

Now the big question is whether the capital inflow can be turned back on, but no one can make the gold price perform as required. The ending of sanctions will ease the investment climate, but it will not do more, particularly while there is so much black against black violence. The great danger is that a lack of investment will produce a downward spiral of higher unemployment, leading to more violence, leading to capital flight, leading to more unemployment and so on.

President Bush's initiative is itself worthy of note. For by moving to end sanctions in terms of the letter of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act he knows that he will affront the ANC and the Pan-African Congress, as well as their activist supporters in Congress, the black caucuses and probably some black voters too. This is not something presidents would normally wish to do in the year before an election, but George Bush is presumably sufficiently worried about possible collapse in South Africa to risk it.

He must also reflect wryly on Nelson Mandela's phone call to him complaining about American imperialism against Saddam Hussein's Iraq — which Mandela placed among "the oppressed". For, of course, it is the Gulf war that has made Bush invincible in 1992, and which enables him to take all manner of risks. Mandela's complaints may have been more justified than he realised, for the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act was surely buried in the sands of Operation Desert Storm.

The author is a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Philip Howard

Byzantine means mystery and majesty, not just dishonesty and deviousness

Oxford University Press today publishes its great three-volume dictionary of Byzantium, dealing in rich and copious detail with the 1100 years of the civilisation that is our bridge to the ancient world. There was more to Byzantium than the procession of ineffectual and indistinguishable emperors who float through the noble pages of Gibbon.

Byzantine has become a modern buzzword to mean extremely complicated, inflexible and carried on by underhand methods, but there is more to Byzantium than is allowed for by our careless shorthand eponym meaning devious and dishonest. It is our taproot to the past.

Byzantium is one of the fastest growing areas of historical study, with flourishing schools at Birmingham, King's College, London, and many other centres. The quantity and quality of books of Byzantine studies in the handsomely reorganised department at Blackwell's bookshop make one panic: there is not enough time left in life for reading, and one should chuck in everything now to concentrate on the great unread books.

Our Byzantine forefathers called themselves Romans because they were the true heirs of Rome after the eternal city had fallen. They called the Romans Italians, and reserved the name Byzantine for inhabitants of the capital city. The strange but beautiful name is of Thracian origin, and was given to the Megarian colony at the southern mouth of the Bosphorus, the crossroads between Europe and Asia, reportedly founded c.660 BC. Chalcedon had been

founded on the southern shore opposite Byzantium 17 years earlier. The Persian general Megabazus said that the founders of Chalcedon must have been a colony of blind men to have settled there, directly opposite the greatest site for a city in the world.

The legendary etymology is that Byzantium was founded by a chap called Byzas, either the son of the

nymph Semestre, or a Thracian king. A turgid Byzantine (anti-Constantine) political pamphlet describing the monuments of the city witters on about "the days of Byzas and Antes", inventing an unconvincing portmanteau toponym for Byz-Ant-ion.

When the Emperor Constantine refounded the city as his capital of the Eastern Empire, he thought Constantinople to be a better name for it. Well he would, wouldn't he? Constantinople fell to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in 1453, 21 centuries after the foundation of the Queen of the Golden Horn.

The Turks renamed it Istanbul only as recently as 1930. There are various explanations of its third name. It may be from Islam-bul, the Turkish for city of Islam. It may be a crude Turkish shot at pronouncing the Greek dialect *eis tan polin*, into the city. But the most boring suggestion is most probable: it is merely an ignorant Turkish corruption of the city's second name, Constantinople.

No other city has had three such beautiful and resonant names. They resonate down the centuries in the history and literature of the world: "And therefore I have sailed the seas and come / To the holy city of Byzantium." Gibbon, who lost patience with the Roman Empire after it shifted its centre east, nevertheless got it right, writing about the time after the fall of our mother city: "Constantinople had been left naked and desolate, without a prince or a people. But she could not be despoiled of the incomparable situation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune."

Our modern jargon of Byzantine to mean shifty undervalues the name, which is a link to so much of our heritage in religion and art and learning. Our modern efflorescence of Byzantine studies shows we are returning to our great root.

16/1/20

COMMENT

Huddleston 24/6/91
Telephone (011) 474-0128

ONE of the most poignant and prophetic anti-apartheid books, *Naught For Your Comfort*, was written by Father Trevor Huddleston.

The wellknown Sophiatown Anglican Church cleric, who has fought the evil of apartheid all his life, returned to South Africa after an absence of 35 years.

The cleric's return is auspicious for a number of reasons. As an apostle of peace, Trevor Huddleston was among the first anti-apartheid people to stand up boldly against apartheid. He worked with passion to have it abolished.

Trevor Huddleston was the black man's friend in more ways than simply his fight against apartheid. He lived in Sophiatown, formed the Huddleston Jazz Band where Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa learned jazz, and ministered to many Christians in the townships.

If he had not left the country there is no doubt that he would have been jailed for his battles against apartheid laws.

He returns during extraordinary times for South Africa, when most apartheid laws have been removed from the Statute Book.

He returns at a sad time too when the country is recovering from bouts of devastating violence and when life for blacks remains almost hopelessly the same as ever. He comes at a time when the Church has put together what might be the most significant peace conference yet.

We hope that his return will see the eventual removal of an evil he fought all his life.

THE history of professional soccer seems to be in the process of repeating itself.

We are not yet in a position to comment on the rumours and counter-rumours within the ranks of the NSL.

But we are reminded curiously of the rumbles that started the demise of this organisation's predecessor, the National Professional Soccer League.

Whether the scandal brewing over the NSL will lead to the rolling of heads or even the changing of this body, remains to be seen.

While the NSL has many enemies, there is no denying the strides it has taken locally and internationally. If there is a scent of rot setting in, those responsible should be dealt with quickly.

There have been unsavoury rumours and whispered scandals about what has been or has not been happening in the NSL.

ANC backs Olympic comeback



S. Tshwete 16/06/91

Dan Moyo — are meeting with a sports management group to seal the plan, which culminates with South Africa's bid to host the Olympic Games in 2004.

Speaking at a press briefing yesterday, M. Tshwete said the ANC's blessing for a breakthrough into international sport was conditional on the various sports bodies achieving unity and funds being made available to develop facilities and training for disadvantaged black sports.

He also said it could be desirable that soccer — which has the biggest following and which has made the most rapid progress towards unity — be the first sport to go international.

The ANC, he said, would not insist that there be no international sporting links until a democratic government was finally in place.

Instead, the decision to compete abroad would be left to the new unified sports bodies.

At the same time he warned that the ANC would oppose an athletics team being sent to Tokyo because not enough visible progress had been made towards establishing unity between the various bodies.

In a major development signalling the end of the country's isolation, it has been established that an English First Division football side will make a 48-hour visit to South Africa in October this year as part of a soccer development programme.

This will be followed by a feast of African and South African events — in the interim while the self-imposed international moratorium on sport is retained until January 1992 — including the launch of a South African Youth Games in Cape Town in August.

From April 11-18 next year, Johannesburg will play host to the country's first youth games, which will see 12 sporting provinces competing in six Olympic sports — soccer, athletics, tennis, swimming, gymnastics and boxing. The opening and closing ceremonies will be held at Ellis Park, with the other sports being contested at RAU, Ellis Park and the Standard Bank Arena.

The youth games will be held every two years to nurture South Africa's young sporting talent.

John MacLennan and Gary Lemke

THE African National Congress yesterday pledged support for sport integration moves which could see a South African team at the Barcelona Olympics next year.

It would also welcome the prospect of this country's hosting the Games in this country in 2004, as has been suggested in latest reports.

Steve Tshwete, a member of the ANC's national executive and chief spokesman on sport, said: "We will not obstruct the process as long as the people who are in control (of sport) are convinced they are ready to go there. We will not prescribe to them."

The dramatic announcement by Mr Tshwete comes in the wake of a spectacular development which opens the way for South Africa's re-entry into world sport — via Africa — and full international competition.

Today a detailed blueprint to orchestrate the process will be rubber-stamped at a historic meeting in East London.

Four delegates from the National Olympic Sports Congress — Mluleki George, Mthobi Tyamzashe, Bill Jardin, and

Greiner deal 'has flow-on danger'

IF you relied on the kind of naive rewriting of history which passes for retrospects of our past on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, you might be inclined to believe that the Russians had never had any Australian spies.

This is part of the ongoing effort to pretend that there was never any reason for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation to exist, that Communists were merely left-wing patriotic Australian nationalists (but, of course, there were quite a few decent members of the Australian Communist Party who were just that), and that the Petrov



McGUINNESS

dedicated Communists whose loyalties were to the murderous dictatorship of Stalin in the Soviet Union.

In a word, in the darkest days of the Cold War there really were spies, and they

Czechoslovakia in 1950. Coincidentally, just as the book was published a few days ago Milner died. (Far from being maltreated by the countries he betrayed, he apparently visited both New Zealand and Australia without hindrance in his later years.)

Dick Hall's book is important and unusual. For he exposes the facts about Milner's behaviour, and has no illusions about the reality of his espionage. He does not do this from a self-righteous Cold War stance but looks at the factors in the conservative and repressive pre-war society of New Zealand, and the rigid self-righteousness of Milner's

beyond this silly debate. This is what Dick Hall does. He contributes a valuable element to the understanding of what made the spies who worked for the Soviet Union in the Cold War act as they did — people like Kim Philby, Donald Burgess, Anthony Blunt, or Americans like Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs.

Of course, Milner was not the only Australian spy who went to Eastern Europe — there were several — to live and die in those awful dictatorships while still protesting that they were in a better society than that which they betrayed. The strange thing is

It suggests, also, the real reason why we should be so suspicious of the behaviour of ASIO, of its tapping and reporting of innocent telephone conversations, and the narrow mindedness of its operatives. The truth is that the people who wrote ASIO reports blasted the careers of many innocent people who would have grown up intellectually if they had not been made to feel persecuted. The sheer ignorance in the reports Hall quotes is an indictment of ASIO as an unsophisticated mob of bunglers. Perhaps they are better now — though their inability to stop the Foreign Affairs Depart-

"The craft of espionage corrupts those involved in it. Its very essence is lying and pretence, not healthy occupations for anyone. The presence or even the threat of espionage infects any society.

"The affair of the leaked documents, even while still secret, spread a stain through Australian life. It created an organisation, ASIO, which for many years of its life acted in a way inimical to a free society.

"The knowledge, however inexact, that there had been espionage reinforced the notion on the right that all communists were bad; in the words used by the anti-com-

Spying the truth amid an espionage whitewash

Page 2

THE WARRIOR CHIEF

● From Review 1

"They are responsible for the present crisis, by demanding that Mr De Klerk sack his Minister for Defence and Law and Order and to ban Zulus from carrying cultural weapons. They'll drop the demands for sackings, providing Zulus are disarmed."

"Mr De Klerk knows the ANC has arms caches all over South Africa and the Government permits them to recruit young people for military training. The Government can't complain about Zulus carrying 'cultural weapons' while the ANC is so well armed."

"Estimates of your support in the polls vary from 2 per cent to 25 per cent. Who's right?"

The smile returned to the chief's face. "Are they prophets? How do they know? A lot of these polls were taken after Mandela was released from jail and there was all that hype. How do you conduct a proper poll in a country with all this violence?"

Having read that morning in the paper of a poll in which the category after yes, no and undecided was 26 per cent "too scared to answer", I had to concede he had a point.

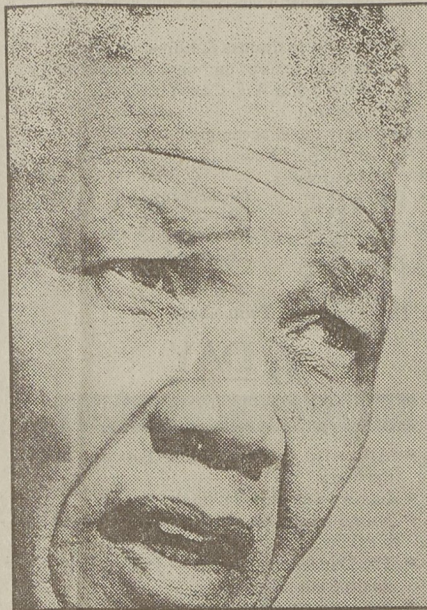
"There's a great deal of paranoia, par-

ticularly among the white community, about the ANC being communist dominated. This must be the only country in the world where communism is still taken seriously," I said.

The smiles were coming thick and fast now. "Ironie, isn't it?" he replied. "A young lady from Ivestia (the Soviet newspaper) came with a big delegation from Russia and said they didn't want to hear anything about communism because it had destroyed their country. Yet here we have Joe Slovo (secretary-general of the SACP) saying there is nothing wrong with the engine of communism, it was only the pilot who was wrong. Absolutely ridiculous!"

"I don't know whether communism is making any headway as far as recruitment is concerned, but I believe that a lot of Council of South African Trade Union officials are also members of the Communist Party. I'm concerned because of the dominant part Joe Slovo plays in the ANC. There is no member of the ANC on the Communist Party executive, but there are communists on the executive of the ANC. It's obvious who influences whom."

"There are a lot of different political ideologies in the ANC," he explained. "Only last week a new, possibly more lib-



Nelson Mandela: symbolised the fight

eral, organisation was formed by ANC supporters. There's also vying for positions. Those who were in the country before the ANC were unbanned are telling the leaders, who were in exile, that they can't come back here and automatically

get positions in the ANC. And look what happened when my brother Mandela was released last year. He said he wanted to meet me but then refused to because if he did, some of his supporters would throttle him."

It's hardly surprising that after decades of bitter fighting between black and white, that despite the dramatic changes, there are still deep suspicions about each side's motives. Many believe the Government, while proceeding with reform, hopes to maintain a de facto apartheid with a minority veto over any elected parliament. "Was this possible?" I asked.

"I don't think so," Buthelezi replied. "Mr De Klerk has been emphatic there would be universal adult franchise. However, it's no use pretending cultural groups don't exist, with their interests safeguarded. There are different race and language groups in this country and we are not unique."

"None of us would want any camouflage of the old apartheid policies under the pretext that one is protecting cultural groups, but to pretend they don't exist is absurd."

"I have always supported one person, one vote, a la Westminster. There is nothing wrong with the Constitution of South Africa except the exclusion of blacks. We also need a federal system, but not one based on ethnicity."

The standard of living of middle-class

whites is the best in the world and while most seem to be accepting an end to apartheid, some have difficulty coming to terms with any diminution of their privileged position.

The very term "redistribution of wealth" fills them with dread, although when questioned, one finds it is confiscation they fear most. Whites seem unable to comprehend that merely removing the obnoxious apartheid laws is insufficient. Blacks are demanding a share of the wealth as well.

"What," I asked the chief, "could be done to force whites to face this reality?"

"I've always told them I believe in the redistribution of wealth to end the gross disparities and inequities of the past. Much more is spent on white education than black education, pensions, health, etc. There must be redistribution of opportunities. The gaps must be narrowed. What we have to do is recreate wealth so that there is a bigger slice for everyone."

His reply prompted the 64,000-rand question. "What will happen to the South African economy with the multi-racial government?"

"The economy of this country is in the doldrums and, with a 5 per cent or 6 per cent growth rate necessary to cater for the 3 per cent black population increase, we are in deep trouble. At the moment, the growth rate is 1 per cent to 2 per cent and if it doesn't increase, we are back to

square one. If liberation does not mean the improvement in the quality of life of ordinary people, then it's all meaningless."

"Sanctions have been lifted but no one's going to invest in South Africa while we have this violence. We've got everything in South Africa — gold, uranium, coal, diamonds, agriculture. The potential is enormous. There is no other country in Africa which has the same self-sufficiency as the economy of South Africa. The nearby States are interwoven with the economy of South Africa, and there is great potential."

"Imagine when apartheid has been fully removed. Imagine the backbone from Zaire to Zambia through Zimbabwe to this country."

"Look at the ports and infrastructure and minerals that this country has. Once you get rid of the violence and apartheid, this country can end up as one of the strongest economies in the world. But if we don't address these issues, there will be a situation where we will not be able to cope."

● On Monday in *The Australian*: Barry Cohen talks to Helen Suzman, a prominent white opponent of apartheid, and Denis Worrall, deputy leader of the Democratic Party and a former ambassador to Australia. Mr Cohen is a former federal Labor minister who writes a fortnightly column for *The Australian*. His next column also appears on Monday.

Review

South Africa's hopes of a peaceful end to apartheid and an ordered re-entry into the world community have been shattered by the worst violence since the Boer War, with more than 5000 killed. **BARRY COHEN** talks to the man who holds the country's future in his hands

UNDERSTANDING politics in South Africa used to be easy. Colour enabled one to determine the goodies from the baddies. To an outside world pre-occupied since the 1960s with racism and colonialism, the white South African regime was the epitome of evil and the blacks, coloured and Indians who constituted 80 per cent of the population, the downtrodden and oppressed.

All that started to change when last year President F.W. de Klerk announced apartheid had failed; that it would be dismantled, that the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party would be unbanned, that exiles would be permitted to return and political prisoners released from jail.

When Nelson Mandela, who symbolised the fight against apartheid, was released after 27 years in jail, the world rejoiced as if the Messiah had returned.

Anyone returning to South Africa as I did after 12 years would find it unrecognisable. In 1979, although the first cracks in apartheid had appeared, there was little change in its fundamental structure, with the odious Group Areas Act, Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act and the notorious pass laws rigidly enforced to ensure the segregation of the races.

A five million-strong affluent white community controlled the economy, the media, the judiciary and the security and defence forces. I returned to Australia convinced white ascendancy would remain for the foreseeable future.

I am delighted to say I was wrong.

As apartheid disappears, there is a new-found confidence among blacks as they move around their country no longer apologising for their presence. White attitudes have also changed. The old arrogance is at worst considerably reduced and among most there is an acceptance of the immorality and injustice of apartheid, and the stupidity in trying to maintain and enforce it.

Gradually South Africa is ceasing to be the world's No 1 pariah. Sanctions are slowly being removed as one international organisation after another welcomes it back into the fold. Cricket, rugby and soccer internationals should soon be resumed, with South Africa a fair chance of competing in the Barcelona Olympics.

Yet just as South Africa appears certain to end decades of isolation, it is beset by its worst outbreak of violence since the Boer War. Since 1987, clashes between the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC have resulted in more than 5000 deaths.

Rumours abound of a clandestine "third force" of army and police operating outside the aegis of government with its own agenda to disrupt negotiations aimed at bringing a peaceful transition to democratic government. Tensions also exist within the white community. Afrikanerdom was shocked recently when 1000 right-wing farmers, attempting to remove black squatters from a farm, were fired on by South African police. Nothing like that had happened before.

Who are the goodies and who are the baddies now depends on who you talk to in South Africa today. For 350-odd years, one white minority group or another ran South Africa. Now as the black and white tribes of South Africa move inexorably towards a multi-racial society, every ethnic group and every political ideology is jostling and manoeuvring to gain a share of the power. Some are



Chief Buthelezi: has demanded, as leader of the largest single ethnic group in South Africa, to be party to any negotiations about the country's future

none too fussy about the methods they use, ensuring South Africans remain apprehensive about their future.

The world's attention has focused on negotiations between the National Party Government and the largest and oldest black nationalist organisation, the ANC. One man, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has refused to be shouldered aside and demanded, as the leader of the largest single ethnic group in South Africa, the Zulus, to be party to any negotiations about the country's future.

There are 36 million people in South Africa: 75.3 per cent are Africans, 8.8 per cent coloureds, 2.5 per cent Asians and 13.4 per cent whites. Of the 27 million blacks, approximately 7-8 million are Zulus.

Buthelezi and Inkatha cannot be ignored, and the ANC is not ignoring them. It has, in fact, spent a considerable amount of its time and energy ensuring South Africa and the rest of the world are aware of their shortcomings. Heading the list is the claim that Inkatha is a political party based on tribalism which it, the ANC, rejects. This conveniently forgets that it was the ANC that encouraged Buthelezi to assume the chieftainship of the Zulu homeland, KwaZulu, and only changed its attitude towards him as his power and influence grew.

Formed in 1975 and based on a mass membership which grew to 1.8 million, Inkatha's approach to apartheid was "participative opposition". With most other opponents of apartheid banned or in exile, Inkatha remained the only black organisation able to carry on a constructive dialogue with the white community.

Buthelezi became further offside with the ANC for opposing sanctions and the armed struggle, and as an enthusiastic free enterpriser. Although the ANC attempted to paint Buthelezi as a "stooge" or "puppet" of the National Party Government, he is a fierce opponent of apartheid who has denounced it at every opportunity. If Dennis Worrall, deputy leader of the anti-apartheid Democratic Party, and Helen Suzman, the former MP, are to be believed, it was Buthelezi's refusal to accept "independence" for KwaZulu that was the "brick in the wall" that wrecked apartheid. Strong words indeed.

Zulus have a fearsome reputation, and not without justification. The battles of Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift are etched in the military history of both the British and the Zulus as fierce and bloody clashes. The 19th-century exploits of Shaka, who revolutionised Zulu battle tactics with his rampaging impi (regiments), and Cetshwayo are still recounted by Zulus with pride. It is not surprising the ANC takes them seriously.

Aware of the bloody clashes between ANC and Inkatha supporters and being way past my best fighting days, I was delighted to accept the chief's offer to be flown from Durban to the capital of KwaZulu, Ulundi. Travelling with his genial Minister for Health, Dr Mdlosene, and wedged between two sturdy young Zulus armed with howitzer-sized shotguns, was an interesting experience. The good doctor's laughing comment that he had been lion hunting – and missed – did nothing to calm my jangled nerves.

Ulundi was chosen as the capital of KwaZulu for historical and symbolic reasons. A visit to the memorial for those who fell at the Battle of Isandhlwana, preceded my arrival at the magnificent KwaZulu Parliament to renew my acquaintance with the chief I last met in 1979. The warmth of his greeting reminded me why I and my family were so entranced. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, despite ANC propaganda, is difficult to dislike.

I had thought carefully about my opening question. Any descendant of Shaka is not to be trifled with. I decided to gamble. "No political leader in South Africa has so many fervent admirers or detractors as you. You seem to be a cross between Jesus Christ and Adolf Hitler."

The handsome chief with the twinkling eyes threw back his head and roared with laughter. I relaxed. He became serious.

"I don't know. Who can explain it? I'm the most open political leader in the country and I'm the most consistent. There is no vagueness about where I stand. I've never changed."

"It's said you don't take criticism kindly."

"Criticism or vilification?"

"You may say it's vilification."

"It's not a question of opinion, it's a fact. I won all the court cases."

One of the most oft-repeated and damaging allegations against Buthelezi is that unless you are a member of Inkatha, you cannot get a house or a job in KwaZulu. This seemed an appropriate time to ask him about it.

The eyes stopped twinkling. "It's bullshit! Do you believe it?" he asked, obviously pained by the question.

"It's not a matter of whether I believe it. I'm merely telling you it is what is said about what happens in KwaZulu." I might have treated it as political propaganda had it come only from his political opponents. But having heard it from Helen Suzman, a Buthelezi admirer, I could not ignore the charges.

"I have nothing to say except that it's bullshit, utter bullshit! It's just vilification. The ANC have been hurling insults like that at us for a long time but not one case has ever been produced." He

looked me straight in the eye. "I challenge them to produce just one case."

Whether they could or not is open to question. What is beyond doubt is the violence between ANC and Inkatha. Since 1987, 5000 people have died in clashes between the two. Many I spoke to claimed that while both sides were guilty, the Zulus were the more aggressive and that a rogue "third force" of police and defence personnel were either aiding Inkatha or turning a blind eye to its aggression.

I quoted in part from an article in Johannesburg's Sunday Times in which the author stated he no longer believed the Inkatha leaders' protestations that they were committed to peace after a recent rampage by Zulu impi after a rally at Bekkersdal on the West Rand.

AT the rally, Inkatha central committee member Musa Myeni "stamped around telling reporters that Inkatha would put in place 250,000 fighters in Soweto and other townships", the article said.

"It's bullshit," Buthelezi roared. "The whole thing is utter bullshit, because I was there." I wished I had chosen another quote. "Musa made that statement before I arrived. His house had just been burned that weekend and he made that wild statement on his own and he has nothing to do with me or the Central Committee."

"No one was blaming you," I got in quickly.

"No. But when a man's house and everything he possesses is burned down, it's not unnatural for him to react like that. We were setting up a branch at Bekkersdal and I was invited for the inauguration. People came to boost morale and to have a rally."

"We didn't want to be provocative, so we held our rally far away in the football ground. There was almost as many ANC people there as we had at our rally. They started the trouble. As people went to the buses, we discovered a car had been wired to explode and kill our people. Then Inkatha members, acting to defend themselves against a bomb

set up by ANC, killed four people. It happened again when we buried a prominent Inkatha mayor killed by the ANC. After the service, they fired on one of our buses and our people chased and killed the man who shot at them. The ANC start the trouble, and the press blames Inkatha."

"They suggest you are not doing enough to stop the violence and have lost control of your supporters."

"Lost control? Mr Cohen, you were a politician like myself. This violence is similar to Lebanon. People, my people, have lost wives and children. My own children have been threatened, although, fortunately, not killed. I really don't know how I, as a Christian, would react if my child was killed. I don't know how people should react when their loved ones are killed."

"They say I've lost control, but I don't know what they expect me to do. I appeal in all my speeches to stop the violence and then they brand us hypocrites."

IN 1955, a "Congress of the People" was held in Kliptown, just outside Johannesburg. There, a group of black, coloured and Indian organisations seeking a democratic South Africa framed The Freedom Charter.

It commenced: "We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people...'"

It set out the principles on which a future democratic South Africa would be based.

The driving force behind The Freedom Charter was the ANC. Formed in 1912 and banned after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, it established its military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. After a series of attacks on government property led to the Rivonia Trial, which jailed many of its leaders including Mandela and forced others into exile, it led the worldwide struggle against apartheid.

Now the major political force in South Africa, it feels, with considerable justification, that it has the "right" to be the first government of a multi-racial South Africa. Although estimates of its support vary from a low of 40 per cent up to 65 per cent, no one can be sure.

The forces gathering to stop an ANC "takeover" include a revitalised and more liberal National Party that recently absorbed, almost en masse, the South African Labor Party, which claims to represent the majority of the 3 million coloureds. Political pundits predict it will also attract those white voters who previously voted for the Democratic Party, the only parliamentary party that has consistently opposed apartheid.

There are many other players, but it is the 7-8 million Zulus who will determine who governs South Africa. Estimates of Inkatha's support vary from 2 per cent to 25 per cent. If this is anywhere near the upper limit, then a combination of the National Party, Inkatha and other minor groups could leave the ANC out in the cold. It is the reason, many claim, for the ANC continually bad-mouthing Inkatha and Buthelezi, and blaming them for the violence.

The question that occupies the minds of most South Africans, particularly the whites who have so much to lose, is the ideological bent of the ANC. Once avowedly socialist and an advocate of nationalisation, it has, since the collapse of communism, been backtracking at remarkable speed and talking of a "mixed economy". Nevertheless, with its long-standing connections with the South African Communist Party, doubts remain.

It is said the only thing that holds the ANC together is its opposition to apartheid and its leadership in the armed struggle to "liberate" South Africa; that it contains every political ideology from the extreme Left to small "I" liberals, and that once in power, it will fragment into half a dozen political parties. ANC officials admitted to me that this was possible, although they desperately hoped it would not happen.

Chief Buthelezi represents all the things the ANC dislikes. He was against sanctions and the armed struggle, and is strongly in favour of a free-enterprise economy. Worse, as Inkatha is overwhelmingly Zulu, it accuses him of fostering tribalism – the curse, as the ANC sees it, of other black African countries. What then did he think of the ANC?

"It is a revolutionary organisation that for 30 years has thought and practised revolution. They believe they have the right to direct change in this country and rule after change. It is not in their nature to open the way for other political parties to take control."

● Continued Review 4



Rorke's Drift: etched in the memory

"I'm the most open political leader in the country and I'm the most consistent. There is no vagueness about where I stand. I've never changed"

SUNDAY Times 16/06/91

16/1/11

Farmers and ANC line up for battle to buy a whole village

By MARK STANSFIELD

THE few residents left in Grootvlei are waiting anxiously to hear who will buy their village — the ANC or a consortium of businessmen and farmers.

The ANC speculation started about a week ago when Mrs Winnie Mandela and her entourage paid two visits to the former mining village situated between Heidelberg and Villiers.

On Friday the ANC confirmed it was interested in buying the village.

Built to accommodate 2 000 people, only 27 families still live there.

Exiles

The ANC, it seems, may buy the village and use it to house returning exiles.

But local farmer and businessman Gert Viljoen has put together a consortium interested in outbidding the ANC.

The Viljoen consortium has already made a bid and, if successful, intends turning the village into a sports injury rehabilitation centre.

A welfare organisation is also interested in purchasing the property.

Grootvlei village belongs



WINNIE SPOTTER ... Janet Nagel who wants to stay

to Anglo American's Amcoal Springfield Collieries division, but the mine has been closed and most of the houses are uninhabited.

Mrs Janet Nagel, who has lived in Grootvlei for six years, saw Mrs Mandela taking two peeks at the village on June 6 and June 7.

"I'm told she and those with her also had lunch served to them at the boarding house up the street," Mrs Nagel said this week.

What does Mrs Nagel think about the ANC purchasing Grootvlei?

"Well ... with three young children I don't think it's such a good idea to stay around."

"We don't really know what to do until we find out who has been successful. But we definitely don't want to move out," she said.

Down the street, Mr Viljoen was more circumspect.

"Yes, there are a few of us interested in buying the place. I really don't care who gets it as long as the village does not become a ghost town like so many others."

Tears

"Grootvlei still has its infrastructure and we can thank Amcoal that they reached a decision to sell fairly early before the whole place disintegrated," he said.

"All we want is good neighbourliness and if that's what the ANC intends then they are welcome here — if they bid high enough."

But there are those who are sad at the demise of the community.

Mrs Marie Piek has lived in Grootvlei for 24 years and has run the local creche for the past 15.

With tears in her eyes she said:

"Excuse the mess but I'm busy packing up ... we have to be out of here by

the end of the month."

Five children were attending her "school" last Thursday.

"My husband has been transferred to Standerton and it's such a heart sore story. I doubt whether we will ever find such a beautiful village to live in again."

"My children and my grandchildren started school here. This is a very sad day for me."

The village goes on auction on July 2 at 2.30 pm.

Grootvlei consists of 130 houses, 16 semi-detached units, 20 prefabricated houses, eight single quarters, a recreation club — complete with men's and ladies' bars, bowling greens, swimming pool, tennis and squash courts, a "high-density" complex of cottages, single quarters (which can house 900), a hospital, workshops, training centre, storerooms, a community hall and school.

Also on sale are an 18-hole golf course with clubhouse, a 60ha dam and an enclosed game park.

Mr Viljoen disclosed that two bids have been received so far — the highest one was R2-million but nobody's saying whether it was high enough for Amcoal.

16/1/11

ANC fears a commie plot

S. TARBURG 14/06/91

Tribune Reporter

THE Communist Party in Natal could be gearing itself up to grab key posts in the African National Congress.

In a surprising move this week, the southern Natal region nominated hard-line marxist Harry Gwala, the fiery South African Communist Party stalwart and leader of the ANC in the Midlands, as its candidate for the post of ANC deputy-president.

Concerned sources in the ANC this week expressed fears that Mr Gwala's unexpected nomination might be a SACP conspiracy to get its people into top positions in the hierarchy.

Alternatively they said it could mean that militants within the ANC were gaining control or that branches were dissatisfied with the way the current regional leadership was conducting business. Others even interpreted the move as a regional protest over mainstream leadership.

"It probably is an indication of grassroots impatience with the progress made so far by the current regional leadership, and possibly the way they are handling the Inkatha issue," said a source.

Mr Gwala, who is 71, was nominated for the position at a closed southern Natal regional conference last Sunday at the Mgababa Holiday resort on the South Coast.

Some of those present said that what had surprised many was the nomination of Mr Gwala ahead of Thabo Mbeki, the charismatic ANC foreign affairs head, and Jacob Zuma, the intelligence chief credited with doing much to bring about talks between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal. Also surprising was the strength of support for Mr Gwala who apparently received more nominations than the combined total of those who voted for Mr Zuma and Mr Mbeki.

Sources said that had Mr Zuma not been nominated for the position of secretary-general, Mr Gwala's nomination in Mr Zuma's backyard could have been seen as a slap in face for Mr Zuma and a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

Although one senior ANC insider this week dismissed Mr Gwala's nomination as a "regional storm in a teacup", he admitted it had sent shockwaves through the moderate camp.

The source said the general feeling among moderates was that the selection of a militant communist hardliner would not only damage the ANC's image, but would also send the wrong signals to the international community.

However, moderates were heartened by the nomination of Mr Zuma for the important position of secretary-general — the engine of the movement. If elected he would be powerfully placed to push the moderate line.

Winnie love-affair rumour rocks Mandelas

THE SUNDAY TIMES 16 JUNE 1991

ANC condemns press 'interference' in their lives

by Andrew Hogg, Johannesburg

THE imperious antics of Winnie Mandela, which have included kidnapping, accessory to the assault of a child and a preference for necklaces made of rubber and filled with petrol, last week entered yet another sordid arena. Allegations emerged that her relationship with a young lawyer was causing marital discord in the Mandela household.

At the centre of the dispute is Dali Mpofu, 27, a lawyer who is precisely 29 years her junior — they share the same birthday. Mpofu earlier this year became Winnie Mandela's deputy in the African National Congress's social welfare department. After months of gossip among ANC activists, Johannesburg's City Press newspaper, which is aimed at a predominantly African readership, last week reported the "damaging rumours of marital problems between Nelson and Winnie Mandela". The paper implicated Mpofu, adding that the ANC was desperately trying to keep the allegations quiet.

Whatever the sensitivities involved, the relationship between the two has been a matter of open conjecture in Soweto for months. The friendship dates back to the months preceding the release last year of Nelson Mandela after 27 years in jail. Mpofu, a flamboyant character with a charming manner, was one of the legal team defending Jerry Richardson, "coach" to the infamous football club set up by Winnie in the latter days of her husband's imprisonment.

Richardson was sentenced to hang for the murder of

Stompie Moeketsi, 14, but Mpofu's relationship with Winnie Mandela blossomed in spite of the failure of the defence team. After her husband's release, Winnie asked that Mpofu be included on his first foreign tour, claiming that he was almost one of the family. The ANC hierarchy, which was based in Lusaka at that time, vetoed the idea.

Undeterred, Mpofu, described as an affluent intellectual by one of Winnie's associates, started accompanying her to political meetings and was seen dining with her at the Johannesburg Sun, one of the city's best hotels.

Last month, after her conviction for kidnapping, Mpofu was the second man to give her a kiss as she stood dumbfounded in the dock. The first was Nelson Mandela.

One person for whom last week's report will have come as no surprise is Mpofu's former girlfriend, Terry Oakley-Smith, 37, a lecturer. Oakley-Smith, an ANC branch chairman who teaches educational psychology at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, has a two-year-old child by Mpofu, her boyfriend of five years. Recently, however, her relationship with Mpofu has foundered.

Oakley-Smith, who is British, is said to have received a series of menacing calls since the start of the friendship between Mpofu and Winnie Mandela. She has told friends that in the past few days she

has received one death threat and another threatening phone call. She is understood to have given lawyers a statement detailing alleged harassment.

She has refused to talk publicly about the friendship between Winnie Mandela and Mpofu, but is believed to have instructed lawyers that the contents of her statement should be made public if she or her child come to any harm. Oakley-Smith is said to fear that she is being unfairly blamed for the report in City Press. She was coming to the end of a two-month sabbatical in Britain when the story about the affair surfaced.

In breaking the story, City Press sought to distance itself from the allegations, claiming there was a strong belief among the ANC's rank and file that Winnie and Mpofu had been "set up" by the organisation's intelligence section. The paper said there were rumours that members of the section had spied on Winnie, apparently to discredit an attempt by her and her militant supporters to get one of their number appointed deputy president if, as expected, the post falls vacant when Nelson Mandela as-

sumes the presidency at the ANC's national congress next month. Jacob Zuma, head of the ANC's intelligence section, is said to be seeking the post.

Mpofu has dismissed the allegations. "I first treated them as a joke, but within the last couple of weeks the stories have taken a different, vicious turn," he told City Press. "The story is obviously being put out for political reasons."

The ANC has also scotched suggestions of marital discord. Gill Marcus, a spokesman for the organisation, condemned the City Press report as another attempt to interfere with the private lives of the Mandelas. From the Mandelas, whose 33rd wedding anniversary fell on Friday, there has been only silence.

The Mpofu "affair" is not the first time that rumours have surfaced about Winnie Mandela and other men. One woman who had an affair with a member of the discredited football club claims she was tortured by other club members because Winnie was "in love" with her boyfriend and wanted him back.

The latest claims, however, are bound to put new strain on a relationship that is said to be closer to that of father and daughter than husband and wife.

WINNIE LOU - AFFAIR RUMOUR ROCKS MANDELA.



Just good friends? Winnie Mandela with Mpofu, the lawyer 29 years her junior who is at the centre of allegations of a relationship

Is there life after sanctions?

THE SUNDAY TIMES

16 JUNE 1991

South Africa is poised to return fully to international society. The news that the United States is on the verge of lifting sanctions against it means that the sanctions campaign around the world is about to collapse. And despite the frantic efforts of African National Congress radicals and their foreign supporters, all other forms of boycott are likely to crumble in the wake of America's decision.

Doubtless, attempts will be made to move the goalposts now that apartheid has gone. Re-entry to the Commonwealth, for example, is likely to depend on the achievement of straight majority rule, although the application of such a principle to existing Commonwealth members would cause some red faces.

Clearly, an era is ending and, with it, a lot of nonsense. Recent weeks have seen Zimbabwe demand the maintenance of sanctions while simultaneously sending a trade delegation to South Africa to negotiate an increase in its own trade. Despite the support for sanctions of the Organisation of African Unity, South Africa already trades with virtually every other country on the continent. Last year the Republic's African trade grew by 22 per cent.

In a broad sense, sanctions have worked. Full of holes though they were, they symbolised international rejection of apartheid and exercised a potent psychological pressure on white South Africa. In practical terms South Africa managed to carry on buying everything it wanted except some types of high-tech weaponry. But a premium had to be paid to obtain many products; there were continual worries about future supplies; foreign trade had to be shrouded in secrecy; many South African exports had to be sent via third countries (which took a cut of their own); foreign traders and

South Africans of all races have not yet taken in the huge changes in store once links are restored, says

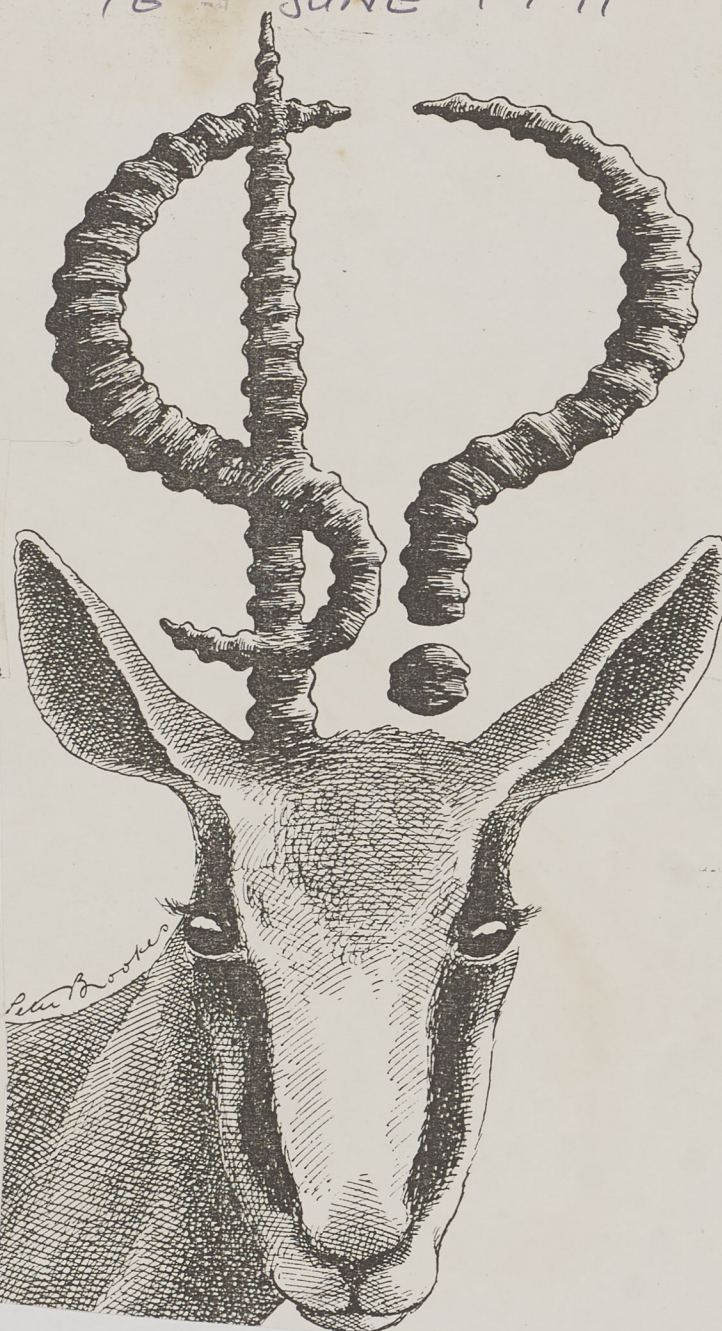
R.W. Johnson

investors were discouraged by the general climate that created, and many potential South African exporters preferred to concentrate on the home market. Sanctions were a nagging difficulty in countless areas of South African life.

There were many ironies. The

countries which applied sanctions most comprehensively were white: America and Scandinavia. Europe's trade with South Africa remained fairly stable overall, while the real sanctions-busters were all Asian: Japan, Hong Kong and, particularly, Taiwan. If you go into a South African office today you will find large numbers of Taiwanese PCs. The only nation to maintain a steady flow of investment into South Africa throughout the period of sanctions has been Taiwan.

How easy America will find it to attract this trade back from the Far East is a moot point. During the sanctions campaign one often heard the boast that come the day of liberation, sanctions-busting countries would be penalised while those that observed them would be rewarded. I suspect this will turn out to be an empty threat and that some trade patterns have changed for good.



Sanctions have provided a *raison d'être* for anti-apartheid activists and bureaucrats in a host of organisations, both inside and outside South Africa. Naturally, the anti-apartheid industry is not best pleased that President de Klerk has shot their fox, and there is dismay at the collapse in funding and support for a whole host of such "progressive" organisations.

Now that they have achieved what they wanted, many activists in exile are discovering that after decades of campaigning they do not want to go back to South Africa after all. More poignantly, some go back and find the country

so changed that they no longer feel at home. There is a comic side to all this, but one should not laugh too long. Many small human tragedies follow any major historical change.

In the end, the greatest economic blows against South Africa had nothing to do with sanctions.

The decision by the Chase Manhattan Bank to call in its loans in 1985, taken on strictly commercial grounds, led to a bank stampede, crippling repayment terms and an end to new lending. Secondly, the collapse of the gold price in the last few years — a strictly market phenomenon — has made the pips

squeak so hard that splits over sanctions have opened up even among the black trade unions.

Since the last century at least, South Africa has depended utterly on mineral exports and the inflow of foreign capital. The 1985 bank crisis and the lower gold price together made radical change inevitable. President de Klerk has in effect merely been registering what the markets were demanding of him.

ANC would sweep to election win — poll

SUNDAY TIMES 16/06/91



ON THE MARCH ... Joe Slovo with Cosatu's Aziz Pahad and the ANC's Alfred Nzo yesterday

Picture: JUHAN KUUS

Blacks want talks, not violence

By EDYTH BULBRING

THE majority of adult blacks prefer negotiations to violence although they believe that violence and other direct action had brought about recent political change in South Africa.

This is said by Mr CP de Kock in the latest book by the Human Sciences Research Council, *South Africa in the Nineties*.

The book contains contributions by 27 experts on issues including violence,

conflict, partition and reconstruction.

Surveys conducted between May 1985 and August 1990 show that 77 percent of the black elite in the PWV believe that a peaceful settlement will be found for the problems between blacks and whites.

Mr De Kock concludes that most blacks would probably still resort to violence and non-violent direct action to protect themselves in an atmosphere of danger, especially if they believed the secur-

ity forces were no longer in control.

He says a peaceful settlement was possible only if the majority of whites were prepared to accommodate the primary demands of blacks.

However, during a period of less than two years, a dramatic change had taken place in adult white perceptions of the ways in which political instability should be dealt with, he adds.

Survey results show that up to November 1988 most

whites believed political instability had to be handled by security action rather than political change.

But by April 1990, 68 percent of whites in a national survey indicated that political methods had to be applied to decrease instability.

Almost two-thirds of the respondents believed they were heading for a good future under a government consisting of all population groups.

THE ANC would win a one-man, one-vote election hands down if it was held tomorrow, a major new poll reveals.

The poll, by Markinor, involved 1 300 black South African adults and 800 whites. For the first time, respondents were given a secret "ballot" and voted for their party and leader choice.

The Markinor poll showed 71 percent of urban-based blacks would vote for the ANC, three percent for the Inkatha Freedom Party, four percent for the National Party and four percent for the Pan Africanist Congress.

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

The Markinor poll was conducted in the PWV, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town areas.

While the ANC is unlikely to have such solid support among the 14-million black rural population, areas such as the Eastern Cape, Transkei and Border regions are known to be behind the ANC almost to a man.

Fight

For their second choice, 18 percent of the black sample indicated support for the National Party, against 22 percent for the PAC and 12 percent for the South African Communist Party.

The ANC would, however, have to fight hard to earn support from South Africa's five-million-plus white population, most of whom live in urban areas.

Only one percent indicated support for the ANC

against the 58 percent who said they would vote for the National Party, 21 percent for the Conservative Party and 10 percent for the Democratic Party.

A popular second choice for whites was the DP — 20 percent — and the IFP — 18 percent.

From the 3,3-million coloured community there were indications that 49,2 percent supported the NP, 10 percent the Labour Party and 9,3 percent the ANC.

In the choice of leader, Nelson Mandela got the thumbs-up from 65 percent of black people in the sample survey against 13 percent for State President FW de Klerk and four percent for PAC leader Clarendon Makwetu.

IFP leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi was popular with only three percent.

Popular

It was estimated that 54 percent of coloured people supported Mr De Klerk against three percent for Mr Mandela and 0,6 percent for LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Vying for popularity as a second choice by black South Africans were Mr De Klerk, with 26 percent, and SACP leader Joe Slovo, 17 percent.

While none of the white South Africans polled would vote for Mr Mandela, 68 percent supported Mr De Klerk and 17 percent backed CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

A popular second choice for whites was Chief Buthelezi, 31 percent, and DP leader Zach de Beer, 11 percent.

ANC's candidates for power

IN three weeks, the ANC holds crucial leadership elections which will determine who wields real power in the run-up to constitutional negotiations with the government.

Here the Sunday Times profiles the people most likely to emerge as the new National Working Committee — the ANC shadow cabinet — in the 90-member National Executive Committee.

Honorary President OLIVER REGINALD TAMBO

Age and illness will prevent the much respected Comrade OR from continuing his duties as president — although there is a small lobby that wants him to stay on in a caretaker capacity.

He will probably be given a figurehead position with no real power.

During the ANC's consultative conference in December last year he supported moves to relax sanctions — which did not earn him points among younger militants.

President NELSON MANDELA

Mr Mandela, also born in the Eastern Cape, was voted deputy president of the ANC in 1990. His position as president is the only one which is virtually guaranteed, according to sources throughout the organisation.

His international standing and image among a broad section of black South Africans are his two strongest attributes as far as the organisation is concerned — and will not be lightly dismissed.

Yet, say some of the younger militants, his close personal rapport with President FW de Klerk and willingness to compromise have cost the movement dearly in terms of political advantage — and image.

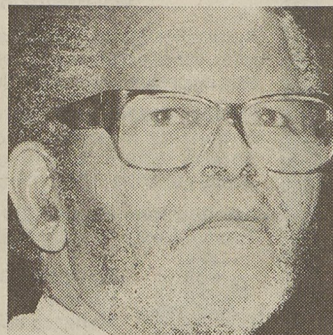
Deputy President JACOB ZUMA

ANC Intelligence chief, a member of the NEC and chairman of the ANC Southern Natal regional executive committee and member of the SACP.

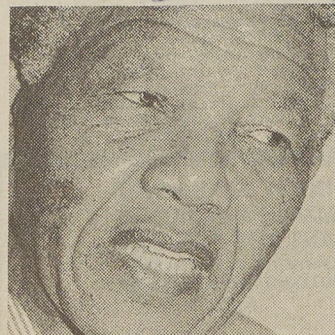
He is likely to be opposed by Chris Hani, Umkhonto we Sizwe's chief of staff, and if the competition becomes too fierce it is possible Walter Sisulu, current deputy president, may remain as a compromise candidate.

In his home area Mr Zuma's popularity has waned slightly among the Natal ANC rank and file because of his accommodating attitude towards Inkatha. In his own region he received 17 votes for deputy president against the 300 for the more militant Harry Gwala.

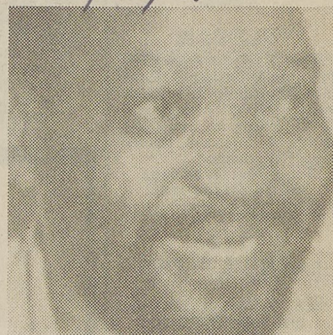
He was also recently nicknamed Rumour Zuma after becoming embroiled in the furore surrounding ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba. While Zuma denied leaking allegations that Mr



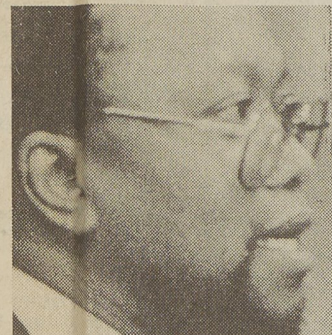
OLIVER TAMBO



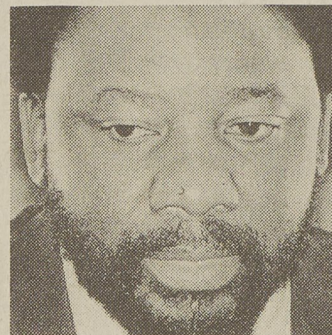
NELSON MANDELA



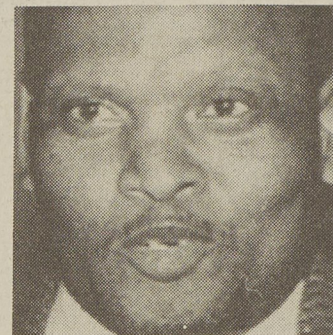
JACOB ZUMA



POPO MOLEFE



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA



ARNOLD STOFIE

BY EDYTH BULBRING AND DAWN BARKHUIZEN

Mokaba was a spy, the incident dented his standing within the ANC.

Against this is the fact that he is a Zulu — a badly under-represented group in the upper echelons of the organisation.

Secretary-General CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

Secretary-general of the National Union of Mineworkers since 1982 and a member of the ANC's PWV region.

Although initially very close to Mr Mandela after his release in February, he has since become estranged — allegedly because of the hostility of Winnie Mandela because of his criticisms of her behaviour while her husband was still in prison.

A whispering campaign that he was about to be deposed as NUM secretary-general at the last annual meeting — in fact he was re-elected unanimously — was widely held by his supporters to be part of an attempt to discredit him before the ANC elections. It is believed that Mr Ramaphosa would be prepared to resign from NUM if he was given this powerful position.

Deputy Secretary-General POPO MOLEFE

Deputy chairman of the ANC PWV region, he is the former secretary-general of the United Democratic Front.

He was appointed to the Internal Leadership Committee after Mr Mandela's release last year. He is extremely popular and well known at a grassroots level and is most likely to take this position, although he will have to fight a tough battle against Mohammed Valli Moosa and Pallo Jordan.

Treasurer-General The Rev ARNOLD STOFIE

Previously the Border UDF secretary-general, he is regarded as a "Mandela man" and enjoys much popular support both in his home region and throughout South Africa.

Respected for his intellect and pragmatism, Mr Stofile emerges as an important link-man between the "exiles" and "internals".

He could seize the position from present treasurer-general Thorn-

as Nkobi, who has grown increasingly unpopular. Mr Stofile's election to this position will be seen as a victory for the internals who are determined to remove the old guard from executive positions.

The 20-man "Kitchen Cabinet" of the ANC's national executive is likely to include:

WALTER SISULU

Chairman of the ANC's Internal Leadership Committee, this former Robben Island prisoner is also a member of the ANC's NEC and PWV regional committee.

Only his age disqualifies him from a top executive position but his universal popularity in the movement assures him a continuing influential role.

PALLO JORDAN

Head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, he is a member of the ANC's NEC and the ANC's PWV region.

An intellectual but not popular with the SACP or grassroots supporters who regard him as distant.

JOE SLOVO

Secretary-general of the SACP, a member of the ANC's NEC and the ANC's PWV region. He is one of the organisation's chief strategists.

He has a small but highly disciplined band of followers that ensure him a place on the ANC's working committee.

CHRIS HANI

Chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe since 1987, Mr Hani, a communist, holds a position on the NEC interim committee and is a member of the ANC's PWV region.

He is popular with the youth and close to the Mandela family.

His Achilles heel: his role in the brutal repression of ANC dissidents in Angolan camps in the mid-80s.

THABO MBEKI

Department of International Affairs chief since 1989, Mr Mbeki holds a position on the NEC interim committee and is a member of the ANC's PWV region.

While widely respected by outsiders for his pragmatic approach and intellectual prowess, he does not enjoy as much support among

militants as Chris Hani.

PATRICK TERROR LEKOTA

Before his recent secondment to the Department of International Affairs, he established ANC branches in Southern Natal and the Southern Free State.

He serves on the ANC's Interim Leadership Committee and enjoys support on the ground.

BARBARA MASEKELA

Sister of popular jazz player Hugh, she heads the ANC's Department of Arts and Culture. She is an efficient operator and close to the Mandela family.

JOEL NETSHITENJE (alias PETER MAYIBUYE)

Head of the Mayibuye Unit for the Department of Information and Publicity, this former exile is chairman of the ANC Northern Transvaal region, an SACP member and a member of the Natal working group on violence. In his late 30s, he has growing popularity among the youth and is believed to hold a disciplined hardline position. He was educated in Moscow.

STEVE TSHWETE

Head of Organisation and Sport, an SACP member and a member of the ANC's PWV branch, Mr Tshwete will make it on to the NEC although he has become highly unpopular among the hardliners because of what is seen as his compromising sport negotiations.

HARRY GWALA

This 71-year-old ANC veteran is the chairman of the Natal Midlands region and is extremely popular throughout Natal.

Mr Gwala, who made a name for himself for his work in the unions, is known for his militaristic, hardline views in the SACP and is particularly popular among the youth. Although his age and health might count against him, he is being encouraged to stand.

RAYMOND SUTTNER

Head of the ANC's Department of Political Education, Mr Suttner, 46, is a former law lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He has much support in the

PWV region among hardliners. He writes a number of Mr Mandela's speeches and is known to be a disciplined and hard worker — but he may fall victim to Africanist sentiments among some of the delegates.

JACKIE MOLEFE

At present on the NEC as MK chief of communications, she is a member of the Political Military Council and a former exile.

BLADENZIMANDE

A member of the regional executive committee in the Natal Midlands and an intellectual who lectures at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. His views are not divergent from those of Mr Gwala.

THENJIWE MTINTSO

This MK commander and chief

representative in Uganda was a former Biko associate and a Daily Dispatch journalist. She recently returned from exile and her support base lies among the youth and exiles who regard her as an astute politician. She is in her late 30s and was educated in the Transkei.

JEFF RADEBE

A former Robben Islander and vice-chairman of the Southern Natal region. Although not high profile, he is said to be gaining considerable ground. He is a former attorney.

ALFRED NZO

At present the ANC's secretary-general, he will lose this position to union boss Mr Ramaphosa. His inclusion on the working committee will be by the skin of his teeth.

Mr Nzo has become increasingly unpopular among the hardliners who not only disagree with his moderate and compromising position, but also consider him incompetent at his job.

AZIZ PAHAD

Like Mr Nzo, Mr Pahad will get on to the working committee despite opposition to his re-election by hardliners within the PWV region. This congenial man has been part of the ANC's negotiating team and his unpopularity stems from the perception that too much has been given away in negotiations, leaving the ANC in a weak position.

Mr Pahad, in his mid-50s, has support from the Indian community. He has been the ANC's chief representative in Europe and Britain.

GERTRUDE SHOPE

Head of the ANC Women's League, this strong woman is a member of the SACP, holds a position on the NEC and is a member of the ANC's PWV region. She won a bitter fight for the presidency of the Women's League against Winnie Mandela.

Born in 1925 in Johannesburg, Mrs Shope left the country in 1966 and became head of the ANC women's section. She was elected to the NEC in 1981.

RAYMOND MHLABA

Born in the Eastern Cape in 1920, Mr Mhlaba was commander-in-chief of MK from 1962 to 1963. He is a member of the ANC internal leadership group and is chairman of the SACP internal leadership group.

Although his age counts heavily against him, he is one of the few old guard expected to get on to the working committee because of his great popularity in the Eastern Cape.

Others named as outsiders for the working committee include Mahommed Valli Moosa, Mathew Poswa, Geraldine Fraser, Joe Modise, Mzwai Piliso, Dullah Omar and Thomas Nkobi. It is also likely there will be an attempt to ensure a Western Cape presence. Names here include Cheryl Carolus, Trevor Manuel, Reg September and even Allan Boesak.

Even Mandela has a hard time selling Paris yesterday's news

WHAT a contrast between the triumphant welcome Paris gave Mr Nelson Mandela a year ago and his visit here last week.

Then, with the Eiffel Tower as a backdrop and a hundred strings playing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, Mr and Mrs Mandela strode regally across Trocadero Square to greet President and Mrs Mitterrand, with television transmitting every act of this political ceremony.

Showbiz and political myth-making came together. It was an apotheosis.

Last week's visit was infinitely more low profile and made little impact. Has the wheel of fortune turned, the Mandela magic faded?

Not really — the ANC leader, draped in dignity, charming when not charismatic, was, after all, on a private visit.

Tribute

He did see President Mitterrand, new Prime Minister Mrs Edith Cresson, as well as Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who accommodated him in his official guest residence. (A caller who inquired after Mr Mandela's health was invited over; he turned out to be none other than the South African ambassador to France, Mr Marc Burger, which possibly surprised some).

So Mr Mandela was made to feel welcome in France, which in recent years has gone out of its way to show support for the ANC.

DESMOND COLBORNE reflects on Nelson Mandela's return to Paris after a year's absence

S. Times 16/6/91

To those who heard him, Mr Mandela's message was unchanged. He called for sanctions to be maintained. He criticised Europe for dropping them and thanked the United States for retaining them.

He justified state participation in the economy and blamed the violence in South Africa on death squads and elements in the state security apparatus.

But, all in all, he seems to have drawn little response from the French. Did the "no comment" official reaction — no statements were issued — mean they were turning a deaf ear to Mr Mandela? In any case, they seemed more responsive to his personality than his ideas, now less relevant than before.

Media coverage, despite interviews in the newspaper *Liberation* and the 5th TV channel, was limited. The most ringing public tribute was paid not to Mr Mandela but to President De Klerk.

Speaking on France's best known political programme on the 1st TV channel, opposition leader and presidential hopeful Mr Francois Leotard said: "Bravo De Klerk — he deserves a Nobel Peace Prize more than Gorbachev. Sanctions must go."

To many French observers

across the political spectrum, sanctions are yesterday's issue. They want to know more about what's going on in the ANC, what its views are and how these are evolving. Mrs Winnie Mandela's case was widely covered here, as elsewhere.

In the words of *Le Monde*, France's most influential newspaper, she is a "fallen idol" who made her husband's position more "fragile".

Then Breyten Breytenbach, who is revered by the French (they take writers seriously, particularly those who have suffered for their convictions) recently made public his irritation with the ANC.

Speaking as an ANC sympathiser, he criticised its "Stalinistic culture", arrogance and incompetence. It was paralysed, he said, by internal conflicts.

Many French observers look to Mr Mandela to resolve these conflicts, tame some of his wilder militants and bring them down to earth, back to the world of international and, particularly, African realities.

Afro-pessimism and the deepening African crisis have caused some commentators here, as elsewhere in Europe, to plead for

a new colonialism. This need hardly be taken seriously, but it's a sign of how bad things look in Africa. (Mr Mandela, for his part, still blames colonialism for Africa's problems.)

Meanwhile, the French are adopting an "aid on conditions" approach, tying their assistance to the capacity of African nations to democratise their political systems and make their economies more efficient and market-orientated.

In this context, South Africa is increasingly seen as a locomotive for relaunching economies in its region. But it is a locomotive that needs outside fuel to function more effectively.

Role

This message was amplified by another South African in Paris last week, Mr Gavin Relly of Anglo American and honorary president of the South Africa Foundation, who came here fresh from having inaugurated the soda ash plant in Botswana which will service regional needs.

But while stressing South Africa's regional role, Mr Relly, who met a cross-section of French business leaders and economic journalists, said South Africa could do a lot regionally, but too much should not be expected of it.

● Desmond Colborne is the South Africa Foundation's Paris director.

16/1/11

ANC fears a 8/tribune 16/6/91 commie plot

Tribune Reporter

THE Communist Party in Natal could be gearing itself up to grab key posts in the African National Congress.

In a surprising move this week, the southern Natal region nominated hard-line marxist Harry Gwala, the fiery South African Communist Party stalwart and leader of the ANC in the Midlands, as its candidate for the post of ANC deputy-president.

Concerned sources in the ANC this week expressed fears that Mr Gwala's unexpected nomination might be a SACP conspiracy to get its people into top positions in the hierarchy.

Alternatively they said it could mean that militants within the ANC were gaining control or that branches were dissatisfied with the way the current regional leadership was conducting business. Others even interpreted the move as a regional protest over mainstream leadership.

"It probably is an indication of grassroots impatience with the progress made so far by the current regional leadership, and possibly the way they are handling the Inkatha issue," said a source.

Mr Gwala, who is 71, was nominated for the position at a closed southern Natal regional conference last Sunday at the Mgababa Holiday resort on the South Coast.

Some of those present said that what had surprised many was the nomination of Mr Gwala ahead of Thabo Mbeki, the charismatic ANC foreign affairs head, and Jacob Zuma, the intelligence chief credited with doing much to bring about talks between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal. Also surprising was the strength of support for Mr Gwala who apparently received more nominations than the combined total of those who voted for Mr Zuma and Mr Mbeki.

Sources said that had Mr Zuma not been nominated for the position of secretary-general, Mr Gwala's nomination in Mr Zuma's backyard could have been seen as a slap in face for Mr Zuma and a vote of no-confidence in his leadership.

Although one senior ANC insider this week dismissed Mr Gwala's nomination as a "regional storm in a teacup", he admitted it had sent shockwaves through the moderate camp.

The source said the general feeling among moderates was that the selection of a militant communist hardliner would not only damage the ANC's image, but would also send the wrong signals to the international community.

However, moderates were heartened by the nomination of Mr Zuma for the important position of secretary-general — the engine of the movement. If elected he would be powerfully placed to push the moderate line.

16/1/11

Cosatu warns peace plans X could be derailed by violence

COSATU has warned that continuing violence against its members — allegedly by Inkatha-supporting Uwusa trade union members — could derail the National Peace Initiative and result in a massive outbreak of unrest at factory floor level.

The ANC-aligned trade union federation claimed at a Johannesburg Press conference that claimed Uwusa — the United Workers Union of SA — was behind a wave of attacks on Cosatu supporters over the past four to five weeks on the East Rand and in Northern Natal.

A memorandum was issued to members of the Press detailing alleged

acts of intimidation and violence by Uwusa and Inkatha Freedom Party members which had resulted in the deaths of six people.

Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa said in a statement: "This reign of terror has been conducted by vigilantes associated with Inkatha/Uwusa".

He said Cosatu demanded that Uwusa — "a creation of the security police" whose "only expertise lies in creating industrial violence and destabilisation" — be disbanded.

The statement further warned "that the violence will continue and escalate if urgent and comprehen-

sive steps are not taken by the SA Police to apprehend the perpetrators...".

Mr Shilowa said the Press conference was called out of Cosatu's concern that the violence could jeopardise the National Peace Initiative to be signed in Johannesburg on September 14 by Cosatu, Inkatha, the ANC and the government, amongst others.

Cosatu found it difficult to believe it was coincidental that the current spate of violent attacks had been launched "precisely at the moment we are entering into a major national peace initiative".

— Sapa.

16/1/11

ANC youth proud of burnings

5/lines 16/6/91
LET me add my voice to the debate about the ANC Youth League's protest during the anti-Republic Day march on May 31.

I believe the ANC's statement that Comrades Sisulu and Slovo were unaware of the planned burnings of symbols of racism.

As for the ANC Youth League, all South African constitutions, past and present, have been illegitimate, even in the light of President De Klerk's utterances about a "new" South Africa. No premiers or presidents, including Mr De Klerk, have ever been representative of the SA population at large.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk remains unwilling to release all political prisoners, mocks the hunger strikers and ridicules the notion of a general amnesty for all of our exiles. All this, surely, warrants the peaceful action which the Youth League embarked on during "Republic Day".

No reasonable South

African can justly claim that the present flag is representative of the entire nation, with its symbolism of discrimination and enslavement of blacks.

On the other hand, the security forces, government-sponsored vigilantes (white and black) and right-wingers have never had qualms about destroying ANC colours and detaining or otherwise victimising ANC supporters.

The liberation movements are still subjected to vicious and untrue slander by the government, the media (notably the Sunday Times and the SABC), business people and so on.

Reaction to that by the liberal media and the public has never been as hysterical as the reaction to the Youth League's action.

The Young Lions will not apologise, but will rather proudly embark again on

action against the symbols of oppression, discrimination and exploitation until the day that all South Africans can decide who our government and what our national symbols shall be.

— CTL KHOHLOKOANE,
Cape Town.