveyed during April and May, 43% of whites gave the NP their first choice — about the same as

Fm 15/10/93



ANC's Saloojee ... out to capture the floating vote

coloureds and Indians — while only 3% of blacks favoured the NP. (11A)

The ANC is favoured by a mere 2% of whites (15,7% of total voters) but 68% of blacks (71,7% of potential voters). Inkatha gets only 1% of the coloured and Indian vote. (Indians comprise 10,9% of Natal voters, but only 2,1% on the Witwatersrand.)

Support for President F W de Klerk personally is even higher among coloureds and

Indians. Asked who should lead all South Africans, 58% of coloureds and 46% of Indians name De Klerk. Only 14% of both groups favour Nelson Mandela but his score doubles if first and second votes are taken together. Mandela is undisputed leader among blacks (70%) but scores low among whites (3%). Mangosuthu Buthelezi does not feature at all among coloureds and Indians.

Markinor's Christine Woessner says NP support could grow to about 50% among coloureds and Indians, who seem to have little taste for radical parties. But 20% of coloureds and 30% of Indians are noncommittal and it is here that Indian and coloured parties (mainly the Labour Party) aligned to the ANC will hope to make inroads.

ANC election commission official Khetso Gordhan says that according to the organisation's surveys, Indian and coloured support for the NP was much higher 18 months ago and is being clawed back by the ANC. In the Cape, he adds, the independent company Research Surveys found in July that support for the ANC is growing and that it is the majority party among coloured men.

ANC Lenasia branch secretary Shan Bolton reckons Indian support for the ANC is 25%-30% in the PWV region, but nationally around 17%, which tallies with the Markinor finding. He concedes that the ANC's main rival is the NP and points out that at least 50% of Indians are undecided. They will be

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 15/10/93

the key target of the ANC campaign.

Among the concerns being raised at house meetings held by the Lenasia branch (which has 2 000 members in a population of 100 000) are: economic policy and especially nationalisation; the future of minority groups; whether what happened to Uganda's Indians in the Seventies could happen here; and the ANC's ability to govern. (11A)

Gordhan says Indians want to be persuaded that the ANC is worth voting for. The campaign will focus on why it is the ANC which has the answers to SA's problems — especially violence, crime and economic decline. "We want to destroy the myth that the ANC will nationalise small businesses and the like and to explain the rationale for public-sector involvement in certain areas."

The Indian areas campaign will be launched by Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma, Popo Molefe, Tokyo Sexwale, Ahmed Kathrada and TIC president Cassim Saloojee. It will kick off with public meetings throughout Transvaal in November and include an intensive house-visiting campaign. It will culminate in a conference of community organisations and their leaders, at which the ANC's reconstruction programme and election manifesto will be examined with a view to endorsing these at the end of January.

The ANC election manifesto and candidate lists will be published on January 8. Criteria for selection of candidates (now under discussion) will include: representativeness of all communities, personal potential for bringing in at least 50 000 votes, a track record and an ability to contribute to deliberations of the constituent assembly. ■

Mandela assured of French aid

(11A)
CT 15/10/93

PARIS. — The French government and business community assured ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday of stronger support for the new South Africa.

Mr Mandela met President Francois Mitterrand yesterday afternoon, whom he termed "a long-time friend of the people of South Africa".

After an hour of talks with Mr Mitterrand, Mr Mandela told reporters that the French president "has a very deep sympathy" for the economic problems faced by post-apartheid South Africa.

Foreign Minister Mr Alain Juppe emerged from a lengthy breakfast with the Mr Mandela saying: "He is a man I have long admired.

"I told him we were ready to help with (next year's) elections and then, along with our European partners, contribute to the very important economic work that will be needed."

Mr Mandela welcomed the pledge from France's new conservative government, traditionally more cool to liberation movements than the former Socialist administration, which was ousted in March.

"I have got the assurance that the help we've received from France will continue," he said.

"They are keen to facilitate the democratic process ... We have an enormous problem of reconstruction and development and we have the full support of the French government." Mr Juppe said France was ready to send observers for the elections and help prepare the millions of blacks who would vote for the first time.

Mr Mandela said he was confident French companies would increase their investments in South Africa.

"We have the support of industry in this country," he said after several meetings with industrial and business leaders as well as Finance Minister Mr Edmond Alphandery.

The leader of the French employers' association, Mr Francois Perigot, said on Europe 1 radio that he would take a delegation of 40 French business leaders to South Africa in November.

There are just over 80 French companies in South Africa, compared to 400 German and 1 400 British firms.

The ANC president also broke diplomatic ground on Wednesday by lunching at the South African ambassador's residence, the first time he has set foot in an embassy representing the De Klerk government.

Mr Mandela returned home yesterday evening. — Sapa-Reuter, AFP

ANC women
call for quota

Political Staff

THE ANC's Women's League has called on the organisation to lay down a quota of one-third of its candidates for Parliament to be women.

21/5/10/93
The call follows the defeat of a move for a 30% quota at the ANC's last national congress in Durban in July 1991 and widespread criticism by women within the organisation about its failure to ensure their adequate representation in national, regional and branch structures.

The call was made at a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

Cape Times

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UCT may bar PAC meetings

Staff Reporter

FUTURE PAC meetings at UCT could be suspended until student claims totalling R30 800 in compensation for damage incurred by 800 rampaging schoolchildren on campus last month were paid.

This was said at a heated meeting at the university yesterday attended by PAC representatives, its student wing, the Pan

Africanist Students Organisation (Paso), Campus Control and students whose property was damaged or stolen.

More than 800 schoolchildren attending a public meeting addressed by PAC vice-president Mr Johnson Mlambo ran amok on campus on September 14, smashing vehicles and assaulting and robbing students.

Professor Martin West, UCT

deputy vice-chancellor, said the university "should be compensated" and until the PAC had given an undertaking to this effect UCT could review future (Paso) meetings on campus.

Mr Bathembu Lugulwana, PAC regional secretary, said: "We apologise for the actions of those at the meeting and we are busy putting our house in order, but maybe it (the vandalism)

could have been the work of agent provocateurs".

He said PAC investigations had not identified any of the vandals as Paso members.

But one angry student demanded R2 000 compensation for damage he said was caused to his vehicle: "People's property was damaged and we get statements, meetings."

Mr Lugulwana said he could

not guarantee compensation as the PAC was a liberation movement and it wasn't easy to "ask members to cough up money".

One student wanted to know why security had been so ineffectual and Mr Doug Grierson, head of campus control, said the crowd had not been expected and the 15 campus control security personnel had been overwhelmed.

(11A)

CT 15/10/93

(11A)

ANC hits out at PAC stoning

CT 15/10/93

Staff Reporter

THE ANC lashed out at the PAC in a strongly worded statement last night after an ANC mobile unit was stoned in Guguletu by a group of youths allegedly bearing a large PAC banner.

Mr Tony Yengeni, Western Cape secretary, said: "The fact that even vehicles belonging to other liberation movements are attacked, demonstrates that literally no one is safe from these hooligans.

"Despite the public outrage over the appalling killing of Amy Biehl and injuries to others on the very same street (NY1), it would seem that these hooligan elements are hell-bent on continuing to terrorise the population — thus undermining and destroying the peace initiative in the Western Cape.

"We have said many times that we will not tolerate any no-go areas in the Western Cape. And we will continue to insist on the absolute right of all people to safe transit through and access to any part of our region, without being subjected to racist or any other form of attack."

Mr Yengeni called on the PAC leadership to "state unequivocally where they stand on the issue of such violence."

The PAC could not be reached for comment last night.

By Rehana Rossouw

THE WAR OF words between the two 'Alans' this week signalled that an ANC-Labour Party election pact is far from finalised.

At the LP congress in Uitenhage last weekend, LP leader Reverend Allen Hendrickse criticised ANC regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak for his rejection of an ANC-LP alliance.

He said the LP, and not Boesak alone, could lead coloured people into the ANC. The sooner the ANC realised this, the better.

In a sharply worded personal attack, Hendrickse said: "I don't live in a R600 000 house and buy my clothes in New York. I am a man of the people. My people know me."

Boesak responded that Hendrickse should stop suggesting that his comments on the LP were

LP-ANC pact: war of words

South 15/10 - 19/10/93

(11A)

merely a personal opinion.

The issue of an alliance between the ANC and LP had been discussed at numerous ANC regional general councils and members shared his views, Boesak said.

Although there was a decision that LP members could join the ANC as individuals only after resigning from LP, there was still no decision from the region on the alliance.

"All I am doing is reflecting what

people in my region are saying as well as people in the eastern Cape and Border regions," Boesak said.

"It is clear that ANC members and supporters experience the LP as a millstone around the ANC's neck more than anything else."

ANC national spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation was considering all alliance partners but had not yet decided on the LP.

"There will be further discussions, both nationally and regional-

ly, and we will take seriously what the regions tell us," Niehaus said.

Boesak said the issue had become more contentious as more coloured people joined the ANC.

"When coloured people didn't really care much about the ANC, didn't regard it as their organisation, the LP issue wasn't such a big debate," Boesak said.

"But now that they are strongly represented in the ANC it is clear what their position is.

"They do not want a pact, they do not want an alliance."

Boesak said the demand that the LP apologise for serving in parliament was also not his personal viewpoint but a logical demand from members and supporters.

"If people can so readily ask the NP to apologise for what they have done, why not the LP?"

He pointed out that the LP's support has dropped to two percent of coloureds in the Western Cape.

Should ANC work with LP?

South 15/10 - 19/10/93

(11A)

By Mpumie Gaba

WITH THE release of our leaders from prison, the form and approach of our politics to parties within the tricameral system and the bantustans changed.

Mandela spearheaded this approach which was very accommodative of these "puppets and sell-outs".

This was against the understanding of the ordinary cadre, and not without reason.

In Namibia, and Zimbabwe before it, the liberation movement was on one side of the negotiations table and the puppets, together with the master, on the other.

In South Africa it was different. We deliberately went out to these discredited parties.

The shock of the opinion polls that show coloured support is going to the National Party has caused the ANC to find every explanation for it. We were even prepared to clutch at very thin straws.

And yet the situation has changed marginally.

The latest opinion polls indicate that the ANC will get 20 percent, the Nats 30, and the Labour Party (LP) three percent of the coloured vote.

We then ask ourselves: Is working with the LP going to increase or reduce our vote? What about the notorious management committees? Why don't we let the LP die naturally? Why don't they join as individuals?

We can't have joint rallies with them. These people were rejected in their own election and got only 11 percent of the coloured vote, we say.

But do these arguments make the LP different from the United Patriotic Front? From Intando ye Sizwe and all the PF parties? The answer is no.



DESPERATE FRIENDS? Nelson Mandela with LP leader Allan Hendrickse

As for management committees, the LP also disowns them as they were in place even when it was boycotting apartheid structures.

Regarding dying naturally, the same can be said of other PF parties.

No one said the LP members cannot join us as individuals. They can do so, and this will be accelerated if they campaign for an ANC-led front in the elections.

The argument against joint rallies is weak, because we are prepared to have them with Inkatha, which is not even in the PF, simply because they kill us.

The argument that the LP was rejected in their own elections is true. But now is the time for truth, not propaganda, and we must not be victims of our own propaganda.

We know that the reason coloured people did not vote is not because they supported us. They may not have liked the LP because it betrayed them and, maybe, it was physically safe to stay at home, and we know why.

The argument that we shall lose more votes than we shall gain because of links with the LP is also flawed. The LP is already in the PF and [the PF] did increase our standing in the opinion polls.

Secondly, in the first opinion polls we had dismal support without the LP. So what are we going to lose? The only tangible reason that disqualifies the LP is the "activist pride", the "we-told-you-so" attitude, especially from coloured comrades.

The need to see these opportunists suffer

'Ordinary coloured voter sees the ANC as a "kaffir" organisation'

and on their knees is there in all of us. But the noble task of uniting the people against tribalism, racism and ethnicity makes this attitude an infantile disorder.

Singling out the LP from other PF partners is inconsistent and borders on racism. It simply means, here in the Western Cape, we say puppets are good if they are African and bad if they are coloured.

Let us call things by their names as revolutionaries. The coloured vote problem is a race problem and, therefore, largely a problem of ignorance perpetrated by apartheid.

The ordinary coloured voter sees the ANC as a "kaffir" organisation which has communists. The struggle here was to be as white as possible for survival.

The leadership of the LP is above this level of ignorance and will, therefore, help us fight it out in the next eight months.

We need people who can expose the Nationalist lies. We need coloured leaders who are going to tell coloured people that African leadership does not mean African domination, that because our past is together as the oppressed, so must be our future as builders of non-racialism and democracy.

If the LP can say this, which is what they are saying by being in the PF anyway, then we need them in our election front.

To avoid embarrassment with loose and ill-defined relationships that are ad hoc and opportunistic, a pact needs to be concluded with the LP, as with all PF parties. This will also clear the confusion now prevailing.

(This article is from the October edition of the ANC journal, "Maibuye". It has been edited.)

Macmillan, Skotaville sign deal with Thebe

WM 1-7/10/93

(11A)

Ferial Haffajee

A NEW joint venture publishing company — in which the ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation is a partner — is adamant that it will remain untainted by patronage.

This week Macmillan-Boleswa, a multinational book publisher, Thebe, an African National Congress-linked investment company, and Skotaville publishers, a black-owned publishing company, announced the formation of text-book company, Nolwazi Publishers.

Nolwazi is born of months of controversial negotiations between Macmillan and Thebe.

In May this year it was revealed that in a draft business plan drawn up between the two companies, Macmillan offered a gift of a 20 per cent shareholding in a joint publishing venture to Thebe in return for "a regular line of communication with the relevant government structures in the new South Africa".

This week, Macmillan managing director Luchi Balarin said the two offending clauses had been drafted into the business plan by a junior employee and that newspapers had obtained an unauthorised document. He added that Thebe had objected to the clause when it had seen the draft document.

"Thebe had made it clear from the outset that it was not prepared to replace the present system of privilege and patronage with a new one," said Balarin.

He added: "There are no free shares; every shareholder will pay for shares."

Balarin called a request to see the Nolwazi's shareholders' agreement "a naive question", saying it was a confidential document. He said Nolwazi would be a public company producing quality textbooks which would have to be competitive on the open market. Nolwazi would "tender (for contracts) in an open and free manner", said Balarin, adding that this



Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile

was how Macmillan operated in Swaziland and Botswana.

Balarin said Macmillan was "adamant about the morals of the new company and we will not steal a march on our competitors".

Thebe managing director Vusi Khanyile said this week: "(Nolwazi) will give black people access to the means to shape their own educational future. Nolwazi will actively promote black South African authorship, and it is expected that its staff profile will reflect the South Africa democracy."

IFP chief defects to Contralesa

Farouk Chothia

AN Inkatha-aligned chief in the Natal Midlands has defected to the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Chief Nkosiyezwa Gcumisa appeared at an African National Congress cultural festival at kwaXimba, in the Natal Midlands, at the weekend, becoming the latest IFP-aligned chief to move over to Contralesa.

In an interview, Gcumisa indicated that a close affinity for firebrand ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala lay behind his defection. "Gwala was born in Swayimane and I am from Swayimane," Gcumisa said, adding: "My people are ANC members and

we are not fighting any organisation." His respect for Gwala is ironic: the IFP has always portrayed him as a "loose cannon" who wants to destroy the chieftaincy.

Gcumisa's defection indicates that the ANC has launched a concerted effort to win over chiefs in the run-up to elections, as traditional leaders wield enormous influence over their subjects. Said ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Blade Nzimande: "We believe the IFP is undermining the chiefs, who now have to take orders from warlords."

However, Contralesa's Natal membership is still small, with only a handful of chiefs having openly identified themselves with the organisation. Most still pay their allegiance to the kwaZulu government.

WMI-7/10/93 (119)



SACP leaders avoid elections

Farouk Chothia

KEY office-bearers of the South African Communist Party will not stand for parliament in the April 27 election, as the party believes extra-parliamentary politics will remain "an important terrain of struggle" in the new South Africa.

The SACP's Jeremy Cronin said the national and regional organisers, national treasurer and regional secretaries would not serve in the new parliament and constitution-making body.

He said the head of the publications department — a post he currently holds — would also not be allowed to be an

(11A) WMI-7/10/93
MP. If a SACP leader who held any of these posts decided to stand for elections, he would first have to resign his position in the SACP.

However, "the decision is not absolutely final". He added that there was still debate around whether the general secretary — the most powerful person in the SACP — should be allowed to serve in a future parliament. The national chairman — a post that key negotiator Joe Slovo holds at present — will be allowed to do so.

Cronin said it was important that the SACP struck a balance between the presence of its leaders inside and outside parliament.

South Africa that

Woman to be a force in ANC

Star 14/10/92
1992
14
-14-

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

THE national working committee of the African National Congress recommended this week that one third of all ANC candidates in the forthcoming elections must be women.

The decision will still need to be ratified by the national executive committee (NEC) of the ANC, the organisation's highest decision-making body outside of its national conference.

The national working committee is the operational arm of the NEC and sees to its daily operations.

A statement from the Women's League called on the NEC "to adopt this decision and give it full support for all ANC members to treat women as equals".

The statement said that the ANC was "the only party to have given such consideration to women's issues and practically trying to treat women as equals".

ANC representative Carl Niehaus said there was "a very fair chance" that the ANC's national one-third-for-women would be meeting next month, but could refer the issue to the ANC's national reconstruction conference in December, where a number of policy issues would be discussed.

A demand for a 30 percent quota of women candidates was made at the ANC's 1991 national conference in Durban, but was defeated.

The organisation Women for Women in Government applauded the recommendation of the national working committee. It said that the NEC adopted it, "will prove it is serious about setting up a non-sexist society as well as a challenge to other parties to address non-sexism on a practical level".

Hani's killers will not hang, says ANC

STimes 17/10/93

By JOCELYN MAKER, SHARON CHETTY and EDYTH BULBRING

THE two rightwingers sentenced to death this week for the murder of SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani will not hang.

That was the word from ANC national executive member and Professor of Human Rights Law at the University of the Western Cape Kader Asmal yesterday.

He said the ANC had consistently opposed capital punishment. Its standing policy, endorsed at the ANC's policy conference last year, could not be changed to fit the facts of an individual case no matter how emotional the issue.

"I have no doubt that the ANC's conviction against capital punishment will prevail," he said.

News that Janusz Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis had been given the death sentence was greeted with jubilation by ANC supporters outside the Rand Supreme Court.

In the highly-charged atmos-

phere created by the two-week-long trial, senior members of the ANC — including head of the legal department Matthew Phosa — made public statements supporting the sentence which contradicted the official ANC policy of opposition to capital punishment.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus also said there was no suggestion the ANC wanted the government to lift the moratorium on hangings which has been in force for the past three years.

"It was necessary to give the two killers the harshest possible sentence and, at present, that is the death penalty. But this is a paper sentence. Walus and Derby-Lewis will become the responsibility of the ANC if it comes into power after the April 27 election

and, in terms of our policy, they will not be executed."

ANC president Nelson Mandela described the sentences as "the best a court of law could impose under the present circumstances".

Yesterday Mr Phosa confirmed that, while he was opposed to the death penalty in principle, he felt "personally" that Walus and Derby-Lewis "should hang".

He said there had been "nothing emotional" in his statements outside the court in support of the sentences.

"When Tokyo Sexwale, Limpho Hani and I walked to the dock to have a look at the three accused, Walus looked at Mrs Hani and said: 'Take it cool, take it calmly'.

"The coldness, the arrogance and the absence of any emotion or

sympathy was appalling. When I went out to talk to the crowd, my feeling was that they should hang.

"At the same time, I wanted to make a statement . . . and to send out a clear message to people like Walus that assassination will not be tolerated."

The ANC's PWV regional chairman, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, said the fate of Mr Hani's killers would be decided by a democratic government after next year's elections.

"In the meanwhile, let them live in fear."

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC had made its stance on capital punishment clear in its bill of rights.

Statements which appeared to favour the death penalty for the two men had been made by ANC members "in their personal capacity" and did not signal any change in official policy, he said.

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Call for 'Nuremberg' trials

By PETER DENNEHY

WESTERN Cape ANC secretary-general Mr Tony Yengeni called yesterday for Nuremberg-type trials for those involved in killing ANC members after 1990 — the year the ANC was unbanned and gave up the armed struggle.

Speaking at a petrol price protest rally in Athlone, he

said he would campaign for a future ANC government to carry out the death sentence imposed on convicted killers Janusz Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis.

He warned Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis — who was acquitted in the Supreme Court of the murder of Mr Chris Hanu — that "we are going to pursue

her till she lands in prison or goes to Australia".

He said Walus and Clive Derby-Lewis got "a very good sentence".

"There are voices in the country that say they should not be hanged. We say they should be hanged — by an ANC government."

Mr Kader Asmal, an ANC

national executive member, has noted that the ANC has consistently opposed capital punishment. Standing policy could not be changed to fit the facts of an individual case.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the death sentence was a "paper sentence" as ANC policy meant they would not be executed.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last week a future government would decide on execution of sentence.

Mr Ronnie Mamdepa, another ANC spokesman, said calls for the death sentence by ANC members were made "in their personal capacities." (11A) CT18/10/93

ANC for C'wealth meeting

(119)
CT 19/10/93
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC will send a high-powered delegation to the Commonwealth Conference, which begins in Cyprus later this week — but the South African government will not.

South Africa and the lifting of Commonwealth sanctions against Pretoria will be major topics at the five-day heads of government meeting, which begins on Thursday.

The ANC announced yesterday that its national chairman and director of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, would attend, accompanied by national executive committee member Mr Mendi Msimang.

Diplomatic sources said the SA government had not been sent an official invitation.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said recently that the Commonwealth was not high on his agenda at the moment.

Van Eck: Yengeni's remarks 'disgraceful'

CTA 110192 Political Correspondent (11A)

ANC MP for Claremont Mr Jan van Eck last night lashed out at the organisation's Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni for flouting ANC policy by making statements likely to heighten confrontation and violence.

Mr Van Eck said Mr Yengeni's remarks at the weekend supporting hanging, Nuremberg-type trials and people's courts were "disgraceful statements that do not represent ANC policy".

This is the most direct public criticism from ANC quarters of statements by Mr Yengeni.

Threat referred to alliance leaders

ANC and Cosatu at odds over strike

Star 19/10/93

(11A) (11B)

■ BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

After an all-day meeting with Cosatu yesterday, the ANC issued a distinctly thin-lipped statement on its labour ally's threat to call a national strike next month.

Its tone, in referring the matter for discussion by "the broader tripartite alliance leadership", suggests the federation has found itself at odds with its alliance partners.

Cosatu said at the weekend it would call for a week of demonstrations culminating in a national strike on November 15 — an announcement that took the ANC by surprise.

The federation is demanding that the constitutional negotiators scrap a clause in the interim Bill of Rights allowing employers to lock out workers, and reverse the Bill's guarantees of job security for civil servants.

Cosatu is also demanding that the negotiators not attempt to substitute a referendum for the

SIGNALS are sent to federation to reconsider action to enforce changes to Bill of Rights, as chorus of opposition swells

planned April 27 election.

Yesterday, after a meeting of senior alliance leaders at ANC headquarters, the ANC confined itself to saying that reports and proposals arising from Cosatu's central executive committee at the weekend (meaning the strike) had been discussed.

Specifically, worker concerns over a clause in the chapter on fundamental human rights of the Interim Constitution, and the future of the civil service, had been discussed.

"The meeting agreed to refer these matters for the attention of the broader tripartite alliance leadership."

There were indications of dis-

tinct differences between Cosatu and the ANC on the strike threat, and that the ANC believed Cosatu had acted on the basis of "incorrect information".

The ANC is clearly asking Cosatu to reconsider.

Meanwhile, the South African Chamber of Business has added its voice to the chorus of opposition to the strike call.

Sacob manager Janet Dickman called it "very inappropriate — especially since they have a forum, the National Manpower Commission, in which to raise such issues".

Dickman said the call had taken Sacob by surprise, and that the chamber was worried about the possible effect on the economy, when investment confidence was so fragile.

Brian Angus, chief executive of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa, used similar language, and said Cosatu had not raised these issues through the appropriate channel, the NMC.

Nuremberg trial remarks 'not ANC policy'

(11A)

ARG 19/10/93

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff**

ANC Western Cape leader Allan Boesak has repudiated the remarks by a fellow ANC leader about "Nuremberg-style trials" and the death sentence.

Dr Boesak, responding to remarks by regional ANC secretary Tony Yengeni, said the remarks were not representative of the organisation's policy.

At a weekend meeting in Athlone, Mr Yengeni issued a warning to other murderers such as Clive Derby-Lewis.

If they were caught in the new South Africa they would be taken to people's courts, he said.

The ANC would insist that such killers face Nuremberg-style trials in the new South Africa.

Dr Boesak said today that Mr Yengeni had expressed his personal views when speaking about the death penalty.

"Opposition to the death sentence is central to ANC policy."

Although he understood the sentiments caused by the murder of Chris Hani, Dr Boesak said he did not believe the ANC's views would change.

"I think the ANC would say 'justice demands that the right to live be accorded even to those who are our enemies'.

"Therefore I do not think the ANC will change its views in this particular case."

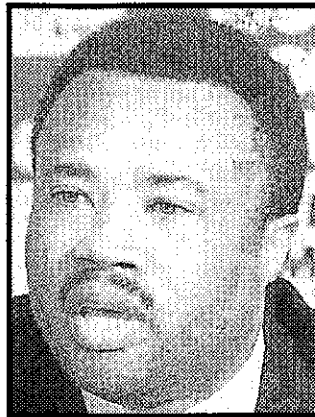
Referring to Mr Yengeni's remarks about Nuremberg-style trials, he said the ANC was on record as saying it did not favour such trials.

"We do want a Truth Commission which would uncover all the atrocities committed."

Mr Yengeni has also been sharply criticised by fellow ANC member Jan van Eck MP.

Mr Van Eck said Mr Yengeni's remarks did not represent the view of the majority within the ANC.

Whereas the ANC — and specifically Nelson Mandela — had consistently gone out of their way to preach reconcilia-



Tony Yengeni

tion instead of revenge, Mr Yengeni's statements reeked of revenge.

"His statements are irresponsible and will merely heighten the climate of confrontation and violence.

"His outrageous support for Transkei allowing Apla — which is by its own admission killing ordinary citizens in churches — to train leads one to wonder whether Mr Yengeni as a former MK commander has really suspended the armed struggle in favour of negotiations.

"If not, he should seriously consider his present elected position in the Western Cape ANC.

"Electoral speaking, Mr Yengeni has yet again shot the ANC in the foot," Mr Van Eck said.

Another ANC MP, Jannie Momberg, said he was a member of the regional executive of the ANC and if he wanted to say anything about Mr Yengeni's remarks, he would do so there.

Mr Momberg said he was personally opposed to Nuremberg-style trials.

"We should never forget the past but we must be able to forgive.

"I also understand the tremendous emotions generated by the death of Mr Hani who was an idol to many people."

Divisions emerge in ANC alliance over Cosatu's national strike call

BIBAY
TIM COHEN, ERICA JANKOWITZ AND BILLY PADDOCK

ANC, SACP and Cosatu leaders held high-level but inconclusive discussions yesterday, as divisions emerged between the alliance partners over the union federation's proposed national strike next month. The ANC said only that the meeting had agreed to refer the matter to the alliance leadership. But an SACP leader said the implications of certain clauses in the draft constitution, which have been put forward as the reason for the strike, had been discussed regarding a clause on labour relations in the proposed interim constitution's chapter on human rights, as well as the future of the public service. Cosatu objected to including an employer right to lock-out and security of tenure for public servants. The SACP source said ANC and SACP negotiators had stressed in the negotiating council that they would not agree to any clauses precluding affirmative action and restructuring the public service. When negotiators met the Cosatu leadership for further discussions, the problem would be resolved quite easily.

Yesterday's meeting, attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, SACP national chairman Joe Slovo and Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa, was called by Cosatu. (11/2) (11/2) ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the idea of a national strike was not discussed directly, although the suggestion was included in a written report presented by Cosatu. Cosatu made it clear that it had not taken a unilateral decision, and its proposal would be discussed by its regional structures. The ANC said it would also discuss the issue in its structures. Union sources said the prime mover behind the national strike resolution was SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) deputy general secretary Ebrahim Patel, long considered an Intellectual within a moderate union. This year's Sactwu congress proposed ending Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and SACP, citing union independence as a major consideration. At the same congress ANC economics head Trevor Manuel

raised eyebrows by playing down the unions' role in economic policymaking. Shilowa confirmed that the ANC and SACP had expressed surprise at Cosatu's call for a strike, but said there was no tension between the alliance partners. National Manpower Commission director Frans Barker also expressed surprise at Cosatu's objections to the Bill of Rights. The lock-out clause had been discussed by the commission, which consists of government, union and business representatives.

Cosatu
BIBAY
19/11/93

At a meeting in July, consensus had been reached on the fifth draft of the Bill, including the lock-out provision. Barker said the consensus view was that the draft Bill did not affect existing labour relations legislation. However, Shilowa said the current Labour Relations Act, which included a lock-out clause, had been passed without Cosatu's blessing. If the federation withdrew its backing now, the commission would no longer have consensus. (11/2) (11/2) He said that in line with ANC and SACP policy, both parties would refer the matter to their leaderships before taking a decision on whether to back the call because of the "magnitude of the strike". Cosatu regions would discuss this weekend. By November 5 all parties would know whether they would join the strike and how long it would last. Rallies would be held on November 6 and 7 to "report back on our victory", or to finalise strategy for the national strike. Shilowa said he had requested an urgent meeting with the negotiating council to discuss the right to lock out and the insulation of the public service, as well as the regions powers affecting workers' rights.

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● Comment: Page 18

Sisulu to head up policy institute

TIM COHEN

FORMER ANC economic planning department head Max Sisulu plans to establish an independent institute to develop policy for the "broad democratic movement".

Sisulu said yesterday the proposed institute, to be called the National Institute for Economic Policy, would have no official link with the ANC or Cosatu, but would aim to make up for past apartheid-induced deficiencies.

Organisers were still drafting the institute's constitution and defining its objectives, but its board would include South Africans of high calibre. 19/10/93

It was "absolutely vital", he said, for the broad democratic movement to develop policy urgently on a wide variety of issues.

The institute would be a successor to the Macro Economic Research Group (Merg), set up more than a year ago to investigate policy for the ANC and Cosatu. But it would differ from Merg in that it would not be formally linked to the ANC and Cosatu, though ANC and Cosatu members could sit on the board in their personal capacities.

Sisulu said the institute would be funded by donors and, in due course, an appeal for assistance would be made to the business community. It would draw on the resources of several universities.

The institute would be established shortly after the demise of Merg, which, according to news reports, had been affected by its staunch left-wing bias. It was possible the institute would take over some of the research commissioned by Merg, he said.

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Group cautions on regional borders

BIDAY 19/11/93

BILLY PADDOCK

A TASK group set up by the commission for demarcation reported yesterday that sensitive matters on the delimitation of regions were beyond the scope of a commission and would need much more political leadership and discussion.

The group told negotiators at the World Trade Centre one of the most sensitive issues was whether the northern Cape region should be split and incorporated into the northwest region and the western Cape region.

Another was whether the Free State and the northwest region should be incorporated as one region.

But the most heated debate revolved around the eastern Cape/Kei region. Government and the DP argued that the eastern Cape should be separated from the Kei region because of historic animosity and economic growth point differences.

However, the dominant view was that it should be a single region.

Eastern Cape traditional leader Stella Sigcau said she disagreed strongly with the DP and government because they "just want the eastern Cape node to remain undeveloped and poverty stricken".

ANC negotiator Thozamile Botha argued for the retention of the 1910 boundaries, which would keep it as one region. He said even the ANC's original proposal tended to consolidate boundaries.

He said after the ANC had revisited the issue, it believed that it should be a single region. However, there might be a need for subregional de-

velopment structures and strategies and these could co-operate, he said.

The DP's Eddie Trent said Port Elizabeth and East London had developed separate metropolitan areas serving their respective hinterlands and combining the two regions could result in political instability.

However, he said that if there was a strong reason for it being one region he would recommend that these have soft boundaries so that the matter could be reconsidered later.

Another area of dispute was over retaining Pretoria in the PWV. The Afrikaner Volksunie raised strong objections to what it called "extreme racism in reverse".

Negotiator Schalk Burger pointed out that in the report the commission said "fears exist that the white right wing want Pretoria incorporated in the eastern Transvaal in order to create a volkstaat there".

He also said the addition of Pretoria to the eastern Transvaal would increase the linguistic heterogeneity of the region although it would be less heterogeneous than the PWV.

He said he was concerned that the Afrikaner claim for self-determination had been ignored, and indicated the Volksunie might walk out.

It is understood that the planning committee which has looked at ways of resolving what seemed intractable problems, will recommend that all the boundaries be regarded as soft boundaries for purposes of the election and that final demarcation be left to future negotiations.

Sisulu to head up policy institute

TIM COHEN

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Law governs domestic employment

BIDAY 19/11/93

ERICA JANKOWITZ

THE extension of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act to cover the approximately 830 000 domestic workers employed in SA homes means employers will have to comply with legislative controls governing the employment relationship, commentators say.

However, no minimum wage has been stipulated. The SA Domestic Workers' Union suggests a R500-a-month salary for unskilled workers, or R6 an hour for part-time workers.

The new Act sets down minimum working conditions for domestic workers, gardeners, drivers for private households, and people who look after the sick, aged, frail and dis-

abled. These are:

A maximum spread-over (ie time measured from when the worker reports for duty until she knocks off, including meal and rest times) of 12 hours a day for those who do not live in or 14 hours for those who do;

A maximum of five hours' work before a break of at least one hour (or 30 minutes by mutual agreement) must be taken;

A maximum of 10 hours' overtime a week — and this must be by mutual agreement and not enforced;

A minimum of 14 consecutive days' paid leave a year;

Thirty-six days' paid sick leave per three-year cycle;

A minimum of one month's notice of termination of the contract or a month's pay in lieu of notice;

Minimum overtime pay of one-and-one-third times normal rate except for public holidays and Sundays when double time must be paid; and

Seven paid holidays, including New Year's Day, Good Friday, Ascension Day, Workers' Day, Republic Day, Day of the Vow and Christmas Day.

Part-time workers — those who work a minimum of three days a week for the same employer — must have one day's paid leave for every 26 days of employment.

Freedom Alliance meets Govt, ANC

Wrap-up deadline for talks

Star 19/10/93

BY ESTHER WAUGH
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Negotiators last night agreed to a deadline, just 17 days away, for the completion of the Kempton Park negotiations.

However, sharp differences were expressed yesterday in the Negotiating Council on proposed regional boundaries for the new South Africa.

The November 5 deadline means the Council will have to wrap up the draft Interim Constitution, including fundamental human rights during the transition and the regions, within the next three weeks.

But it is still unclear whether the Freedom Alliance (FA) — made up of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront — will accept the final outcome.

Last week the FA proposed that the Negotiating Council be replaced with a summit of leaders, but said it was still open to negotiating with other parties.

The FA and Government met last night for talks which

SHARP differences emerge among Kempton Park negotiating parties over boundaries of future regions

are expected to continue today and will meet the ANC today at 11 am at the World Trade Centre (WTC). The talks aim to narrow the differences between the alliance and multiparty negotiators at the WTC.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will lead his organisation's delegation.

At the WTC, parties will be formally invited this week to nominate personnel for the Transitional Executive Council and its seven sub-councils, which will be implemented only once the final transition package had been agreed on.

During the discussion on regions yesterday, seemingly insurmountable positions emerged especially over the western Cape, northern Cape and Pretoria.

An ad hoc committee has been appointed to find common ground among the negotiating parties.

One sticking point was whether Pretoria should be included in the eastern Transvaal or the PWV-area.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, which said that the report on the delimitation of regions did not refer to self-determination, wanted Pretoria as part of the eastern Transvaal.

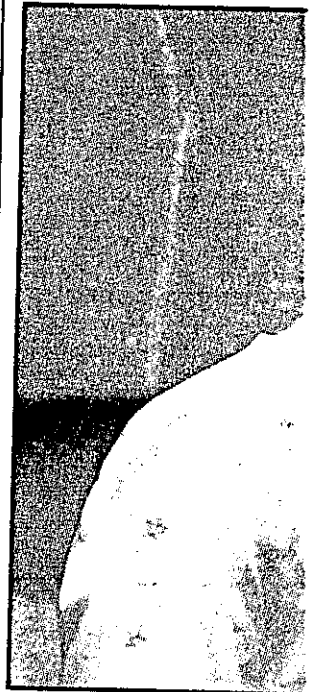
The ANC voiced its suspicion that the AVU wanted to create a "racial region".

KwaNdebele's Intando ye Sizwe party wanted the self-governing territory and Pretoria included.

The Labour Party, supported by the SACP, proposed that Pretoria be incorporated into the PWV-area and KwaNdebele into the eastern Transvaal.

The Democratic Party also supported the suggestion that Pretoria form part of the eastern Transvaal.

The Government favoured a western Cape region separate from a northern Cape region, but this was opposed by the ANC and SACP.



ANC warns Derby-Lewis

Sowetan 19/10/93

THE African National Congress said yesterday it reserved the right to reopen charges of conspiracy against Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis when it came to power.

Derby-Lewis has been sharply critical of the ANC since her acquittal last Thursday in the Chris Hani murder trial.

"The ANC warns Gaye Derby-Lewis

that it reserves the right to open charges of conspiracy in the murder of Chris Hani against her in future," a statement said. (11A)

"Her statements that she will form part of a resistance movement against an ANC-led government served to confirm our belief that she remains a serious

danger to society and must be deported to her country of origin with immediate effect."

Derby-Lewis, born in Australia, has branded the ANC a murderous organisation. She has also threatened to prevent the organisation from coming to power in next year's election. — *Sapa*.

Youth "far from" new SA

Staff Reporter

ANGRY and frustrated Guguletu youths have mixed feelings about the future of South Africa — some will accept a new elected government, others are sceptical, refusing to recognise a government that originates from the World Trade Centre.

A television news programme last night reported that 70% of township youth are marginalised from society, and only 12%

are members of political organisations.

Said one frustrated student: "The World Trade Centre is dragging its feet. Mandela and De Klerk are far from the youth; they don't understand us or our problems."

Members of the PAC-aligned Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso), which has been implicated in the murder of American Fulbright student

Amy Biehl, said the World Trade Centre was not talking about "our" demands — such as the redistribution of wealth.

Azapo member Mr Sandile Bila, citing armed struggle as a means to power, said: "The regime wants to kill the youth — they fear us."

Asked by Agenda reporter Barbara Folscher: "Am I the enemy?" another Azapa member replied: "Yes. For sure."

No rift with ANC on strike - Cosatu

Star 20/10/93

■ BY PAUL BELL
LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa has denied a rift with the ANC over the federation's strike call but acknowledged it had taken them by surprise. ~~(11A)~~ (11A)

He said yesterday there was no difference on principle and that the threat had been made to strengthen the ANC's hand against the right wing in negotiations.

In an interview with The Star Shilowa said it might be necessary, however, to "repackage" for workers the reasons for a strike.

The strike issues centre largely on the position of workers under the proposed interim Bill of Rights.

A repackaging would concentrate on what Shilowa described as the Freedom Alliance's "threat to democracy" and on President de Klerk's growing inclination to hold a February referendum rather than an April election, which Cosatu firmly opposes.

There was also the extent of regional powers under the constitution to be considered.

Cosatu had looked at these issues and the threats to the ANC's position, and decided strike action was appropriate.

"Experience tells us if you do not have a programme of action running parallel with a negotiations process, it takes months of mobilisation before there can be action," Shilowa said.

Yengeni defends his (11A) ARG 20/10/93 'Nuremberg' remarks

□ Hits back at Van Eck on death sentence

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

ANC Western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni has defended his remarks about "Nuremberg-style trials" and the death sentence, saying that the terms he used were not important.

Speaking after sharp criticism from fellow ANC member Jan van Eck MP and a repudiation by Western Cape chairman Allan Boesak, Mr Yengeni said what was important was the principle that justice must be seen to be done in a new South Africa.

He did not want to start a slanging match with Mr Van Eck.

"Instead of challenging my reported views and attacking my integrity through the newspapers Mr Van Eck should have sought clarification from me.

"The correct procedure would have been for us to discuss the matter within the structures of the ANC."

The ANC was opposed to the

death sentence but he personally would campaign for the death sentences of the murderers of Chris Hani to be carried out.

He said Mr Hani had been a man of peace who had urged MK cadres to suspend the armed struggle.

Justice had to be seen to be done in a new South Africa, through the "truth commission" suggested by the ANC or through trials. His reference to "people's courts" did not mean "kangaroo courts" but proper trials.

After such investigations people who had been found guilty could be indemnified.

This process would work better towards true and genuine reconciliation and peace in a new South Africa.

He was not seeking revenge, he said, but the past could not simply be rubbed out when a new South Africa had been brought about.

He said it was a fact that, in spite of the unbanning of organisations and the Groote Schuur

agreement between the government and the ANC in 1990, "my people" were still being killed, especially by elements in the security forces. Those who were responsible for this should be arrested and tried.

This killing was taking place in spite of the fact that Umkhonto we Sizwe had suspended the armed struggle.

It was important that the murderers should know that they would be brought to book.

Mr Van Eck said today that if Mr Yengeni wanted to talk to him, he obviously could.

"If Mr Yengeni would stop making highly emotive statements in public that embarrass and undermine the ANC I would not have to criticise him publicly.

"The ball is in his court."

Democratic Party leader Zac de Beer has applauded Mr Van Eck's criticism of Mr Yengeni.

But he said the incident reflected the fact that the ANC "is not to be trusted with human rights".

ANC backs down on public servant jobs

(119) ARLT 20/10/93
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The African National Congress, under pressure from its alliance partner, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), has said it does not support a clause in the interim constitution guaranteeing public servants their jobs after an election.

This follows an apparent rift between the trade union federation and the ANC over the clause, proposed at the World Trade Centre talks last week. The ANC had given the clause its reserved support.

Cosatu has threatened a general strike on November 15 unless this clause, and another giving employers the right to lock out striking workers, were deleted by negotiators.

The labour body's general secretary, Sam Shilowa, said today his organisation would go ahead with the strike even if the ANC opposed it.

"The ANC is being pushed too

far to the limit (at the negotiating forum). We want to put a stop to that," Mr Shilowa said in an interview on SABC TV.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said today discussions between his organisation and alliance partner Cosatu were continuing and Cosatu's objections to two clauses were not far from the ANC own's position.

"Cosatu has a right to be upset if there is blanket tenure for civil servants and that is also certainly not the ANC's intention," said Mr Niehaus, emphasising that the clause needed greater clarity.

Mr Niehaus said the "door is still wide open" and Cosatu's position as he understood it was not that there would be a strike "come hell or high water".

Negotiators had until November 5 to reach clarity on these clauses.

Mr Shilowa denied a rift between Cosatu and the ANC, saying there was "ongoing consultation" between the two.

Talks back on two tracks

MULTIPARTY negotiations — albeit in a different form — appeared to be back on track yesterday after separate talks between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC. *B/DAY*

The three parties agreed that negotiations would follow a "two-track approach": multilateral talks would continue in the negotiating council, and bilateral talks with parties not at Kempton Park.

However, the ANC warned that the November 5 deadline for the completion of talks would not be forfeited. *20110193*

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa disclosed that a plenary session of political leaders was planned for November 6 and 7. *(SASA) (I/A)*

"We will not subject ourselves to any

bilateral negotiations that are going to result in delaying the process," he said after meeting the Freedom Alliance.

"The train is in motion and we did warn those who want to be on the train that they must come on board immediately."

Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje, of Bophuthatswana, said the meeting had been constructive, with "a willingness on both sides to resolve issues through negotiations". The problem with the democracy process before was that it was not all-inclusive.

To accommodate the new talks strategy, multilateral negotiations have been shifted to afternoon sessions at the World Trade Centre, with mornings left open for bilater-

To Page 2

Talks

al meetings.

B/DAY 20110193
Ramaphosa denied that a two-table negotiations approach had been adopted as a result of the new turn of events. "Our approach to the negotiations process has always been that the main negotiations take place at the multilateral level, but that level is enriched and enhanced by bilateral negotiations." *(SASA) (I/A)*

Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said "real" negotiations had shifted to the bilateral level. "The negotiating council is only a talk-shop."

The Freedom Alliance, which requested

the bilateral meetings, meets government on Friday and the ANC on Monday, when substantive negotiations are to begin.

Before the meeting with the alliance, ANC president Nelson Mandela told SABC-TV he would not bow to demands for a separate white homeland. Talks with right-wingers would continue but calls for self-determination would be refused.

"One thing we can never accommodate is a demand for self-determination for a particular ethnic group." All population groups had to be free to settle in any region with full citizenship rights. — Sapa.

From Page 1

Warning that new govt could replace diplomats

'ANC will review envoys'

Star 21/10/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE 'unilateral' appointment of heads of mission raises concern, even in South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs

The ANC, unhappy about recent "unilateral" appointments of SA heads of mission to foreign posts, has warned that these envoys will all be subject to review — and possible changes — if it comes to power.

ANC international affairs administration head Yusuf Saloojee told The Star yesterday: "It is normal international practice that when a head of state changes in any country, the credentials of all heads of mission be-

come invalid. In our case it would be no different."

This would include all ambassadors around the world.

"It is possible the new government may want to retain some or all, but certainly it is

not automatic that they remain," Saloojee said.

There are more than 80 such posts in SA embassies and trade missions. Many of these were recent appointments as SA was welcomed back into previously hostile territory.

It is understood that the concern about recent appointments is shared in some quarters of the existing foreign service.

Some believe that the system applied in the US, where all ambassadors automatically tender their resignation when the government changes, should apply

in South Africa.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman noted that career diplomats represented whichever government was in power, but would not be drawn on the position of political appointments.

Saloojee said the ANC was "a little dismayed" that so many new ambassadors were being appointed unilaterally.

"The ANC is quite certain there will have to be a review and possible changes to the Department of Foreign Affairs as well as diplomatic representation abroad," he said.

ANC declares it will nationalise both cellular telephone networks

THE launch of SA's two new cellular phone networks is in the balance, with the ANC demanding nationalisation of both.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The ANC is adamant that telecommunications must be in the hands of the state, as is currently the position with Telkom."

Even if the present government rejected nationalised telecommunications, the ANC would "ensure that we nationalise telecommunications and insist on state ownership of at least 51% of both operators" when it came to power.

Ramaphosa gave two possible scenarios: a demand that Mobile Telephone Networks (MTN) hand over 51% of its shares to state ownership, or, because the state already owned 10% of MTN through Transtel, "we could instruct them to increase this shareholding to a majority stake".

He said there was no way the ANC would deviate from this position, and added that "good progress is being made between the various parties". The parties include the ANC, Cosatu, Potwa, MTN and Vodacom.

It is understood that Vodacom, which is 50% owned by Telkom, has lifted Telkom

B/Day 2/11/93
MELANIE SERGEANT
and BILLY PADDOCK

to majority shareholder status already.

One industry source doubted whether a future government would be able to afford to buy a majority shareholding in both networks. It was estimated that each network would cost about R1bn to set up.

In an interview this week, President F W de Klerk said government's decision on cellular telephones had been based purely on economic considerations. The country could not wait a further 18 months. (IA)

He said introducing cellular phones would make 30 000 new lines available immediately, bringing public telephones to people who did not have them.

Government's decisions on deregulating the telecommunications infrastructure, and on Telkom owning 50% of one licence, had been carefully evaluated on fundamental principles, he said.

Government sources said introducing cellular telephones did not constitute a restructuring of the telecommunications industry. It was rather a value-added service — much like faxes, answering machines

and PABXs — and would not replace the fixed line network.

Although the network operators and other parties involved in the discussions were sticking to an agreement not to make statements, it was understood that major concessions had been made already to appease the ANC alliance and iron out differences with those opposed to the licence.

For instance, it was believed that Vodacom could offer to extend its "roaming agreement" to allow MTN more time to share its network while the company was building its own.

Raids: ANC attacks DP (IIF)

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has said the Democratic Party has resorted to "apartheid" ideas in a desperate attempt to halt its declining fortunes.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC cited the DP's support for the SADF raid in Umtata as part of the party's support for the NP government.

The ANC said the DP claims to have never killed people, only apartheid, rang hollow given their support for military raids, past and present. — Sapa. *ARC 22/10/93*

There's no stopping us, Mandela tells alliance

Sowetan 22/10/93

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela last night said his organisation would resist any attempt to prevent the country's first non-racial elections on April 27 next year.

In an interview on CCV's *NewsLine* programme, Mandela said the polls "cannot be postponed".

He said the ANC would try to woo members of the Freedom Alliance who are boycotting constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park back into the process.

He, however, reiterated ANC's stance that it would press ahead with negotiations even if the alliance, which consists of Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and other conservatives, did not return to the talks.

"Our time-frame is in place. We have made enormous progress in the negotiation process. There is no spoiler who can slow down that process. We will do everything to bring all political parties back to the multiparty forum," he said.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told United Nations secretary general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Maputo on Wednesday that he would not return to the talks. (IA)

He also said his organisation would not honour decisions taken by the Transitional Executive Council.

Mandela said the alliance, which had begun bilateral talks with the Government and the ANC, was "afraid of democracy" and was trying to prevent "the freedom of the people". - Sapa.

NEWS FEATURE *Questions abound whether he would have supported Trade Centre talks*

PAC to honour fiery Zeph Mothopeng

Sowetan 22/10/93

(119)

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

PAN Africanist Congress supporters will mark the third anniversary of the death of Zephania Mothopeng tomorrow.

But the occasion this year brings into sharp focus the PAC as a major political force today and its role in the current transitional process.

Were he alive today, would the late fiery president of the PAC be supportive of the organisation's participation in the World Trade Centre negotiations?

Some within the PAC suggest that the current leadership has sold out on Mothopeng's — and even PAC founder Robert Sobukwe's — ideals by negotiating with the "enemy".

Mothopeng's successor

Perhaps it would be against this background that Mothopeng's successor and present PAC president Clarence Makwetu would speak at a memorial service in Soweto on Sunday.

However, the PAC as an organisation is very close to its members on the ground, its leaders say, and is at Kempton Park to defend the Africanists' position rather than endorse decisions taken there.

Since it joined the negotiations process eight months ago, the PAC has not endorsed a single agreement adopted either by sufficient or general consensus at the talks.

One truth

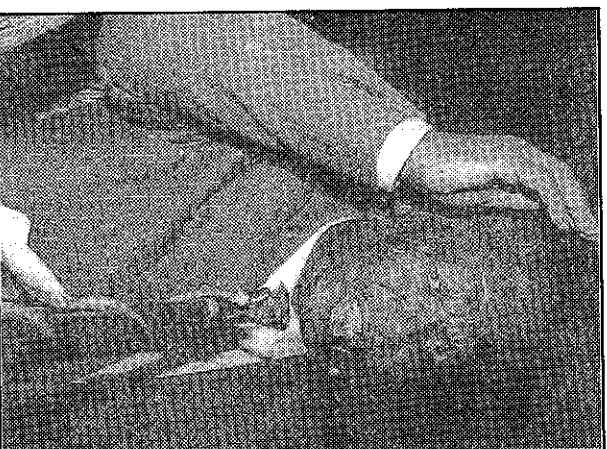
"This is one truth the media choose to ignore and we do not know why," Patricia de Lille, PAC team leader at Kempton Park, confided recently.

"The PAC is there to ensure that the African masses are not betrayed through secret deals," she said.

Indeed, the PAC was roasted in the Press for its public rejection of the Transitional Executive Council Bill which was approved by negotiators and set the stage for the lifting of sanctions.

■ CONTROVERSY RAGES Present leaders say

they have not reneged on Zeph's ideals:



Zephania Mothopeng

The PAC was accused of hypocrisy when it called the TEC a toothless body that would have only advisory powers while the National Party still ran the show.

"We are opposed to interim measures and that includes the transitional constitution and its provisions," De Lille said, "that's what we have been saying at the World Trade Centre."

Deliver liberation

In fact, it was PAC publicity director Waters Toboit who summed up the organisation's position: "It is obvious that the PAC has no allies at Kempton Park and that these talks will not deliver liberation."

The PAC is preparing for next April 27 elections but says it will take part only if they are for a Constituent Assembly. It also refuses to support the formation of a national peacekeeping force, ostensibly because South African security forces will be included.

Mothopeng's political career dates back to the 1940s when, as a student, he helped organise political debates for youth leaders.

He believed that the unity of the African people on the basis of African nationalism was the key to the overthrow of all foreign domination leading to what he described as the "opening of the road to a new society in which the broad masses of the people would gain control over all that belongs to them — the land and the wealth in the bowels of that land, as well as the means of producing that wealth."

Leadership argues

The present PAC leadership argues that it has not reneged on these beliefs and stresses that is precisely why it is at the World Trade Centre.

The PAC says it is a liberation movement and at war with the Government, hence its refusal to abandon armed struggle and disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

In 1985 while serving a 30-year sentence in jail, Mothopeng rejected PW Botha's offer of amnesty on condition he denounced violence and recommitted himself to the armed struggle. He believed in the oneness of humanity, regardless of colour, culture or creed and envisioned Africa's position in that oneness.

But today, the PAC is still battling to convince its detractors and especially white South Africans that it is not racist as the country enters a new era.

● The service at which Makwetu will speak begins at 1pm at the Holy Cross Anglican Church, Orlando East.

We are opposed to interim measures and that includes the transitional constitution and its provisions

Patricia De Lille

It is obvious that the PAC has no allies at Kempton Park and that these talks will never deliver liberation

Waters Toboit

Ramaphosa's remarks 'shortsighted'

NP slams ANC's threat on phones

Star 22/10/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's threat to nationalise cellular telephone networks was "shortsighted and dangerous", the NP charged yesterday.

The NP said Ramaphosa had undone the recent efforts of ANC leader Nelson Mandela to bolster investor confidence in South Africa.

This proved that the ANC could not be trusted with economic policy, the NP said.

"Mr Ramaphosa's remarks lifted the veil on the ANC's real intentions for everybody to see," the NP said.

Ramaphosa reportedly said

the country's two new cellular phone networks — Mobile Telephone Network (MTN) and Vodacom — would be nationalised when the ANC came to power.

According to a report, he said MTN should either hand over 51 percent of its shares to the State or, because the State already owned 10 percent of MTN through Trans-tel, it could be instructed "to increase this shareholding to a majority stake".

Ramaphosa reportedly said progress was being made in discussions with the various parties.

ANC information systems head Andile Ngcaba said yesterday the ANC wanted the State or parastatals to enter

into partnership with the public sector and have majority shares — at least 51 percent — in certain sectors of the economy. (117)

This was in line with the ANC's policy of a mixed economy and the need for affirmative action, he said.

Only 0,8 percent of SA's current 3,2 million telephone users were urban blacks. The situation was worse in rural areas.

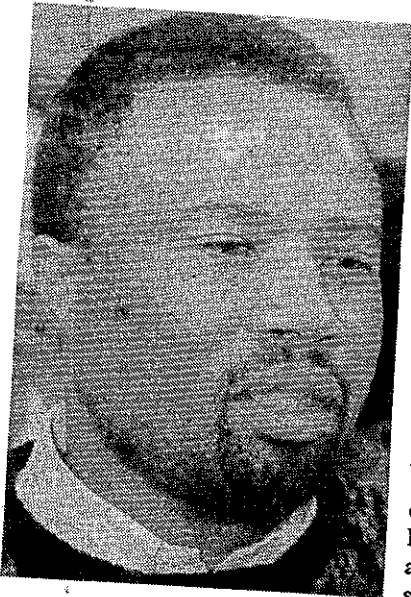
Ngcaba said telecommunication was an important national resource.

A Vodacom spokesman said his organisation, in which the State already held majority shares, would not be affected. MTN could not be reached for comment.

'Hang Waluz and Derby-Lewis — then abolish executions'

South 22/10 - 26/10/93

117



TONY YENGENI

By Rehana Rossouw

JANUSZ Waluz and Clive Derby-Lewis should hang — then the ANC should adopt a policy of abolishing executions, says ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

Yengeni's hard-line stance on the fate of the assassins of Mr Chris Hani created waves this week among ANC members who are firm on implementation of the organisation's humanitarian policy.

"The policy of abolishing executions enshrined in the ANC's Bill of Rights is humane and I agree with that policy," Yengeni said.

"But I feel so strongly about the assassination of Chris Hani that I

think his killers should be the last to hang in South Africa, and the policy could be implemented after that."

Yengeni said this was his personal view, and he was entitled to speak his mind publicly without being "shut up".

"I am open about such matters and I do not see why I should hide what I feel. Chris was very close to me and I believe his murderers should suffer."

He said his position was not out of step with ANC policy as the national executive committee had decided after the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged atrocities at ANC camps to establish a commission of truth.

"This will ensure that the nation knows the truth about what happened to our people — like those

discovered in mass graves in the Eastern Cape and people such as assassinated exile Jeanette Schoon," Yengeni said.

"The idea of a Nuremberg-type trial or truth commission is therefore not consistent with the position of the NEC.

"We need to know the truth before we can indemnify people. This will go a long way in strengthening national reconciliation and peace, rather than promoting tension and conflict."

Yengeni said the death of Hani affected him deeply as the former MK commander was a "man of peace" who led the ANC into suspending the armed struggle.

"Despite the fact that some of us never really understood or supported the decision to lay down our arms, we did so because we

loved and respected Chris," Yengeni said.

"Waluz and Derby-Lewis had no reason whatsoever to kill him in cold blood."

Yengeni said he did not believe his response to the sentence would incite people to violence. He was not calling for tyres to be put around the killers' necks, but a judicial form of justice.

Gaye Derby-Lewis was "gallivanting around the country" even though everyone knew she was the "mastermind" behind Hani's murder, Yengeni said.

"When Winnie Mandela wasn't sent to prison, there was this huge outcry in the mainstream media, which is now silent on Gaye Derby-Lewis.

"These double standards don't impress."

'ANC must come down to grassroots level'

SOUTH reader Dr Des Roberts responds to CROSSTALK last week:

South 22110 - 26/10/93

THE POINTS raised by the two writers last week, Rehana Rossouw and Mpumie Gaba, in their comments on the ANC, Labour Party pact, highlights a few important issues that need urgent attention.

Gaba's mention of "ordinary" coloured voters is not fully understood. I am against the classification of people, especially in such terms.

The other matter I feel strongly about is creating an impression that coloured people view the ANC as a "kaffir" organisation. I operate with many coloured people on a daily basis and cannot remember when last I heard the word "kaffir".

On the other hand, if a perception like that is held by coloureds, it is important for the ANC to do everything in their power to allay such an impression.

We need to be educated with regard to the fact that Africans are in the majority in South Africa.

(11A)
I hear some coloured people mention the untested fact that Mandela just wants to take everything. People have these perceptions because they do not have an opportunity to hear the truth.

Let us have community meetings where coloured people can talk about the non-racial basis of the ANC since it inception, but leave out the toyi-toyi since many coloured people must still get used to what seems like chaos at times.

With regard to the pact idea, I unfortunately do not share the view of Gaba.

We simply have to look at the education system under the Labour Party and people will tell you Labour is not to be trusted.

We have experienced no fundamental changes with them in the tricameral system.

They only made sure they looked after themselves and those who were prepared to work with them.

I understand Dr Allan Boesak's feelings since he has lived much closer to their villification. If Labour can be forgiven, then would people be encouraged to forgive the National Party?

The MPs now with the National Party are using the same tactics with housing and food parcels that they used as Labour MPs.

The ANC must come down to grassroots level and be more visible instead of just operating at national and international levels.

Bring your policies to the community centres where people can listen attentively and ask their questions without fear. Mass rallies are not appropriate for this task right now.

You do not need the Labour Party to win an election. A pact with them will drive many voters away.

ANC's new rising star home for election campaign trail

EMERGING as one of the brightest stars in the African National Congress is the movement's economics head Trevor Manuel.

Just how bright was illustrated in New York recently when he was at ANC president Nelson Mandela's side when the ANC leader called on the United Nations to lift sanctions against South Africa.

He was also in close attendance when Mr. Mandela spoke to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

During his recent Western Cape tour, Mr. Mandela was at pains to point out how people of colour such as Mr. Manuel, his UDF peers Allan Boesak and Cheryl Carolus were holding down key positions in the movement.

Two factors — the ANC's desire to secure a large slice of the coloured vote in the Western Cape and Mr. Mandela's assurances that this group has nothing to fear from the ANC — mean Mr. Manuel's star will continue to brighten.

Said to be the ANC's shadow Finance Minister, duties have kept Mr. Manuel in Johannesburg. But he was back in Cape Town this week as the ANC continued its campaign to draw in coloureds and using Western Cape politicians, such as Mr. Manuel, who have become synonymous with the struggle for liberation.

Articulate and suave, he cuts a much

■ There is nothing like an election to bring high flying politicians closer to ordinary folks. This was sharply illustrated when ANC economic planning head Trevor Manuel hit the campaign trail in the Western Cape. Weekend Argus Political Staff Reporter **DENNIS CRUYWAGEN** reports.

more commanding figure on a public platform than he did a few years ago.

His regular exposure to and conversations with bankers, political leaders and trade unionists must have had something to do with his development.

But he is still as honest and forthright as ever.

His Cape Town visit started on an unexpected note when he spoke at an ANC meeting in Lansdowne on Wednesday in place of his ANC national executive committee colleague Ms. Carolus.

Noting that he knew most of the people at the meeting, he said "it's a good feeling to be home".

In his head-on style, he added many people had spoken to him about their fears about the application of affirmative action.

He, too, had seen job advertisements,



Trevor Manuel

placed by recruitment agencies, looking for Xhosa-speakers.

Affirmative action had to be applied to all disadvantaged communities.

Warning recruitment agencies, he said their cynical attitude in diluting the gains of the struggle could lead to tension because coloureds living in Athlone could start stoning blacks because they had taken their jobs.

It was a message which went down well not only in Lansdowne.

So, too, did his reply in response to a

question about the ANC's decision to admit Labour Party MPs as members.

"It's more than a bitter pill to swallow. I'm not sure if I've swallowed it. The reality is that people change."

He was up early on Thursday for a low-key swing through Atlantis which started with a visit to Grapnel factory.

Then he was off to Witsand squatter camp where against a backdrop of Eucalyptus trees and half-completed shacks he spoke to about 50 squatters, most of them women with babies on their arms, and a few dogs.

"An ANC-led government would tackle the housing shortage and electrify houses," he said.

He addressed residents in Eagle's Nest, a block of flats in the poorer part of a poverty-stricken community hit by unemployment, and made the day for Mrs Margaret Oewies.

Confined to a wheelchair as her leg had been amputated because of gangrene, he posed for photograph with her.

He told Atlantis businessmen who had paid R200 each to listen to him that he had no quick-fix solution to the area's financial problems.

He was generous to Finance Minister Derek Keys, saying that unlike his predecessors he attempted to work with other organisations.

Afterwards, it was time to meet activists before he had to get back to his post — in Johannesburg.

ANC will not hang up on industry

Star 23/10/93

JOE LOUW



NO SOONER had the Government and ANC resolved the controversy surrounding the country's fledgling cellular phone industry in a "satisfactory" manner yesterday, than the prickly issue of the ANC's "nationalisation policy" reared its head again. At a hastily called press conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa

was at pains to correct "the impression that the ANC wants to nationalise the telecommunications industry and the cellular phone industry".

An earlier report said the ANC had "backed down on its plans to nationalise the cellular phone industry" in exchange for an agreement from the two private sector enterprises involved, and the Government, to incorporate shareholding by black business.

Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted a moratorium in order to look into the structure of the two consortia involved, before entering negotiations to bring it in line with norms found elsewhere in the world.

Excluded

It wanted to ensure the agreement entered into did not harm, stagnate or make the country's mixed economy less competitive.

He said the ANC emerged from the negotiations with the Government pleased with the agreement because it reflected "an economic mosaic of public and private sector mix that included an opportunity for black business, which had up to now been excluded from participation in such deals".

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 23/10/93

Phones

● FROM PAGE 1.

Part of the ANC's concern was that the public sector should not be weakened by private and foreign investor participation in the new multibillion-rand industry, he said. The moratorium on licensing cellular phones was lifted yesterday when a number of concessions were made by both the ANC and Government. Among the most important were that:

- The licences issued to Vodacom and MTN would be recognised by the ANC, COSATU and the Post and Telecommunication Workers' Association.
- Vodacom's shareholding structure would change to accommodate a 5 percent

shareholding by black business, while shareholding by Telkom would remain unchanged. It would be decided at Vodacom's board meeting next month how Rembrandt's 15 percent shareholding and Vodafone's 35 percent shareholding would be restructured. (IFA)

- At least 50 percent of Vodacom's service providers should be represented by black business. (IFA)
- Vodacom's own captive service provider would have a substantial portion of its equity in the hands of black business.
- Vodacom agreed the proposed Joint Economic Development Programme should be implemented in consultation with all parties. This programme includes counter-trade, job creation, local manufacturing, and exports.

'ANC does not want referendum'

A REFERENDUM is not a "viable option" because its disadvantages outweigh the advantages, says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The decision was taken this week at a meeting of the organisation's national working committee. In an interview with Saturday Star, Ramaphosa said: "In the first place a referendum will only delay the elections and will not solve the problems of the right wing, because they will continue mobilising and resisting."

"We see it (the referendum) as something that will devalue the vote our people have struggled for."

Ramaphosa said President F W de Klerk had proposed the referendum to gain the moral high ground over the right wing.

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

"Our struggle is not about gaining the moral high ground. It is about democracy, installing a new government and electing a constituent assembly."

A further disadvantage would be that the ANC and National Party would contest the referendum on the same side.

See Page 8.



"This will confuse our people because we are the alternative to the National Party," he said.

Ramaphosa said the ANC's resources were being pumped into its election campaign, and a ref-

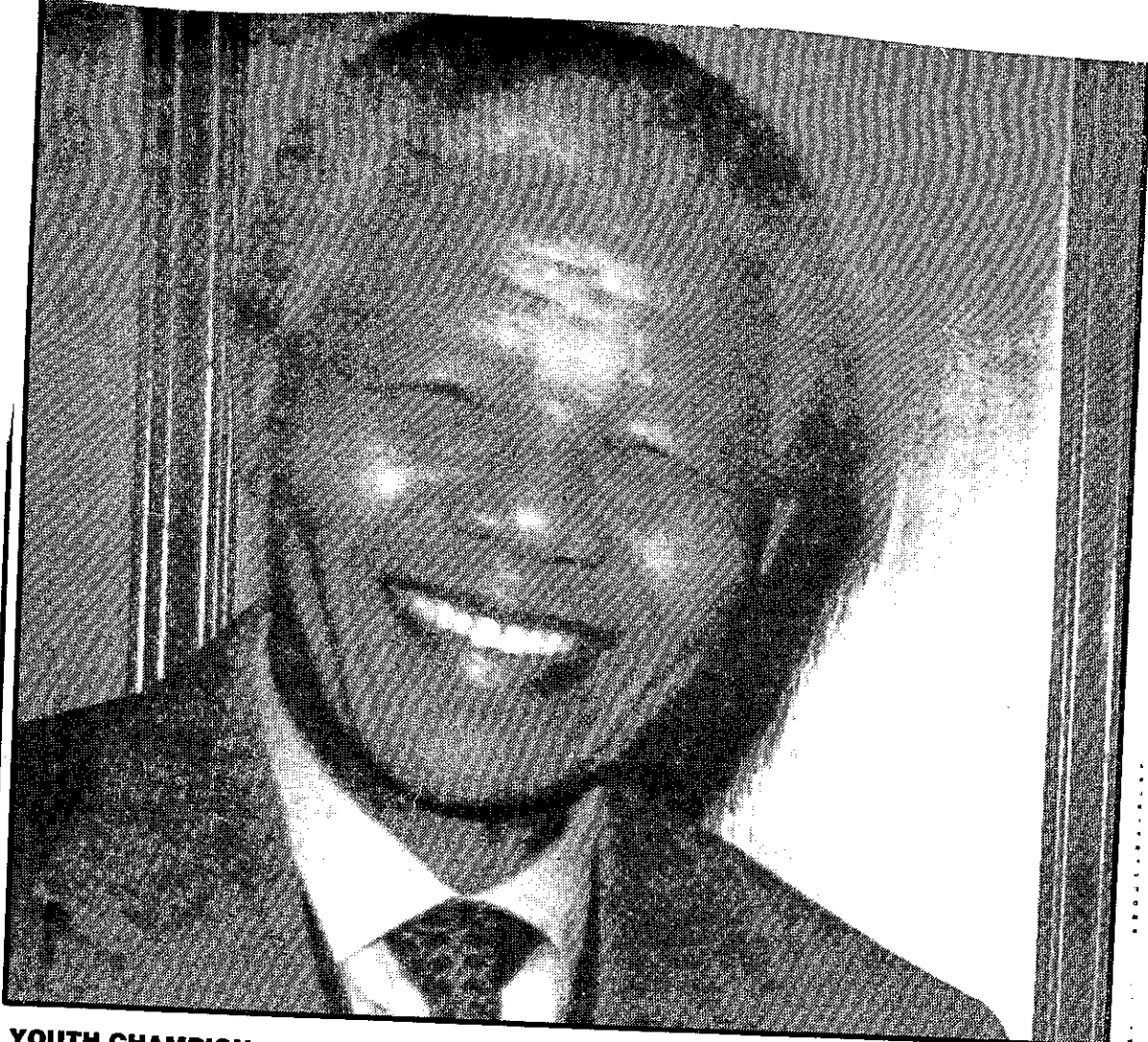
erendum would place an extra burden on these resources.

Addressing the Foreign Correspondents Association in Pretoria yesterday, De Klerk said he had not yet taken a "definite decision" on a referendum.

"A negotiated settlement remains the first prize. A referendum has many disadvantages under present circumstances. If it can be avoided, it should. I am open to any other meaningful suggestions in the face of the negotiating deadlock," he said.

De Klerk added that the deadlock could not continue.

"There is no question of turning back either. Similarly, we dare not allow any party, no matter who it is, to hijack or sink the negotiations," he said.



YOUTH CHAMPION . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela spoke out in the UK.

Mandela raises plight of SA's black youth

CIPres 24/10/93

SOUTH Africa will become an economic wasteland unless there is more foreign investment.

That is the warning offered by ANC president Nelson Mandela during his world tour to bolster trade and investment in SA.

Speaking at Birmingham, 160km north of London, he said: "We want our economy to grow, to generate wealth, to offer job opportunities.

"If we don't get investment, our country will turn into a wasteland."

Mandela said SA's black majority still suffered under conditions weighted in favour of the white minority.

"The government subsidises white children five or six times more than black children. Black children can't find schools to go into and they can't find the jobs when they leave school," he said.

"Big business in South Africa is owned and controlled by whites. Blacks are confined to small businesses and as long as you have this wide gap in opportunities it's going to be difficult to have a market-driven economy. We are asking businessmen to have a partnership with blacks."

Mandela also said that 86 percent of all stocks in

SA are owned by five conglomerates.

"This is an unbalanced and unfair distribution of resources and the only way we can address this imbalance is through state ownership," he said.

Later in London, Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker offered Mandela help with educating black youths.

"Many youngsters between the ages of 12 to 16 have no schooling, and because there is no schooling and no jobs they get into trouble and end up in prison," Chalker told reporters after a 90-minute meeting with the ANC leader.

"I have agreed with Mandela to look into what might be done to give them education and training, as well as help those already in jail," Chalker said.

Mandela said one estimate from community and social workers put the number of black youths in jail at 20 000.

Chalker said that in 1992 direct British aid to SA was worth R50-million, with another R50-million channeled to SA through the European Community.

One British project involved providing public administration courses to black groups in advance of multi-racial elections scheduled for April. - Sapa

ANC 'no' scupper referendum plan

SI Times 24/10/93

(11A)

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PRESIDENT de Klerk will be forced to drop his proposal for holding a referendum after the ANC vetoed it this week.

Mr de Klerk announced last week that should the Freedom Alliance refuse to endorse the constitution, due to be made final in a matter of weeks, a non-racial referendum would be held to "legitimise" the process.

But during an extended meeting of the ANC's national working committee on Thursday a unanimous decision was taken to veto Mr de Klerk's proposal.

Without its support Mr de Klerk will now have no alternative but to back off the proposal and suffer another humiliating climbdown, just as his government has had to do over the petrol-price issue.

The ANC decision was contrary to the impression given by its secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to government negotiators before Mr de Klerk made the announcement. Mr Ramaphosa said then that, while there would be opposition in his organisation, he favoured this route.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said yesterday that it was now up to the ANC to

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

produce a better alternative. A solution to legitimise the process would have to be made before the plenary meeting of leaders to ratify the constitution, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said this week that the decision by the NWC was final.

He said a referendum would not deal effectively with the Freedom Alliance, which would not participate in the referendum or endorse the result.

A referendum would also see the ANC and the government campaigning jointly for a "yes" vote. It would confuse ANC supporters and help to legitimise the NP, which would be the ANC's main opponent in the election, he said.

Sources said that the NWC meeting raised the problems of the funding of the referendum. Most political parties were concentrating their funds and energies into fighting an election, and this would deplete their resources.

The second main objection to the referendum discussed by the NWC was the problem of campaigning with the NP just before an election.

In a telephone conversation with ANC leader Nelson Mandela last week, Mr de Klerk was unable to provide satisfactory answers on the funding, the non-participation of the Freedom Alliance and how the referendum would be conducted freely.

The ANC is taking a hard line on proceeding with the process without the Freedom Alliance should it be necessary. Its attitude has been that it was up to Mr de Klerk, who holds the purse-strings for a number of the intransigent Freedom Alliance members, to take action to pull them into line.

Meanwhile, in bilateral meetings, negotiators are making attempts to accommodate the Freedom Alliance objections to the constitution.

Government and ANC negotiators have made considerable progress in agreeing to extend and entrench the powers and functions of the regions in the hope of getting Inkatha to endorse the constitution.

They are expected to come to an agreement on the composition and functioning of the government of national unity and deadlock-breaking mechanisms this week.

Progress has also been made in talks on local government.

Battle gets worse

C/Press

24/10/93

Transition blues hit the ANC Women's League

By ZANELE VUTELA

LOOMING court battles, threats of intimidation and outright abusive statements seem set to transform the ANC Women's League feud into a nightmare.

In the latest and bloodiest skirmish Winnie Mandela has threatened to sue secretary-general Baleka Kgositsile over an ANCWL statement titled "Transition blues" which bore Kgositsile's name.

The statement challenged the ANC leadership to "grapple decisively" with the issue of the September occupation of ANC's Shell House by about 200 "concerned women", saying that the real issue was not "about suspension or reinstatement of an individual or individuals". (11A) (S)

"The issue is whether any person - regardless of name, position, status or charisma - has a right to hold an organisation or a people to ransom," it continued.

Although the statement denied there is a power struggle within the ANCWL "or that some individuals were jealous of Winnie", it went on to say that "the Women's League argued that we couldn't hide behind the flimsy defence that everything in the newspapers was a vilification of her".

"We were not fooling our people," it said. "Further, our own members had kept quiet about some of their own experiences and grievances or those of relatives because the person concerned was close to our leader whom we love and respect."

The statement urged the ANC leadership to investigate Winnie's alleged criminal conduct.

This brought about a prompt response from Mandela's lawyers to Kgositsile that action would be taken for any damages to Mandela's good name, fame and reputation if needs be.

Further reaction came from the leader of the "concerned women", Nompumelelo Madlala, who said Kgositsile "and a clique of once Lusaka-based, non-mandated women have wreaked havoc in the struggle since they returned to scramble for positions inside the country".

The ANCWL responded collectively to Madlala's statement. They told City Press that they were tired of this battle because they had so much more to do.

However, they laid the blame for the continuing saga on the shoulders of the ANC leadership. They said the fact the leadership accepts delegations from "concerned women" in the absence of the ANCWL leadership shows that "the leadership acknowledges that it is their baby".

Mandela: ANC won't let Buthelezi secede

S/Times 24/10/93

(107) (11A)

NELSON MANDELA says the ANC would not allow Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to secede the Natal/Kwazulu region as this was a decision to be taken by the majority of South Africans.

Addressing a news conference at the ANC Midlands' annual general conference in Edendale, Maritzburg, yesterday, Mr Mandela said: "It's not an individual who decides on secession. It's the people of South Africa."

Mr Mandela was responding to questions following recent statements by Mr Buthelezi hinting at the possible secession of the Natal/Kwazulu region should current negotiations and elections lead to a unitary state.

On the sensitive issue of meeting Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini, Mr Mandela said he wanted to "see my king ... to pay my respects as this is one way of normalising the political situation".

Numerous attempts to do so had failed and "I can't force him".

The ANC president said he'd met "practically every king in the world" but would have preferred to meet King Zwelithini.

The king would also not attend today's *Sonke* (all of us) festival in Durban, Mr Mandela confirmed.

Mr Mandela said the festival was aimed at fostering unity and peace and had drawn traditional leaders from throughout

southern Africa.

Earlier, while addressing the Midlands conference, Mr Mandela was critical of the region for electing Harry Gwala as its chairman last year. Mr Gwala is an elected ANC National Executive Committee member and, in terms of the ANC's constitution, may not hold a regional executive position.

Speaking to delegates during a closed session, Mr Mandela said the Midlands region was not in pace with the rest of the organisation and had to reconsider electing Mr Gwala to the same position this year.

But, a few hours later, Mr Gwala was re-elected chairman — a move which may mean he will have to resign as an NEC member.

Mr Gwala said he would rather resign as an NEC member than give up his regional chairmanship.

He said his priorities lay with the "grassroots" sector of the movement, particularly in Natal, where a war was raging and he could best serve his constituency.

It was not clear last night whether Mr Gwala would resign from the top 50-member ANC leadership structure.

ANC officials explained that, as a regional chairman, Mr Gwala would be appointed to the NEC as an ex-officio member anyway.

Mr Gwala's newly elected deputy is Midlands traditional leader Chief Zibuse Mlaba, while Sifiso Nkabinde retained his position as secretary. — *Sapa*

'One Mandela! One President!'

In a massive show of strength at King's Park, Durban, the African National Congress in Natal cocked a snook at the Inkatha Freedom Party's claims that all Zulus in the region were opposed to next year's all-race elections. Argus Correspondents VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU, IDO LEKOTA, SUSAN MILLER and LINDIWE NGAKANE report on the Sonke festival.

A CAPACITY crowd packed the King's Park Stadium for what was widely regarded as the African National Congress's launch of its election campaign in the Southern Natal region.

Culture was the order of the day as hundreds of performers treated ANC supporters to a feast of dance and song.

At a glance, yesterday's festival could easily have been mistaken for an IFP gathering — ANC leaders were dressed in traditional skins and most of the entertainment on offer was traditional Zulu dance (Indlamu) by Amabutho.

In spite of earlier denials by the ANC leadership that the festival was not a gathering of Zulus, the event was a clear show of their support in a region which the IFP continues to claim as its own.

In his address ANC president Nelson Mandela said as much.

... it's the ANC that calls the shots in this province," he said.

A cheering, almost hysterical, crowd repeatedly acknowledged him as the president of the country come April 27 next year. "One Mandela! One President!" they roared.

About 40 Sangomas (diviners) led the procession of dignitaries, including the ANC leadership and royal families around Southern Africa, onto the stadium and opened the ceremony by calling upon ancestors to bless the festivities and Mr Mandela.

A number of ANC leaders, including ANC secretary-general Mkhelisi Ndlovu had attended a R500-a-day birthday dinner for Mr Mandela the previous evening, did not attend the festival.

At least 800 people attended the dinner, many of them dressed in traditional African and Indian wear.

Mr Mandela, speaking at the dinner, urged those political parties and organisations who were refusing to join the negotiations process to "sit down and talk".

He said counter-revolutionary groups were stockpiling weapons and preparing for war. Mr Mandela warned that civil war would result in the death of innocent men, women, children and the aged. "Let's talk peace."

The ANC president also



GREETINGS: Nelson Mandela reaches out to supporters at the stadium.

discussed the organisation's commitment to making South Africa the most powerful country in Africa.

He said the ANC had shifted away from its ideological position on nationalisation in the best interests of the country because it wanted to attract foreign investment.

Mr Mandela assured Indians, coloured people and Africans that their needs would be addressed, but said whites would not be ignored in building the new South Africa.

Mr Mandela's speech was largely conciliatory and he urged the need for unity.

In keeping with the festival's "all people" — meaning "all people" — leaders of various religious groups led the crowd in prayer.

Then the crowd was treated to Indian classical dancing and music, iscatlamiva, indlamu, western folk music and jazz.

The crowd also paid tribute to their past heroes and heroines, including King Solomon Dintzulu, Chief Albert Lutuli, Mahatma Gandhi, Rick Turner, Yusuf Dadoo, Lillian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph.

There was a noticeable police presence near the stadium with uniformed policemen lining most of Umgeni roads, while a twin-engine aeroplane and a helicopter flew overhead.

Durban police and ANC marshals worked together controlling traffic to the stadium.

The organiser of the festival was playwright and choreographer Welcome Msomi, who made a very public return home at the festival af-

ter 14 years in exile.

Mr Msomi, who was born in Umlazi more than 40 years ago, was commissioned more than four months ago to organise the event after discussions on the idea of a cultural festival in war-ravaged Natal.

Ancestral blessings, magic potions for the man in the dark suit

DR Livingstone would have understood the predicament of the elderly gentleman in the dark suit and the struggling politely to convey the impression that he was master of his environment.

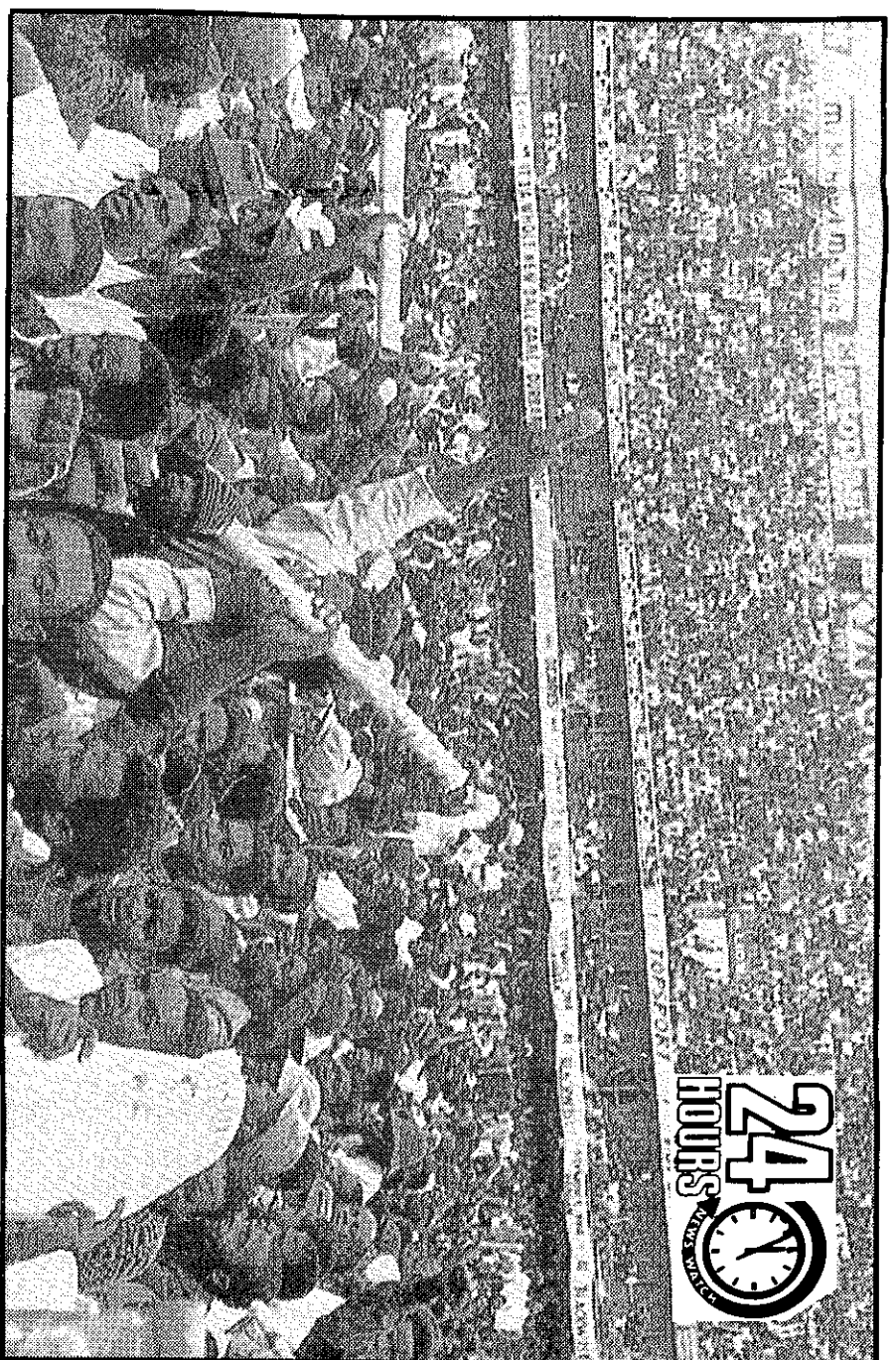
At the gentleman's feet squatted two witchdoctors in leopard-skin head-dresses and ox-hide skirts mixing a potion with pestle and mortar, mumbling magic words. Around them, in a riot of tribal colour, 30 barefoot women, heads bowed, on their knees. Drum-beats and incense filled the air.

The gentleman was Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress. The ceremony was the kushisha imphepho, its purpose, as a local onlooker explained, to call down the ancestors' blessings on Mr Mandela and to cast away evil spirits.

The occasion, an ecumenical triumph, was a cultural festival held at the King's Park rugby stadium in Durban before a crowd of 60 000, most of whom wore T-shirts with ANC or Coca-Cola slogans. The motive was pointedly political.

Mr Mandela came to Durban, Zulu country, to prove a point. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, claims the allegiance of what he calls "the Zulu nation". On their behalf, he warned only last week that if the ANC achieved its goal of ruling over a unitary South African state he would secede.

Yesterday's exercise was to dramatise Mr Mandela's belief, reinforced by opinion polls, that the ANC, not Inkatha, commands majority support among Zulus. Better attended than a rally Chief Buthelezi held at the same venue in June with his nephew the Zulu King (who was invited yesterday but neglected to attend), it was the biggest rafterin' of Zulus since March 1990, when



JUBILATION: Part of the enthusiastic crowd of 60 000 who joined in the ANC festival at King's Park.

JOHN CARLIN of The Independent reports from Durban.

120 000 celebrated Mr Mandela's release from prison.

Mr Mandela set out for the stadium at noon from a beachfront Durban hotel. Scores of people — German tourists in bright orange shorts, white couples with children in arms, black youths who sell trinkets — had been waiting two hours for a glimpse of this year's Nobel peace prize winner. He might have been Michael Jackson, such was the hysteria when he appeared.

The roar that received him when he walked in through the players' tunnel into the stadium, led in by a praise-singer evoked for the reporters assembled in the centre circle a sense of what it might be like to score the winning goal in a World Cup final.

No sooner had the brief witchdoctors' ceremony been completed than he left again, making way for 90 minutes of prayers, singing and dancing. A guru, an imam and a Christian minister

initiated the festival proceedings. They were followed by an Indian band ("Nelson Mandela-a-a-a... they quivered), a Zulu choir, a high-energy African dance troupe, Indian dancers — girls in exotic Eastern costumes — and then more choirs and more tribal dancers.

Ramming home the anti-separatist message, the MC — like other ANC officials on the day, decked out in leopard-skins — struck up a new chant between each number: "Many cultures! One people! Many cultures! One people!"

When Nelson Mandela returned, to another almighty roar, he strode straight to the podium to speak.

"We cannot separate our people without destroying the tapestry itself. Black and white and coloured and Indian are all part of the weave... It is impossible to separate the threads that make the weave of our common South African nation... What we've come here to do is celebrate the diversity and unity of our people."

Mandela: Let's talk peace

25/10/93 (11A)
DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warned on Saturday that there were groups in South Africa stockpiling weapons and preparing for civil war.

Addressing about 800 mostly business people at his 75th birthday celebration at the Expo Centre here, he said counter-revolutionary groups were stockpiling weapons in preparation for civil war.

His message to these groups was: "Violence is not in your in-

terest. Let's sit down and talk". Mr Mandela said the civil war option would lead to the death of innocent women and children and the only way to avoid this was through negotiations.

"Let's talk peace," he urged. South Africa had the potential to become the most powerful country on the African continent but required confidence to "turn this country into a dream world".

While most of the rest of Africa had experienced dictatorships,

South Africa was preparing for a multi-party state which promised a bright and prosperous future.

He reassured the "privileged" that the ANC would respect the right to private property and that his organisation had moved away from its stringent nationalisation policy.

Saying the ANC was aware of white fears, he said: "We have no intention of putting you on the sideline in building the new South Africa." — Sapa-AFP

ANC's referendum decision spells more problems with government

THE ANC's formal rejection of a referendum as a means of legitimising a proposed constitution is going to cause more problems between government and the ANC in the run-up to the election on April 27.

The ANC's national working committee decided on Thursday to change its position from an earlier statement supporting President F W de Klerk's referendum idea. The decision follows discussions between ANC president Nelson Mandela and De Klerk. According to ANC sources, the President could not give "satisfactory answers" to questions posed by Mandela.

Although it has now rejected a referendum, the ANC does not have an alternative proposal for settling the dispute between the main negotiating forum and the Freedom Alliance, particularly Inkatha. A senior government source said yesterday De Klerk believed there had to be consensus on any decision on a referendum. If the ANC refused to go this route, he would not go ahead with it.

"Anyway, the President does not particularly want a referendum and sees it merely as the last resort to break an impasse. He is still hoping that an inclusive

settlement will be reached through negotiations in the next three weeks." The ANC is concerned that a referendum will "blur the differences between De Klerk and the NP on one hand and the ANC on the other", an ANC source said. He was echoing secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's views.

He said there was no guarantee the right wing and Inkatha would accept the referendum result. The referendum would deplete resources aimed at the election. de-

BILLY PADDOCK

lay the election date and could devalue the vote in the eyes of ANC supporters, who wanted to vote for a new government. The government source said the ANC now had to come up with an alternative approach in dealing with the problem of a negotiated constitution.

It is understood the bilateral talks between the Freedom Alliance and government and the ANC are not making much progress. Government and ANC negotiators, therefore, will have to work out mechanisms to try and deal with a settle-

ment that is not inclusive. One proposal is that government and the ANC accede to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's demand for a summit of leaders outside the formal negotiating process to try and break the deadlock.

The negotiators meet again on Wednesday. This gives government and the ANC time to try and resolve some of their differences on powersharing, the deadlock-breaking mechanism should the body not get the required majority support for a constitution. Problems in the draft electoral Bill and a Bill of Rights.

Star 25/10/93

ANC claims vast PWV support

THE ANC's door-to-door campaign in the PWV region has so far indicated that it enjoyed the support of more than 75 percent of the people contacted, according to Amos Masondo, member of the ANC's PWV regional executive committee (REC) and head of its election commission. (11A)

Addressing a press briefing at the ANC's PWV regional congress which began yesterday, Masondo said about 750 ANC volunteers had visited more than 5 000 houses in townships in the region in recent months to canvass support for the ANC in next year's election.

Of the close to 20 000 potential voters approached, an overwhelming 15 000 had given a firm indication they would vote for the ANC. According to Masondo, close to 2 000 people of voting-age were undecided and only 67 were decidedly anti-ANC.

Houses visited in the region were in

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

Soshanguve outside Pretoria, Katlehong on the East Rand, and in some parts of Soweto. "We aim to reach almost all the houses in the region by December 10," Masondo said.

He conceded, however, that the organisation's support in the coloured and Indian communities was significantly lower than in the black community, but said the majority of people in the two communities supported neither the National Party nor the Democratic Party. Instead, he said, they were undecided.

PWV REC member Dave Dalling said a similar campaign in Randburg had revealed — to the ANC's surprise — that the organisation enjoyed the support of between 10 and 15 percent of residents there.

ANC 'calls the shots'

CT 25/10/92 11A 71B

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC was the organisation that "calls the shots" in KwaZulu/Natal, Mr Nelson Mandela told more than 60 000 people in a buoyant pre-election mood at a packed King's Park Stadium yesterday.

The ANC president was speaking at the organisation's Sonke (all of us) cultural festival.

The event was marred by intimidation and attacks on festival-goers on their way to the stadium, and trains ferrying ANC supporters to the stadium were fired upon by unknown gunmen.

A tense confrontation also developed when a group of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members arrived at a roadblock on the N2 south of Durban near Winkelspruit.

Election fervour was evident at the festival which the ANC has openly admitted was aimed at disproving the claim of KwaZulu homeland and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the majority of people in the region wanted it to draw up its own constitution in an entrenched federal arrangement.

The event was part of an ongoing contest between the ANC and Inkatha over who commands the greater support among the country's seven million Zulus.

"It's the ANC that calls the shots in this province," Mr Mandela told the crowd.

The traditional leaders of six African groups effectively endorsed the ANC's move towards the April 27 election for a constituent assembly by appearing on the stage with Mr Mandela.



WARRIOR GUARD . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela talks with a Zulu supporter, Mr Jacob Zuma, right, before addressing tens of thousands of ANC supporters at a stadium in Durban yesterday.

Picture: AP

Earlier in the day, five busloads of ANC supporters blocked the N2 south freeway near Winkelspruit for almost an hour after police stopped a bus to search for firearms, according to police spokesman Colonel Coert Marais.

A man was arrested after he allegedly tried to wrestle with a policeman for his firearm yesterday.

Several illegal firearms were confiscated near Isipingo from followers on the way to the march, including a .38 pistol and a homemade gun.

Col Marais denied a statement by Mr Mandela, who told the crowd that police had turned back 15 buses heading for the event.

● Mandela: Let's talk peace — Page 2

Govt, ANC hold bosberaad

Star 25/10/73

The Government and the African National Congress begin a three-day bosberaad today to address sharp differences — mainly concerning power-sharing — which threaten to stump the negotiations process if not urgently addressed. (11A) (S) (M)

A Constitutional Affairs Department source yesterday confirmed the three-day bilateral meeting.

However, he remained tight-lipped about the details of the issues to be brainstormed.

It is understood, however, that

the talks will focus on the extent of power to be afforded to the National Party in the future government of national unity.

The Government is believed to be putting its foot down in respect of its original proposals in this regard: namely, that substantial powers be granted to the Vice-State President and, in the multiparty Cabinet, to the party which comes second in the election.

The Negotiating Council is due to meet again on Wednesday after the bosberaad. — Staff Reporter



Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress (centre) talks with Jacob Zuma (left), a ranking Zulu in the ANC, and Jeff Radebe, southern Natal chairman of the organisation, before addressing about 80000 supporters at Kings Park Stadium yesterday. PIC: ASSOCIATED PRESS

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We call shots in Natal - Mandela

WE CALL the shots in Natal," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told thousands of people at a rally at Durban's King's Park stadium yesterday.

The rally was specifically called to lay to rest claims that the entire Zulu nation supported Inkatha and that the ANC had no traditional support in the province.

"Your presence here shows that the first black government in this country will be an African National Congress government," the ANC president told the crowd in Zulu at the "Sonke" (all of us) festival.

The rally's theme was "different cultures, one people" and attracted several kings and traditional leaders from throughout southern Africa.

The most noticeable exception was Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini, who declined an invitation, according to the ANC.

In his address, Mandela said the contribution of leaders in Natal was inextricably woven into the history of the ANC.

Flanked by senior ANC members in traditional Zulu garb, Mandela stressed the need for unity and dwelt on the role of successive Zulu kings and

other traditional leaders in South Africa's liberation struggle.

Foremost among these were King Dinizulu, who held the title of the first honorary vice-president of the ANC, and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Chief Albert Luthuli, who Mandela said had commanded him to establish Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1961.

"Some people say MK was only formed after the death of Chief Luthuli to kill the people in this province. Nothing could be further from the truth."

Although this was in clear reference to allegations from the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mandela avoided any direct reference to the IFP.

Instead he touched on issues currently dividing the Zulu nation and made strong calls for unity by outlining its contribution to the liberation struggle.

"The process of unifying our people can't be undone by anyone who seeks to withdraw any sector of our community out of this common mode. None of us should be prepared to elevate our love for our community above our loyalty or love for our South African nation," he said. — Sapa.

Sowetan 25/10/93

ANC stands firm on April poll

Star 30/10/93

JOHN PERLMAN and CHRIS WHITFIELD

THE African National Congress is determined to go ahead with the April 27 election — without the Freedom Alliance if necessary and even without the National Party — and warned of violence erupting if the poll was delayed.

This was the blunt message delivered last night by president Nelson Mandela.

Addressing the annual conference of the ANC's PWV region in Johannesburg, Mandela said: "The election on the April 27 will take place with or without all these political parties. And we must warn the National Party itself that this election is going to take place with or without them."

His remarks came shortly after it was announced yesterday that Government and ANC negotiators had made further progress towards resolving some of the key differences holding up peace talks, and after talks between the Freedom Alliance (FA) and the Government — designed to bring the FA back into negotiations — broke down.

Mandela said many people were saying "that if you don't address the demands of the so-called Freedom Alliance there will be violence". He said the ANC accepted that there will be violence "from the right wing and their black surrogates, but that will be a picnic compared to the violence that will erupt if the election on April 27 is postponed".

In an unexpectedly sombre speech, Mandela warned against complacency in the ANC, which he said could "become a fatal delusion". He said that opinion polls took it "for granted" that "the ANC would probably emerge with an outright majority".

"How many times have we heard that a particular political

● See "Transition Talk", Page 2, and report on Page 5

party before an election will sweep to victory, and when the crunch comes that party not only loses the election but is disgraced," Mandela said.

Victory, he said, "is not going to come simply because of predictions, however experienced those researchers are. We have to do hard work".

Mandela made repeated calls to business to "support the democratic process" and stressed that the ANC would need "resources" to bring its support to the polls.

Mandela said the ANC was "confident we will be able to address the question of violence" once it took power. He said every political party needed to "put its house in order" where violence was concerned, adding that the incidents where parties were prevented from holding meetings in black areas was "of great concern".

The De Klerk/FA meeting at the Union Buildings emerged with little of substance when it failed to agree on the alliance's call for a summit meeting of leaders.

● TO PAGE 2.



MEYER: Close to an agreement.



RAMAPHOSA: It is going very well.

Election

● FROM PAGE 1.

Although the Government "was not against such a meeting, it felt it could be achieved only if all the parties involved agreed to it", said a joint statement issued after the meeting of nearly 2½ hours.

The ANC has flatly rejected the alliance proposal for a meeting as soon as possible.

Speaking after the talks, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the talks had gone well and another meeting would probably be held this week. But other alliance members were grim-faced and sources indi-

25/10/93

cated the meeting had not gone off particularly well. (11A)

There was a boost for talks earlier when negotiators from both the Government and the ANC yesterday afternoon emerged from five hours of talks in an upbeat mood.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said all outstanding issues being discussed were close to resolution. "There is very little one can say concretely, but it is going very well. We'll finish everything at the beginning of next week," he added. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the two groups would meet again on Tuesday and were "close to agreement".

Now more

IT'S been a good week for the South African consumer: the inflation rate is down to a 20-year low of 9,1 percent; the petrol price was reduced by 2c/litre; and the Reserve Bank reduced interest rates by one percentage point, which will have a significant impact in lowering bond, higher purchase and overdraft rates.

Confident

Also, at Kempton Park, the country's major political players moved closer towards an agreement of sorts.

Although it is still too early to be talking of any significant economic upturn, traders and retailers are confident the cumulative effect of de-

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Thousands pack Durban stadium to hear unity call

ANC's huge Zulu rally

Star 25/10/93



Durban — Tens of thousands of Zulus packed Durban's King's Park Stadium yesterday as the ANC sought to lay to rest claims that the entire Zulu nation supported Inkatha.

The huge crowd — estimates varied from 60 000 to the 80 000 claimed by organisers — heard Nelson Mandela call for unity in South Africa.

"Your presence here shows that the first black government in this country will be an African National Congress government," the ANC president told the crowd in Zulu at the "Sonke" (all of us) festival. "It's the ANC that calls the shots in this province."

Isolated incidents of intimidation marred the event, with some attacks on festival-goers on their way to the stadium. Trains ferrying ANC supporters to the stadium were fired upon by unknown gunmen. No serious injuries were reported.

A tense confrontation with ANC supporters developed

MK, Zulu warriors in grand display - Page 6

when a group of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members arrived at the scene of a roadblock on the N2 south of Durban near Winkelspruit.

Police defused the situation. The rally's theme was "Different cultures, one people" and attracted several kings and traditional leaders from throughout southern Africa.

The most noticeable exception was Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini, who declined an invitation, according to the ANC.

Election fervour was evident at the festival, which the ANC has openly admitted was

TURNOUT proves that ANC 'calls the shots in Natal', Mandela tells crowd

aimed at disproving the claim of KwaZulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the majority of people in the region wanted the homeland to draw up its own constitution in an entrenched federal arrangement.

Mandela told the crowd: "The process of unifying our people can't be undone by anyone who seeks to withdraw any sector of our community out of this common mode. None of us should be prepared to elevate our love for our community above our loyalty or love for our South African nation."

Addressing a press conference at the ANC Midlands annual general conference in Maritzburg on Saturday, Mandela said the ANC would not allow Buthelezi to secede the Natal/KwaZulu region.

Buthelezi, addressing a gathering at Madadeni in northern Natal on Saturday, said his message to Mandela was: "You cannot one day recruit impressionable young children to learn to kill other black people and generate anarchy in the region, and the next day turn to them with facile gestures of peace."

The IFP leader said there was only one way to stop the ANC and the Government in their tracks, and that was to actively demonstrate to South Africa and the world that there was a force powerful enough to oppose them.

"We will act under the ban-

▶ To Page 3



Star 25/10/93

ANC's Zulu rally

From Page 1
ner of the Freedom Alliance, and fight together for our demands for federalism and a strong democratic constitution before elections," he said.

At yesterday's rally, Mandela said blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians were part of the threads of the South African tapestry.

The festival could, at times, have been mistaken for an Inkatha gathering, with traditional chants and praise to Zulu kings and the unfamiliar sight of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe dressed in traditional Zulu skins.

■ Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala (73) will resign

from the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) today, a regional spokesman said.

Gwala was re-elected as regional chairman at the weekend. He is also an elected NEC member and, in terms of the ANC's constitution, cannot hold dual office.

At the weekend Mandela told the Midlands region that it had violated ANC policy by electing Gwala to the regional leadership level last year. Gwala responded by saying he would rather resign in his regional leadership position, than move to Johannesburg to sit on the NEC.

As regional chairman, he will still serve on the NEC as an ex-officio member. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.

Rallying call . . . Nelson Mandela with senior officials Jeff Radebe (left) and Jacob Zuma (in traditional Zulu dress, at King's Park Stadium in Durban where the ANC president addressed a rally attended by thousands of Zulus yesterday. PICTURE: AP

By Hugh Robertson

Sowetan 25/10/93

What would the ANC do?

■ IMPOSSIBLE DREAM

(11A)

Questions arise about possible civil war:

IN THE outcry which has followed the SADF raid over an alleged Apla base in Umtata, a disturbing question has presented itself — what is to be the attitude to Apla and its "liberation struggle" 27 short weeks from now when South Africa gets what is widely presumed to be a new, ANC-led, government?

No matter which of the dozen or more versions of Apla's objectives one takes as the authentic and definitive one, it would be entirely reasonable to assume that the organisation is not going to achieve any of its goals between now and the April 27 election.

To reach its objectives, or to remain a credible fighting force, it would have to continue its "armed struggle" for a very long time after the NP has relinquished its grip on power and, if wisdom resides with the pundits and pollsters, the ANC takes over the leadership of a government of national unity.

Added to hullabaloo

So far the ANC has contributed its fair share to the hullabaloo about the SADF raid and justifiably so, since the raid was an outrage, but it has failed to tell the country how it would deal with a continuation of Apla's armed struggle, or the activities of any of the other private armies now proliferating around the country and threatening "civil war" and the like.

Instead, what has emerged from the ANC in recent weeks has been a series of statements and actions which suggest that, if anything, it has its own partisan military-security agenda, the likes of which give cause for alarm.

For instance, over and again in recent weeks, and with increasing insistence, senior figures in the ANC have attempted to dictate unilaterally where existing State security personnel should, or should not, be deployed — something which, in case the ANC is unaware of the fact, has caused as much unease in the ranks of the radical left as it has among white liberals who had assumed that the ANC was committed to

joint control, as opposed to unilateral control, of the security forces.

The ANC also has asserted its influence, via the Eastern Cape police mutiny organised through the police trade union Popcru, and thereby has sought to advance its own political agenda to the dismay of many who have problems in principle with police trade unions being affiliated to, or directed by, political parties.

No political party should have such power in a democracy. That guiding principle aside, South Africa has been through the experience of having the country's security forces being identified with, and made subservient to, the aims and objects of a single political party.

We still live with the disastrous consequences of it, and the ANC ought to be more aware of that than most.

There have been violent confrontations in recent days between the ANC and its progeny on the radical left over all manner of issues in KwaThema, Boipatong, Khayelitsha and in other places, quite aside from the almost routine and endemic clashes between the ANC and the IFP around the country.

In the circumstances, the partisan appropriation of the State's security apparatus, or its replacement with party-affiliated law enforcement, surely is a recipe for a holocaust. If this party-political approach to security is not the ANC's intention, then it should say so boldly and unequivocally, for many who otherwise might be greatly sympathetic to its cause now wonder with all justification what its security policy for the future will be.

There is some excuse for the ANC's silence on how it would deal with the

armed insurrection which the white far right threaten, and the IFP warn of (as they, for their part, set up "self-protection units").

While there still is a chance of negotiations with the AVF and the IFP, it would be unreasonable to expect the ANC to declare what it would do once it is in government and should negotiations with the far right or the tribal chauvinists fail.

But it is not at all unlikely that part of the difficulty in reaching an understanding, let alone an agreement, with the white far right and its tribal allies, is the possibility that they are in the dark about the ANC's real intentions when it comes to asserting state authority and upholding the law.

Whether or not such distrust is justified, the fact remains that many questions are being asked, across the political spectrum — and from abroad — about the ANC's security policy, its attitude to police neutrality and, when all the shouting is done, what it would do in the face of "armed struggle", or "civil war" once it holds the reins of power.

ANC has failed to tell the country how it will deal with the activities of the proliferation of private armies

Alliance, ANC talks hit snags

MULTIPARTY negotiations suffered a blow yesterday when bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance failed to make headway.

"We were not able to make further progress," ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a Press conference after the four-hour meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. "We agreed only to an agenda."

The snag was the alliance's demand

for a summit of political leaders to seek compromises on outstanding issues. (11A) (SAA)

The alliance argued that eight months of multiparty talks at second-tier leadership level at the World Trade Centre had failed to reach an all-inclusive agreement.

The ANC rejected the demand, accusing the alliance of trying to establish a new negotiating forum.

The ANC pointed out that such

summits only took place once second-tier negotiators had failed.

Ramaphosa insisted the present negotiation process was the best way forward.

He accused the alliance of wanting to establish a "three-block process" consisting of the ANC, the alliance and South African Government at the exclusion of the 19 other parties at negotiations. — SA Press Association.

South African 26/10/93

ANC plans range of candidates

11A

CT 26/10/98

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC elections commission finalised its proposals for the selection of ANC election candidates yesterday, reserving a third of the places for women but making no special provision for Cosatu or SACP members.

However, Cosatu, the SACP and members of allied organisations will be represented in the groups that select candidates, reflecting the ANC's desire for support from outside its own support base.

ANC elections manager Mr Ketso Gordhan said the ANC wanted an "extremely open system", resulting in election lists that included candidates from a range of organisations.

He said yesterday 80% of the groups that would elect candidates would be members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

Conferences

How the 80% reserved for alliance electors would be divided would differ from region to region. Generally, about 15% of the electors would be Cosatu nominees and 5% SACP nominees.

Candidates would be chosen at a series of regional conferences, culminating in a national conference, he said.

NP executive director Mr Olaus van Zyl said his party had not finalised details of the selection of candidates.

NEWS Freedom Alliance, ANC, Government talk ● School fire delays exams

Sowetan 26/10/93

Untangling the constitution web

(IFA) (BB/12)

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and the Government hope to take far-reaching decisions to disentangle the negotiation process from problems which stand in the way of a new interim constitution.

The two parties last night retreated to a secret venue where they were due to hold a *bosberaad* until tomorrow.

The bush summit followed a day's meeting between the ANC and Freedom Alliance at the World Trade Centre where the two parties covered substantive issues, including self-determination and powers of regions.

Huge Impact

If taken as a whole, decisions or statements from the three parties which would have a huge impact on the World Trade Centre process, can only be made known tomorrow. The parties have undertaken not to make public statements on the bilaterals while they are in progress.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the *bosberaad* with the

Government would be on outstanding matters on the new interim constitution, regions and deadlock-breaking issues.

Niehaus said the ANC was trying to get the FA back into the negotiation process but warned the ANC was not prepared to compromise any further and "agree on things tantamount to secession". The Government has scheduled another meeting with the FA for tomorrow. The two parties met in Pretoria last Friday.

FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronjé yesterday reportedly said there could be progress in the ongoing bilateral meetings "if all parties are sincere about finding solutions".

The FA's major demands are that the present multiparty talks stop and a summit of leaders be held. The Alliance is opposed to the current two-phased transition process, saying a constitution should be finalised before elections. The FA comprises the Afrikaner Volksfront and Conservative Party which want an *Afrikaner volkstaat*, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and IFP-KwaZulu who want the retention of the status quo.

Senior DP man defects to ANC

DURBAN. — Natal Democratic Party executive committee member Mr Roy Ainslie left the DP yesterday to join the African National Congress.

Mr Ainslie said he had hoped the DP would form an election pact with the ANC but this had become less likely in recent months.

"I believe the ANC needs a huge and decisive victory in the elections and it appears there are people in the DP whose sole purpose is to deny them this," he said, adding that he had "no doubt" the ANC would win a majority in Natal. — Sapa

CT 26/10/73

(11A)



Sisulu convoy attack 'unplanned'

JOHANNESBURG. — Observers have found no evidence that the incident in which a bodyguard of ANC vice-president Mr Walter Sisulu was shot dead was a planned, premeditated attack on Mr Sisulu or his convoy.

The bodyguard was shot dead in a confrontation between members of the SA

Police and ANC bodyguards on the Soweto highway on July 18.

The European Community Observer Mission in South Africa (Ecomsa) said in a statement yesterday its members had had the full support of the SAP, the ANC and the attorney-general during the investigation and had visited the

scene and a reconstruction of the incident.

It had also viewed videotape recordings made by a German television team at the time, listened to radio transmissions by the police during the incident, and had had access to the SAP vehicle involved.

It said that according to the

docket and the evidence to which Ecomsa members had had access, they were convinced the incident had resulted from "an unfortunate set of circumstances".

"The observers obtained no evidence to indicate that it was a planned, premeditated attack on Mr Sisulu or the convoy," it said. — Sapa

(11A)

(11B)

CT 26/10/93

NP may be forced to mediate

ANC talks with Freedom Alliance stall

BIDay 26/10/93
(355A) (11A)

CRITICAL talks between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance broke down yesterday, apparently forcing the NP into the role of mediator if there is to be any chance of an inclusive constitutional settlement.

The ANC rejected a summit of ANC, NP and Freedom Alliance leaders as a means of breaking the deadlock, and the talks ended acrimoniously after the two sides became bogged down for more than five hours on the first item on the agenda and failed to resolve the matter.

The meeting ended with both sides walking out and declaring "no progress".

The deadlocked issue is the one that has dogged negotiations the entire year — whether the final constitution should be negotiated by unrepresentative negotiators in a forum, or whether an interim constitution should be finalised by elected representatives in a national assembly.

Freedom Alliance executive chairman Rowan Cronje said that in talks last week the ANC had accepted that serious problems should be referred to a meeting of leaders. "Today they said this issue of the one-stage or two-stage process is the key to resolving all the other differences. When we could not find ways at the meeting to bridge this gap we proposed that the leaders try to resolve the matter — this is the key, let the leaders unlock it."

He said President FW de Klerk was amenable to this arrangement.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa came out of the talks with a hardline attitude. "All the parties including the Freedom Alliance are acutely aware of the tight timetable and the race is on to meet

BILLY PADDOCK

the deadline. We are going to work day and night to achieve this. In the end the Freedom Alliance knows that if there is no agreement by the November 5 deadline they will have missed the boat.

"The Freedom Alliance is married to a negotiated final constitution prior to elections and we are irrevocably committed to an elected constitutional assembly. We expected them to bring proposals of how to bridge this problem and they have failed to do this. Instead they demand a non-inclusive process where the leaders of three blocs — the ANC, NP and the Freedom Alliance have a leaders' summit outside this multiparty process."

This was unacceptable as "it is tantamount to setting up an alternative negotiating forum excluding the other 19 parties at the World Trade Centre".

Asked whether the ANC would go ahead with the process if the Freedom Alliance was not included, Ramaphosa said: "The process should be all inclusive but no party, including government and the ANC, should be in a position to block the process or hold it to ransom."

"There is a lot at stake and the respective parties must take that into account."

Cronje argued that the ANC was happy to meet the Freedom Alliance and this was not a separate process. "So why should a leaders' meeting, which could facilitate a settlement, be regarded as a separate forum?" Considering the time frames before them, nothing should stand in the way of resolving the crisis.

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ANC women

BIDay 26/10/93
(11A) (355A)

different regions, generally these bodies would be made up of at least 60% ANC members, 15% Cosatu, and 5% SACP.

The process of selecting candidates would take place in a series of regional conferences, culminating in a national conference, which would probably take place before the end of the year, Gordhan said.

Candidates could be nominated for both

the regional and the national lists, and if a candidate appeared on both lists he would choose which list he would prefer to be on.

NP executive director Olaus van Zyl said his party was unable to detail its method of selection, as negotiations on the system had not been finalised. But the party had been working on its proposals, which would provide for a racial, sexual and regional "balance" of candidates.

From Page 1

ANC places for women

8/15a/ 26/11/93 (30/11)
THE ANC elections commission yesterday finalised its proposals for selecting election candidates, reserving a third of the places for women but making no special provision for Cosatu or SACP members.

However, Cosatu, the SACP and members of allied organisations will be represented on the bodies that select candidates, reflecting the ANC's desire for support from outside its own support base.

ANC elections manager Ketso Gordhan said the ANC was seeking an "extremely open system", which would result in election lists of candidates from a wide range of organisations. (11A) (11A)

In terms of current proposals tabled at

TIM COHEN

the World Trade Centre, all parties will have to submit lists of candidates for the national parliament, where the 400 seats will be allocated in proportion to the parties' popular support. So the higher a candidate's name appears on the list, the more likely it will be that he gets a seat.

Gordhan said in the ANC's system, 80% of the bodies electing its candidates would be members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, while the remaining 20% would be members of supporting organisations. Although the proportions would differ in

To Page 2

Freedom Alliance Biday

From Page 1

Ramaphosa said the best mechanism to break deadlocks was to negotiate around proposals and it was up to the Freedom Alliance to report back to its leaders and then contact the ANC with firm proposals. Freedom Alliance negotiators report back to their leaders today. 26/11/93

A plenary meeting of leaders was scheduled for November 6 and 7 and there was no need to call another meeting, Ramaphosa said. (11A) (11A)

Government and the ANC yesterday re-

treated for a three-day secret meeting at an undisclosed venue. It is understood that government wants to determine the ANC's bottom line on how far it is prepared to concede to original powers being granted to regions. Government will also try to find ways of bridging the gap between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance, and making the process as inclusive as possible.

Government is to meet the Freedom Alliance again tomorrow night.

● Comment: Page 6

ANC-Freedom Alliance talks collapse

Star 26/10/93

From Page 1

most divisive issue — concerning how a final constitution should be written — but hoped it would continue to negotiate.

First indication that yesterday's talks had failed after four hours came as tight-lipped IFP negotiator Walter Felgate strode out of the World Trade Centre meeting venue to say simply that no progress had been made.

FA partner Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government then faced television cameras to reveal that the two delegations had deadlocked on the fundamental issue of how a final constitution should be written — the first item of substance on yesterday's agenda.

The ANC wants a "two-phased process" with an elected constituent assembly finalising the doc-

ument after multiparty talks have agreed on an interim constitution. The FA wants the final constitution agreed to in talks before an election — a "one-phased process".

Cronje said the FA contended that if this issue could be resolved, it would "unlock" other disagreements. When the meeting could make no progress on this issue, the FA proposed a summit of leaders to address the problems, but the ANC flatly rejected it at this stage.

"We will now report back to our leaders. We remain committed to negotiations and don't believe there are alternatives. We cannot afford to do it any other way," said Cronje. He hoped there would be further meetings with the ANC.

Ramaphosa said the FA had limited its proposed "summit of

leaders" to its five leaders, President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. This was unacceptable to the ANC and "out of the question" as it wanted the leaders of all parties involved in negotiations to be part of any meeting. Such a meeting would also have to follow intensive engagement between members from the "second level of leadership" so that progress towards agreements could be made.

Ramaphosa rejected suggestions that there should be a "three bloc" negotiating process, with the ANC, Government and FA engaging each other in bilateral negotiations. Although the ANC was prepared to continue talking to the FA, this should not be seen as replacing the World Trade Centre talks.

► 22 slain on East Rand — Page 9

ANC-alliance talks collapse

Star 26/10/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

Pressure on the negotiating process was turned up another few notches yesterday when an ANC and Freedom Alliance (FA) meeting broke down with "no progress" being made.

With the November 5 deadline for the World Trade Centre talks to be wrapped up now only 10 days away, the process faces a crucial pas-

sage. Critical to progress in attempts to make agreements as widely accepted as possible will be two meetings today: a government-ANC bosberaad at an undisclosed venue and a meeting of the FA's leaders.

Tomorrow night the FA will meet Government negotiators in a continuation of bilateral discussions.

However, yesterday's deadlock immediately threw into doubt further contact between

the ANC and FA, although negotiators were publicly saying they would continue searching for common ground.

One source in the alliance said: "You can guess what our leaders are going to say about this. They will not want to carry on talking with them. (the ANC)."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa charged that the FA had not come forward with proposals on the

► To Page 3

Mixed response to Cosatu strike call

BIDAY 26/10/93

COSATU affiliates appeared divided yesterday over the national strike call.

Two of the largest affiliates issued differing statements about their plans of action. Last week's strike call came in response to entrenching a lock-out clause in the interim Bill of Rights and constitutional protection of public service jobs after the election.

The National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), representing about 240 000 members, said its central executive had discussed the strike call. "The committee resolved to ask Cosatu to urgently seek a resolution to the problem with the National Manpower Commission and the alliance in order to ensure that workers' rights are protected."

Numsa officials refused to say if this meant Cosatu's second largest affiliate was not wholeheartedly behind the proposed strike. "It is a thorny issue and we cannot disclose more details," a source said.

Other union sources said some affiliates had expressed resistance to the decision, but would abide by it as it had been ratified by Cosatu's central executive committee.

The Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) was unequivocal in its support of the strike. As Cosatu's third largest affiliate, representing more than 160 000 members, Sactwu said objections to an employer's

ERICA JANKOWITZ

right to lock workers out and protection of public service jobs after the election had to be taken seriously. "The Cosatu call for a national strike on November 15 has been fully endorsed by the national executive of Sactwu," the union said.

Sactwu committed itself to mobilising support for the strike and adopted an action programme starting yesterday. Included in the plan are sending faxes to the ANC calling for the lock-out clause to be scrapped, asking employers to sign a declaration distancing themselves from the clause, workplace meetings, a march to the World Trade Centre on Thursday, pickets, rallies and sit-ins.

The NUM, Cosatu's largest affiliate, said it had yet to evaluate Cosatu's proposal.

Sapa reports Cosatu's four Transvaal regions said they would attract 50 000 marchers on Thursday. They said regional ANC structures had expressed support for the campaign.

Cosatu's other alliance partner, the SACP, aligned itself with Cosatu's stand. The SACP supported scrapping the lock-out clause, but said current negotiations on the future of the public service did not include entrenching individuals in existing posts.

DP's Ainslie joins the ANC

DURBAN — Natal DP executive committee member and prominent unrest monitor Roy Ainslie yesterday defected to the ANC.

He said he had always hoped the DP would form an election pact with the ANC but this had become less likely over the past few months.

"I believe the ANC needs a huge and decisive victory in the elections and it appears there are people in the DP whose sole purpose is to deny them this," he said.

He would be co-ordinating the ANC's monitoring campaign in southern Natal in the run-up to elections. There was "no doubt" the ANC would win a majority in Natal, but a peaceful climate was needed so people would vote.

Natal DP chairman Kobus Jordaan said Ainslie took with him a commitment to transform SA into a country where the liberal, democratic values of the DP would be imbued in all its citizens. He hoped Ainslie would achieve this in the ANC, although the DP believed its commitment to democracy was questionable. — Sapa.

Guns held members

POSSESSION of firearms by Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) members was "worrying" because the organisation's loyalties did not lie with professional policing, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kruger met top SAP generals yesterday to discuss Popcru activities and "politicisation of force" by the union and the ANC, Kotze confirmed.

He declined to divulge details of the meeting, but said police grievances had also been discussed. Kriel would issue statement "in due course".

Referring to the dismissal for mutiny

▼ Mandela shines in Zulu country

Star 26/10/93

Dr Livingstone would have understood the predicament of the elderly gentleman in the dark suit and tie struggling politely to convey the impression that he was master of his environment.

At the gentleman's feet squatted two witchdoctors in leopard-skin headdresses and ox-hide skirts mixing a potion with pestle and mortar, mumbling magic words. Around them, in a riot of tribal colour, 30 barefoot women, heads bowed, on their knees.

The gentleman was Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress. The ceremony was the *kushisha imphepho*, its purpose, as a local onlooker explained, to call down the ancestors' blessings on Mandela and to cast away evil spirits.

The occasion, an ecumenical triumph, was a cultural festival held at the King's Park rugby stadium in Durban before a crowd of 60 000, most of whom wore T-shirts with ANC or Coca-Cola slogans. The motive was pointedly political.

Mandela came to Durban, Zulu country, to prove a point. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, claims the allegiance of what he calls "the Zulu nation".

On its behalf, he warned only last week that if the ANC achieved its goal of ruling over a unitary South African state he would secede.

Sunday's exercise was to dramatise Mandela's belief, reinforced by opinion polls, that the

**JOHN CARLIN says
Sunday's ANC rally in
Durban was an
ecumenical triumph,
which proved ANC
support in Natal**

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ANC, not Inkatha, commands majority support among Zulus. Better attended than a rally Chief Buthelezi held at the same venue in June with his nephew, the Zulu king, it was the biggest gathering of Zulus since March 1990, when 120 000 celebrated Mandela's release from prison.

The roar that received Mandela when he walked in through the players' tunnel into the stadium, led by a praise-singer, evoked for the reporters assembled in the centre circle a sense of what it might be like to score the winner in a World Cup final.

No sooner had the brief witchdoctors' ceremony been completed than he left again, making way for 90 minutes of prayers, singing and dancing. A guru, an imam and a Christian minister initiated the festival proceedings. They were followed by an Indian band ("Nelson Mandela-a-a-a", they quivered), a Zulu choir, a high-energy African dance troupe, Indian dancers — girls in exotic Eastern costumes — and then more choirs and more tribal dancers.

Ramming home the anti-separatist message, the MC — like other ANC officials on the day, decked out in leopard skins —

struck up a new chant between each number: "Many cultures. One people. Many cultures. One people."

When Mandela returned, to another almighty roar, he strode straight to the podium to speak. His native language is Xhosa but he delivered half his speech in Zulu, half in English.

The prepared text contained no overtly political allusions. In keeping with the occasion, he dwelt at length on African indigenous history, providing a roll call of the tribes, chiefs and kings who had stood up to the colonial and then apartheid oppressors since the 1650s. Just in case anyone had missed the point, he compared South Africa to a tapestry.

"We cannot separate our people without destroying the tapestry itself. Black and white and coloured and Indian are all part of the weave . . . It is impossible to separate the threads that make the weave of our common South African nation . . . What we've come here to do is celebrate the diversity and unity of our people."

Right at the end of the speech, unable to contain himself any longer, Mandela broke away from his text, eliciting almost as big a cheer as when he arrived. People had been intimidated on the way to the stadium, 15 buses had been stopped by the police, he said.

"That is because they don't want us to prove that in this province it is the ANC that calls the shots." — The Independent News Service.

Star 27/10/93

Leaders hold flurry of talks

(IFA)

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela met for crucial talks yesterday as the Freedom Alliance (FA) warned that the negotiations timetable had created an "explosive situation" and called for a meeting with the president.

The FA's leaders met in Uluudi yesterday to thrash out a response to the ANC's blunt rejection this week of its call for a summit of leaders.

At the same time Government and ANC negotiators were locked in a bosheraad at an undisclosed venue addressing outstanding negotia-

tions issues — which have to be resolved and agreed in the Negotiating Council in only nine days.

It is understood that De Klerk and Mandela's separate meeting at the Union Buildings addressed the continued resistance from, particularly, the Inkatha Freedom Party to the World Trade Centre talks. Central to this would be finding ways of accommodating Chief Mangosuthi Buthelezi's demands for a highly federal dispensation.

However, a statement after the meeting said only that it had been arranged "some time ago" and, in the light of the bosheraad, no details of

the "wide-ranging" discussions would be made public. The spate of meetings comes amid indications that the ANC may be losing patience with what it calls the "spoilers" in the process, and wants to push ahead with a settlement.

The FA, on the other hand, has become increasingly belligerent, with its leaders yesterday emerging from their meeting to warn that South Africa was approaching a "crisis of historic proportions".

Charging that the World Trade Centre talks were insufficiently representative, it

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Politicians in flurry of meetings

Star 27/10/93
◀ From Page 1

added: "The Freedom Alliance calls for recognition of the fact that, in reality, the realignment in South African politics has resulted in the emergence of three dominant blocs of political parties and leaders."

These were the FA, the ANC/SACP-led Patriotic Front and the South African Government.

It said a constitutional dispensation would "at the very least" have to be adopted by consensus involving these three blocs.

In a thinly veiled warning the FA said that without such consensus there could be no transition to democracy "because all three of these blocs would necessarily have to involve themselves in the implementation of any constitutional proposals that were agreed to, anywhere, in any negotiating forum".

The FA repeated its demand that leaders of the three blocs address the crisis in a summit now — a proposal rejected by the ANC on Monday when a four-hour meeting between the two organisations ended without any progress being made.

The FA leaders said: "The FA will seek an urgent meeting with the South African State President in order to address the situation."

FA sources said its meeting yesterday did not address the issue of further talks with the ANC after Monday's deadlock.

The ANC and the Government today conclude their three-day negotiators' meeting. Sources on both sides said the talks were a "make-or-break meeting" with remaining differences having to be resolved to meet the November 5 deadline for the wrapping up of negotiations.

The FA and the Government are scheduled to meet tonight.

Govt to meet with Apla ^{11/18}

PRETORIA. — A government delegation, headed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel, will hold talks with representatives of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in Harare on Monday.

Mr Kriel said yesterday the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the ending of violence by Apla.

He said he had agreed to the meeting provided certain conditions were met. These included that the ending of violence by Apla be the only item on the agenda and that Apla chief commander Mr Sabelo Phama be present. ^{ACT 27/10/92}

"It would appear that the conditions have been accepted by Apla," Mr Kriel said. — Sapa

Gwala: ANC to ease tensions

DURBAN. — The ANC's regional executive committee in the Natal Midlands is to meet the national executive committee to try to ease tensions between them.

This decision was reached by the ANC's Midlands region at its annual conference in Maritzburg at the weekend after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told delegates they had violated the organisation's policy by electing Mr Harry Gwala as regional chairman last year.

As an elected national executive committee member Mr Gwala was not allowed to hold regional office, he said.

Sapa

(117) CT 27/11/93

Boesak appeals for end to 'sloganeering' in SA

ARG 27/10/93 (11A)

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

WESTERN Cape African National Congress chairman Allan Boesak has urged South Africans to stop "sloganeering" if they want to create a climate of peace and tolerance.

He said in the City Hall last night that the effects of slogans on people should not be taken lightly.

The ANC had called in controversial ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba to discuss his chanting of the slogan "Kill the boer, kill the farmer".

"He was told he had incurred the displeasure of all the organs of authority of the ANC." Since then Mr Mokaba had not used the slogan.

"He has said he's sorry."

Dr Boesak made these remarks while taking part in an open debate which kicked off the Western Cape Peace Committee's summit to promote peace and reconciliation.

He shared a platform with political opponents, including former United Democratic Front colleague Joe Marks

(now of the Democratic Party), Sakkie Pretorius (National Party MP for Tygerberg), the Inkatha Freedom Party's Judy Sibisi, Western Cape police liaison head Colonel Raymond Dowd and Pan-Africanist Congress national executive committee member Kwedi Mkalipe.

The debate was hosted in *Future Imperfect* style by Denis Davis from the Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Dr Boesak said that although he believed the DP had a right to hold meetings wherever it wanted, certain farmers in the Grabouw area, who were DP members, were denying the ANC the right to meet there.

Former Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands Alex Boraine said it would be wrong to assume South Africa was a Western democracy where the normal rules applied. For this reason parties should be sensitive and less arrogant when entering areas in which they were not very active.

Professor Davis asked Ms Sibisi if the ANC would be allowed to meet in Ulundi. "I don't see why not," she replied.

Mr Mkalipe said the PAC saw no harm in using the slogan "One settler, one bullet". He also said he would not distance himself from the slogan.

Mr Marks announced he belonged to the oldest tribe in South Africa. Referring to the whites and blacks present, he said: "Everybody here is a settler. I'm not. This is our country."

Mr Pretorius was grilled about the SADF raid on a house in Umtata.

His reply that Apla was involved in certain activities was seized upon by Professor Davis who said: "So you decided to kill children?"

Colonel Dowd, asked about the police's action against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at the World Trade Centre, said the police were apolitical.

In spite of occasional laughter, there were some sobering moments.

One was when Western Cape Peace Committee chairman Jaap Durand said the peace accord was not working.



LOOK WHO'S TALKING: Colonel Raymond Dowd has the undivided attention of, from left, National Party MP Sakkie Pretorius, the Rev Courtney Sampson, and Allan Boesak.

BELOW: A man sitting with National Party supporters puts a question to the panelists.

Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

Freedom Alliance demands tackled

Mandela, FW in bid to end talks impasse

BIDAY 27/10/93

(SFA) (IFA)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela held extensive talks in Pretoria yesterday to try to resolve the impasse in negotiations and find ways of including the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Alliance in a constitutional dispensation.

Meanwhile, Freedom Alliance leaders said they would seek an urgent meeting with De Klerk to press their demand for a leaders' meeting outside the negotiations process.

It is understood that Mandela and De Klerk discussed the Freedom Alliance's demand, which the ANC has rejected.

They also discussed ways of bridging the gap between the negotiating forum and the alliance and exploring mechanisms to make the process inclusive, or to ensure it had widespread legitimacy should the alliance refuse to take part in the elections.

It is understood that De Klerk will also try to secure Mandela's agreement for a sharply decentralised regional dispensation, where central government does not have the right to overrule regional governments on key issues. He also believes that Inkatha needs to achieve some sort of victory, or there would be no way of including it in the settlement.

De Klerk's spokesman confirmed the meeting had taken place and, in response to the alliance's call for a leaders' summit, said the president felt "the place for a leaders' meeting is clearly the plenary of the multiparty negotiating process where he will meet all the leaders".

This was provisionally scheduled for next Saturday and Sunday.

BILLY PADDOCK

"But he is a pragmatist and if a meeting of leaders will serve to unlock the process, then he would be amenable to this on condition that all the leaders are present, not just a small group," the spokesman said.

This was in line with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's position that any meeting had to be all-inclusive.

As Mandela and De Klerk met, their respective negotiating teams were locked in secret three-day talks to iron out the remaining differences between the parties. They are also attempting to find a settlement that could put to rest Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's fears that an elected constitution-making body would disregard the negotiated constitution.

After their meeting yesterday, the five Freedom Alliance leaders said they wanted to meet De Klerk in order to defuse the crisis following Monday's breakdown in talks with the ANC. The alliance repeated its demand for an urgent summit of the leaders of three political blocs — the alliance, the ANC/SACP-led Patriotic Front and the NP — to resolve outstanding issues and decide on the way the new constitution would be drafted.

However, De Klerk and the ANC have stated clearly over the past week that the course of the constitutional dispensation is unchangeable. Government and the ANC are committed to a two-stage transition, with the election of a constitutional assembly, under a negotiated constitution, to finalise that constitution.

□ To Page 2

Talks

BIDAY 27/10/93

(SFA) (IFA)

After their Ulundi meeting, the Freedom Alliance called on "opinion-makers and men and women of stature in SA to support our call for urgent talks between national leaders". It rejected the notion that government and the ANC determine the future of the country bilaterally. "We call for support of this rejection."

It said the multiparty negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, which the alliance is boycotting

was insufficiently representative to consider the national issues at stake.

It called for recognition that a political realignment had taken place in the country since its formation, resulting in the emergence of the three dominant blocs.

The Freedom Alliance has argued that eight months of talks at Kempton Park had failed to reach an all-inclusive agreement.

● Comment: Page 12

□ From Page 1

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ANC PWV secretary-general Paul Mashatile announces the organisation's stance on Cosatu's protest campaign. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ANC backs Cosatu march against lock-out provision

BISAY 27/10/93

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC PWV region yesterday called on its supporters to join Cosatu's march on the World Trade Centre tomorrow to protest against entrenching a lock-out clause in the interim Bill of Rights and constitutional protection of public servants after next year's election.

But the organisation said it had not taken a position on whether it would support the union federation's call for a national strike on November 15.

ANC PWV secretary-general Paul Mashatile said his organisation rejected any proposal which gave employers the right to lock out striking workers. "The tripartite alliance believes the right of workers to strike should be reflected in a Bill of Rights," Mashatile said.

The organisation was also opposed to entrenching the protection of public servants in the interim constitution which, according to Mashatile, was "ridiculous" as it played havoc with the new administration's right to restructure the public service. Mashatile said the protest action

was intended to strengthen the hand of ANC negotiators who, he believed, would "stand firm" against anti-worker clauses.

The region's decision, taken after consultations with Cosatu and the SACP on Sunday, had been communicated to Shell House, he said.

Mashatile said the strike call was "sensitive", given the number of stayaways the alliance had called so far and the dismissals which had stemmed from them.

Consultations were being held with ANC allies and mass democratic movement organisations.

Cosatu official Sicelo Shiceka said the march on the World Trade Centre did not imply a stayaway.

As the march was planned for between 12 noon and 2pm, workers should be able to leave work for that period to join the march.

He said Cosatu had written letters to employers asking them to release their employees.

Nearly 13% more foreign visitors arrive

BISAY

THEO RAWANA

THERE was a 12,7% increase in overseas visitors to SA from January to July this year compared to the same period last year, Satour said yesterday.

Arrivals from Europe increased 8,9% while those from North America were up 17%. Visitors from Central and South America rose 27,6%, Australians 15,1% and South-East Asians 38,1%. Of the 339 981 visitors,

72,7% came on holiday, 17,4% on business and 9,9% to study.

Satour said SA's top 20 markets for this period were the UK, Germany, the US, France, Taiwan, Australia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Canada, Belgium, Austria, Israel, Japan, Portugal, India, Mauritius, Sweden, Ireland and Brazil.

Meyer upbeat after three-day bosberaad

Govt, ANC make progress in talks

Start 28/10/93

IIA ~~2~~

DE KLERK set to meet Freedom Alliance in fresh bid to bridge chasm between it and the negotiators

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

Government and ANC negotiators have made encouraging progress in talks during their three-day bosberaad and will meet again tomorrow in an attempt to seal agreements.

And President de Klerk is expected to meet the Freedom Alliance (FA) soon — probably this week — in a fresh attempt to bridge the yawning gap between it and parties still in the World Trade Centre process.

A joint statement by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the bush meeting at a secret venue had been "constructive".

Sources in both the Government and ANC camps were tightlipped, but one said they were "close to agreement on a couple of things".

All the outstanding issues in negotiations were addressed, including: the composition of the executive in a government of national unity; the deadlock-breaking mechanism, should an im-

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

DRAFT ELECTORAL BILL: Negotiators yesterday discussed an electoral code of conduct and penalties for contravening it. The electoral code states that no weapons, including traditional weapons, will be brought to, or displayed at, political meetings.

Parties will also not be allowed to knowingly make false allegations at political meetings.

Penalties for the transgression of the code range from a formal written warning to disqualification from contesting the election. Parties could also be prohibited from holding any public meetings, demonstrations or marches. The penalties further include the possibility of the withdrawal of State funding for a party campaign.

TODAY: The Negotiating Council is scheduled to discuss the election of a president.

ESTHER WAUGH

passé be reached in writing a final constitution; the powers to go to regional governments and how they would be entrenched; local government; and the constitutional court.

It is understood that the meeting between De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Tuesday afternoon was also constructive.

The encouraging signals come with only eight days to the deadline for negotiators to complete their work, although this is beginning to look increasingly elastic.

However, the approval of the

FA parties is still a major concern. A meeting between Government negotiators and their FA counterparts scheduled for last night was postponed until this morning.

The FA has demanded that a constitution should be written in one phase rather than the two-phase process agreed at in talks.

Some in the Government believe it may be able to leap this hurdle if it can get the ANC to agree to having strongly federalist principles entrenched in the interim constitution in such a way that they will be part of the final constitution.

'ANC men sold homes'

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak last night revealed that the organisation was investigating two men, one an ANC member and the other recently expelled from the organisation, for their role in inciting people illegally to occupy houses in Delft.

He claimed the two had, until earlier this month, belonged to the National Party, and gave their surnames only as "Appolis and McLean", saying he did not have their full names.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, NP Western Cape leader, was not available for comment last night.

Dr Boesak claimed it appeared as if the two men, who joined the ANC on October 8, had done so specifically to bring the ANC into disrepute "and engender racial hostility between black and coloured people".

He claimed they had approached homeless coloured people and promised them homes in "coloured areas in Delft and I suspect Tafelsig" for R200. They also said that if they were not paid the R200 they would get black people to move into homes.

"We have expelled one of the men from the organisation," he added. "We are investigating the matter." Dr Boesak said he had advised people affected by the alleged "scam" to speak to attorneys with a view to instituting charges.

Dr Boesak's claims could not be independently verified by late last night.

Earlier yesterday Dr Boesak defused a tense situation when he persuaded eight minibus-loads of Guguletu squatters intent on occupying houses in The Hague area of Delft to return home.

The threatened occupation prompted a tense standoff between residents and squatters. He praised the police and housing authorities for their co-operation.

In another development yesterday, a high-level meeting in Delft, prompted by the threatened occupation of empty houses by squatters, may herald the end



IT'S MY HOUSE! Miss Marian Burgers, 22, of Eindhoven, Delft, removes the last of a name and number left by an illegal claimant of her mother's house.

Picture: Stewart Colman

of racially separate housing waiting lists, reports **PETER DENNEHY.**

Mr James Slabbert, director of Urban Development

To page 5

NEWS Fugitive's frig

Further round of talks

Sowetan 23/10/93
THE Government and ANC negotiators have agreed to a further round of bilateral talks tomorrow after reporting constructive and fruitful exchanges at the end of a two-day bush summit.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa issued a brief joint statement saying their meeting had been constructive and would certainly take the process forward.

They would report to the multiparty negotiations planning committees today.

Aid progress

The meeting was intended to aid progress on specific issues in the draft constitution. The bush conference started on Monday night and continued well past its scheduled lunch-time completion yesterday.

The issues identified as specific problems on which the NP-Government negotiators say they need agreement, include:

- Clear powersharing (as opposed to co-option) at executive level in a government of national unity with special powers for Mr de Klerk as leader of the "second majority" party and vice-president;
- A credible deadlock-breaking mechanism in the second phase revision of the constitution by an elected parliament; and
- Firming up Bill of Rights protection of property rights. — Sapa.

Apla, Government indaba still on

THE meeting between the Government and Azanian People's Liberation Army on ending "hostilities" will go ahead as scheduled in Harare, Zimbabwe, on Monday (WA)

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel will head the Government's delegation. (WA)

Sowetan 29/10/93
Senior Apla cadres began arriving in Harare yesterday. Phama would head the Apla delegation, which will also include chief political commissar Romero Daniels and director of training and manpower development Willie Brown.

The delegation would be backed by a five-

member technical team comprising chief-of-staff Barney Mzolo, military commission member Morgan Gxekwa, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ibrahim, local government and civics secretary Molifi Lithoko and Apla director of publicity and information Willie Mazambane.

Sowetan 29/10/93

PAC gains in E Cape

~~29/10/93~~ 11A

SUPPORT for the Pan Africanist Congress in the Eastern Cape — traditionally an African National Congress stronghold — has reached double digits for the first time.

Results of a survey on black voters in the region by Rhodes University show that, since late last year, support for the PAC had grown by about 4 percent to 12,3 percent.

The survey — which polled 227 potentially eligible voters — found that the ANC was still “widely popular” in the region, supported by 76,7 percent of respondents.

The poll covered Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, Queenstown, King William’s Town-Bisho as well as smaller towns such as Bathurst and Fort Beaufort.

The co-ordinators, department head Profes-

■ VARSITY SURVEY ANC is still the leader but Nats get no support:

sor Jan Coetzee and lecturer Mr GT Wood, say the sample was “fully representative and encompassed individuals from a wide range of occupations, incomes and places of residence”.

The SACP and Azapo each gained the support of 0,9 percent of respondents and the DP 0,4 percent.

None of those polled supported the NP, but 4 percent of respondents supported other parties, including Ciskei’s African Democratic Movement.

Coetzee and Wood found that the PAC’s

support remained concentrated in Queenstown and East London, “traditionally areas of PAC support since the late 1950s. Indeed, 50 percent of PAC supporters in the region dwelt in the Queenstown district”.

Asked yesterday to explain the rise in support for the PAC, Coetzee said this could be attributed largely to a belief that a “coalition” government would not change conditions on the ground for people.

“Many people feel the ANC is giving in and see it as a sign of weakness,” he said.

THE ELECTION
Fm 29/10/93
Shots across the bow

The ANC election roadshow hit deep into the heart of what must be seen as enemy Inkatha territory when it launched its Natal cam-

Continued on page 55

(11A)

aign in Durban at the weekend, apparently with telling results. Its message: you can be a proud Zulu and ANC member at the same time.

But while the two-pronged thrust may have been an overwhelming success, the edge may have been taken off the ANC's euphoria by:

□ The decision of its feisty and popular Natal Midlands chairman, Harry Gwala, to defy Nelson Mandela and resign from the National Executive Committee, rather than sacrifice his regional power base;

□ Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's decision to ignore an invitation to the ANC's rally; and

□ A vitriolic attack on Mandela by his Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a rival function at Madadeni near Newcastle on Sunday.

Nevertheless, the ANC's weekend campaign must be judged a success. It clearly showed that Inkatha won't have it all its own way even in its purported stronghold of Natal/KwaZulu — where, according to Mandela, Inkatha commands only 31% of support compared to the ANC's "in excess of 50%."

The ANC campaign kicked off with a dignitaries' dinner at the Durban Exhibition Centre on Saturday attended by 1 200 people, many of them businessmen who had paid R500 a ticket for listening to an address by

Fm 29/10/93

the ANC president.

That was followed on Sunday by a *Sonke* ("all of us together"), which ran from 10 am to 4.30 pm at King's Park rugby stadium and attended by about 60 000 people who packed the 45 000-seat venue and overflowed into

(and weapons).

The numbers were significantly lower than the 100 000-plus who joined the Chris Hani memorial march through the city in April, or the slightly smaller Inkatha march soon after. The idea of the festival was ap-

parently conceived at Mandela's 75th birthday bash as a celebration of togetherness and goodwill, building on that established on National Peace Day on September 2. But the political overtones were manifest.

At the Saturday dinner, Mandela pointedly reassured businessmen that without their support the ANC's political gains would be fragile. "We will certainly not deprive people of their jackets and lipstick." In fact, he added, property ownership rights had been enshrined in the ANC's Freedom Charter since 1955.

Furthermore, after being mercilessly attacked on visits abroad over issues such as the ANC's

ideological stance on nationalisation, he stated that this policy is now only being held in reserve.

It may only be used selectively to provide upliftment for the disadvantaged.

"If we build confidence in ourselves we

Continued on page 59



Radebe, Mandela, Zuma ... in Durban

the surrounding playing fields. "Your presence here shows that the first black government in this country will be an African National Congress government," said Mandela in Zulu. ANC deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma and southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe sported traditional Zulu skins

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can turn SA into a dream world and the most peaceful and flourishing country on the continent," he maintained.

Mandela's claim that "the ANC calls the shots in this province" may be six months premature, but the all-round polish, sophisticated organisation and creative use of culture as a means of politicking must have sounded a warning to opponents (11A) ■

Move 'should satisfy all parties'

ANC, govt in firm stand on federalism

Bisaq 29/10/93
(11A)

AT THEIR three-day bosberaad this week, government and the ANC appear to have opted for strong federalism and limited central government interference.

Planning committee chairman Colin Eglin said yesterday sufficient progress had been made in bilateral talks over the past few days to enable firm proposals to be made to the technical committee on constitutional matters. These were expected to be contained in amended constitutional reports by Monday afternoon.

"These relate to the powers and functions of regions, the financial rights of regions, local government and the fiscal commission." He added that there would also be amendments and extensions to the constitutional principles, mainly in the area of regional dispensation, as a result of government and ANC submissions.

More bilateral meetings would be held today and next week involving the ANC, government and the Freedom Alliance. As agreements were concluded these would be fed to the technical committee to redraft the constitution.

A senior government source said no agreements had been finalised at the bosberaad, but that "there is nothing left that can delay or derail the process at this stage. We have advanced a long way on all the areas where we had differences." There was agreement on "strong federalism, with concurrent and exclusive powers of regions clearly demarcated". For example, central government would be responsible for ensuring minimum national stan-

BILLY PADDOCK

dards but would have no right to get involved in issues such as primary education and health care.

Great strides had been made whereby regions would be guaranteed a fixed percentage of revenues collected nationally, even though the regional governments would not levy the taxes.

He said the stage now reached would satisfy all parties, including Inkatha. "If they are serious about a settlement for a federal structure, then it is all there, but if they want confederation then they cannot be included."

He added that in the meeting between President F W de Klerk and the Freedom Alliance leaders today, the alliance would be reassured about an elected constitutional assembly, as it would not be able to "ride roughshod over the negotiated principles being entrenched in this constitution".

□ Negotiators accepted a planning committee recommendation that all the recommendations of the commission on the delimitation/demarcation of regions be accepted as "soft boundaries".

Recommendations were also accepted that the existing seal and coat of arms of SA be left in place during the transition. Eglin said because the proposed flags were greeted with a "total lack of enthusiasm from both negotiators and the wider public, the planning committee is to engage professional designers to design at least three new flags, taking into account all the comments". The issue of the anthem had been referred to further bilateral talks.

ANC looks ahead

Sowetan 29/10/93

By Glenn McKenzie

■ CRYSTAL BALL Organisation

looks way beyond the general election:

THERE are still six months before the country's majority votes for the first time. But the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal region of the African National Congress is not only working on their election campaign, they are also looking into their crystal ball to prepare for the distant future.

The PWV region will map out its election strategy and address "reconstruction and development programmes" for the new government of national unity in its fourth regional conference this weekend.

It is also preparing to govern, and for the possibility of being an opposition party after future elections.

Regional secretary general Mr Paul Mashatile is already calling this weekend's gathering "an historic conference".

"This event will put in place mechanisms that will ensure strategic advances for a decisive victory and a process to begin to transform our country into a democratic state," Mashatile said.

The conference will be officially opened by the ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and PWV regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale tonight at the Garden Court Holiday Inn in Johannesburg.

The bulk of the conference will be held at the Karos Johannesburg Hotel tomorrow and Sunday.

Mandela will discuss a number of key issues including the question of a refer-

endum before next year's elections, Mashatile said. (11A)

Of the four key issues that the ANC will discuss, the election campaign would take top priority, Mashatile said.

Delegates will debate strategies to reach more than six million voters in the region including the white population. While the ANC is expected to campaign door-to-door aggressively, the party may use other tactics to reach white voters, Mashatile said.

The conference will also address the "imbalances of the past and deprivation visited on the majority of our people," Mashatile said. Delegates will debate how to "empower Africans, Indians and coloureds who have been hurt by the apartheid system".

The ANC secretary general said the party will consider proposals such as ANCYL leader Peter Mokaba's recent suggestion to attract tourism into the townships.

"I'm not sure if people from Sandton will want to stay in Phola Park, but we have to look at all proposals," said Mashatile.

Mashatile said the conference will also define what role the ANC will play in the transition and in the new democratic government.

The region is expected to discuss names to be submitted to the national

cabinet list. While Cosatu will require their ANC candidates to resign from union positions, Mashatile said the ANC PWV would keep their party positions after they join the new government.

"While we are looking at building the new government, we also have to keep the ANC strong. Governments come and go, and there is no use just remembering the grass roots of the party when we want to be re-elected," Mashatile said.

The last major topic of debate this weekend will be violence and peace initiatives. More than a thousand people have died in political violence in the past year in the PWV. The ANC region says it is anxious to minimise the problem in the period leading up to and following April 27.

"We may not have rooted out the violence by the elections, but we won't let that derail the process," Mashatile said.

"We have to address initiatives like peace committees immediately."

In addition to numerous regional delegates, the ANC has also invited representatives from religious, business, labour and other organisations.

"We cannot work in isolation. We have to work with people with other skills and perspectives to help us plan for the future," said Mashatile.



QUEST FOR WATER ... Residents at Orlando East, Soweto, flocked to the railway station to fetch water as taps ran dry in the area yesterday. Raymond Smith ferried these little ones with his trolley.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

ANC congress to plan for governing

BIDAY 29/10/93

THE ANC's PWV leadership will seek not only a broad mandate on reconstruction and development at its annual congress in Johannesburg this weekend, but a clear programme to be followed by the interim government of national unity.

ANC PWV regional co-ordinator Paul Mashatile said yesterday the conference would discuss four key issues: the organisation's election strategy, violence, the future of the ANC as a government, and reconstruction and development.

The theme of the conference would be: "Mobilise for a government of reconstruction and development."

Mashatile told a media briefing the conference would not be expected to endorse a regional and national list of candidates to stand in next year's election. Another conference would be held before the end of November to decide on a list of candidates.

Branches would have three weeks to submit proposals. The list would be scrutinised by a list committee before being submitted to the ANC's national executive committee for final approval by a two-

LLOYD COUTTS

thirds majority.

The region's elections co-ordinator, Amos Masondo, said the ANC expected to spend R200m nationally on the elections.

He said 6-million (or 28%) of the country's potential voters were concentrated in the PWV, and the region would therefore be spending a significant amount of money on the campaign.

Masondo said the history of boycotting elections and non-participation in elections were major problems in the ANC's campaign. "We have to do the opposite now and reverse that (boycott) culture," he said.

Violence was a major concern of residents polled by the ANC in its door-to-door campaign on the East Rand.

Masondo said the ANC had conducted a survey in Meadowlands, Soweto, on August 28, and in three zones in the township 15 452 people out of 19 332 had indicated they would vote for the ANC.

Among blacks, he said, support for the ANC was "overwhelming". There was less enthusiasm among coloureds and Indians.

Sebokeng residents' bid to restore stability

RESIDENTS of strife-torn Sebokeng have formed a committee to confer "freedom" on a variety of service providers in an effort to bring down violence levels.

Many service workers are reluctant to

day it would hold a "freedom granting day" at Zone 11 stadium on Saturday, November 6.

"It is time for peace and stability to be restored" said committee

Pilot peace corps to be launched

LLOYD COUTTS

A PILOT peace corps programme is to be launched in Alexandra and Daveyton in November under the auspices of the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat.

ANC PWV deputy secretary general Obed Bapela yesterday said the Danish government had donated R2m for the project, and training of between 200 and 400 volunteers would begin in January.

Recruits would have three weeks' training focusing on development programmes and community protection. They would not undergo military training and would not be armed.

The corps would serve as the "eyes and ears" of the community by patrolling townships and liaising with political leaders and emergency services.

Offices would be opened in the townships — chosen because they had experienced political violence but were quiet at present — in November. Training would begin in January and the corps would start operating in February.

Selection committees would be drawn from communities served by the corps. Each recruit would be vetted and would be paid a R400 monthly allowance.

Bapela said the peace corps would be distinct from a national peacekeeping force, which would be made up of the SADF, the SAP and other armed formations like Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Bury hatchet, says Holomisa

UMTATA — Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday all South Africans should bury the hatchet and build a prosperous country free of racial hatred and animosity.

Delivering the annual policy speech and announcing a R67m annual budget, Holomisa praised the Transkei dispute resolution committee for restoring peace to many districts.

Transkei citizens, he said, had to be vigilant, particularly in the race to elections when enemy agents provocateurs were aiming to encourage disunity and to destabilise whole black communities "with a view to intimidating them into not partici-

pating in the election".

Holomisa said Transkei had to support the Transitional Executive Council. It had to ensure, too, that the April 27 election was not postponed.

He said Transkei had suffered economic hardships, particularly as it had been kept in the "backwaters of SA's enormous economic development", but there had been an increase in internal revenue and job opportunities.

Holomisa said R21m of the budget would go to rural development and a further R7m was expected from the Development Bank of Southern Africa. Priorities were access roads, water and classrooms. — Sapa.

Woman voted | DP's leap slams Sapa

Talks with Apla in balance - Kriel

11A

ARC 38/10/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The government says it will not attend scheduled talks with the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army on Monday unless the organisation is prepared to abide by the original conditions for the meeting.

In a statement yesterday, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel said Apla commander Sabelo Phama was now apparently arguing that he would not attend unless the SA Defence Force was represented at the meeting.

"The presence of the SADF ... was previously not at issue," said Mr Kriel.

Apla was also apparently demanding that Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Fanus Schoeman should not be part of the government delegation, and was going to strengthen its delegation with two Pan Africanist Congress members.

Mr Kriel said this was contrary to the agreement that both sides would have only a three-man delegation.

"In view of the fact that the PAC clearly has no authority over Apla, it is a futile exercise to speak with a delegation containing PAC representatives.

"The demand that the SADF be represented is pure political posturing by Apla because the organisation is fully aware that its terror attacks are not a military, but a police problem."

Mr Kriel said the "last-minute" turnabout on the original conditions made it quite clear that even though it had requested the talks, Apla was not committed to a peaceful solution in South Africa.

He said the government was prepared to meet Apla, but that if the original arrangements were to be scrapped, then new arrangements would have to be made. — Sapa.

Work hard to win - Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela began the fourth annual conference of the ANC's PWV region on a sombre note by urging supporters not to be complacent in the run-up to elections.

Speaking in central Johannesburg last, he cautioned the ANC against thinking it would sweep to an election victory without hard work.

The ANC president also warned the National Party and the Freedom Alliance that elec-

tions would proceed with or without them. 5 (114)

Mr Mandela said current levels of violence "would be a picnic" compared to the violence that would beset the country should the election not be held next April as scheduled.

He said any complacency by any organisation, including the ANC, could be a fatal delusion.

Pointing to various foreign elections, he said many organisa-

tions expecting to win had been disgraced. CT 30/10/93

"People of South Africa must make sure that victory comes to us ... and it will come through hard work. Victory can't come simply from predictions."

The ANC had to conduct house-to-house visits to gauge the attitudes and preferences of people.

● Mr Mandela said earlier the judiciary must and will be restructured. — Sapa

When Harry met Nelson . . .

C/A Res

31/10/93

By FRED KHUMALO

THE Natal Midlands region of the ANC is not keeping up with the march towards the "new South Africa".

This assertion was made by ANC president Nelson Mandela when he attended the Natal Midlands conference, an occasion that so ruffled the feathers of some Natalians that regional chairman Harry Gwala decided to vacate his seat as a member

of the organisation's national executive committee.

Mandela gave Gwala a dressing-down in front of hundreds of members of the ANC in Natal - but Gwala emerged with his ego intact when he was re-elected as chairman of the fiery Midlands region. (11A)

"I would rather resign my national executive position than give up my chairmanship," said Gwala prior to his re-election.

Gwala said his priorities lay

with the grassroots sector of the movement, particularly in Natal where a war was raging and he could best serve his constituency.

In a stinging broadside, Gwala said the leadership of his organisation was "bending over backwards" to appease Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his right-wing partners in the newly formed Freedom Alliance.

He blamed the national leadership for delaying the political

process, saying they were nursing individual leaders' egos.

Gwala said the ANC leadership was not preparing people for the forthcoming April 27 elections.

"There is no election fever. There is no enthusiasm among our supporters when we talk to them about the April 27 election," said Gwala.

Gwala is a bit of an embarrassment to the ANC which is trying to project a clean image.

ANC rejects FA summit suggestion

C Press 31/10/93

IIA

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE next five days will make or break the multiparty elections.

Attitudes seem to be hardening between the ANC alliance and the newly formed Freedom Alliance led principally by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

While the government and the ANC alliance are hoping the interim constitution and other outstanding issues will be finalised by Friday, the Freedom Alliance looks set to torpedo this.

In a final bid to save the talks and meet deadline agreements, government is to meet with the Freedom Alliance in a series of bilateral talks this week.

However, the prevailing mood among FA members - made up of Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments - does not inspire confidence.

The glum leadership, comprising Oupa Gqozo, Lucas Mangope, Ferdie

Hartzenberg and Constand Viljoen, refused to speak to the press this week.

Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi, who was the only one who spoke at the impromptu press conference, probably summed up the feelings of his colleagues when he said: "There is still a long way to go."

While the FA is insisting on a summit of leaders, which, if agreed to, could alter the course of things, including the elections, the ANC is opposed to this.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the ANC is going ahead with agreed timetables with or without boycotters.

Failure to woo the FA back to the talks could create a serious problem.

Nevertheless, players would have to finalise their discussions on Friday and pave the way for the election.

An upbeat F.W. de Klerk told an enthusiastic NP rally at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park yesterday that they were not afraid of the ANC.

He lashed out at the ANC's arrogance, double talk and intimidation, and averred that the NP's support was growing among blacks.

Further, Inkatha was little more than a regional party, he added.



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Lonely hearts on the right

C/Read 31/10/93

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
Political Reporter

IT failed to prevent the ANC and government from agreeing to write a final constitution before going to the polls in April, and now the embattled Freedom Alliance is looking towards President FW De Klerk for a shoulder to cry on.

The alliance, consisting of conservative black and white organisations, has asked for an urgent meeting with De Klerk in a bid to have their grievances addressed before the November 5 deadline during which the 21 negotiating parties are expected to wind up their constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre.

This follows the alliance's failure to make any headway during their bilateral talks with the ANC and Pretoria at two separate meetings this week. Their bid to have an urgent summit of all political leaders also fell through.

Instead, the government and the ANC retreated to a two-day *bosbraad* meeting on Tuesday and Wednesday where they agreed on important constitutional issues such as the role of a deputy state president and the powers of regional governments during the transition.

They agreed the deputy state president should come from the party with the second highest number of votes after the election.

Time is not exactly on the side of the FA and with odds heavily stacked against them, the alliance - formerly called the Concerned South African Group - has little option but to iron out their differences at the WTC.

Wherever they go for sympathy the FA leaders are advised that there is no better place for the resolution of their problems than the WTC.

During Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's



COLD SHOULDER . . . Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been directed back to the World Trade Centre.

meeting last week with UN general secretary Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Buthelezi was told in no uncertain terms to return to the conference table at the WTC to sort out his political problems.

After the meeting, Buthelezi, eager to avenge his dented political pride, vowed not to do so under any circumstances.

While De Klerk is ready to give the FA leaders a second hearing and wants them back at the multiparty talks, it is very unlikely that he will make further concessions to them.

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA executive director Dr Alex Boraine made similar observations in his institute's monthly publication.

He said: "An even more difficult problem surrounding the final stages of negotiations is

the attitude of Buthelezi and Inkatha. Despite concessions made by the ANC and the government, Buthelezi remains obstinate and obdurate."

"Asking for further concessions, from the ANC in particular, is almost asking too much, but the responsibility for bringing the IFP back to the negotiating table, rests largely with Mandela and his colleagues."

Boutros-Ghali and Boraine are seasoned, widely-respected politicians. It would be foolish to dismiss as irrational or myopic their opinions on sensitive matters such as this.

In the past the government and the ANC have gone to great lengths to accommodate rightwing sentiments. Black homeland leaders, feeling their power gradually slipping away, called for the es-

tablishment of regional governments and federal states with entrenched regional powers.

Of greater concern is the claim by Buthelezi that Zulus would like to retain their nationhood via an almost autonomous federal government comprising KwaZulu and Natal.

Concerned about this claim, the ANC held a massive Zulu cultural festival-cum-political rally at Kings Park Stadium last Sunday precisely to expose Buthelezi's claims as inflated, if not mythical.

To avoid any possible cause for criticism, the ANC made sure that no supporters were bussed in from other provinces because that would have implied that half the crowd at the stadium were non-Zulus.

Dubbed "Sonke", the event went so far as to shake even those die-hard Buthelezi supporters among Natal's business magnates.

This is reflected in Boraine's comment: "Not only is Buthelezi losing support in KwaZulu/Natal, but the business community which for so long supported him is becoming restless, feeling that he should return to the negotiating table to present his demands there."

"This so far has not bought him any nearer to a sense of reality, but has made him even more desperate. His constant threats of civil war have brought upon him the ire and criticism of his erstwhile ally, De Klerk, and this bodes ill for any compromise."

Meanwhile, the nominal support Buthelezi receives from some affiliates of the FA is highly suspect.

The human rights record in Bophuthatswana leaves much to be desired. President Lucas Mangope's administration through his heavy handed security forces have angered even the Tswanas, who tolerated him in the hope he might turn out a democrat.

IT WAS the first item on the agenda at 10.30 on Thursday morning. Government negotiator Roelf Meyer leaned forward in his chair at the World Trade Centre and told the planning committee the government and the ANC had made progress.

It was not an unusual statement for Mr Meyer, who, despite months of exhausting negotiations and setbacks, has maintained his optimism that South Africa's leaders would finalise a settlement.

But on this occasion, Mr Meyer's promise of progress was not just the desperate chant of the doomed, a week before hanging, but a statement of fact.

He was reporting back on two days of intensive talks with the ANC at the D'Nyala game reserve, where casually dressed cabinet ministers and the ANC's top negotiators had worked from 7.30am until 10 at night to resolve outstanding issues. And this, to a great extent, they did, Mr Meyer said, outlining the areas where progress was made.

Turning to his negotiating counterpart, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Mr Meyer asked him if he had anything to add.

Poker-faced, Mr Ramaphosa replied that he did not know what Mr Meyer was talking about, adding sarcastically that perhaps Mr Meyer's comrade in arms, operation Vula activist Mac Maharaj, could contribute to the briefing. Mr Maharaj obliged and

Pressure is on as talks

near goal

Report: EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

SI Times 31/10/93

the flickering moment of tension was defused.

Mr Meyer spent the rest of the day skipping around the corridors of the World Trade Centre with a giggly flush of happiness on his face.

The past week has seen a plethora of meetings, sun-dits and bilaterals between all the parties in an

attempt to make the final breakthrough to beat the deadline for the finalisation of the interim constitution at the end of the coming week.

On one level, the ANC and government met to thrash out a compromise on important issues like the government of national unity, the powers and func-

tions of the regions and deadlock breaking mechanisms which would come into effect in writing the constitution.

Then there were the meetings between the two major parties and the Freedom Alliance in an attempt to sell if the compromise and draw it back into the process.

The ANC's view was that a summit of leaders could not be held unless all the problems had been solved by the footsoldiers beforehand and were then endorsed by a plenary of

principals. The Freedom Alliance wanted a summit of leaders of only the main players to discuss the impasse and chart the way forward, thus taking negotiations out of the World Trade Centre and into a negotiating forum initiated by it.

Reflecting the uncompromising stance, ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting: "In the end, the Freedom Alliance knows that if there is no agreement by the November 5 deadline they will have missed the boat."

Meanwhile, at sunrise on Thursday morning, high-level delegations of government negotiators and the Freedom Alliance met at the constitutional development offices in Pretoria's jacaranda-lined Walker Street.

They met to decide on the next day's agenda for a meeting between Mr de Klerk, members of the cabinet and the Freedom Alliance.

The alliance was expected to present the meeting with its response to a government document on its position on negotiations. But, much to government's frustration, it merely handed out a mission statement released at its formation weeks before.

The major problem, it seemed, was that members of the Freedom Alliance had failed to reach consensus among themselves on vital issues. They set aside Friday morning to do this before meeting with Mr de Klerk.

And on Thursday afternoon, the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, which had done little but hang around anxiously in the shadows waiting for progress in bilateral meetings, met.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin presented the negotiation



WORKERS UNITED ... Cosatu supporters mass outside the World Trade Centre in protest at clauses in the bill of rights

no-nonsense report on how key differences would be dealt with by the November 5 deadline.

Outside, tens of thousands of Cosatu supporters massed to protest the "anti-worker" clauses in the bill of rights and guaranteeing the tenure of civil servants after the April 27 election.

Hours before, at a breakfast occasion, Mr Ramaphosa had said that the threatened Cosatu strike could create a negative impression among foreign investors, but he expressed optimism that an agreement could be reached with the unions to make the strike unnecessary.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo mounted a makeshift platform and did his bit to widen the gulf between the ANC and the Freedom Alliance. "They call it a Freedom Alliance. You know, when I opened my newspaper and read of this name, I'm afraid I nearly vomited," he said to applause from the large crowd and some of the black policemen assigned to its periphery.

Friday's spate of meetings began with government and ANC negotiators attempting to finalise outstanding matters on local government, deadlock-breaking mechanisms and a constitutional court. The meeting went well and an unshaven and bright-eyed Mr Meyer said afterwards that they hoped to finalise matters on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Cabinet ministers then swept on to the Union Buildings to meet the Freedom Alliance leaders.

The meeting bombed badly. It was a matter of a different meeting and yet the same issue — a summit of leaders.

Mr de Klerk stressed that it could not be held as the ANC and its alliance partners would not attend. He would only be able to sell the idea to the ANC if there was good reason for such a summit — the resolution of the main problems beforehand. He proposed a government-Freedom Alliance bossberaad to deal with the major problem areas.

This was initially turned down by the Freedom Alliance leaders, but at the end they left with a promise to consider the proposal.

The recent compromises on regional powers and functions, which Mr de Klerk hoped to put to the Freedom Alliance, were left unmentioned.

The week that started off so badly, ended badly. The warning signal had been sent hours before the meeting, when the Afrikaans Volksfront executive called on its members to prepare to fight, given the government and other negotiators' refusal to make concessions on an Afrikaans homeland.

A tense and grim Mr de Klerk told his ministers after the leaders of the Freedom Alliance had left that they would have to try again "next week". But, he added as he strode out of the door, time was running out.