

The ANC was still holding the moral and strategic ground in South Africaâ\200\231s political process, the organisationâ\200\231s deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a rally of about 2000 people in the East Rand township of Tokoza, Mr Mandela played down reports of divisions in the ANC.

â\200\234Whatever problems the ANC has, it maintains the strategic high ground in South Africa â\200\224 and we have no intention of surrendering it,â\200\235 he said.

The media came in for strong criticism by Mr Mandela, who said certain segments of the press had tried to portray the ANC as an organisation marked by "ignorance and ignorance".

He warned, in an apparent reference to the Afrikaans media, that the influence of certain segments of the media was declining. :

Contest

â\200\234There is a striking difference in this country between the . Afrikaans and the English . press. Oneâ\200\231s influence will decline, while the otherâ\200\231s will rise.â\200\235

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted an independent and vig-

ilant conference.â\200\230;...â\200\230?" the ANC conference to be held in Durban next month, Mr Mandela said some positions in the ANCâ\200\231s executive were likely to be hotly contested. However, he said, this did not mean the organisation was

Outlining why he thought the ANC had the advantage over . the Government, Mr Mandela pointed to the success of the ANCâ\200\231s campaign to isolate South Africa.

He said this had been so suc-

successful that the Government
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image. â\200\234They were failing
because of one simple thing â\200\224

Mandela: ANC hold
moral high ground

high

may reach his head.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa, 1

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not giving blacks the vote.â\200\235 .
On the subject of sanctions
he said the Government â\200\230had
been trying to misinform people.
He said he had received support
for sanctions from the
governments of Europe.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s going to take some time
before sanctions are lifted,â\200\235 he
told the cheering crowd.

Other reasons the ANC ' held
the high ground, according to Mr .
Mandela, were the â\200\234victoryâ\200\235i-\201'
ANC leaders who left jail on
their own terms, the release of
political prisoners and the forging
of the Government to the
negotiating table. 5 ae

He said the Government. has
been â\200\234forced to swallow, :
the;re propaganda and their
prideâ\200\235 in accepting negotiations
with the ANC. ya

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The ANC leader accused the
Government of providing weapons
to a certain organisation
order to give it the capacity to
murder. He said the arming of
the Governmentâ\200\231s black allies,
was a ploy to undermine the libera-
tion movements. 10

Mr Mandela, on a more conciliatory
note, said more must be done
to allay white, Indian and
coloured fears. 3 :Â»Â»3531

â\200\234Some of the things we have
done have been serious mistakes;
takes,â\200\235 he said, pointing to the
all-black executive elected by
the ANC Womenâ\200\231s League at its
recent conference at Kimberley.
PR

He said the ANC's commitment to nonracialism must not be seen as propaganda but rather as a genuine concern of the ANC. Ow

He also said South Africans must learn the major languages of the country. "If I speak to an Afrikaner in English, I will not reach his heart even if I

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Kundgebung der Inkatha im Jabulani-Stadion in Soweto (Bild oben und rechts)

INKATHA

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By JOHN PERLMAN

HEALTH Minister Dr Rina

is tackling the tobacco industry. But can she win?

Venter has declared war on

one of the country's

week she plans her first major step against tobacco and indications are that this is

Just the start of her campaign.
- Draft legislation, to be gazetted on June 28, will tighten controls on tobacco

(in so advertising, curb the sale of cigarettes to minors and enable her to regulate

late smoking in public places. It will go before the cabinet in September; Venter hopes to present a Bill to parliament in

- the first session of next year.

The draft legislation gives the minister powers to bar or limit smoking in

certain public places. "We will probably start with buses and hospitals,"

she says. Susan van Niekerk of the depart-

ment's Primary Health Care Division. It will also make the sale of cigarettes to

anyone under 16 an offence. "We realise

that this will be difficult to control, but worldwide this is seen as a means of reinforcing the anti-smoking message among minors," she says.

But the real sting in Venter's proposals is contained in the changes she

wants made to the advertising code for

tobacco products. Visual advertisements

will be required to carry a health warning. "It should be a rotating

health warning, otherwise you stop

1 Others who might oppose Venter: Hotels, restaurants and sports

most powerful industries. This

Will Rina Venter get support from her chain-smoking boss?

reading it,â\200\235 says Van Niekerk â\200\224 and spoken ads will have to include the â\200\234smoking is a health riskâ\200\235 in a similar voice to the main presenter of the advertisementâ\200\235.

- Advertisements may not depict any " as being -

woman of â\200\234child-bearing age associated with smoking. Theyâ\200\230should

also not associate smoking with â\200\234challenging or exciting sports activities

or imply that ..

Photo: Courtesy DIE BURGER

. smoking is associated with success in sportâ\200\235. This includes a ban on depicting sport with spectators smoking. Finally, advertisements

-should not imply â\200\234that to use tobacco

products is a sign or proof of manliness, courage or daring or enhances

feminine charmâ\200\235.

That calls just about every cigaretteâ\200\235

advert in South Africa into question .

â\200\230tobacco industry

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~ But 50 too do the guidelines which already

exist. The present advertising code says ads should not imply that smoking is a â\200\234prerequisite to the attainment of social or business success or of

- a glamorous lifestyleâ\200\235, must not convey â\200\234exaggerated satisfaction from the

act of smokingâ\200\235, and should not be aimed at â\200\234increasing the number of

- smokersâ\200\235 but directed at â\200\234existing

smokersâ\200\235. Says Van Niekerk: â\200\234We have complained about certain ads to the Advertising Standards Authority without anything happening.â\200\235 The real issue at stake, then, is whether Venter

â\200\230altogether proposal to snuff

The indications are that she and Director-

* General of Health Dr Coen Slabber â\200\234do have the political will. And that

means a battle looms â\200\224 and not just between Venter and the tobacco industry.

On an individual level it will surely encourage non-smokers to assert their rights to breathe tobacco-free air. And those who depend in some way on the sports bodies through sponsorship, newspapers and

- radio through advertising will also

be drawn in.

Most important, it will put the government to the test, and not just because the state president happens to be a chain smoker. (FW de Klerk was last year asked to observe World No-Tobacco

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PAGE 2 B
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ANC wanted an independent and vigorous media. He said some positions in the ANCâ\200\231s executive

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XCITEMENT surround-
ing the African National
Congressâ\200\231s mammoth
national conference
scheduled for next week in Dur-
ban is reaching fever pitch with
delegates, foreign dignitaries
and international journalists al-
ready pouring into the city,

Senior ANC information and
publicity officials are working
around the clock on preparations
to ensure the smooth running of
the conference, and security offi-
cials and marshals are already
present at the University of Dur-
ban-Westville campus to keep a
sharp eye on proceedings.

The scene is exceedingly colourful.
Marshals march in step on the sports
fields and security officials undergo
physical training to keep them in
shape, while colourful banners and
flags are being hoisted around the
stadium.

Just looking at the surrounding
glitz and the impressive guest list,
the ANC conference is going to be
one of the most sophisticated pieces
of classical party politicking this
country has ever seen.

And the question on everybodyâ\200\231s
lips at the moment is: is the ANC
going to decide at this conference to
transform itself from a liberation
movement into a political party?

The deeper signs â\200\224 beneath the
banners and giant television screens
â\200\224 are that it is not, and that it has
no intention of doing so at the mo-
ment.

One of the new political develop-

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THE

Excitement is building up
around the ANC's national con-
ference scheduled for Durban

next week. One of the questions

ments in this build-up period to a
new South Africa is that many lead-
ing extra-parliamentary groups be-

lieve that their central task is to transform themselves into â\200\234realâ\200\235 political parties.

Top of this list are the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose

metamorphosis from movement to

party is believed to be their primary (and also identical) task.

It is believed that a lot of the ANCâ\200\231s energies have been channelled into this, since it was unbanned â\200\224 with uncertain results.

Indeed, Inkathaâ\200\231s changed political circumstances have ostensibly downgraded the â\200\234cultural liberationâ\200\235 aspect of the movement, and upgraded its party aspect, hence the recent name change.

The Pan Africanist Congress, which so far has not swapped its belief for the â\200\234in-systemâ\200\235 politics and still operates outside the general political battleground, is regarded by many political analysts as being some way behind the process and therefore of less current interest.

However, with particular regard to the ANC, it is possible that analysts are in danger of failing to identify the positions in which the different groups find themselves and thus also misinterpreting the goal of the conference.

BIG QUESTION

people are asking is whether the conference will see the ANC transforming itself from a liberation movement into a â\200\234properâ\200\235â\200\231

It can be argued t at what is

meant by â\200\234partyâ\200\235 is overwhelmingly Western, even Westminsterian, in the way it is presented in South Africa. It places great store by membership lists, branch structures, propaganda units, campaign paraphernalia, chains of command, visible preparations for electioneering and so forth.

Using this sort of checklist, the performance of each political organisation and party can be (and frequently is) assessed.

The ANC comes out relatively badly. Since February 2 1990, it has failed to secure an unambiguously impressive card-carrying membership, with Government sources

scornfully boasting that the National Party still boasts more â\200\234realâ\200\235 members than the ANC.

Its membership drives have been poorly organised and many of its branches, set up in the rush of excitement a year ago, have hardly flourished.

Conferences have thus far been ill-prepared, and media relations have as often as not constituted a well-publicised shambles. Compounding this has been a tendency for leaders to contradict one another in public.

In the Western, traditional sense therefore, the ANCâ\200\231s party report card is dismal.

political party.

SHAUN JOHNSON and Nicola CUNNINGHAM-BROWN report.

By contrast, the IFP is viewed as boasting a viable party structure, drawing on the experience of many years of legality and administrative sway in KwaZulu. If this logic is pursued to its conclusion, it would suggest that in straight â\200\234party politicsâ\200\235 there would be no contest between the organisations.

But this also illustrates the danger of applying a mechanistic interpretation to the the â\200\234transition to partyâ\200\235 syndrome in the current South African context.

In both Zimbabwe and Namibia, for example, elections took place after â\200\234liberation movementsâ\200\235 had the opportunity to transform themselves into political parties.

In both cases the pre-eminent â\200\234liberation movementâ\200\235 was nowhere near as well organised as its â\200\234in-systemâ\200\235 opponent. In terms of party efficiency, Bishop Muzorewaâ\200\231s UANC and Mr Mudgeâ\200\231s DTA wiped the political floor with Mr Mugabeâ\200\231s Zanu and Or Nujomaâ\200\231s Swapo. History shows, however, that the electoral results spoke differently.

South Africa is not the United'

Kingdom or the United States, and constituency politics take on a different form. Broad mobilisation around generalities and perceptions assumes greater importance than localised,

detailed policy issues.

At this stage the ANC is less concerned with creating branches that run like clockwork than it is with sustaining, nurturing and eventually translating into votes its priceless historical legacy.

Historical legacies are not easily quantifiable, and do not necessarily require canvassing. The ANC, more than any other political grouping in South Africa, appeals to an ethnically and geographically diffuse and huge constituency, which obviously demands an approach different from those with narrower, more cohesive support-bases.

None of this suggests that the ANC is not concerned with efficiency. On the contrary, ANC leaders regularly express alarm about their more shambolic organisational tentacles.

But it remains risky to assume that party-political efficacy in this narrow sense is a primary concern at this stage in South Africa's development. Judging actors purely on that basis could produce skewed results.

Against this background it is not surprising that President de Klerk should have chosen, shortly before Parliament rose, to call on the ANC to speed up its transformation into a proper political party.

And it is not surprising that ANC official Raymond Suttner, speaking at a recent press briefing, should have said: 'We are reluctant to become a political party. We are a national liberation movement and we rely on daily contact with our supporters; we draw daily sustenance from them.'

|Huddleston to speak
C conf 'ce

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THE South African
Council of Churchesâ\200\231
23rd national confer-
ence, which starts
today, will focus on the
hopes and suffering of
South Africans as the

country undergoes
transformation.

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The meeting, at the
Lutheran -Church
Centre in Hillbrow,
ends on Thursday.

Archbishop Trevor
Huddleston, head of
the Anti-Apartheid
Movement inÂ° the
United Kingdom will
address the conference.

He returned to
South Africa yesterday

| after an absence of 35
years.

In a statement, the
SACC said: â\200\230â\200\234We shall
reflect on the mission
and ministry of the
church as we proceed
to move out of apart-
heid and cross the

' boundaries from the

old to the new order
and enter into the peri-
od of transition, negoti-
ation and adaption,
with all the dangers
that this represents be-
fore we finally arrive in
Canaan.â\200\235â\200\235 - Sowetan
Reporter.

Sevn. family members

'.' killedN

by MARY PAPAYYA

VEN members of a family, including a
two:yeasold ehild. were Eilled and. an
eight-year-old was wounded when they
were shot as they slept in their Taylorâ\200\231s
Halt home on Saturday night.

The deceased were members of the fam-
ily of African National Congress member
Mlungisi Ngubane (21). Mlungisiâ\200\231s son Si-

N slta\ltoivnegyw

bonelo (2), his father Albert (52), mother
Gladys (46), sisters Nomusa (14) and Them-
belihle (16), aunt Florence Ndlovu (36) and
his cousin lgaga Mbongwa (16) were shot
by unidentified gunmen.
yNgubaneâ\200\231s youngest brother, Siphaka-
nyiswa (8), who was shot and wqundegi, es-
caped and ran to alert relatives living
about 100 metres from their home.
Gertrude Ngubane, his aunt, said she
and her husband, Afrika, were awakened

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by gunshots at 12 pm. Minutes later they
were confronted by a bleeding Siphaka-
nyiswa who told them that the rest of the
family had been shot.

â\200\234We then set out on foot to the police sta-
tion about one kilometre from our home
and told the police what had happened.
Police arrived on the scene and Siphaka-
nyiswa was taken to hospital,â\200\235 she said.

Police liaison officer Lieutenant Henry
Budhram said 9 mm firearms were used in

â\200\224â\200\224 4

Sune \19) %

the shooting. The victims were shot in the

head while they were sleeping. No arrests

have been made and police are investigating, he said.

He said the motive was unknown,

Yesterday, family members, friends and neighbours were still shocked by the incident and were afraid to speak to the press or have their photographs taken.

Bullet holes were evident in the walls and window. Blood was splattered on the

wall of one room and a group of women took the blood-stained mattresses to be washed at a nearby river.,

It is not known why someone would want to kill my family," said a distraught Mlungu Ngubane, who was in Imbali when the shooting occurred.

His father, mother, baby, two sisters and cousin were asleep in the main house, while his aunt occupied a room in the outbuilding. :

His aunt and cousin were visiting for the weekend, he said.

Several items of

Ngubane and his wife were not

members of any political organisation, family members said. e,

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U CANNOT help feelin
sorry for Nelson Mandela
Only six months ago his
disposition was proud and his
bearing statesmanlike. But
now his tone has become
shrill and bitter.

In his Christmas message,
he was full of confidence
about the future, saying â\200\230the
South Africa so many of us
have sacrificed so much for is
within sight. Together let us
walk this last, long gruelling
mile to reach a non-racial so-
ciety where all our people will
be equal before the lawâ\200\231. Now
he has taken to lashing out at
the Press in a finger-wagging
manner not unlike that of at
least one former NP leader.

Last year he was treated to
ticker tape parades overseas.
Now he is seen there as a man
who cannot control violence
among his own supporters.
Last year he was treated with
near-reverence by the foreign
Press. Now they write of
seamy rumours about his
marriage.

Last year, a political solu-
tion looked difficult but
achievable in the near-term.
Now it seems years away.
Last year the ANC felt it held
the moral high ground. Now it
is involved in scrappy argu-
ments with the Government
about violence, political pris-
oners and the return of exiles.
But perhaps the most press-
ing difficulty for Mandela is
his increasingly fractious
organisation, a fact which he
all but concedes by refering
to the ANC as a â\200\230broad

churchâ\200\231.

Clearly, the ANC requires a substantial shake-up, which makes the timing of its July congress highly opportune. ANC members place great store in the congressâ\200\231s ability to place the organisation on a sure footing. Whether it will, or whether it will simply highlight some of the conflicting tendencies within it, remains to be seen.

In broad terms, the main task of the congress will be to decide a method of attaining what ANC members refer to as the â\200\230tactical initiativeâ\200\231. This problem involves several components: the organisational strength of the ANC, its popularity, charting the way through the â\200\230transitional periodâ\200\231 in a manner that profits the organisation, and developing an effective and convincing critique of the Governmentâ\200\231s position.

The main problem here is that even when the ANC tries to take the initiative, it comes 'out appearing the worse Off. Perhaps the best example was its ultimatum on violence, which began as a bold attempt to force the Governmentâ\200\231s hand but which ended â\200\224 as one deadline passed after another â\200\224 as a damp squib. Leaders readily concede that President FW de Klerk has used the terrain of

IM COHEN looks at the problems besetting Nelson Mandela . .

Durbanâ\200\231

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congress could
jolt the ANC needs

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SIBUSISO NDEBELE sets the scene for the conference

QUESTION: The National consultative conference in December was held

in Johannesburg, which is also the home of the ANC head office. Why then was Durban chosen as the venue for this, the first fully fledged national conference of the movement since its unbanning?

NDEBELE: Very few things happen by accident in the ANC. Three possible venues were proposed: Bloemfontein and Durban for political and historical reasons and Johannesburg for technical considerations.

There were sound political reasons for Bloemfontein as the venue: the first conference of the ANC, the founding conference, was held in that city on January 8, 1912. The feeling was that the ANC had to go to its roots and start from the beginning. And that beginning was in Bloemfontein.

But another view said that the return of the ANC inside the country should express continuity in the people's march to liberation. Durban symbolises this continuity. The last national conference of the ANC was held in Durban in December, 1958. It adopted a new constitution and set out policy guidelines that have guided the movement for the past 33 years.

Clearly the ANC will not be starting from the beginning, but will be continuing where it ended. The choice of Durban became politically irresistible.

What parallels exist between the 1958 conference and the 1991 conference?

Perhaps the best way to bring out parallels is to look at the contrasts. The 1958 conference was gearing itself up for the inevitability of being declared an illegal organisation. Everything pointed to it. Notwithstanding the considerable obstacles that still stand in the way, in 1991 we are looking at a conference that immediately precedes a major political transformation of our country.

The next regular conference should take place in a non-racial, democratic South Africa. If not, it might not take place at all.

But, for the parallels. In the short

term, we are all

coming to Durban

period in which it has been unbanned, the ANC is again emerging as the greatest unifier of the oppressed people: be they in the homelands, in sports, in education or in politics. The idea of a Patriotic Front is becoming a reality which will hopefully be concretised in August. This question exercised the minds of the delegates in 1958.

Let us also look at the question of constitution. The constitution that has carried the ANC from 1958 to March 1990 was adopted at the Durban conference. That constitution was so dynamic and covered so many contingencies that the movement had to go through that it was able to service the movement in the periods of the underground right through to the Morogoro and Kabwe conferences which transformed the ANC into a fully non-racial organisation.

Hopefully, the constitution to be adopted at the July conference will be able to carry the movement through the difficult phases it still has to surmount to transform South Africa into a fully non-racial, democratic and unitary state.

Take again the question of new methods of work. This conference will try to merge four strands of struggle that have characterised the ANC in the past 31 years. There has been the exile detachment. There has been the

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prison detachment. There has been the underground detachment, but there has also been the detachment brought forth by mass struggles, particularly of the 80s. All these strands need to be knotted together.

These strands were already emerging by the time of the 1958 conference. Then you had comrades like Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, who were participating clandestinely in the regular life of the organisation.

The call for the imposition of sanctions against the apartheid government came for the first time at the 46th conference of the ANC in Durban in 1958. Everyone is expectantly looking at how this question will be dealt with at the July conference.

The 1958 conference had to look at the best ways of fighting against separate bantustan education from uni-

versity level down. This conference will have to look at ways of creating an educational system for a non-racial, democratic and unitary future.

What about the elections?

The 1958 constitution made provision for an NEC consisting of the president-general, deputy president-general, secretary-general, treasurer-general, eight additional members, provincial presidents and provincial secretaries or their respective deputies, ANCWL and ANCYL national presidents. It was an attempt to have the national movement rooted in all corners of the country.

Chief Albert Luthuli was re-elected president-general, cde Oliver Tambo deputy president-general, Duma Nokwe became the secretary-general and Dr Letele was elected treasurer-general. The eight other members were DSO Nyembe, Alfred Nzo, T Mqotha, L. Masina, T Tshume, R Resha and W Z Chonco.

Perhaps more than the people who will be elected at the coming conference will be the adoption of a constitution that will facilitate democratic participation by all levels of the movement.

Mr Ndebele is Southern Natal regional secretary of the ANC and also organising secretary of the Natal preparatory committee.

negotiations more effectively than the ANC. But the problem is broader and involves an inability to win through sophisticated political manoeuvring.

This has frustrated the membership, sparked disconcerting rumblings from various quarters, and caused an exaggerated focus on the alleged inabilities of the leadership. As at the ANC's 231st consultative congress last December, democracy within the organisation is likely to be a prominent issue. It arises partly as a result of the differing styles of the exiled and formerly imprisoned leaders and the internal leaders.

As the ANC publication,
Mayibuye, points out, in the

three decades. of its illegality
the structures of the ANC
had to adapt to the kind of
struggle that was being
waged ... The structures be-
came gradually smaller and
more secretive ... decision-
making powers were vested
among smaller numbers. In-
ternal leaders (who now occu-
py mainly the regional
leadership structures) are
much less authoritarian in
their leadership styles and in-
sist on frequent consultation
and report-backs.

The sanctions debate will
be the litmus test of the
strength of the current leader-
ship which has called for (last
December and at the OAU
this month) and by all indica-
tions will again call for, a
phased approach to the lifting

of sanctions, with sports sanc-
tions the first to go. ANC lead-
ers have proposed the
approach behind closed doors
because they fear their organ-
isation is losing out to the
Government over the issue,
but the rank and file are loath
to dispense with such a trea-
sured weapon.

Another element of tension
regarding the current leader-
ship concerns the ANC's mili-
tary wing, Umkhonto we
Sizwe. Members are con-
cerned about their status and
confused over their future
role. MK will be sending its
own delegation to the con-
gress to represent its interests
and to raise its misgivings.

Members are curiously se-
cretive about ANC member-

ship figures, although a new
total of about 500 000 is ex-
pected to be announced.
Members are secretive be-
cause they feel the number
will be seen as low, especally
compared with Inkatha's
claimed membership of more
than 2 000 000. But realistical-

ly, after only a little more than a year of legality, this growth of membership from practically nil inside the country is not inconsiderable.

But members see the low membership as the manifestation of a broader organizational problem. As former ANC Moscow representative Simon Makana says, "The ANC has been banned for 30 years. You can't say the ANC has recovered from that state of illegality. This is the main

task that is pre-occupying us

to make sure that general support is translated into an actual commitment which ensures we become a living body."

"We must come out of this congress having charted the way forward. We can't come out with ambivalent views about where we are at. There can be no vacillation now on the direction," says national executive committee member Aziz Pahad.

Violence will also be thoroughly discussed at the congress. Debate will focus principally on methods of getting the Government to concede to the ANC's demands on the issue and on the role of the security forces. NEC member Jacob Zuma talks bitterly about what he sees as De Klerk's deficiency in attempting to change the psychological attitude of the security forces. "They do not understand what De Klerk is saying. They do not even agree with what he is saying," Zuma says.

Other ANC spokesmen go further, claiming the Government has the ability to turn violence on and off like a tap. But while the militant rank and file may approve of such rhetoric, the ANC loses credibility elsewhere by overstating its case. If it is to produce workable solutions to an undoubtedly complex issue together with other groups like the NP and the IFP, it must come up with sophisticated arguments.

In assessing claims that the Government is primarily responsible for the violence, political analysts Duncan Innes and Matthew Kentridge write: "It is true that the Government welcomes the fact that the ANC is losing credibility in the eyes of its erstwhile supporters. The Government undoubtedly thinks that it might win the next election against a weakened ANC and will use all the political tricks in the book to strengthen its own position and sow discord among the opposition."

They say in the latest Innes Labour Brief: "... the Government needs to be extremely careful ... It cannot allow the ANC to become too weak or too discredited. It needs a negotiating partner, and it needs to limit the antagonism which already exists between the parties if negotiations are to be successful."

If Government members are gleeful about the current state of the ANC, they would be well advised to think again. The organisation contains the seeds of strength that are currently dormant. If it can nourish those seeds, and the aim of the congress is to do just that, the ANC may well emerge an extremely powerful adversary.

4-26, 1991

JNE

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EGOLI, - Kudutshulwe
kwabulawa isikhulu se-
African National Con-
gress (ANC) egatsheni
â\200\230TaseNyanga, eCape
Town, emuva kokuhlase-
lwa emzini waso ngaba-
ntu abathile abebehlome
_ ngezibhamu.

UMnuz. Mziwonke -

Jack kubikwa ukuthi
udutshulelwe ekhaya
kwakhe ngolwesiThathu
ebusuku ngeledlule emu-
va kokuhlaselwa ngaba-
ntu abebehlome ngezi-

bhamu zohlobo lwama-

machinegun.

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. Okhulumela abe-
ANC kuleligatsha,
uMnuz. Christian Tonto,
uthe uMnuz. Jack udu-

~ tshulwe emuva kokuphu-
ma kwakhe emnyango
ngabantu abangaziwa no-
kusolakala ukuthi bebe-
bhace esihlahleni esise-
duze nakwakhe.

â\200\230Uthe uMnuz. Jack
okunguyena muntu obe-
sezame ngawowonke
amandla akhe ukugeda
â\200\230ukungqubuzana oseku-
bulele abantu abaningi

- phakathi kwezinhlangano

- zabamathekisi, udutshu-
Iwe ekhanda izihlandla

_eziningana wafa ngaleso-
sikhathi ngaphambi kwa-

kakhe. Uthe akasazi isi-

zathu sokudutshulwa

i e. _

- Amaphoyisa aseCape

Town akufakazile lokhu
kodwa okwamanje athe
awakezukuphawula nga-
lokhu kudutshulwa kuka-

- Mnuz. Jack. :

- Okwamanje akukabo-
shwa muntu ngalesisehla-
kalo. Amaphoyisa asa-

_ phenya. :

-ANC ithi ayinamali
A okungcwaba ilunga
LRAL A eLusaka

N

. Kuthiwa kuthe uma
na, uNkK. Mnisi, enxusa
ANC ukuba imsize eku-
letheni isidumbu sendo-
dana yakhe eckhaya
cSouth Africa, ithwale
nezindlcko zomngewabo,
i-ANC yakhala ngokuthi
kayinamali. Kodwa sigci-
ne scsilethwe ngcbhanoyi
isidumbu.

Unina kamufi ungo-
munye wabasanda Kubu-
ya ckudingisweni kanti
kuthiwa uhlala ckame-
lweni lokugeza namado-

akazilak
nabazukulu abatha
komunye umuzi wesihlo-
bo sakhe. Bonke babuya
ekud'mg'\sw,eni.

Kuthiwa bonke babu-
ya bethenjiswe yi-A .
usizo lwezimali nendawo
yokuhlala kodwa bafike
bashiywa clokishini bazi-
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i-ANC ithi kade yasho
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sweni bay(mgcwatshclwa
khona ngoba ayikho ima-
li yokubuyisela izidumbu
cSouth Africa.

ANC tal{ii~\202gwge

HERE'S an
â\200\230interesting
story going
around at the
ANCâ\200\231s Johannesburg
head office.

According to the

-grapevine, Nelson
Mandela, at the re-
quest of the powerful

~ PWV region, recently
went to Natal to con-

-vince the provinceâ\200\231s
three regions that the
ANC'â\200\231s national confer-
ence should not be held
in Inkatha territory.

The regionâ\200\231s â\200\234Com-
radesâ\200\231â\200\235 â\200\224 who have
borne the brunt of the vi-
cious war with Dr Buthe-
leziâ\200\231s impis â\200\224 would
barely hear him out.

The moral of this story
is that ANC supporters
are beginning to take
their democratic rights
seriously., They want to
be heard, and they are no
longer to be prescribed
to â\200\224 not even by the
likes of Nelson Mandela.

This incident reflects

| the mood of ANC mem-
bers, who â\200\224 through
democratic electoral

| procedures â\200\224 have man-

- .dated 2000 delegates to
g0 to Durban next month
to vote into top office the
men and women they
want to lead the organi-
sation through the cru-
cial phase of negotia-
tions. ;

Many factors, hopfev-
er, will come into â\200\234play
before the final poll.

Such as the roles of
Oliver Tambo and Mr
Mandela, the preferences
of the national executive
committee, the much-ru-

moured SACP hand-in-the-pie, the relative anonymity of formerly exiled leaders, the thrust of internal leaders for top jobs to balance the exiled leadership, the fixed quota of women to be elected, and dissatisfaction with the poor performance of some sitting national executive committee members.

Canvassing and manoeuvring for the elec-

tions has reached fever

pitch. Although the outcome cannot be predicted reliably and the situation will remain fluid right up until the end of the five-day conference

strong contenders for the top jobs have already emerged.

This has been damaging, though. For example, the punting of Jacob Zuma for the deputy presidency, and subsequent events to prevent infighting among contenders waiting in the wings, has virtually ruled out Mr Zuma's candidacy for the job.

The ANC's national executive committee has taken a policy decision,

ocracy seriously

Daily News Corrs on 17/201en? ESMARE VAN

DER MERWE examines some of the factors influencing the African National Congress's first open and democratic elections in decades.

Nelson Mandela

in the interest of democracy, not to get involved in canvassing. Other ANC members argue that canvassing is a privilege of democracy.

In the build-up to the elections, the committee

may feel compelled to make its preferences known.

Amid widespread dissatisfaction with the current leadership, there is growing speculation that ailing president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Mandela might influence the elections to preserve the status quo:

Oliver Tambo

B First, to secure the positions of â\200\234old guardâ\200\235 figures such as secretary-general Alfred Nzo and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, unpopular: among the rank and file. This stems from a belief, at least among committee members, that the ANC should not change leadership before the negotiation process has been substantially concluded.

B Second, to preserve unity by preventing infighting among the leaders of tomorrow. Because the ANC is perceived

by many as having been out-manoeuvred by the Government in negotiations, divisions have been sharpened between the primary ANC negotiators and their more militant comrades.

Thus, one theory goes, Mr Tambo might stay on as president and Mr Mandela as his deputy, while Mr Nzo and Mr Nkobi will remain in their powerful jobs to

— prevent a contest between

Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma, on the one hand, and Chris Hani on the other.

This theory is reflected by a senior committee member: â\200\234I donâ\200\235 think there are going to be too many changes.

The bottom line is that if Tambo and Mandela want changes, there will be. If not, there won't.

Many activists are concerned about this possibility, but do not dismiss it.

They point to the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985, when pressure for the ousting of Mr Nkobi and Mr Nzo was already strong. But Mr Tambo made a speech of unity, and they retained their positions.

A powerful camp of predominantly internal leaders, coming from the UDF and MDM schools,

is going all out to canvass for representatives | who, they believe, have a | better grasp of political developments and might significantly strengthen the ANC's strategic thinking and organisational skills.

A leading activist commented: 'I predict that at least half of the current national executive committee will be ousted. If not, I quit.'

Equally frank is another activist: 'It's time that the social welfare department starts doing its job by preparing pension packages for the incompetent old guard.'

Favourites among this camp are internal leadership corps leader Walter Sisulu for the deputy presidency (as a unifying factor, in spite of his age) under Mr Mandela, and trade unionist Cyril Ramphosa for secretary-general. These activists want the position of treasurer-general to at least be contested, although candidates to replace Mr Nkobi are few.

Barbara Masekela, former head of the cul-

tural desk, has been nominated by at least three regions for this job, while the name of Borderâ\200\231s Rev Arnold Stofile has become prominent.

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Mandela named,

for presâ\200\231ggenc .

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NELSON Mandela has been nomi-
nated for the ANC presidency by two .
of the strongest regions, while Walter
Sisulu is being backed by Border for
the deputy-presidency, regional
spokesmen said at the weekend.
| Border and Natal have not nomi-
nated ANC president Oliver Tambo
for any of the ANCâ\200\231s top five posts.

They have also failed to nominate
Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff '
Chris Hani or international affairs
head Thabo Mbeki for any of the top
five posts, which will avert a â\200\234hawks
versus dovesâ\200\235 battle, but they both
have been nominated for NEC posts.

Other than Nelson Mandela, the
only common nomination for the top
five is ANC NEC member Jacob
Zuma. i

Border has also nominated region-
al chairman the Rev Arnold Stofile
for secretary-general, Jacob Zuma
for treasurer-general and trade,
unionist Cyril Ramaphosa for assist-
ant secretary-general.

ANC southern Natal spokesman
Linda Zama said at the weekend that
Natal Midlands ANC leader Harry
Gwala and been nominated for depu-
ty president, Jacob Zuma for secre-
tary-general, Mendi Msimang (cur-
rently the organisationâ\200\231s London
representative) for treasurer-general
and former UDF leader Popo Molefe
for assistant secretary-general.