

AP\ V) _

VR

ANC concedes it lack:
%}?s&tï¬\201 | sefei\fi¬\201b stâ\200\230f'l?igrgle

By John Ryan, The Starâ\200\231s Africa
2 News Service !
LUSAKA â\200\224 The ANC concedes that

its military wing does not have the

capacity within South Africa to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way at a time when the ANC sees a tactical need to do so. And the ANC has identified one of the major problems facing its new joint hierarchy â\200\224 whether or not to continue the struggle should the South African Government unban it. At the opening of a meeting between the ANCâ\200\231s national executive committee and the eight visiting leaders from South Africa, acting president Mr Alfred Nzo yesterday indicated that the organisation might have to reconsider its strategy in general in the light of a changed situation after the release

of Mr Walter Sisulu and other jailed

leaders of the organisation.

-Mr Nzo also indicated that it was important that the armed struggle be continued.

For that reason the military tactic might have to be to build up the - internal force of cadres â\200\224 both to be able to fight effectively should the need arise and to have sizeable

forces at the moment a new South

African army was formed. i

The ANC would also have to con-

sider what it would do if it was un-

banned. Among the issues the ANC

cksy

had to consider was whether at that â\200\230 stage to operate solely as a legal movement or whether to continue | with some underground units.

The national executive committee of the ANC, at its three-day meeting this weekend, would have

to consider the role within the or- |
ganisation of the released leaders |
from South Africa and the position.

- of Mr Nelson Mandela after he was
freed. T

It was learnt yesterday that Mr
Mandela submitted to the Lusaka
meeting a 10-point plan dealing with
negotiations with the South African
Government. ; it

' MANDELAINTOUCH |

Mr Nzo referred to these propos-
als before the meeting. #1
He indicated that Mr Mandela
had been in touch with the ANC in
Lusaka this week to stress their im-
portance and had said he would con-
tact the leaders on Sunday to find
out what the meeting had decided.
@Â® ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo,
recovering from a brain spasm in a
Swedish clinic, has responded to
therapy and is determined to return
to Lusaka to take up his position.
An ANC spokesman yesterday
said Mr Tambo was now able to
walk with little assistance and could
use his right arm and hand again.

S â\200\224

â\200\230Tha â\200\230S(*:Or' ('
a8y 8a0

. Botha, started

â\200\230Trio liken
â\200\230charmingâ\200\231
De Klerk

- By DAVID BRAUN, =
- The Star Bureau

please as Ronald Reagan, but he isâ\200\235
unable or unwilling to envisage a
political system where the whites -
will not have special privileges andâ\200\235"
will not control power. W
These are the private views of -
three US congressmen who recently
spent more than 90 minutes in deep;
discussion with the South African
leader. Â©) i
â\200\230 Congressmen Howard Wolpe;"
Constance Morella and Alan Wheat
_this week told all and sundry inâ\200\235
Washington how disappointed theyâ\200\231â\200\231
were to find there was no evidence
of any commitment to real change .
in South Africa. o
Their views on this issue were
previously publicised in South Afris,]
ca after they gave a press confer-"
â\200\230ence before leaving the country.
Americans have also been curious, ,
to know what they thought of Mr de:*
Klerk, who remains a somewhat en-
igmatic figure to them. o
Privately, one of the trio de-~
scribed him thus: â\200\234If there was a
person I would want to compare.:
him with, it would be Ronald Rea-~
gan. He is a charming, charming.,
man. There isâ\200\230no doubt about his-
personal appeal. While we discussed
issues, we could not help but smile.... ,
â\200\234He knows the right things to say -
and their context. He basically tells .
you â\200\230to trust him, while promising
nothing.â\200\235 . ; Al
Another lawmaker found Mr de
Klerk to be personally sincere and
generous with his time (at no stage-
\did he make moves to get rid of

Â«

(|

themye :

to Reagan .

WASHINGTON â\200\224 President F W de"*

Klerk is as charming and willing to- ; -

~core issue because

This lawmaker said: "He seemed -

to want to persuade. It was not easy
for him to be elected. He is a new

like his predecessor, Mr PW

glient 0

De Klerk was charming, very
sincere and trying to impress.

wish him well. I ;

" The third congressman said Mr

de Klerk appeared to be more open
and less defensive (than his prede-
cessor). -

He tried to understand what our

s were and he talked at
some depth about his intentions and
* But what was really disappoint-
ing was the enormous gap between

_impressions :

of th

R ; .on. i i ! 1990. As

~ He told us that in terms of Afri-
kaner thinking the changes had been
very profound, but in terms of South
Africa this is wholly irrelevant to
the core issue, which is the transfer
of power from a system of minori-
ty rule to majority rule. k

~ He did not want to 1994 and he ..
was unprepared to 1994 come to the
' he was unable to -
see a system where whites did not .

vast majority of the

have special privileges and a hold
_on political power. 1995 -

1994

Â»

Greory

spurn

T THE START of what could be-

come the most important decade in

South African history, the South African Communist Party finds itself increasingly isolated due to an ideological split with Moscow under Gorbachev.

But reports of deep division within the ANC between SACP members and non-members are false, says Africa Confidential, a fortnightly London publication.

It also believes that while the SACP has succeeded in â\200\230hemming inâ\200\231 ANC president Oliver Tambo while effectively taking control of the ANC, it is â\200\230ambivalentâ\200\231 about the possible release of Nelson Mandela, whom it â\200\230fearsâ\200\231.

In its January edition, Africa Confidential writes that, with the advent of perestroika and glasnost under Mikhail Gorbachev, a â\200\230time-honoured alliance spanning more than six decades between the SACP and its elder brother, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSUY), has been ruptured.

The SACP, says the Confidential, had always been proud of its position as a loyal ally of Moscow, having faithfully supported its model of socialism while spurning the Chinese and Euro-communist variants.

In 1986, it says, coming from the CPSUâ\200\231s 27th congress, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo â\200\230praised Gorbachev effusively, calling the congress the most remarkable he had ever attended.

â\200\230Since then, loud applause for Gorbachev inside the party has turned to alarm. The SACP never imagined the extent to which the new thinking in the Soviet Union would bring Moscow and Washington together.

â\200\230The Soviets, eager to resolve regional conflicts by political means, have lost interest in the liberation of Africa. This has

threatened the SACP, whose strength within the South African liberation movement has reposed principally on the African National Congress (ANC)'s dependence on the communist world for arms.

Responsible

The South African Government, according to the publication, was indirectly responsible for the close alliance between the ANC and SACP, as well as for stamping out the only known attempt at reform in the SACP. This was, it says, led by Ruth First, Slovo's late wife, who was killed by Pretoria's agents in 1982 before she could muster a movement for reform.

The dramatic success by Moses Kotane and J B Marks in the 1940s in plotting the SACP into the era of mass struggle led to its banning in 1950 by the National Party, elected two years earlier. This, it adds, played into the SACP's hands, as party cadres were driven for cover into still-legal mass organisations like the ANC.

Marks, it says, preceded Mandela as

Slovo . . . alarmed

South Africa's

=2 -0t -0

president of the most powerful ANC province, Transvaal. Dan Tloome, today the SACP chairman, lost by a mere six votes to Walter Sisulu in the 1949 election to the post of ANC secretary-general. When the ANC itself was banned in 1960, the underground experience of SACP members equipped them for leadership roles.

With the cold war in full swing, the West chose to snub the ANC in favour of Pretoria's rabid anti-communism. Left with no other choice, the ANC went East.

In 1965 during the Sino-Soviet split, the ANC was, says the article, weaned from the Chinese influence, with the SACP scoring a definitive victory at the ANC consultative conference in Tanza-

nia in 1969, where the ANC adopted a number of resolutions advanced by the SACP caucus.

These included:

• The establishment of the powerful Revolutionary Council, charged with day-to-day management of the struggle. This immediately fell into party hands in the person of Joe Matthews, the council's first secretary.

• The opening of ANC ranks to non-blacks. The first few who joined were all party members, including Joe Slovo, Yusuf Dadoo, Jack Simons, Reg September and others.

Heresy

• A formal declaration of alliance between the SACP and the ANC, which made it a heresy for anyone within the liberation alliance henceforth to be anti-communist.

The formal declaration of alliance . . . ; closed the ANC to other ideological influences. The party alone was to preside over matters of political theory.

It says the SACP quarantined Mr Tambo, bestowing on him an aura of adulation as a successful tactic to manoeuvre him out of the day-to-day political life of the ANC, by keeping him on an exhausting round of diplomatic visits. The presidential staff, under Anthony Mondalo, became largely an SACP fief.

So pervasive is the party influence that it is hard to distinguish party from non-party in the ANC, as all and sundry speak one language, Marxism. The oft-repeated allegations of tensions between party and non-party is a lie.

It is wishful thinking on the part of Pretoria. Owing to its success in hemming in Tambo, the party is ambivalent, about the possible release of Mandela, whom it fears.

There is thus a suspicion that the party is behind the ugly rumours circulating within the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) that Mandela may strike a deal with F W de Klerk. The object of such rumours would be to discredit Mandela in the MDM and to alienate him from his recently released comrades, who are reported to be disturbed by the news. With

Oliver Tambo . . . â\200\230hemmed inâ\200\231

Reds
Moscowâ\200\231s new look

From KIN BENTLEY in LONDON

his power-base eroded, the party could
take on Mandela.â\200\231

On the ideological front, it notes that
the â\200\230ANC coat-tails and the harshness of
apartheid government have worked well
for the party.

â\200\230Literally thousands of black activists
have embraced socialism at a time when
the communist world is shrinking. In ral-
lies within South Africa the once un-
known party flag now competes with the
ANC flag for prominence. It has become
chic to be Marxist in South Africa today.â\200\231

Challenge

After Ruth Firstâ\200\231s attempt at reform
was aborted by her assassination, others
like Ben Turok were â\200\230simply expelled be-
cause it is almost impossible to reform
the party without violating regulations
which would open the questioner to the
risk of expulsionâ\200\231.

â\200\234This is probably why Thabo Mbeki has
elected to challenge the party positions
through his work in the ANC rather than
from within party structures.

â\200\230Mbeki is one of the partyâ\200\231s authorities.
on Marxist philosophy. He did a two-year
stint at Moscowâ\200\231s Lenin School after his
graduation from Britainâ\200\231s Sussex Univer-
sity. He so impressed his Soviet teachers
that to this day they cite his example to
new Lenin School students. 3

â\200\230Mbeki, however, lacks the common
touch and shuns organisational tasks, so
his reformist ideas have not gained cur-
rency with the rank and file, who remain
diehard Stalinist.â\200\231

Within the SACP itself, the Africa Cor-
respondent detects two main factions,
both Stalinist.

Returning to the schism between the
SACP and CPSU, the article states that
the fact that the Seventh Party Con-
gress, in June, 1989, was held in Havana
and not Moscow, was indicative of the
split.

It notes that Soviet theoreticians had
â\200\230even gone so far as to state publicly that
socialism is unattainable in South Africa
in the foreseeable future. This and other
acts of â\200\234betrayalâ\200\235 by the Soviets have led

to a polemical combat between Slovo and CPSU ideologues which has received extensive coverage in the Soviet mediaâ\200\231.

The SACP, it concludes, â\200\230in spite of its rhetorical support for perestroika, has joined Fidel Castro, Deng Zhao Ping, Igor Ligachev and the late Nicolae Ceausescu as the last loyal defenders of orthodoxyâ\200\231.

It notes that at the SACP congress last year, the new party programme adopted, The Path To Power, was an â\200\230updated version of The Stalinist Road to South African Freedom, adopted in 1962 and allegedly authored by Joe Slovo and Joe Matthews.

â\200\230The programme still talks of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and the triumph on a global scale of socialism. Old habits indeed die hard.â\200\231

t" R cAIRM

By Charlene Smith

LUSAKAâ\200\224The Afri-
can National Con-
gress has admitted
that it does not have

sify its armed strug-
gle effectively.

The admission was
made by ANC secretary-
general Alfred Nzo at
the opening of the
national executive com-
mittee conference with
the internal leadership
and observers from the
Mass Democratic Move-
ment in Lusaka yester-
day.

While accepting the
principle of intensifying
the armed struggle,
â\200\230looking at the situa tion
realistically we do not
have the capacity to in-
tensify an armed strug-
gle in every meaning of

the wordâ\200\231, Mr Nzo said.

In a speech regarded
as one of the most sig-
nificant ANC policy
statements for some
time, Mr Nzo told dele-
gates diplomats and
Zambian officials, that
the ANCâ\200\231s Harare decla-
ration makes provision
for the mutual suspen-
sion of armed hostilities
and a negotiated end to
hostilities.

â\200\230While this has not
happened the armed
struggle must continue.â\200\231

they did not have the
capacity to do this effec-
tively, Mr Nzo said the
main military task for
the future was precisely
the building up of that
capacity in the country
â\200\230both to fight effectlvely

should the need ariseâ\200\231 or
to form a future South
African army.

Mr Nzo said the con-
ference had to consider
what to do when the

| ANC was formally un-
banned.

Exiles
â\200\230We should consider
whether to operate sole-
ly as a legal movement
or continue to maintain
some underground
units.

Mr Nzo, who is the act-
ini¬\201 president of the ANC
ile Oliver Tambo
recuperates from a brain
spasm in a Swedish hos-

stand behind the fence
with our feetshackled
by old perceptions and
fear to confront a new
realityâ\200\231.

Discussing President
F W de Klerk, he said
â\200\230we must expect it that
the Pretoria regime will
also work to engage us
in negotiation once it
has tackledâ\200\231 the issues
of ending the state of
emergency, unbanning
the ANC and other orga-
nisations and allowing
the exiles to return.

â\200\230De Klerk could well Â°

seek to move with some
speed to CFet; us unpre-
pared off balance,
allowing us no time to
regain our balance so
that lnltiatlve remains
in their hands.â\200\231

Critical to this ap-
pears to be a secret pro-
Rfsal drafted by Nelson

andela and conveyed
to the conference.

He contacted the
organisation late yester-
day afternoon to en-
quire about progress
thus far and said he

would telephone the
ANC in Lusaka on Sun-
day to discover what
resolutions had been
adopted with regard to
his proposal

The NEC is also to dis-
cuss the tasks Mr
Mandela must assume
after his release from 27
years in prison.

Mr Nzo made it clear
that the ANC expects

B Â€ TURN TO PAGE 2

the means to inten- |

Acknowledging that {

pital, said â\200\230we must not .

A â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

1

Acting leader admits

ANC can

\3â\200\2315 (o]

\")b

war effectively

Il

t wage

OUTH Africa has unquestionably, in the words of Walter Sisulu, entered a

' new era'. Most whites

recognise (without necessarily understanding what this means) that the apartheid days are over. And they are beginning to realise that the new political order has to be worked out by all South Africans and have the stamp of approval of a majority of South Africans if it is to work.

- Important as all this is, expectations both inside and outside the country are running away from reality. Quick solutions are as unlikely in SA as they are in Northern Ireland or the Middle East. And as with these two situations, the contribution outsiders can make to finding answers is limited.

Two major political actors the NP government and the ANC are definitely moving towards agreement on the preconditions for negotiation. The extra-parliamentary or-

ganisations, and the ANC in particular, have said there will be no negotiations unless they are in a position to engage in political activity on the same basis as the NP.

President F W de Klerk and his government accept this, and interpret it to mean that there should be a normalised security situation.

There is therefore a rough convergence between the NP and the ANC on the preconditions set out in the Harare Declaration of August 21 1989. These are the release of all political prisoners and detainees (including, of course, Nelson Mandela); the lifting of all restrictions on political organisations and individuals; the removal of troops from the townships (already virtually complete); the cessation of all political trials and executions (less agreement); and an end to the state of emergency.

The ANC has helped De Klerk by not insisting that the remaining apartheid laws, such as the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act, be repealed before serious talks can get under way.

My guess is that on February 2, .

' when he opens Parliament, De Klerk
will express his government's will-

s G

Hopes run ahead of
reality as SA peace
talks still a way off»

SouswESS DAY DENIS WORRALL | 9 AN 990

ingness to act on most of these pre-
conditions, on the basis that he gets a
quid pro quo from the ANC on the use
of violence.

With ANC and NP leaders hotly

ing with one another too cugg' the
high moral ground and win interna-
tional i{mpathy, the differences be-
tvq%en em lie in what is not being
said:
O The NP regards the present racial

oupings as the main constitutional
buildi lg blt lscks for fthat: f&tq, re. gl;h;tls
is y a legacy of the NP's apart-
hesdar;t)ast. But cï¬\201 reflects also the
NP's new power base: it is no longer
the party of Afrikaners â\200\224 the CP has
become that â\200\224 but of racially self-
conscious English-speakers and

white Afrikaans-speakers.)

The ANC and MDM, and the DP
among whites, reject this. Their
commitment is to a non-racial de-
mocracy, in which the groups that
emerge do so as the result of free
choice.

O The NP, not unnaturally, believes
in a step-b{-:lte process. The ANC,
etc., is looking to a dramatic and

- fundamental transformation~ of the
situation.

[O The NP is looking to incorporating
black South Africans into the politi-

cal system. The others are committed to a transfer of power.

O The NP government regards itself as the representative of white SA, and the coloured and Asian parties in the tricameral parliament as the representatives of their respective communities; and it says that blacks should determine their representatives by election. ¶

This view is rejected by the ANC and others who say that the colour groupings. They are holding out for a constituent assembly elected on a nationwide and adult suffrage basis. i _

O There is also a fundamental difference between the NP and the ANC and others on the negotiating team. The NP's view is that, as the government of the day, it should manage the process. The ANC says that before the constitution can

written, there must be an interim -

government to supervise the process of constitution-making and the election of the constituent assembly. So while there is a great deal of movement as the various political actors are increasing by the week make space for themselves, and the dominant political -

I ETrrmne¶

it entrenches

rhetoric is heady with hope and expectation, a word of caution is needed. A negotiating breakthrough is not around the corner.

As the DP views the situation, the first priority is for there to be agreement between the NP and the ANC on the preconditions as set out in the Harare Declaration and on the use of violence.

There will be no beginning to the process unless this happens. And only in this way will the ANC begin to participate in political activity on the same basis as the NP.

The second priority in the DP's view must be to open up the process to all other political parties and organisations. This means persuading the NP and the ANC that they, indi-

vidually, cannot hope to control the process and produce a settlement -

which is acceptable to all other parties.

Aside from the fact that the ANC/NP juxtaposition is a recipe for racial polarisation, the NP does not speak for white SA, and there are significant divisions also on the extra-parliamentary side.

On the white side the CP, which

draws over 30% of white voters, presently rejects altogether the idea of negotiation. And the DP, which draws 25% of white voters, is committed to a non-racial democracy.; The DP believes that if whites look beyond the colour of their skin, if they focus on values and interests, they can be part of a future politic

nla\200\231lj:ril?.

e NP, on the other hand, is set on winning for whites some special constitutional niche (2 la Ian Smith in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe), so condemning them to being a political minority in the longer term.

I might add here that once serious talking gets under way, SA politics will quickly enter an anemaking phase. And given the DP's principles, programme and strategic positioning, it is bound to draw increasing support from the NP as that party's limited support base becomes evident.

How can a negotiating process involving all parties be started up?

One way would be by electing a constituent assembly as happened in Namibia and as proposed in the Harare Declaration. This is likely to be strongly resisted by the NP especially if it entails the setting up first of an interim government.

The other way would be to create a gross independent of the present NP government, the ANC and all other parties by appointing an independent facilitator. The most likely candidate would be the Chief Justice. The judiciary especially in recent times as a result of some boldly liberal judgments has come to command black respect.

Were the Chief Justice to be mandated in autonomous terms, given a budget and all the technical help he might need, and on the clear understanding that all parties are commit-

ted to the process so initiated, I believe he would have the co-operation of all important parties. ;

_ It would be the beginning of writing an agenda. And, given the nature of the Chief Justice's terms of reference, the NP government would, in effect, become a transitional government.

[J Worrall is a DP co-leader. This is an extract from his speech to the Oxford Union last night.

gray

ovie

New

When spokespersons of a trusted ally start interpreting your policy in ways which cannot be regarded as anything less than a prescription, something has gone wrong!', with the alliance. o

Despite repeated assurances that Moscow has not changed its policy towards the ANC, a careful reading of statements by both Soviet leaders and publicists reveals that this is exactly what is happening with the Soviet-SACP-ANC alliance.

With these words, Dr Philip Nel, head of the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellen-

t thinkin

3 T Te dtas W

the ANC under pre

Perestroika in the Soviet Union has led to a divergence between

ican National Congress but perhaps to an even s the South African Communist Party, South African Sovietologist. GERALD LANGE of The

Star Africa News Service reports.

bigger split
says a noted

its military activities and has been
_ the inspiration for SACP ideology
and strategy

_The switching of Moscow's support from armed struggle to negotiation has changed attitudes not only in the ANC hierarchy but also in Pretoria, and may have a profound effect not only on relations between the ANC and the SACP,

which have long been close, but

bosch, sets out to argue in a recent publication that there has been a di-

ANC and Moscow as a result of the
â\200\234new political thinkingâ\200\235 in the Soviet Union.

"And while the ANC has recently come to accept some aspects of the
â\200\230new thinking, he says, this appears not to apply to the SACP.

getting farther and farther away from the Soviet government.

Important

â\200\234Ironically, it may be no longer true that the SACP represents the Soviet viewpoint in the ANC but rather that the ANC remains closer to Moscow than does the SACP,â\200\235 he says.

y[Y]r Nel does not discuss in any detail the implications of his conclusions but clearly these are impor-

ing the fact that for more than a decade the Soviet Union has been the main source of foreign support

vergence of interests between the

In fact, Dr Nel sees the SACP |

tant for all South Africans, consider- .

also, by projection, on â\200\230the ANCâ\200\231s

ability to negotiate with Pretoria. In this light, Dr Nel's conclusions '

are of more than academic interest. _He sees nothing surprising in the

development of a divergence be-

tween Moscow and the ANC and the -

SACP. f

He regards it as inevitable that Moscowâ\200\231s interest in stabilising international affairs in order to gain - access to Western technology and fi- | nance had to clash with the parochi- al interests of the ANC and SACP. . The prospects of these two organ- â\200\230 isations depend, he says, on the con-

' continuation of some form of instability
in and around South Africa. While

inesta
â\200\230 Moscow has been careful to avoid a | ;gâ\200\2311â\200\230{le replacement of clas
s inter- |

\ings with ANC
â\200\230Dr Nel says.
* ~â\200\234Aecording to ANC sources, the
rmessage that came through loud
â\200\230and clear was that the Soviet
,8overnment would be pPrepared to
â\200\230continue its support for the ANC
only on condition that the ANC (and
the SACP) commit itself clearly to a
lpol:jutcal- prog{amegle which could
â\202~ad to a negotiated stabilisation o
the South African situation.â\200\235 X 'Of
use the message was unpop-
ular, pressure had to be applied.
â\200\234Soviet officials and commenta-
tors prescriptively interpret ANC
policy and add nuances over which
there is no unanimity in the ANC.â\200\235
Dr Nel says Soviet â\200\234new political
thinkingâ\200\235 has three basic elements
as far as southern Africa is con-
cerned. '
Â® The Soviet leadershipâ\200\231s commit-
ment in 1986 to the resolution of all
Third World conflicts by diplomat-
ic-political means,

and SACP leaders,

!

Cal |

- @ The emergence in 1988 of a wils
lingness to co-operate with the West
bilising the Third World.

g puts|

ssurec

N
e
[â\200\234he signalled the death of the tradi-
tional Soviet belief that socialism is
. a natural choice for newly indepen-
s

_dent cotgi iesâ\200\235.

o

Moscowâ\200\231s attitude to South Afri-
ca was also shaped by the percep-
tion that the Republic was one of
the flashpoints where Soviet and
Western interests could clash head-

'l on. ;

Soviet commentators then disco-

vered the factors inhibiting a nego-

tiated settlement and those which:
could contribute to it: the legitimate =
fears of whites as an impediment
and the divisions among them as a |
positive factor; the intransigence of
the South African Government as an
impediment, offset by the Govern-
mentâ\200\231s isolation; the commitment of
the ANC and SACP to a revolution-
ary â\200\234peopleâ\200\231s warâ\200\235; the inability of -
the ANC to consolidate its gains in
international stature and exploit the
divisions among the whites.

While working to soften white in- |
transigence, Moscow put discreet
pressure on the ANC and SACP to |
discard the notion of a revolution- |
ary takeover and to prepare for a
negotiated settlement.

The evolution of â\200\234new thinkingâ\200\235
since 1985 has introduced new fac-
tors that have led to a gradual di-
vergence between Soviet interests
and those of the ANC and SACP, Dr
Nel says:

â\200\234While in private discussions So-
viet leaders have increased their

l pressure on the ANC to become

more receptive to the idea of nego-

straightforward choice between jts â\200\230ests by more universal values as a
own interests and theirs, such basis for international relations.

choices could not be avoided alto-
gether. g e â\200\230
One way of avoiding such choices

| is to get your allies to broaden their â\200\230
perspectives and Moscow has tried |

When Soviet leader Mr Mikhail
Gorbachev told the UN General As-
sembly in 1988 that Moscow would
not prescribe the road of develop-
ment to be taken by other countries,

» Debate

Stellenbosch University academic Dr Philip Nel.

tion, the public image is one of continued solidarity with the ANC and SACP.

Despite some backtracking and deliberate ambiguity, the ANC and SACP did get the message that the Soviet Union was adamant that eventually negotiations must take place.

– While the debate on negotiations continues within the ANC, says Dr Nel, the joint ANC-UDF-Cosatu negotiations platform agreed on in 1989 shows evidence of a greater receptiveness to the idea of eventual negotiations. >

Suspecting that Moscow may be losing patience with it, especially as the Angola-Namibia negotiations convinced Moscow that compromises with Pretoria could be found, the ANC leadership published material intended to pre-empt accusations that it was not taking the Soviet Union seriously enough.

Dr Nel says the SACP has also moved marginally closer to the Moscow position. – ,

Yet, judging from its new programme, The Path to Power, the SACP still seems to be far removed from the spirit and letter of the most recent phase of Soviet new political thinking.

Hoofminister
Mangosuthu Buthelez!
Is die afgelope jare

- een van die mees
omstrede figure in die
- politieke arena.
Ondanks aansprake
dat hy besig is om
â\200\234steun te verloor en sy
imples Natal In 'n
- bloedbad verander
het, beheer en leger
hy Inkatha steeds met
'n ysterhand.
CHARLES LEONARD
het met hom In Ulundi

gaan gesels

_ BOOFMINISTER Maogaative Gat-
sha Buthelezi veswys gmag nn sy
lamg verhouding met Nesom Man-
dela. "Dt gran 0o fare e toe one
albei lede van die ANC wes. Hy was
oy nooit skaam om te sEdet by oy
as o speler in die polifické ovel
beskoo mie - en dit ferer] heelwat
ader meli-â\201hyfn!prubeer
wegwens.â\200\235

Asn die corkcard vandz biimk
houtafel in die weelderige ondes-
lun&mncrmagmwî-â\202oeh
en kristaiglase in die vertonkas sit
nister van Kvwrafuhs., _

DiÃ© man wat die affgelcpe jare wit Â»
lindse sweast oorde s "o uitveskoper
en selfs n vyaod van bevrpdng besbon
is, iz nie skaam om howself ag 'n
vryheidswegier te bestempel en oox
ry ou viiendskspbande met Meo- @
dela, Sisulu en Tembo be paat nie.

; Hyis!m!sdaampdgtî-â\201clmn
Mandele nie sy ol in 'n toskonastipe
Suid-Afriles poflen nie enetken dat
Inkatha die seg bet om nass dief

\

faman Â¥

â\200\230Wie is me deel van die sfelsel me?

" -

Vryheidsvegter en
vriend van

Mandela

moet word cu dsatom het ek dis |
Buthelezi-kommissie tof stand &
bring, Dif was hel opdrag om voor-
stzile te meak wasrdenr alic mense in
EwaNatal-voorstelle is oos ths s
van dic land ver voor.

"z veeste opsic is steeds â\200\230o eon-
mens-cen-shen-sielse bivoë ' West--
minister-bestel. â\200\230n Meng kan mie
Somuorige swartesen dink dac jy
emstig afwyk en o vermeste is as jÂ¥
â\200\230o altemsticf ap ceo-mens-een-sien
voorsiel. Amerika en Doitsbed, hoewel
bufle fedefale stelsels het, is steeds
eenheidstate.â\200\235

Buthelezi was onfangs in die mous
oor sy verbale skermmtselings md
die Transkeise militÃ©re stastsiwoof,
genl Bantu Holomise. Hy verdmidelik
die onmintussen homen Holomiss ss

"Ek het hon cindlik nie voorheen
gekeanie. Hy is jook, selfi jonger as
paxiy van nay kitabess.

"By diie besbepraiings wan Hoofiman
Sabata op 30 Descenber verlede juer,
wat in die Transkei plassgevind het,
het UDF- en Cosstn-beiers ny smam
beswaddes. Daar was emstige onder-

waa vesiede janr pehon wasrop tais- -
woon nie. Twes welne gelede het budls
'n soorigelyke vergadering i Undtata
gebon wat ek ook nie bypewoon het
mie. Bk is cgier nie kwand vir hom

Oor die hooforinister van Kamg-
wane, Enos Mabwea, het by ook steek
stadpunt ingeneens. Mabuza het al
met die ANC-leiers in Losaka gesels
en is bekeod vir sy gocie bande met
die UIDF.

"Die ANC bebuoont te vexdu:ddlk

Dieselfdcgelmeanlbo "Ditis
nie waar dat Tambo ooit probleme
pehad het amdat ok die KwaZuiu-
leier is nÃ©. Daar &s mense in die
buitelandse vleueld van die ANC wat
iy ne ko veodra niÃ©.â\200\235

â\200\234n Lid van die Bmineat Persons
Group, wat Suid-Afrike â\200\230o pasr jasn
gelede besock het, bet aan oy gesÃ©
dat Mandela oy as 'n weybeidsvegier
in eie reg beskou, boewel hy nie met
alles wal ek doen saamstem nie.â\200\235 -

Op dic vraag oor wat n
vryheidsvegier biwe die sielsel doen,
het Buthelezi sy stem ook cffens knat
siyg. "Wie is nic decd van dic stelscl

nic. Dit is goedkoop, betckenislose
retoriek wat teen ey gebmik word.â\200\235
Indic blodige geweldpleging wak
Miadad in â\200\230o bloedbad versnderhet, was
Buibelezi se Inlostha-impies in
e gevegte feen vegters van dic
en Cosatu betroklee.
"Die wortel van dic geweld is
pewsonnkike vendesta wat die ANC
been my voerâ\200\235, is Buthelezi se

VAKANTE BETREKKING

e Kodrdinpsdey

AfraplX
Posbus 260860
Excom

2022

Die AfraplX Fotografiess Kollektief
benodig 'n desitydse redakslonsie 5
assistont met sekretaridle veardighede. |
Die suksesvolle aansoekersalop'â\204çm |
demokraiiese grondslag saam met ons |
administratiews span werk. o
Shsur asseblisf 'n geskrewe CV met

twee berelkbare verwysings aan:

r

Die shultingdatuns is 31 Januarie 1980

Hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelead

nomiese oestand waarin die mense
almal bevind. "Ben van die oorsake
vir die geweld is die soeloop van
swartmense tot die Durbac-ompeking
waar 1,7 miljoen plakies weds woort,
Dit weroorsaak haglied toestandie waar
wanorde en geweld vithroed.â\200\235

in twyfel getrek en beskuldigings dat
tmfie Inkatha bevoordeel, word efiel
dag gehoor.

"Dit wil wat die polisie behoort te
speel, is om vrede te handhaaf,â\200\235 s
Buthelezi.

â\200\234Dias is beskuldigings en toen-
beskuldigings dat die polisie kant
kies. Hulle getalle is klein en dit
bemoeilik die sake. Blyk op 19
Desember moet Adriaan Vlok gepraat
om hy het my verseker dat daar ves-
terings s Natal gestaan sal word.

â\200\234Oswald het af verskiet en mostings

| pechad om geordesd aan wat is die

verdede geboort het, is die heftigmal

beimimic pact wat Vlok doen. Hy het

polisie-versterkings na Pietermar-
itzburg verskiet om dit het die geweld
laat afneem,â\200\235 â\202- lay.

"Wag om nodig het, is die wat vir
almal aanvaarbaar sal wees. Op 19
Desember verskiet die Inkati-
afvaardiging met dr M en Alec Brwin
van UDF/Cosatu gesels,â\200\235 s& Butie-
bz,

â\200\234Hulle sê 181 dat ek wil dis
vergelyk ANC-lidse praat. Blyk weet

Buthelezi sê hy wil |
nie profeet speel nie,
maar dat dit wat in
ander wêrelddele
gebeur het, ook in
Suid-Afrika gaan
gebeur. Hy verwys
hier weer eens na die
demokratisering van
Cos-Europa.

"My rol? Ek is
steeds bereid om te
dien indien nodig. Ek
is bereid om onse
enigiemand te dien.
Hulle behoort egter
ook bereid te wees

om onder my e

dien.â\200\235

in die buitcland en =k west nic wan-

"Ek weet nÃ©e of die geweld gran
cimdig mie. Dit gaan s lang tyd neem
as die menee nie cmstig oor vrede is
mie.â\200\235

Oor gy ol in â\200\230nooswe, post-apart-
Theid Soid-Afrifos s Bothelez dat die
Zoedors Soid-Adikwnees i, rosar eecds
daarop trois is om deel van die Zoo-
foe-wolk te ween.

- "k het of lankal bosef dat dasr 'n

hoekom â\200\230o wistaodleier wir hulle

sanvaarbasr te. Dit slasn my th:m%

"Eangwane het nocit e !

geekiedkundige Swari-stast bestasn

: me.DnnamlcnquaZnhwat

wWas.

Buthelezi bet ook cimatigs ver-
'n groep tradisionele hoofmanse wst
Imlie now by die mie-rassige demolkra-
tiese beweging skasr. Volpens oo
gebnaik die ANC diÃ© srganisagie s 'n
front. Hulle is 'n voorbeeld wan hoe

Buthelezi glo dat De Klerk ender-
hsndelings san dic pang gasy kry
omdat by met almal praat. Hy bet
peloofwasdigheid. Seife pres Ken-
peth Ksands of dat by eerdikin

â\200\234Ek glo nic by is so behep net die

grocpaidee wic. Hy bes â\200\230o lang pad

gekom bot waar by now is.â\200\235

Butheleri glo da dsar â\200\230n ke vir
Snid-Afrilon vt gebheure fn Ou-Bo-
ropa te leer is. Hy glo dit het reeds
ogin maet die Bescczneifo-comeedhons
Angole cn Swid-A fiika resohoe 435
wesklik nun die gang gelory el

i Nivenihiti et Svapo ecns gewreld
voorgesinns. Hnlke et sntwssesdsar-
vans affgesien en dit lan dieselfide wit-
weglcingg op ouss broeders hier pliaslil
bÃ©. Hulle sl hopelik bal wipens
neexlE.â\200\235

Buibezezi s8 hy wil mic profiect
speet nie, waar dat dit wat i smder
wirelddele gebenr bed, ook in Soid-
Afrika gaan gobear. Hy werwyn hier

" weereens nadie demokrativering van
Oos-Evmpe.

"My eie wol? Bk iv stocds bereid
am: te dien indien nodig. i is bensid
om coder emgicmand b dien. Hulle
I:ebmtegluootbemdwmmom
nmhrmykd:m.

Veye Weekblad, 19 Inamaci: 1990

1

n

YOS KWAZULL GOVT 27-118881834

1 IhkÃ©tha-groep Val UDF-buurt in

Christina Scott

EK het gister gesien hoe 'n vigilmle-
groep wat Inkaths goedgesind is, 'n
UDPF-woonbuurt noord van Durban
aanval, |

Gewapmde mans van d:c plakker-

skamp Richmond Farm het die vallei

deur die bosss enlang gras ingsstorm
wanr sionies Koen van die Kwarnasn-
woonbourt krufs,

Krete soog "bululaâ\200\235 {(mask dood)
&n â\200\234ona {3 die amaSinyora" en vers.
keie skote, wat met met tuisgemaakte
vunrwapens afgevuur is, is gehoot.

Die Sinyorss - vemnoem na 'n,

bekende liedjis van Brenda Fassie - is
volgens dls polisie se onrusversiag 'n
misdasdbends.

Hul basis is Richmond Farm, 'n
deel van die plakkerkamp te Linde-

lani, wat tot onlangs st deur
Thomas Mandla Shabalaia \::;M
se sentrale komites behoerfs,

Lede van Sinyors geen vervolg
word weens die moard op dis voor
malige hongerstaker Christy Ntuli.
Hulls iz ook genoerd in verklaringa
oor die dood van tientalle jong akti-
viste in die woonbuurte noord ven
Duiban, -

Toe die Sinyoras gister tosgesinan
het, het ma's met babas en kinders
met kleuters in hulle arms oor die
gporivelde van die Ndabazewe
Primary School in die rigting van die

- Enhlachteni-winkel geviug,

Die Sinyores het dis eerste ry huise,
nassts asndie plakkerskamp, geplun-
der. Bk het â\200\230n vur vroedr in dlessifde
straat ondeshouds gevosr mat mense
wie se hulse Maandag in 'n soonige.
lyke sapval beroof en met petrol-

bomme bestook is.

- Betting Khanyila was basxg o
met hasr besittings Å« potte e 'a ma-
tras - en 'n fwes-jatige seuntjle ne
hass afgebrande huis terug te trek. Sy
most nd die sgnval buite slaap,

Torwyl ong gesels het oor haar
vrees vir vaidere aanvalle, hat ons
mense in dis verte by Richmond Barm

gien sasumirel
â\200\234Il, dtshulla, "hetMofiï-\201t 'n under
inwoner van die gebied ges\$, "Dis

* Inkatha, Hulle hou cus die hele tyd

P"ohmmamn van Suid-Afrika en
KwaZuly het verbygery, maar geen

; mngungawndmnd:gwm

uitmekaar te jnag nie,

Bk was in â\200\230n ander desl van sekuie
K om nonderhoud met 'nvroute voe:
sot â\200\230nafvaardiging wat by die polisie-
hooflowattier beswaar wil maak cor
beweerde betrokkenheld van die

KwaZulu-polisie by Inkatha-geweld
toe die sanval plassgevind het.

Huiseienanrs en mans met pangas
onder dle srms hst sy-san-sy met
corrades, geklos in rokke, voorikiote,
en e en gewapen met pangas,

â\200\230messe et stokke, in die pasie gestaan,

Die comrades het later varduide-

lik dat hulle vroueklere gadra het om

te verhinder dat hulle deur die veil-
igheidemagte en/of vigilantes herken
word.

n Township-wldwrke: vun die
Demokratiess Party bet ns my gedrmad
en gesd "jy mÃ©t die menss help...
hulle kry swaar.â\200\235 Ons het wegger
orm dia SA Weermag van dis gebeurs
in kennis te stel.

Mat cas tapughesr loop ous i blonds
polisieman van dis onhussenheid rask,

terwylhy uit 't Casspir met o gewesr

aan ay sy klim, Hy het op sy genmak

dis esen of ander

elvk, "Ja,
g&hiows." het hy gesd. "Dis metue
van Richmond Fazm val san." :
â\200\234Is dasr enige beserings?" het ek

gevea. "Nee," was dis sntwoord, "Hulle

skiet masr vrot, Hnakom vra jy, isjy

begeer?â\200\235

Hiema het ons na die spits van die
kopple gery.

en polisie-vangwaens van

Kwazudy e Suid-Afrilo het dis gabled

gepatrollear,

Tnworers hat 'n grys semenigabou

teen die oorkantate heuwel san my

uitgewys. V hulie het dis bende

hulle daar skuilgehou, Gewapends

o8 vm dic

s kon voor die husis gesien word,

Dip Sinyoras het in die rigting van

die township gekyk en nie gesien dat

', Casspir venuit die rigting van die

plakicsrakamp nader gery het nie. Die

Casspirhet by diehosk gedraai, mam

het in slle rigtings geha:d.lo

skots et In die vallal geklap. 'n Klamp

polislemanne het wit die Causpir

gebondsl: kitskonstabals in blou

â\200\230ootpakke, manns ln uniform, burger-

Â@ -drag =n in kamoefleerdrag.

'n Swart polisieman het sydelings

lange dis pad afbewseg met sy geweer

voorhom inposisie. 'n Sinyora het uit

l)â\200\231 nhulpkk gekom, twes skote gorklet

ggehardloop.

"Uupphnbzï¬\2011" (Hy's blunel), bet

die inwoners geskres. Terwyl die

polisie bul mlmg'bogin,m inwon-

s af aanwysings

in dis garage", "oorkant

â\200\234die pld en "met die heuwasl op.

Vier Sinyoras et verby ons na die

' Siyande-plakisrskamp gehardloop,

Die hele township was op steaat, al

dkteounnde dat die Casspirs most

weggaaL.

~- 'n Swartman in kambeflesrdrag

bet uit die Casepir gespring.

"Waar is hy?" het hy vir 'd groep

van 50 comradas wat met pangss en

messe gewapen was, gevra. "Duaar,

â\200\234daar,â\200\235 hpthuunguâ\200\234ngcwyl dh

lang gras waar 'n man beslg was om

.8y pad ocop te veg na 'n nabutige

woonbuurt.

Hy het twee keer geskiet. "Bophala"
(veng bom) het dis jeugdige hom
sangemoedig. Verskele kitskonstabels
het met die koppie afgehardoop en
die verdagde in hegtenis geneem.

Nog'nman, in n'ngmmoot?nkmot

'n stuklap wat agter tithang, 14 op dis

van dis commades nitgevia
Hiulls het iwoneess wat die man vitgejon
het, gevrs om stil ta bly sodat die
palise n verrassingsaanval kon ioods,
"Shays" (sisan hom), bet een com-

tade geskres. Hy is dadelik stilge-
mask.

- Durbanews

Vrye Weekblad, 19 Junuarie 1990

Ve brebhl 1

a0

e e

INCCVV O

:Death toll

R0

by CARMEL RICKARD

MORE than 100 people have died in Natal political conflict during the first 16 days of this year - an average of more than six a day.

The figures include deaths in the midlands area around Pietermaritzburg and the rural and urban areas around Durban.

At the end of last year unrest monitors predicted the violence would spread from the urban to the rural areas this year, and the figures bear them out. More than half of those

killed died in rural areas. :
Another alarming trend is that over half of those killed died in mass murders, like the 11

WINESS a3 \
reaches over 100 in Na

killed in Sweetwaters on Tuesday this week, and the 14 killed last Thursday in Cottonlands. The consistently worst-hit area in Durban is kwaMashu's K Section, where residents are under constant attack from the Sinyoras - a gang of thugs formed last April. The Sinyoras charge protection money of

between R10 and R200 a month per house, and

after an attack they leave behind a trail of deaths, injuries, rapes, looting and burnt-down houses.

Residents said yesterday the Sinyoras had infiltrated the squatter areas of Siyanda and Richmond Farm, which adjoin K Section.

All violence up to January 16

They won the confidence of the local people, and were now inciting the squatters to attack their neighbours in K Section.

One woman said: "We people of K Section

are really in danger from all sides. Children, schools, shops, clinics, churches. No one and nothing is safe.â\200\235

The people of K Section feel particularly

angry because they helped the people in the squatter areas when they first arrived, giving them access to schools, water and toilets.

â\200\234What we get is war instead of gratitude,â\200\235 said one woman whose home has been extensively damaged.

A

On Monday night after intense 'fighting, many injured K Section residents fled to the local polyclinic for medical attention.

They were chased by the Sinyoras who continued their attack inside the clinic, threatening staff who tried to prevent them killing patients. â\200\234In fact they finished off one boy who was lying on the table being stitched,â\200\235 a resident said.

Residents praised the SADF and the S.A.P,, saying whenever they were called they came to help. â\200\234It is only due to them that some of our houses are still standing,â\200\235 one resident said.

Nusas urged to

MR Lambson of the University Freedom of Speech Association asked the Acting Vice-Chancellor of Wits, Prof Shear, some pertinent questions (The Citizen, January 5). Since I hardly think the learned professor will have the courage to respond, allow me to.

As a senior student at the University of Natal (PMB), serving on two faculty councils and editing two students newsletters, surely I would have been involved had Nusas consulted the student body regarding the Freedom Charter? But not once was this brought to our attention. Not that it surprises me since Nusas is not a democratic organisation.

Since enrolling as a student I have been conscripted by Nusas and am forced to pay membership fees â\200\224 the amount is not the issue, the principle is.

I and thousands like me are used to swell the number of â\200\230protest votesâ\200\235

\qa?s\ and0<d

without the option of an own opinion. Freedom of speech on campus is tolerated only as long as it agrees with the radical left-wing.

I for one am not prepared to accept the Freedom Charter and I reject Nusas for its undemocratic principles and means of operation (not dissimilar to Communist and Nazi strategies). Isnâ\200\231t it ironic that the supposed intelligentsia of South African society are unable to un-

uestions on

the impending re-

ase of Nelson Mandela and given the fact that he has consistently refused

to be released until ANC
preconditions have been
met, i.e., unban the
ANC, release all political
prisoners, etc., etc.,
would it be correct to con-
clude that this govern-

terpret the signs in East-
ern Europe?

To the Nusas exec: Fol-
low the example of the

Communist parties in
Eastern Europe. Dis-
band! Re-establish

yourself as a voluntary
body and see how unre-
presentative you have
been. The silent majority
on each campus will no
longer swell your coffers
through apathy.

H J OSCHADLEUS
Pietermaritzburg

CoAW2enN

ment has agreed to meet
these preconditions and,
accordingly, sustained a
defeat at the hands of the
ANC?

Or is the reverse true in
that Mandela and the
ANC have dropped their
preconditions and that
the ANC is ready to nego-
tiate without precondi-

Mandela

tions?

An answer to these
questions is vital if the
public is to be kept in-
formed of ongoing politi-
cal events in their country
and not, as always, be
presented with a fait ac-
compli.

N HARDING :
Sandton

THE CITIZEN

CON_I_MENT

" Reactive

WE canâ\200\231t help but feel that the government is reacting to events rather than determining them.

The opening of the beaches came about as a . response to the beach demos.

With the Christmas holiday season approaching, it was thought better to open all - the beaches by Presidential decree rather than risk demonstrations on the beaches and heavy handed police intervention.

In the event, the scenes at Durban beaches over the New Year holidays have done the government itself harm.

Protest marches were allowed not because the government had decided this as a matter of deliberate policy. g

They were allowed on the eve of the big Cape Town march because it seemed this demo might result in a massive confrontation, which was to be avoided at all costs.

After that, it was difficult to stop other marches, though a few were banned by chief magistrates in some places.

Mr Walter Sisulu and the ANC leaders were released from prison in a deliberate decision to test the waters ahead of the release of Nelson Mandela.

Receptions to welcome the ex-prisoners were expected, but the holding of a mass ANC rally, against a backdrop of ANC and Communist Party flags, was not.

The law was being flouted, but the government could not intervene, because if it did, its new air of sweet reasonableness would have been shattered.

When there were no serious clashes during marches, the government was relieved. When Mr Sisulu did not do any rabble rousing, the government was pleased.

Yet what was happening was that the ANC was openly mobilising the masses, Mr Sisulu was openly promoting the aims and objectives of the ANC and acting as its internal spokesman, and the ANC was acting as if, de facto, it had been unbanned.

~ Mr Sisulu only needed to get out of the country to show his hand, telling ANC exiles in Lusaka that they had to intensify the political and â\200\234armed struggleâ\200\235 and warning countries that supported South Africa that the ANC when it came to power would remember â\200\234â\200\234â\200\230the friends and collaborators of apartheid.â\200\235

Now the United Democratic Front has caught the government on the wrong foot.

It has â\200\234unbannedâ\200\235 itself and will be openly politically active.

It is a shrewd move because the government canâ\200\231t clamp down on the UDF without its critics saying it is not as reasonable and reformist as it pretends. :

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, suggests that the UDF was never banned but only restricted, and he invites it to apply for the right to resume its previous activities, and presumably this will be

granted if it does.

If it acts without permission, it may face prosecution.

It is hardly an offer the UDF will accept â\200\224 or a warning that will frighten it.

To make matters worse, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, rushes to announce the government is to review the position of restricted organisations. ;

Which is a signal to the UDF that it will probably be unbanned anyway.

If the government had lifted restrictions on the UDF off its own bat, because the situation no longer requires the UDF to be restricted, the government would have received the credit.

Now, if the UDF is unrestricted, or if it successfully defies the government, this will be trumpeted as another triumph for the radical opposition. ; _

We suggest the government should start planning all the things it is inevitably going to have to do and take the initiative in bringing them about.

At the same time the government must consider all the things it mustnâ\200\231t or shouldnâ\200\231t do if it is not to lose the initiative, the high ground and the ability to control events. .

It must then stick to these bottom lines and not budge from them whatever pressures there are locally or internationally.

It cannot afford simply to react to events.

Yo SRR 1 LA1

\

L W

By THE INDEPENDENT Friday 19 January 1990

L ANC ready for talks with Pretoria

THE NATIONAL Executive of the African National Congress, supplemented by its recently released leaders from inside South Africa, has announced that it is working towards a position for negotiations with the South African government, and yesterday debated negotiation proposals drawn up by Nelson Mandela.

Alfred Nzo, General Secretary of the ANC, told the first meeting of the organisation's leaders from inside and outside South Africa: "Work must begin without delay to prepare our negotiating position ... If we do not do this we will definitely surrender the initiative to the regime and enable it to impose its own solution ... We shall also consider what we do in the event that the ANC is formally unbanned." Mr Nzo asked if the ANC should then operate solely as a legal movement, or whether we will continue to maintain some underground units.

Mr Nzo also said that the National Executive had received proposals from Mr Mandela, who remains detained in South Africa. According to sources here, the proposals relate to a negotiating Strategy.

On Tuesday Mr Nzo called for

* an intensification of the armed

struggle, but yesterday, in a marked departure from past policy, Mr Nzo candidly acknowledged that the movement could not do this. He said: "We must admit that we do not have the capacity within our country to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way."

There is no longer any doubt

From John Mukela

in Lusaka

that the ANC and the South African government will shortly enter into talks of some sort. The only question now is when and on what terms â\200\224 difficult questions for the ANC. Last year the Harare Declaration adopted by the Organisation of African Unity laid down that there could be no nego-

tiations until certain conditions.

are met. These are that political prisoners are released, people and political parties are unbanned, troops are out of the townships, the state of emergency is lifted, and political trials and executions are stopped.

Many thought Pretoria would never fulfill these conditions but F W de Klerk, the South African President, does appear to be fulfilling some of them to create the climate for negotiations. There are fears in the movement that if it refuses this chance to meet with Pretoria's leaders, it will remain in opposition indefinitely.

However, as a liberation movement committed to the overthrow of the apartheid state, the ANC is unused to diplomacy and negotiating. Until Mr Mandela is released, there is no clear leader. Oliver Tambo, the ANC President, suffered a stroke last year and is in a Stockholm clinic, unlikely to play a major role again. The movement must unify itself by finding places on the National Executive for the recently-released members and others within South Africa, but this cannot be

done while the movement is banned. The leadership issue must be resolved at its conference later this year.

Some members disagree with negotiations altogether. Last year there was a lull in guerrilla attacks inside South Africa and many saw this as a gesture of goodwill by the ANC. Chris Hani, army commissar of the ANC's military wing, said in Lusaka this week, however, that the lull was due to logistical problems and not to a change of strategy, and he promised an increase in military activity

While the movement makes up its mind when to talk, it must maintain unity and international pressure. Pretoria will try to split the ANC, possibly by unbanning it but not the South African Communist Party, many of whose members hold senior posts in the ANC. And once talks start the ANC may find it is stuck to the table. Superpower détente, the Soviet Union's quiet abandonment of militant movements in Africa and the inability of the Frontline states to support armed force against South Africa mean it will be difficult for the ANC to ever go back to war and boycott. -

While there is optimism about talks beginning, there is little evidence that the two sides can agree on a future South Africa. The ANC's Freedom Charter, even with its recent modifications, cannot be reconciled with Pretoria's five-year plan put forward by the National Party in September, which still speaks of group rights and retains aspects of apartheid.

Alfred Nxso, General Secretary of the African National Congress, takes in a question. He met with other ANC leaders in Lusaka yesterday

7;6â\200\231 7/??7Q S

/7/ /90
Lolft- (; /of\ (

AINC AQIIITS TS

â\200\230of armed struggle

in South Africa

From Jan Raath in Harare and Gayvin Bell In Johannesburg

Mr Alfred Nzo, the secretary-general of the African National Congress, yesterday admitted the organization did not have the capacity within South Africa to intensify its armed struggle.

His admission came after the South African Government announced that it is reviewing the banning orders on the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

. Mr Nzo was addressing a meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, where Mr Walter Sisulu and seven other ANC veterans, released from prison in South Africa in September, sat with the organization's National Executive Committee, its chief policy-making body, for the first of three days of talks crucial to the ANC's strategy for handling the reforms of President de Klerk and the prospect of the first negotiations with his Government,

â\200\234We must admit that we do not have the capacity within the country to intensify the armed struggle in any meaningful way,â\200\235 said Mr Nzo. It was one of several unexpected disclosures made by Mr Nzo, when he opened the meeting in public session. He also announced that Seflor Javier PÃ©rez de CuÃ©llar, the United Nations Secretary-General, had offered to play a â\200\234leading roleâ\204¢ in negotiations, and that Nelson Mandela, from his imprisonment near Cape Town, had sent proposals for debate in Lusaka.

It is the first time the ANC has admitted the limitations of its armed struggle, but it is clear the organization has

been in trouble since last year when the agreement between South Africa and Angola leading to Namibia's independence forced the ANC to withdraw from its military bases in Angola, & move that deprived it of close access into South Africa,

A relentless process of military and psychological pressure by South Africa on its neighbours, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana, in recent years had already scaled the other potential entry points for guerrillas,

Also this year, sources have confirmed, the ANC lost a vital source of military material as Moscow, in the process of ending its support for costly overseas wars, radically reduced its arms supply to the movement.

The disclosure is expected to weaken significantly the ANC's position in any future talks, and there was no disguising the ANC's concern over its readiness, or lack of it, for talks with Pretoria,

However, observers say that the significance of the ANC's military front may be dwindling with the internationalization of the issue.

Senior Párez de Cuéllar is already armed with the Harare Declaration, a document which was approved by the UN General Assembly last

month and which definitively sets out the conditions and aims of negotiations towards democracy in South Africa.

Mr Nzo did not reveal the substance of Mandela's proposals, but

indicated that the meeting would be

Mr A. H. Nzo: Perhaps the 201-201 200-230 201 of surprises for ANC leaders,

devoted to crucial practicalities. We shall have to consider what to do in the event

that the ANC becomes formally unbanned,â\200\235 ke said, referring to Mr de Klerk's softened approach to the ANC. The movement would also have to consider â\200\234if we operate as a legal movement or contingently maintain an underground unitâ\200\235,

Mr Nzo said it was vital for the ANC to maintain the initiative it won with the Harare Declaration, or else â\200\234we will definitely surrender the initiative and enable it (Pretoria) to impose their will on us".

The South African Government has also invited the United Democratic Front, & prominent anti-apartheid organization, to apply for the removal of restrictions against it, in conformity with statements by

senior Cabinet ministers yesterday followed an announcement by the President, the principal surrogate of the ANC, that it would no longer submit to restrictions. Mr Murphy Morobe, a UDF spokesman, said that the organization intended to reopen offices throughout the country shortly, with a view to intensifying its anti-apartheid defiance campaign.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, said in a statement that if the UDF believed its activities were no longer a threat to the public maintenance of law and order, or the ending of the state of emergency, it was free to apply to him to have the restrictions lifted, and he invited it to do so. But he said that if it violated the restrictions without permission, it

could be in contravention of the emergency regulations.

Mr Kobie Coetsee, the Justice Minister, said the Government was reviewing restrictions on all banned organizations. Asked whether

the ANC and the Communists were included, he reiterated it was a comprehensive review" of all organizations.

However, Mr Mohammed Valli, the UDF assistant secretary-general, said his organization had no intention of applying for the restrictions to be lifted. "Our decision to operate is not dependent on Mr Vlok's consent," he said,

The UDF is the most important anti-apartheid alliance still operating in South Africa. It claims more than two million members and orchestrates national campaigns in consultation with the ANC leadership in Lusaka,

The abolition of bans and restrictions on anti-apartheid groups is one of the measures insisted upon by the ANC and its allies as a precondition for negotiations on constitutional reforms. Others include lifting the state of emergency and releasing political prisoners.

Dr Denis Worrell, joint leader of the liberal Democratic Party, called on President de Klerk yesterday to accede to the demands when he opens parliament in Cape Town on February 2. "We have to grab the imagination, the wonder and respect of the international community very quickly," he said.

Troanhlee ta cnme nuge 40

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 e et

Reality . |
WAL \NTNESSS â\200\2301\

t has been pointed out before that

political progress in this country
has frequently been due to the
actions of ordinary men and women,
or institutions, acting ahead of, or
sometimes in defiance of, the law â\200\224
which is thereupon shown up as un-
workable and an ass â\200\224 and subse-
quently changed to accommodate
reality. Thus the abandonment of
the pass laws and beach apartheid,
to quote but two examples.

The great protest marches of last
year, starting with that in Cape
Town, were undertaken in violation
of the emergency regulations. That
the De Klerk Government ac-
quiesced in them is to its credit, and
the country has already gained the
benefits of a considerably improved
political climate as a result. One l
hopes now that the declared inten- ;
tion of the UDF to resume its activi-
ties despite the emergency curbs,
will be responded to by the authori-

Mr F.W. DE KLERK . . .welcomes Ciskei document

ties with similar good sense . â\200\234P&.EQâ\200\224 \N"Nĩ-\201\$â\200\2303 &

ies with similar goo nse. .
There is evidence that the restric- ClSkel hands F

tions on this organisation did the

: : { . â\200\230q 'TM â\200\230q Â°
country enormous international details On 0pÂ¥10ns

damage at the time they were im-

posed, bringing muc}l aid and com- BISHO â\200\224 The Ciskei Government yesterday pre-
fort to the sanctions lobby. Let us sented the South African Government with a docu-
pray that the Government will ment setting out the homelandâ\200\231s thinking on consti-
therefore do both itself and us the tutional options for a future South Africa.

favour of bringing the de jure situa- Welcoming the State President, Mr F.W. de

: : : 25 . Klerk, on an official visit to Bisho, Ciskei President
882 I?Jgr}Ã@??'a\iÃ@tehrttl}}]eaS?af:taeclâ\200\230lto posl Lennox Sebe said the documents
contained the de-
- Â° tails and motivation in support of the concept of a

| q . A qu Q confederation.

Dr Sebe said Ciskei believed this was the only
type of government that adequately served the needs

of southern Africa with its groups of people of different cultures and races. He added it 'was not intended to be prescriptive in any way. Ciskei, he said, was eager to participate in the negotiation process. ~ Mr de Klerk said he welcomed the document and it was time that people who shared the same values in southern Africa stood together putting aside ideological differences and resisting radical influences.

Mr de Klerk added Ciskei had an active role to play in shaping a new southern Africa.

Both leaders agreed that the future political developments in the region had to be based on ongoing consultation between governments.-

Bilateral and multilateral talks with the governments of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei would continue, not only on constitutional matters but also on economic development, Mr de Klerk

[said. â\200\224 Sapa.

: (H o\NE
4 LUSAKA â\200\224 The ANC and Mass Democratic
" Movement will establish .trainini¬\201spro rammes
in and outside SA to upgrade ski
alternative futures for unemployed young peo-
ple, say senior ANC sources here.
Â¢â\200\231 .'The sources expressed concern about the
. education crisis and the large number of unem-
loyed youths, which they estimated at about

- two-million.â\200\235

| ' They said the ANC conducted a skills survey

* in SA some time ago.

' The surge found there was a dearth of skills
in areas such as engineering, mining engineer-
ingf hi-tech, management and administration.

i The ?rogrammw would attempt to redress
some of those skills imbalances.

" Details of the planned programmes were not
â\200\230available.

and provide

ANC plans training programmes for youths

> = qo larly in rural areas.â\200\235

CHARLENE SMITH

The sources said business should be a micro-
cosm of the kind of society the ANC wanted.

A senior ANC economics official said the
ANC envisaged a mixed econor:&r. However,
there were different types of mixed economies.

He said the organisation was opposed to pri-
vatisation as it eroded the ability to upgrade
services and to implement effective wealth re-
distribution.

Privatisation served those who could afford
to buy shares and those who already controlled
a substantial chunk of the economy.

Â«We are taking away one part of a monopoly
to serve another monopoly.

â\200\234We are talking about huge wealth in the
hands of a few, and massive poverty, particu-

The ANC, which met Anglo American execu-
tives last weekend, said it was compiling an ac-
tion programme for businessmen.

Areas identified, of agreement and disagree-

ment, included business communitiesâ\200\231 leverage with government and the fact that they were involved in arms manufacture and the supply of essentials to the police and military.

Whenever there were disagreements with the labour force, the business community called in the police, the senior sources said.

Business paid huge taxes to the government and had taken no position on conscription.

The ANC was also disturbed that businessmen travelled to Lusaka to hold talks with the ANC, but had not done the same with the MDM or Cosatu, the sources said.

D

a ol -9

The reality is bound to be
'Negotiation t
Shall end up with a rotten consti-
tution, corrupted by attempts to
make it serve as the instrument of
retribution,

Both the government and the ANC

have adopted strategies for negotia-

tion that are destined to end in frustra- many other'

tion. The government, of course, Every ti

hopes to control the process; while 8ation, or 4 i

the ANC plans to dominate it to Persuades a police officer to let a

the exclusion of all lesser parties. family remains in its â\200\234ulegalâ\200\235abode,
the South African reality changes.

â\200\234Whiteâ\200\235 suburbs turn â\200\234greyâ\200\235, and
Perhaps â\200\234blackâ\200\235 and old laws fall
into disuse, discredited by a new
reality. When the Transvaal Educa-

tion De

is our Opportunity, While the
C wrestles with the government,
or while the Anglo American Cor-
poration happens out j
they have little

Constitutional, after all,
important to be left to lawyers.

Â® Ken Owen is the editor of Business
Day.

e DFe -

(4 . R

. tary option; otherwise we will soon be back to square one.

Does a working measure of trust exist to make negotiations viable? We must hope so. For it does indeed seem that Mr Mandela is about to leave prison and that the ANC is to be unbanned. If this were not about to happen, Mr de Klerk would be reckless and foolhardy indeed to have raised such expectations.

For the moment the ANC â\200\234armed struggleâ\200\235 is continuing at a scaled-down level of intensity (with hand grenade attacks on policemen and their families rather than car bombs aimed at civilians outside rugby stadiums or supermarkets). Whatever the level of intensity, ANC violence -will have to stop. A tacit or explicit truce or suspension of violence will be essential in any unbanning or lifting of the state of emergency.

On the assumption that this does come to pass in the next month or so, 1990 will be a momentous year. South Africa and the sub-continent will break out of a vicious cycle of violence into an era of negotiations. No matter how long it takes, negotiation as the new South African way of life will be infinitely preferable to what has gone before. Â¢ Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.