

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, March 5 1991

3

First batch of exiles due in SA this week

THE first major group of exiles is due back in SA this week, opening the way for the return of an estimated 40 000 South Africans before April 31.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said yesterday the first group of 110 exiles would be flown from the Zambian capital on Thursday.

They will be using some of the 600 tickets donated earlier this year by the Swedish government, and will probably take an Air Zambia flight.

They are all members of the ANC.

The spokesman said indemnities had been granted by the SA government and, barring a few minor problems with temporary travel documents, they would arrive on Thursday afternoon.

He said members of the group would stay with their families on their return, although later groups would have to be housed in temporary camps until permanent accommodation could be found for them.

The exiles' return will fulfil one of the ANC's major preconditions for entering constitutional negotiations with government. Government reluctance on spelling out the role of the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) is still holding up the process.

PATRICK BULGER

Home Affairs Minister Gene Louw is due to make a major announcement today which could clear the deadlock, although government sources felt a decision on the UNHCR would more likely be made by President F W de Klerk.

Spokesmen yesterday refused to say when government would give the final word on UNHCR involvement.

A UNHCR delegation which visited SA last month left the country apparently without being told whether their organisation would be called in to help.

A spokesman for the National Council for the Repatriation of SA Exiles, which is helping co-ordinate Thursday's return, said the organisation did not know whether the UNHCR would be called in.

Government's delay was holding up funding and logistical arrangements.

A European diplomatic source yesterday said UNHCR involvement was crucial if the necessary funds were to be raised to sponsor the operation, but government was keeping everybody guessing.

He said a UNHCR operation did not necessarily involve a high-profile UN presence in the country, which is one of government's objections to UNHCR involvement.

7.4.91 retrenches 400 farm workers

London Sunday Times 5/5/91
Page 1 of 2

1.12 WORLD NEWS

'Third force' fuelling township civil war

'Hit squad' man claims police paid for shooting

BY ALL accounts, Sipho Madlala was visibly nervous as he walked into the offices of the Natal Witness, one of South Africa's most respected English-language liberal newspapers. He had every reason to be, for if the story he had to tell was true, his life was clearly in danger.

He wanted to come clean, he told reporters, about the unsolved murder of Mhlabuzima Maphumulo, a Zulu chief who was a member of the African National Congress. The killing had been masterminded by the security police, he claimed, and he had been one of the assassins. Now he could no longer live with his conscience.

It was a sensational story. Madlala, 28, was apparently providing the first evidence of an officially sanctioned "third force" fomenting violence among blacks in South Africa with the aim of safeguarding white supremacy and sabotaging the transition to democracy.

The ANC has long been convinced that organs of the state are engineering much of the violence convulsing black townships. Holding the min-

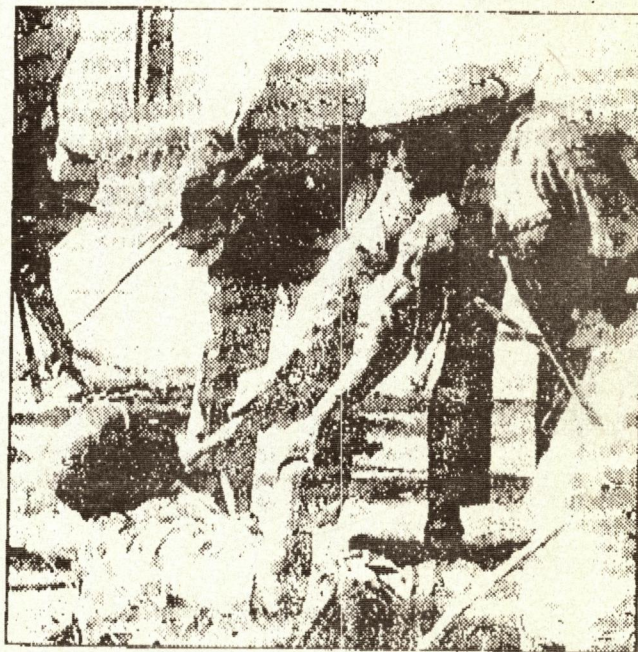
by Andrew Hogg
Pietermaritzburg

isters of defence and law and order responsible, the ANC has told the government of President F W de Klerk that if he does not sack them by this Friday, it will break off negotiations on a future constitution.

Citing Madlala's testimony, the ANC accused the state of involvement in the murder of ANC and rival Inkatha party members to engineer revenge attacks by each group. The idea, according to the ANC, was to prove the "racist notion that black people are not yet fit to rule".

Madlala was a persuasive witness. He said he had been attached to the "intelligence unit of the military police" for the past 10 years. He had been paid about £1,600 for the murder of the Zulu chief.

Before the operation, he and other members of the hit squad had been taken to a police station, shown photographs of the chief and told to get rid of him because "he was a problem to the state and a



Mounting violence: passers-by come to the aid of a man attacked

bad influence in the community".

It was an unexpected twist to the case. The chief, known for his flamboyant style, dressed in snappy suits and drove a Mercedes, had gathered many enemies; his supporters did not have to look far to find suspects. To most, a plot by state security forces would have seemed far-fetched.

Maphumulo, leader of the

Zulu, was based around the Natal Mountains, a region that above all else had nurtured the warrior ethos and its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, by leaving the movement during the 1970s. Buthelezi later branded Maphumulo a "pathological liar".

This was dangerous enough. But the enmity deepened even further when Maphumulo assumed presidency of Contra-



In Soweto, left, while Zulu warriors in the township prepare for an attack on ANC supporters. Rumours of state involvement are rife

lesa, a group of traditional chiefs aligned to the ANC. After the release of Nelson Mandela last year, a mob of Inkatha supporters attacked the chief's homestead and he was forced to flee to a house in a quiet suburb of Pietermaritzburg. It was there that he was gunned down at the wheel of his Mercedes two months ago after returning home from a meeting.

The sprawling black areas

around Pietermaritzburg have been the scene of some of the worst clashes between the ANC and Inkatha in recent years. Yet the killing of Maphumulo sent shock waves through both the black and white communities.

In the days following his assassination, rumours abounded about the political persuasion of his murderers, with Inkatha supporters the clear favourites. But that was

to ignore dark whisperings of a power struggle said to be developing between Maphumulo and the ANC's regional leadership. It was also to disregard the complex nature of Zulu politics: for Maphumulo faced contenders to his title from within his immediate clan. Then Madlala made his astonishing claims.

His testimony, though persuasive, has not conclusively proven that a "third force" is at work. There was little in Madlala's account of the killing that could not have been gleaned from newspaper reports. To prove he was a member of the intelligence unit of the Military Police (a unit the South African Defence Force denies exists), he presented an identity card. But it could have been forged.

The defence force and the police claimed that Madlala had acted for them as an informer. But there was no evidence that their personnel had been involved in the assassination, they said.

The case has highlighted the problems besetting both the government and the ANC in the days leading up to the ANC's ultimatum. For without hard evidence of a "third force", the government feels it

has nothing concrete to which it can respond.

Yet reputable sightings of police officers colluding with Inkatha members in township violence are too frequent to ignore. Most accept, however, that it is unlikely such activities are carried out with the approval of a government desperate to ease sanctions and regain a place in international affairs.

Last week De Klerk unveiled a 10-point plan to tackle the violence. "We will not allow the country to deteriorate to a situation of chaos," he said. The plan includes reinforcing police and establishing a commission to investigate complaints related to violence.

If negotiations between the government and ANC break down, however, as now appears almost certain, matters are likely to get much worse before they get better. Last week's clashes between the ANC and Inkatha in townships around Johannesburg — which left more than 100 dead, including two of Mandela's relatives — might yet be regarded as trivial. Some fear that the townships are already in a state of civil war, and that the war still has a long course to run.

London
Sunday
Times
May 5th 1991

This is where the buck stops on sanctions

by Fred Bridgland
in Johannesburg

LIKE troglodytes emerging from caves, they appear in the mornings at every set of traffic lights in Johannesburg's white suburbs, bearing pleas for help written on remnants of cardboard boxes.

"Family starving. Please to help me," is typical of the messages thrust in the faces of commuters by the *Abalambile* (hungry ones), as they call themselves. The *Abalambile* began taking over traffic intersections last year, as unemployment resulting from international economic sanctions against South Africa and recession deepened.

The typical uniform of one of the *Abalambile* is a tattered boiler suit, usually the wearer's only redundancy compensation from his last employment. Jacksonia Mkwanzazi's boiler suit is wearing very thin, for it is three years since he was last able to find regular employment in his trade as a paint sprayer.

Mkwanzazi, a 41-year-old father of three, is just one of more than six million adult males, most of them black, in a total South African population of 35 million, who have no work. Unemployment means total destitution, as there is no social security.

The unemployed either survive on the charity of relatives, turn to crime, which is booming, or simply starve. Operation Hunger, South

Africa's internal Oxfam, established in 1980 when evidence emerged of unexpectedly high levels of chronic malnutrition among rural black people, estimates that one child dies every 15 minutes from malnutrition and associated diseases. If Operation Hunger's calculations are accurate, it means that the international sanctions lobby is now killing far more black South Africans through starvation and poverty-related disease than do the remaining doomed apartheid laws or the white regime's security forces.

Mkwanzazi had been in regular employment most of his adult life until the factory where he worked in Alexandra, a small North Johannesburg black township surrounded by leafy white suburbs, relocated. He was earning more than R600 (£125) a month, a good wage by current South African standards.

"I have never been unemployed for so long before," Mkwanzazi said, as he picketed cars beneath the four-star Sandton Sun Hotel. "If my mother dies, then the whole family is dead. There is no one else to take over." Mkwanzazi's widowed mother earns R400 (£83) a month as a supermarket cleaner. Her wage supports herself, Mkwanzazi, his wife and their three children, and two of Mkwanzazi's sisters and their four young children. They all live in a three-room Alexandra "matchbox" house.

Mkwanzazi's situation is typical of South Africa's straitened circumstances, according to Operation Hunger, which has calculated that for every job lost as many as 10 dependants face destitution within two months.

"I want a permanent job, either spraying again or gardening," said Mkwanzazi, speaking in Zulu. "But so many others are roaming around looking for jobs, it's impossible. Things are worse since the government ended influx control, because everybody from the countryside is jamming into the cities. Everywhere you go the factories and businesses have notices which say 'No Jobs'."

Mkwanzazi's day begins at 6.30am when he sets out on the five-mile walk from Alex-

andra to his Sandton Sun pitch. He pickets during the morning rush-hour, at lunch-time and in the evening, resting between times on the grass verges with fellow *Abalambile*. "Sometimes you get a temporary job, for between R8 and R20 (£1.85 and £4.60), but this year I have been given not one job," said Mkwanzazi. "Some people are kind. They give a food parcel or 10 cents (one halfpenny)."

"But the good ones are fewer than the cruel ones. Every day they tell me to go to Mr Tutu or Mr Mandela and tell them that I have nothing to eat. Sometimes they call me obscene names. Others tell me to get in their pick-up truck, and then they take me into the country and tell me to get out and walk back home."

Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress, continues to campaign for the maintenance of international economic sanctions until greater progress has been made towards universal political emancipation.

Last week, Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) said in America that the ANC would deliberately destabilise South Africa to discourage foreign investment if the US moved to lift sanctions. Hani, who lives in Mandela's 14-room Soweto mansion, said: "It is not in our interest to stabilise the country. Apartheid is oppressive, and we do not want apartheid to be healthy, fresh and kicking."

Mkwanzazi said he and his fellow *Abalambile* would be happy for an end to sanctions if it meant they could get work. He said he looked ahead only one day at a time, and trusted no politicians. "I often think of robbing someone," he mused. "I always reject that because it will make things worse if I go to prison. But there is no world for a person without money. If I had money I would go back to the countryside, away from the trouble, and build a big family house. But it won't happen, and I fear my children will lead much the same kind of life."

Mkwanzazi seemed genuinely puzzled when asked how he valued the vote that will come his way for the first time within four years in the new South Africa. "Will I be voting for a job?" he asked.

5/4/91

He has clearly seen the writing on the wall. The European Community has lifted some curbs and promises to lift others once the last apartheid laws are repealed. Scandinavian countries which, under Archbishop Tutu's urging, imposed sanctions, have reopened embassies here and are considering lifting sanctions.

The United States yesterday reassured South Africa that President Bush will move to end sanctions once the remaining conditions of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act have been met.

Mr Herman Cohen, the US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, told the media in Cape Town yesterday that the timing was up to the South African Government, but he believed the "moment of decision" was near. The archbishop and other church leaders also seem to be increasingly worried about the Black on Black violence in the townships.

More than 4 000 Blacks have died in Natal; township violence on the Reef has claimed 1 200 lives since last August.

In a sermon last week, Archbishop Tutu urged Blacks to take responsibility for ending the violence.

"We have to turn the spotlight on ourselves and ask what is, in fact, happening to us as a people; as a Black community. One has to say that, clearly, we are beginning to be the victims of a culture of violence" (a point The Citizen has made in several leading articles).

"We ought to be inculcating in our people an attitude that says: Of course apartheid has a great deal to answer for, but we cannot forever be seeking to use it as an alibi."

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, yesterday also came out against violence, which he described as endemic.

"We believe as churches that the violence threatens the process of negotiation in the country and will destroy the hopes people have for the future, and all efforts must be made to stop it."

We welcome the fact that Archbishop Tutu and the SACC have come out so strongly against the violence.

Events are bringing a new awareness of the terrible things that are being done in the battle for dominance in the townships.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Tutu's call

WE have been waiting for the day when Archbishop Desmond Tutu suggested the possibility of lifting sanctions.

Yesterday he said that anti-apartheid leaders should discuss whether to ask the world to begin lifting the curbs.

"Is there now cause for us to be looking at when we should be the ones to take the initiative to determine whether (sanctions) should be lifted or not?" he said.

South African Blacks, not foreign governments, should decide when sanctions should be lifted, he added.

His call suggests the Archbishop would not be averse to seeing sanctions go, especially as he said that State President De Klerk's promise to repeal apartheid by June, and his agreement to free political prisoners and allow exiles home, went a long way towards meeting his own conditions for ending sanctions.

We have always condemned the leading role Archbishop Tutu took in getting sanctions imposed.

We have commented frequently on the harm sanctions have done to the Black people whom they were supposed to help.

And we have criticised the way the sanctioners have tried to keep the curbs in place, on the pretext that Mr De Klerk's reforms could be reversed, when, in fact, the State President is ending apartheid and creating conditions for the negotiation of a new dispensation for a new South Africa.

It is a bit late in the day for Archbishop Tutu to change his tune, considering the thousands of people who have been put out of work because of the curbs and the flight of American companies from South Africa because of the divestment campaign of which Archbishop Tutu was a leading proponent.

Archbishop Tutu, of course, is bowing to the inevitable, and, judging from his remarks, does not want Mr De Klerk, the government, to get the credit for

B/Day 5/4/91

Eight arrested in wake of Alexandra shooting of 13

EIGHT men have been arrested by police in connection with the killing of 13 people on March 27 in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg.

Police liaison officer Col Frans Malherbe told a media conference yesterday the arrests were a "breakthrough".

He said one man, Dixon Mbatia, 27, had been arrested on March 28. He had already appeared in the Wynberg Magistrate's Office and had been charged with murder.

The seven other men were arrested by police on Wednesday night and, Malherbe said, they

were being detained for questioning.

"There is a strong possibility that more arrests will follow," he said.

In addition to the arrests, Malherbe said police had confiscated an AK-47 rifle with a magazine and 30 live rounds and a .38 revolver with 10 rounds.

The weapons were undergoing ballistic tests and Malherbe said it was likely they were connected with other murders committed in Alexandra during the recent outbreak of violence.

Commenting on reports that the massacre at the funeral vigil

was connected to a family feud, Malherbe said police had information that contradicted this.

"The SAP denies that a family feud was responsible for the killing of these people," he said.

Police were investigating a political motive for the shootings, but he would not say whether the men arrested in connection with the massacre were hostel dwellers or township residents.

"At this stage I have been specifically asked not to reveal that information," Malherbe said, adding that all aspects of the case would be made known later.

— Sapa

CITY PRESS, May 5, 1991

PAGE 13

Cooper is rooting for tolerance

By THEMBA KHUMALO

SATHS Cooper, former fiery exponent of Black Consciousness and ex-president of Azapo, surfaced in Johannesburg this week to launch the Institute of Multi-Party Democracy, headed by Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Dhlomo was once Cooper's arch political rival.

Cooper, who left his lecturing post at the University of the Western Cape to join MPD as national director, told diplomats and politicians at a ceremony at the institute's Braamfontein offices that the institute's main aim was to promote racial and political tolerance among different organisations.

MPD was created last year after Dhlomo had resigned as KwaZulu's Minister of Education and as general secretary of Inkatha.

In its Charter for Multi-Party Democracy, the organisation says the effective functioning of such a system depends on the development and maintenance of mutual tolerance in which diversity of political opinion and the competition of ideas is accepted as part of the normal political process.

Cooper, who served a six-year term on Robben Island in the late 70s, later told *City Press* he was "comfortable" working for the institute.

"It's politically and intellectually challenging.

"I could never have been more satisfied," said Cooper.



Saths Cooper ... back in the limelight.

Among guests at the ceremony were his former Azapo colleagues, Khehla Mthembu, Ishmael Mkhabela and Lusiba Nleko. Other guests were Gaby Magomola, James Ngcoya, Helen Suzman, Walter Sisulu and diplomats from the German, Japanese and American embassies.

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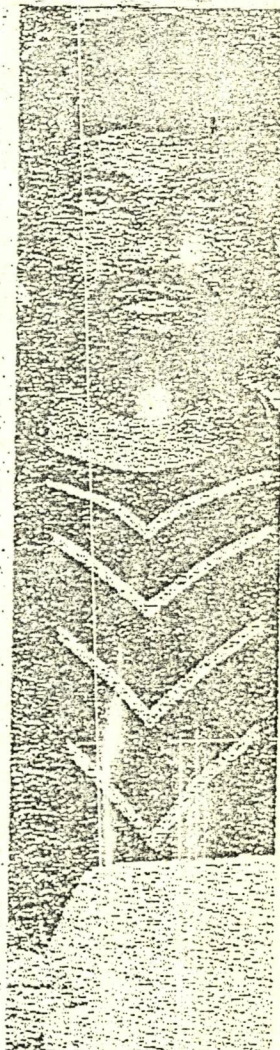
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American pledge on lifting sanctions

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN.
The United States
has reassured South
Africa that President
George Bush will
move to end sanctions
once the remaining
conditions of the US
Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid
Act have been met.

Mr Herman Cohen,
US Under Secretary of
State for African Af-
fairs, told the media in
Cape Town yesterday
that the timing was up
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Government, but he be-
lieved the "moment of
decision" was near.

The two remaining
conditions still to be met
in the Anti-Apartheid
Act were the release of
all political prisoners
and the repeal of the
Group Areas Act and
the Population Regis-
tration Act.

TUTU HINTS AT END OF CURBS

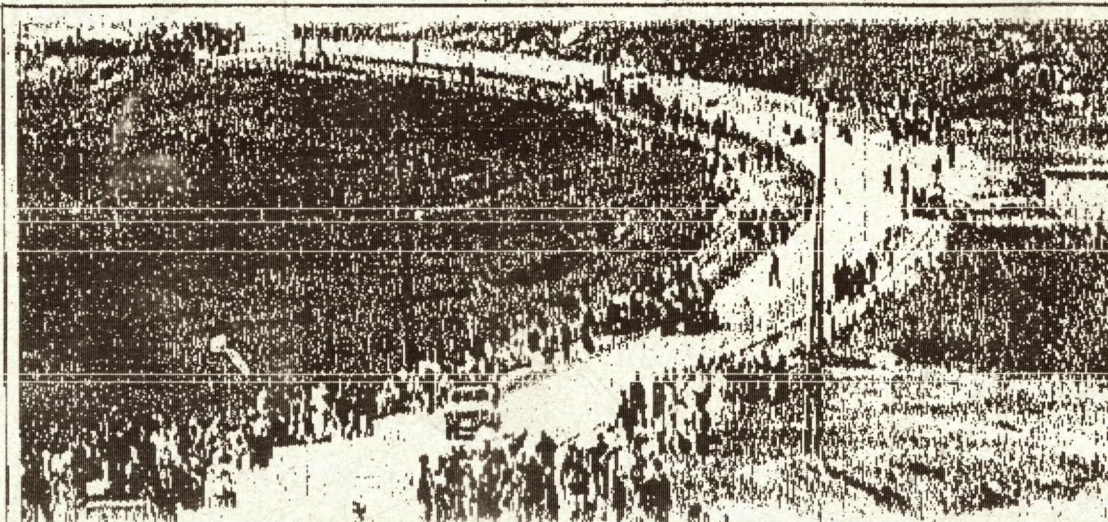
CAPE TOWN. — An end to sanctions has been
hinted at by the Anglican Archbishop of Cape
Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

In an interview con-
ducted by Reuters and
Viznews on Wednesday,
extracts of which were re-
leased by his office yester-
day, the archbishop said
sanctions had been "as
successful as we could
ever hope for them to be."

"There is now cause for
us (church leaders and the
liberation movements) to
be looking at when we
should take the initia-
tive to determine when
they should be lifted, or

When asked if he was
saying it was time to start
lifting sanctions, he re-
plied: "Archbishop Des-
mond Tutu is not saying
so yet. Because Arch-
bishop Desmond Tutu is
saying that it is important,
very crucial, that there
must be prior consulta-
tion with the oppressed
and the leadership of the
oppressed".

During the interview
the archbishop also said



A veteran of Natal politics

As the ANC prepares to open its office in Pietermaritzburg, STEPHEN COAN interviewed the Natal midlands leader of the organisation, Harry Gwala.



HARRY GWALA, ANC regional convenor, Natal midlands.

SITTING in the bare new ANC offices (the furniture is due to arrive on Monday) I asked Harry Gwala how he became involved in politics.

GWALA: In 1942 when I was still a school-teacher in a school close to Pietermaritzburg in Slangspruit. I had some friends who were attending political discussions and they invited me along. The discussions were so interesting that I began to understand our society. I joined the SACP in 1942 — then it was called the Communist Party of South Africa — and I became a member of the ANC two years later. In 1942 the African National Congress was moribund in Natal. This was the time that Natal had seceded from the national organisation and formed the Natal ANC under the leadership of Dr Dube. In the course of time that Natal ANC almost went out of existence.

COAN: Why did such a situation arise?

GWALA: I'm not sure. But there is a tendency for Natal to be exclusive ... I notice now this breakaway tendency is expressing itself through Inkatha. Inkatha originally said it was following the path of the forefathers of the ANC and all along recognised the leadership of people like Chief Luthuli — then suddenly it became something independent, a Natal affair as it were.

COAN: Could this be seen as a contributory factor to the current violence?

GWALA: In a way, yes. There is no one factor to the violence but so many contributory factors. When I was still in prison and there was this violence I took particular interest in it. I noticed a trend: conservative elements in the Cape and the Transvaal were involved with this violence and those conservative elements were rather tribalistic. And after that was when Inkatha became involved in the violence. At first the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said these people were protecting his name but we don't have to fight to protect our names. If you feel really aggrieved you can go to court to have your name cleared.

It began at the University of Zululand with the students. Now there is a new generation throughout the country that is radical and very much opposed to the bantustans. If you serve within these Government-created institutions they feel you are a sell-out. So when they prevented the chief minister from addressing the students there they were doing so because they said he was a creation of the bantustans. And the fighting started there when

the students were assaulted and some of them killed.

COAN: Is there a way to resolve the conflict?

GWALA: I was quoted in The Natal Witness (May 2, 1990) as saying we shall wipe out Inkatha but my speech was in Zulu and not quoted in full. What I consider to be the major points in that speech were not embodied in what appeared in The Natal Witness. I don't think it was deliberate. I pointed out you have a Minister of Police, Adriaan Vlok, who even before weighing up the facts of what was happening had already made up his mind that the ANC, United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Unions were responsible for the violence in this area. I said once a minister says that you cannot expect those under him to hold a different point of view. About a week ago Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, also made a similar statement, that it was the ANC's policy of making the country ungovernable that was responsible for the violence. Once a minister says that, his army cannot be impartial.

I said it is the responsibility of the State President to call his ministers to order because people are losing confidence in what the police can do, particularly when the police go out of their way to assist Inkatha. We have the reports that the police are not neutral parties, they only side with Inkatha and that Inkatha can only attack after the police have carried out their raids, arrested the youth and taken whatever weapons the people defend themselves with.

In the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly the chief minister had said 'we must wipe off the map that muck in Edendale'. I said we were prepared and waiting for him and if he did so we should sweep out his forces that were attacking Edendale.

The people in the Edendale valley have never gone out of the boundaries of Edendale to attack Inkatha, they have always defended themselves and I said we shall defend ourselves successfully. We'll give them a hot reception.

COAN: You were also reported as making statements with regard to the taking over of farms.

GWALA: It was taken out of context. I said that according to the Freedom Charter the land belongs to those who work it. We are not talking about small pieces of land but these vast stretches of land which are owned by monopolies. Some of these people are in the United States, Britain, and

West Germany — that is the land which we'll take over. Obviously when you say the land belongs to those who work it, the farmers are working that land — it would be a contradiction to take that land but there are vast stretches of land where people only invest for profit.

COAN: You also called for the police and the army to pull out of the townships.

GWALA: The ANC policy is clear that the army and the police should be pulled out of the townships. We say Inkatha will not be in a position to attack us because Inkatha is not strong enough to attack us. But the police harass and intimidate us. What is significant is that people on the receiving end are those who belong to the "mass democratic movement". But people like warlords who run around with their guns will be arrested today and out again tomorrow ... because the police are taking sides they must clear out of the townships.

The army itself is not in a very strong position because it is under that station commander in a particular area. When the kitskonstabels and the ZPs [KwaZulu Police] went out on a massacre at Maqongqo the army was there. People asked the army to defend them and the army said "our hands are tied. We are told not to interfere"...

When we are talking about the army we don't concede that these mercenaries are part of the South African army — they are recruited from Angola and we demand the Government send these mercenaries back home. They can never be impartial, these are the people who committed dastardly acts in Angola and Namibia. Who were they fighting there? — the MPLA. And the ANC and Swapo were on the side of MPLA. Now the ANC is here. When the Minister of Police and the Minister of Defence say the ANC is responsible for the violence, we can only draw one conclusion — they have come to fight they ANC in South Africa.

COAN: You have spoken of the armed struggle continuing. But at present it seems to be in abeyance.

GWALA: Yes, it is in abeyance but it is one of the forms of struggle in this country and it won't be in abeyance all the time ... no sane person will go to war for the sake of war — if we can solve our problems peacefully, so much the better. But as Comrade Nelson Mandela has so frequently stated we were forced into the position we are in today. It

was a very different South Africa until the end of the United Party regime. We could hold meetings, we could be communists, demonstrate, do all sorts of things. They had one particular law, the Riotous Assemblies Act, and there was no bloodshed then. Then the Nats came in and they suppressed everything ... In the past you could be detained for 48 hours — you had legal rights. You would give your name and address and then say you would only speak in the presence of a lawyer. You weren't assaulted in detention. But things changed. Bones have been broken, lives have been lost since the Nats took over. They have created a state of war in this country ... we have been forced into this war situation by the way we have been treated under the Nationalist Government.

COAN: The ANC's statements with regard to nationalisation have been cause for concern.

GWALA: I grew up in South Africa and there was nationalisation in this country then. Up to the present day there has been nationalisation. Up to now no one has found anything wrong with that. It's only now when they are denationalising. We are faced with a great imbalance in this country, we have millions of people without houses, without land, poor pay, poor education. How do you propose to put this right? In clause 3 of the Freedom Charter it says the people shall inherit the country's wealth ... that meant nationalising all the major industries. But the talks are on now as to how this can be done, if it is done at all, done in such a way that it doesn't harm the country ... that is why ANC talks about a mixed economy ... The ANC has made it clear there will be a lot of private enterprise. But at the same time the government must play a major role in the economy of the country.

COAN: Haven't events in Eastern Europe shown that socialism doesn't work?

GWALA: I was in Eastern Europe when it all started. Socialism was not in dispute — they were fighting bureaucracy. Some writers have said that if we had socialism in countries like Great Britain, France, West Germany, or the United States it would be very democratic. Remember socialism started in an autocratic country under the Tsar and democratic norms were not there in the first place. An apple doesn't fall far away from the tree. So bureaucracy was part of the Tsarist regime and there was a tendency to inherit that.

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