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77 $\hat{a}$ 200\224!2 .AH'/.Q/ ./Vews; /:TANuAy 1969,

F.

ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, was yesterday:

of complete ignorance of how the political system in South Africa worked or how a democratic election must be fought.

On Wednesday g
Mandela said democratic
elections - must be held
and 2 constituent assembly established this

year. v

Speaking at the 50th anniversary of the African National Congress (ANC) in Bloemfontein, he declared 1992 as the year of democratic elections for a constituent assembly.

Political commentator Professor Willem Kleynhans said Mr Mandela had no idea what he was talking about.

The ANC had not yet even organised itself into a political party with the infrastructure necessary to register VOters, educate them on voting Procedures, or even to canvas voters.

Dream

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ He is living in 2 dream world. The ANC knows nothing of demacratic

itics in action. It seems they are not even aware that the system in South Africa requires victory through the ballot box.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The harsh reality that the ANC must now learn to face is the fact that unless they want tO lower

democratic standards to that of the Third World, power cannot simply be transferred. Power must be earned at the ballot box and for that the ANC is very far from ready.â\200\235

Prof Kleynhans said it would take a lot of hard

for the ANC to establish itself as 2 political
party in order to get a
meaningful vote at the
ballot box.
ers needed toO
be educated about democratic processes, fears of
intimidation ~ must be
eradicated and the party
machinery needed to be
built up. -

«without educating its

ers and establishing an infrastructure, the ANC may find that hundreds of thousands of voters simply do not take part in the process of thousands Of ballot papers are spoiled.â\200\235

In his speech in Bloemfontein Mr Mandela also accused the government of having sinister motives for proposing 2 longer period of interim government.

He accused the government of attempting  $1\hat{a}\202$ 

gitimise an undemocrat ic constitu manded a multi-party in terim government

nposition should b negotiated at Codesa.

ing to this statt

ment, the head of Const

tutional Law. at Unis:

Professor Marinus Wiect

ers, said it was clear th

ANC based its proposa

on what had happened i Namibia.

As in Namibia, th ANC wanted a constit ent assembly in Sou Africa to draft a new con stitution and then have fi nal elections for a ne& government. THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Take care

MR NELSON Mandela and the African Nationalist Congress seem to think that everything is going their way.

 ${\rm \hat{a}}\$  and time talked of transitional arrangements under which the coun-

would be governed.

This involved placing representatives of other parties in the Cabinet.

Now State President De Klerk has conceded the principle of an interim government. He wants it for ten years or more. The ANC has other ideas.

Addressing the ANCâ\200\231s 80th birthday rally in Bloemfontein, Mr Mandela set out the ANCâ\200\231s demands in the Year of Democratic Elections for a Constituent Assembly, meaning 1992. : ;

The ANC wants, firstly, a multi-party interim government of national unity whose composition would be negotiated in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

The administration would have clear functions including sovereign  $\hat{a}\200\230$ control over at least all the armed forces and police, State media, electoral processes, budget and finance.

It would also set up forums to take decisions on, and supervise the management of, socioeconomic issues during the transition.

You might think that what Mr Mandela is suggesting is that the government abdicate its authority to the interim government  $a\200\224$  and you would be quite right.

You might think that Mr Mandela wants the government to hand over the armed forces so that it will no longer have any physical control over the country  $a\200\224$  and you would not be wrong either. :

Giving the interim government control over electoral processes, the budget and finance would further strip the present government of its powers.

It would mean that an interim government, which is not democratically elected and has no constituency whatsoever, would take over the running of the country.

In other words, the country would no longer be ruled by a government chosen by the electorate  $\hat{a}200\224$  albeit White electorate  $\hat{a}200\224$  but a

government that is chosen via Codesa, in which the White Right, representing perhaps half of the White electorate, is not participating.

The government, in effect, would write itself out of office.

It might, as a sop, be said it is sharing power via the interim government, but sharing power under a new constitution is not the same as sharing power under an arrangement devised outside the present constitution.

Mr Mandela wants the interim government to be introduced in the first six months of the year, with elections for a Constituent Assembly by December.

As for Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s idea of a referendum on an interim government and election of a new parliament representing all races, Mr Man-

dela pooh-poohed the idea.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ To hold an election for a transitional Parliament and government is to deliberately complicate and delay what should otherwise be a simple and manageable transition,  $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\235$  he says.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The regime $\hat{a}\200\231$ s proposal for a referendum before an interim government is in place pitiful-

ly begs the question  $a\200\235$ 

Since Mr De Klerk is still to outline his ideas of an interim government, we do not know how far they match (or do not match) Mr

Mandelaâ\200\231s proposals.

What we do know is that Mr Mandela is determined to have elections for a constituent as-

sembly by December.

He hopes then, as happened in Namibia, that the chief liberation movement  $a\200\224$  in Namibiaa $\200\231$ s case, Swapo, in our case, the ANC  $a\200\224$  will win the election and form the government.

By 1993, according to his schedule, an ANC

government will be in power.

It might sound over-ambitious, but looking back on the past couple of years, it appears as if the ANC has won most political battles.

It cannot and must not win this final battle, for if it does, it will go on to take over this country and civil war will be a decided possibility.

Our advice to Mr D Klerk is; For heavenâ\200\231s,

There were  $\hat{a}200\234$ glaring mistakes $\hat{a}200\235$  and  $\hat{a}200\234$ untruths $\hat{a}200\235$  in allegations

1 about the Inkatha Freedom

Party made by former senior Inkatha official Mbongani Khumalo, who allegedly had a criminal record, the IFP has said. His allegations, in a Weekly

cluded claims that the IFP was a front for the South African Defence Force and had collaborated in attacks on the ANC.

Mr Khumalo said he had resigned as Inkatha Youth Brigade leader and terminated his membership of the Inkatha central committee because he believed the organisation was a vehicle for instigating violence against fellow blacks.

Reacting to these and other allegations, the IFP denied that the organisation had ever been given R11 million by anyone.

1t also denied that Mr Khu-

Mail interview last week, in-

IFP%!e. $\tilde{A}$ ©CtS\%(lq@alOâ\200\231S | claims in Weekly

ail malo had been the former chief of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, claiming Musa Zondi had been leader of the brigade for many years, including the period in question.

 $\_$  â\200\234Regarding the â\200\230consultancy servicesâ\200\231 (Adult Education Con- | sultants and CREED) referred to by Mr Khumalo, these services were offered but the IFP refused to avail themselves of these for lack of money.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Mr$  Khumalo was dissatisfied with the low salary the IFP was paying him and applied for a position in the KwaZulu government $\hat{a}\200\231s$  department of the chief minister.

 $a\200\234$ It was then discovered that

Mr Khumalo had a criminal record, which made it impossible for the KwaZulu government to consider his application,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  said the IFP.

## Mande

TRAFFIC police brought bemused but not visibly upset Bloemfon-teiners to a standstill to watch Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s kilometre-long motorcade pass through the centre of the Afrikaner heartland this week.

The ANC president, escorted by motorcycle outriders, was: on his

way to deliver a speech at the Free State rugby stadium. The stadium 'ms part of President Swart Park.

#### forms

If any more evidence was necessary:t%%ggewls.x  $i\hat{a}\200\230$ ;e finallwasy upon was pr

us, i would never forget the Free State

Zlï¬\201by»unionâ\200\231s"contr-ibuticbg to the ) Câ\200\231s - ANC has been rejuvenated by a

80th birthday celebrations.
Then the Bloemfontein Town
Council held a reception for Mandela
at the city hall after the celebrations.

- Mandela acted like a head of state,
and was received as one. The maf{:vetic force that surrounds people
who have the potential to be powerful is beginning to attract the most
unusual people and groupings.
Mandela himself was in good spirits, dancing along with other ANC
leaders on the stage while a band

gl}:zed. His mood reflected a note of -

enthusiasm and confidence which currently pervades the organisation.:  $a\200\230$ For ANC members the battle

la welc

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ provided by an announcer at the stadium who said the ANC

saneea P against apartheid and for democracy, but more particularly for the supremacy of the organisation itself, is all but won.

ANC strategists place a high priority on a concept termed  $a\200\234$ the strategic initiative  $a\200\235$ . They believed they

 $\_$ had lost it around this time last year, when government was still being

- showered with international praise

and sanctions were being lifted  ${\rm a}200\230$  against the ANCa $200\231$ s express wishes. As contributed to the

- This Partly ANC $\hat{a}$ 200\231s ill-fated ultimatum to govern-

 $\tilde{m}$  ment on violence and the dismissal  $\tilde{n}$  of Ministers Magnus Malan and  $\tilde{n}$  Dut since then the

growing membership, a successful conference, growing international influence, and a negotiations process it believes is progressing according toits own blueprint.

The ANC senses government is now on the defensive following Inkathagate and shrinking public support, and it is now government which has been forced to make concessions to the ANC demand for an interim government.

 $\hat{a}\200\234As$  we bring down the curtain on 1991, we can say with confidence that the general crisis of the apartheid system has never been deeper. Dur-

ing the past year, the democratic

TIM COHEN

movement consolidated its hold on the strategic initiative,  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 35$  Mandela

- ~ told the crowd.
- \* He also interpreted government  $a \ge 200 \le 31$  concession on the need for an interim government as a sign of its illegit— Imacy, but at the same time warned that  $a \ge 00 \le 34$  can be expected from such an illegitimate and illegal r

where it is forced to retreat, it does

so to new lines of defenceâ\200\235.

The ANC anniversary statement is traditionally the occasion for the organisation to set out its plans and obJectives for the year. Last year, for example, the ANC proposed an allparty conference, which was substantially borne out in Codesa. This

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year, Mandelaâ\200\231s speech went little
further than restating existing ANC
positions, although he displayed a
. new sense of urgency about getting
them implemented.
his is possibly because, other
than setting out broad objectives, the
ANC does not want to tie itself to po-
sitions before negotiations begin in
earnest. J
Nevertheless, Mandela declared
1992 the \hat{a}\200\234year of democratic elec-
tions for a constituent assembly \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35 and
omed in Afrikaner heartland,
o -0 \hat{a}\200\224gq 7 sl ool T
position the ANC is adopting, Man-
dela hailed the Middle Ea tpeag ¥
talks and developments towards a
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Part of the celebrations invol
lanting a white ash tree outside
ome of former ANC speaker Thom-
- as Mapikela. Bloemfontein was
O MANDELA
restated the ANC belief that the in-
terim government should have sov-
ereign control over at least all the
armed forces and police, state me-
dia, electoral a; »frocws, the Budget
and financial affairs. In addition, it
should produce forums to supervise
the management of socio-economic
issues during the transition.
ting place of the origin:
centrality.
- These members, described by rel-
atives as \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34 \mod 200 \geq 35 \mod 6 who be-
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negotiated settlement in El Salva:
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bers of the ANC who regular Ely held their congresses there because of its

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lieved in the power of delegations

and lobbying, were overtaken by Mandela and his supporters during the Defiance Campaign of the  ${\hat a}\200\23150s$ 

when the organisation  $\hat{200} = 0.01$  centre of

power shifted to the Reef.;

s it ible that the wheel has turned full circle? Does the current leadership face the tKossibility of being swept aside by the proponents of the tactics that Mandela introduced to revitalise the organisation? For the first 80 tl31rears the ANC has had to deal with the problems of being out of power. Now, it will have to start dealing with the problems of being in power. In its 81st year, the threat is not from without, but from within. \*

Tie Jdoiy JVEws 10 JAnyrRy /992

## # - aily News Reporter

New Year has seen an onslaught off violence against the Inkatha Freedom Party and its members in various parts of Natal, the party claims, resulting in a number of people being killed and injured and property being destroyed.

In a press statement yesterday Mr Kim Hodgson, spokesman on violence for the Inkatha Institute, said that during the last two weeks, 12 IFP members had been killed and more than 30 wounded in attacks, At least 14 houses had been destroyed.

Mr Hodgson said there was growing belief among IFP leaders that the African National Congress was intensifying an alleged campaign to assassinate IFP leaders and members this year.

he said, showed clearly why this belief was being reinforced. In all incidents, it was alleged that ANC supporters were responsible. Some of the incidents were:

B The first victim this year was IFP member Mr Sonias Mthembu, who was stabbed and hacked to death at Empangeni on January 1.

He enclosed a list of incidents which,

|| Inkatha claims 12 members | have died since start of year

B On January 2, IFP youth leader Mr Mlozane Mhlongoâ $\200\231s$  mutilated body was found on the bank of a river.

B On the same day, an IFP community was attacked near Tongaat on the Natal North Coast. Five people were hospitalised after being stabbed while nine homes were razed to the ground.

B Four IFP members were allegedly abducted by ANC members. No word has been received about the people abducted, now presumed to have been killed, according to the press statement. Community members had fled the area and were reportedly taking refuge with nearby IFP supporters.

B January 4 saw violence flare in Hopewell near Ixopo, Empangeni and just outside Pietermaritzburg,

B Also on January 4, it was reported

that a group of ANC supporters, accompanied by well-known activists, had attacked shack-dwellers near Um.

lazi and set alight three houses after |

accusing the residents of not attending ANC  $\hat{a}\200\230$  meetings in the area. Two IFP members were injured in the attack.

B On January 5, the son of an IFP leader in Mpande near Pietermaritz-burg was shot dead, allegedly by supporters of the ANC. o

THe .Aï¬\201/'/d /stg /2 JAN. 993

### SANDY COOK

A BOMB threat held up an African National Congress meeting at the Pinetown Town Hall last night for half an hour and led to a thorough search of the munici headquarters.:

The meeting later carried on to the sound of chanting hecklers outside.

| Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, an ANC national executive  $\frac{3200}{230}$  member, addressed about 200 ANC supporters at the meeting, which formed part of the organisation  $\frac{3200}{231}$  80th birthday celebrations. !

When he was able to get on with his speech after the bomb threat hold-up, he said the most serious threat to the negotiation process was the far-right wing of the white political spectrum whose ability to disrupt the process should not be underestimated.

Mr Lekotaâ $200\231s$  speech was delayed after an anonymous caller told a member of Pinetown Protection Services that a bomb would be placed in the hall. The premises were searched by members of the South

found.

During the meeting hecklers chanted Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging slogans from outside the hall.

In his ad Mr Lekota said the danger for the Congre 3 Democratic South Africa and for he far-right of the white commurant quarters of the left.

i ey : carefully, these elements will | make the peace process more tumultuous than it (| would otherwise be,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234The ANC has no illu.

sions about plans being hatched by right wingers as being a serious danger, particularly to a government run by the ANC. .o

е

.major threat, says executive at Pinetown Town Hall
.bi¬\202fly /\lsws IDTAN.Iâ\200\234Q:&

meeting
up by bomb threat

held

African Police dog unit, but nothing suspicious was:

g il

\_\_â\200\234The right wing is amassing large numbers of ve

en who are incapable of coming to terms with

democratic one. $\hat{a}$ \200\235 v Mr Lekota said the right wing would be a problem

United States $\hat{200}231$  civil war came the Ku Klux Klan, a phenomenon that is still with America today.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We cannot ignore the fact that the flag of the Third Reich continues to feature even in amended form. This tells us that the thinking of Hitler still \_remains,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

.+ However, Mr Lekota went on to say that even though numbers were growing on the extreme right, the democratic process could not be stopped  $a\200\234$ because it has the support of the majority of South Africans and the whole of the international community. $a\200\235$ 

Mr Lekota emphasised the need to prepare the | masses for the democratic process, warning against intimidation. Education was needed to enlighten the people on the secret. ballot process so that voters ~would not be led into believing they would be fired or harmed if they did not vote for a certain party, he said.

- . He urged communities to encourage their children  $\mid$  to go back to school so that they could participate in a future government on merit,  $\hat{A}^{\varphi}$
- 9 \_l(;n mer;n ag}xil women with some of the best mili-ry minds in the country, some of whom have had  $\[ \] \]$  These are men and

the fact that the country has no future other than a

for South Africa for a very long time:  $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ut of the .

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Out on

HE; PAC and its military wing,

Apla, are out on a limb follow-

ing the decision by left-wing

organisations, including the Civies Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) and the PWV region of the SA Communist Party, to come out publicly against the kiling of policemen Farlier in the week the ANC had also spoken against the killings.

This is an encouraging development at the start of a year which Is bound to bring profound political change. The joint Cast-SACP appeal to the PAC and Apla to stop attacks on policemen indicates welcome rezlism in the approach of a group widely representative of the local black community. The time for even half-hearted attempts to justify police killings in anti-apartheid

YOS I FAP

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a limb

terms js over; Cast general secretary Dan -Mofokeng says these attacks contradict the feelings of the people.

Simmlarly, the PAC and Azapo are out on a limb in their opposition to the Paul Simon concert tour. The ANC could, hypothetically, have found itself in an unusual situation this weekend alongside the police in the security squads at Eilis Park.

When the ANC and the SACP start becoming  $a\200\234$ establishment $a\200\235$  groups, accepiing that confrontation and viclence belong in the past, it marks a new stage in the struggle towards democracy. Mass action and vagorous poliicking are more, liely to be relatively peaceful when radicals increasingly find

themselves isolated in their own commumities.  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right)$ 

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VYOS 1. PP

BUSINESS DAY, Frlday, Jdanuary 10 1992

Police death suspects arresteci

TWO more men, believed to he PAC members, have been arrested in conpection with police morders, hringing to six the number of suspected PAC killers held, police disclosed yesterday.

SAP spokesman Capt Engene Opperman said the two. men  $a\200\224$  suspected of being members of the PACs armed faction, the Azanian Peoples Liheration Army (Apla)  $a\200\224$  appeared in the Springs Magistratea 200\231s Court on Tuesday this week

Paulus Thembi, 22, and Seolomon Ma-

baso, 33, were charged with murder. The

case was postponed umtil January 2L

Opperman said police suspected the accused were Apla-aligned, although they had not admitted any political affiliation.

They are accused of ambushing and seizing the weapons of Sgt J B Mlokothi and an mnamed constzble in Thokeza on New Year's Day. They allegedly drove them to Katlehong, shot them and burnt their vehicle

Law and Order Minister Hernns Kriel said police wetre holding a three-man Apls

# [ ANDREW KRUMM ] "\_\_\_

it stuad in connection with hand grenade attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal policemen — at Mangaungâ\200\224 Bloemfonten, -â\200\230m October. The PAC have confirmed the arrests and said a fourth PAC member was zlso being held Police have yef to confirm this.

Meanwhile the PAC vouth wing, Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), has ace cused the ANC of siding with police.

Azanyu executive commiftee spokes:
man Bassie Ngeukana said in 2 statement
yesterday Azanyu was surprised that the
ANC now â\200\234favoured the policeâ\204¢ afier ANC
president Nelson Mandela had repeatedly
blamed security forces for internecine vioâ\200\224
lence in the past.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the PAC should clarify the slogan  $\hat{a}$ 200\230ope settler, one bullet $\hat{a}$ 200\231 and emphasise whethes black policemen were settlers.

@ Camment: Page 6 3-

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Paul Simon

THE Azanian Youth -

Qrganisation {(Azayo) tried to strike a deal vesterday with the Paul Simon management for - two Azayo-approved concerts.

However, when the management realised that Azayo was not. in fact. pressing for the cultural boventt 10 be observed. the talks faled.

Paul Smmon clatimed at 4 Press conference afrerwards that Azayo had promised pot to commil violence.

Although Azayo de nied gving this under taking. it said ir was not gomg to be mnyolved m violence - at the Simon comcerts.

A similar apoouncement was made by the Pan Africanist Congress. to which Azayo is affili ated

The African National Congress yesterday denicd anâ\200\230earlier media refered to provide security for rhe Panl Simon tour.

=There is adequate provision for security made by rthe orgamsers of the tour. .

"In any case. the threat to the toor 1\$ nor as great as the media makes it ot to be when the capacuty of those who are issumng the threats 15 taken into accournt.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The gquestion whether or not the ANC would consider providing scctiety, if requested, was asked and responded to in the affirmative.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ That notwithstanding. it is the view of the ANC thar security at the concert would best be pro-

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FROM.PAGE 1.

vided by a securty firm as 5 the case at the moment,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235

The PAC, while strong-

ly opposed to Paul Sim- -

on's Sauth Aftican tour. would not be invalved "jn any acts of vialence against the "oppressed Alfrican peopleâ\204¢. aceord.

. Ing 10 secretary-genergl.

Mr Benny Alexander.

Simon said he had heen unaware of opposition to the tour uatil two days bes fore he left New York for South Africa. He arrived at Jan Sewuts Airport on Tuesday.

Simon told about 150 journalists at the conference yesterday: â\200\234Azapo does not want 10 provoke violence.â\204¢

The threat of violenee at the concerts, the first of which is tomorrow. Iad been deait with and there was very liftle theeqr. reporters were rold.

Sunon refused 10 be drawn into any political questions abour the sitny tron in South Africa â\200\224buy did say the objections to his nationwide tour ws what happened when â\200\234cultire gets mixed in with politicsâ\204¢,

I know conditions are lot perfect. There is still struggle to come. There iy still hacdship Looking haggard and dressed i black jacket and paats with a white sweatshict. Simon said he had been made Laware that aot alf groups were in

0

favour of lifting the cultural boyeotyt,

â\200\234There is no unanimiry â\200\234on the lifting of the cul. â\200\234tunt boyeort. Substantive groups like the Unjted Nations and the ANC pelieve that the cultural boycott (cam) be lifted 2nd there are groups like Azapo who feel it shouid not be fifted

He said he had been assured that Azayo would nor encourages vislenes ot the concerts.

He haped that agrcement would be reached and pegple could ~have an cvenmg where political differences would pe dropped and everyapa can have a peaceful eveng and enjoy them. selvesâ\204¢.

He said he had ng in.
tention of coming o
South Africa lo palarise
the people. but rather to
repay the debt he owed
South African musicians
who he has been playviog
with for the past five
years and to let their gwn
people sce them perform—

ing,

"1 am looking forward
W having these musicians
recognised and appreciated in their own cognStraon, visibly emotional. s2id he wanted 10 pay
his respects to sfain Black
Mambaso buss singer
Headman Shabalala, who
was shot dead lust montgh
near Durban,

 $\hat{a}\200\234T$  want to pay my respects te him and visit his grave and his family -

 $\hat{A}$ ® Simon was described last night as  $\hat{a}$ 200\234'a true fricad

of the New South Africaâ\204¢ by US Ambassador Wil liam Swing,

Hosting 3 cocktai party for more than 300 people for the visiting singer, Mr Swing said Simons visit -â\200\224aloag with that of 3 US congressional delegation = was the best and mog cloquent testimony that Sourh Africa was changing

Replying to the ambassador. Simon joked and said he hoped he hadnâ\200\231t brought uny bombs with him â\200\224 in obvious refer ence to threats against his [tve-concert tour. ~Sapa.