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2 July 1991

# The Daily News



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## Time for decisions

AS the African National Congress leadership and delegates gather for their conference in Durban today it is fitting that they remember that political power play, tactics and strategies are but a small part of the important decisions that have to be taken in setting the foundations for a just and fair future for all the citizens of this country.

Decisions taken on future constitutional models and such related matters as a Bill of Rights, land reform, the economic system, devolution of power to local government, a health and education policy and discussions on the ANC's role in government leading up to elections under a new constitution will set the tone for future negotiations and will affect all South Africans.

All these are important for

the future; but immediately it is the continuing violence, especially in Natal, that needs urgent resolution. At leadership level there seems to be a lessening of tensions between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, with both sides proclaiming peace. Somehow this commitment to peace must be relayed to township street levels, where people must be urged to forget old vendettas and taught to subscribe to tolerance for another's views.

For this reason, it is a pity the IFP has turned down an invitation to attend the ANC conference because relations "had not yet been normalised". However, the two executives will meet after the conference when, perhaps, the commitment to peace will put an end to the daily toll of political deaths.



First national conference in 30 years begins in Durban today

# BIG ROLE FOR WHITES, SAYS ANC

*Daily News 2 July 1991*



**NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN**  
Political Reporter

THE African National Congress wants to involve whites as much as possible in establishing a non-racial South Africa, its national preparatory committee chairman, Simon Makana, said in Durban last night.

Addressing hundreds of journalists from all over the world on the eve of the ANC's first national conference inside South Africa in more than 30 years, Mr Makana said the ANC wanted to build the "broadest possible patriotic front".

He specifically included whites, saying: "We want to involve the whites as much as possible. We want to talk to whites across the colour line."

Mr Makana, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, identified one of the key tasks facing the 2 000 delegates as deciding on the "broad elements" of the ANC's proposed constitution for a new South Africa.

A discussion document, drawn up by the ANC's constitutional committee, has been prepared for debate at the conference. It includes proposals for a Bill of Rights, proportional representation and a limitation of the tenure of office of the future president to two terms of five years each.

The ANC conference will also consider the appropriate strategy and tactics they need to adopt to form the organisation's future direction.

However, the movement will also treat the matter of restructuring and rebuilding the organisation as a priority.

Many analysts believe that this is one of the most vital purposes of the conference and that this week will determine decisively whether the ANC, publicly presenting a fragmented image and a strong bent for youthful militancy, will indeed be able to rise to the challenge.

In order to unite as a cohesive organisation, factions resulting from the ANC's fragmented underground existence under apartheid will have to be reconciled this week, united not only behind the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela, but also locked into the programmes and strategies of

an efficient and cohesive political force with a clearly identifiable political face and direction.

The conference opens today with the delivery of an address by ailing president Oliver Tambo, who led the ANC during the long, difficult years when it was outlawed in South Africa and when many of its leaders, including Mr Mandela, were in jail.

Mr Tambo is tipped to become the ANC's elder statesman and honorary president.

**From revolution to negotiation: Page 13**



Big role for whites, Says ANC



MR SIMON MAKANA, the African National Congress's national preparatory committee chairman and former ANC Soviet representative, addresses hundreds of media representatives from all over the world at a conference in Durban yesterday.

2 July 1991



After 16 weary years of fighting and bloodshed, former enemies embrace

**A**NGOLA took a historical step towards full political and territorial integration this weekend when a top Government delegation visited this remote headquarters of the rebel Unita movement.

Leaders of the two opposing armies, which have fought bitterly for 16 destructive years, embraced one another warmly in an atmosphere that offered great encouragement to the peace accord signed in Lisbon on May 31.

More tentative was the meeting between Unita president Jonas Savimbi and the Angolan Minister of Territorial Administration, Lopo do Nascimento.

Dr Savimbi was not at Jamba's "international airport" in the bush when the Angolan Airways Hercules C-130 carrying the Government delegation and representatives of other countries involved in the peace process landed just before 3 o'clock on Saturday afternoon.

The two met later with stiff formality at the guest centre adjoining the Unita leader's house.

But after attending a cultural evening at the local stadium on Saturday night, and holding informal talks yesterday morning, the two men obviously had developed a much more genial relationship.

Dr Savimbi and Dr do Nascimento, who is a senior figure in the MPLA party and president Jose Eduardo do Santos's official political adviser, shook hands warmly when the delegation left to return to Luanda yesterday afternoon and made light-hearted comments about meeting again soon in the Angolan capital.

Dr Savimbi is due to visit Luanda this month — for the first time since 1975 when tripartite talks between his party, the MPLA and the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) broke down and the civil war ensued.

At a news conference yesterday afternoon, the Unita leader remarked that Dr do Nascimento had promised nothing would derail the peace process and that the Angolan Govern-

# Historical meeting on Savimbi's home ground

*Daily News 2 July 1991*

After 16 years of bloody warfare in Angola, leaders of the two opposing armies

met in the remote bush headquarters of Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi.

**JOHN RYAN** of The Daily News Africa Service reports from Jamba.



Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in his bush stronghold of Jamba after meeting a high-powered MPLA delegation.

ment was busy finding a suitable house to enable him to visit Luanda, and he added he would be going back permanently.

Even if his party lost the election scheduled for later this year, he said:

"Nobody will push me back into the bush anymore. I am a citizen of this country."

Dr Savimbi cited the reasons for the two factions coming together as "military changes" (suggesting a tactical deadlock between their armies), the Namibian accord, the warming of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and reforms in South Africa.

Speaking at the stadium last night, where a programme of music and dancing was laid on for the 80 visitors, the Unita president told a crowd of several thousand Unita supporters: "A short while ago we were shouting at the Luanda Government. Now we are



## Historical Meeting on Savimbi's home ground.

welcoming it."

With the peace accord he hoped Angolans would put the war behind them and that the people who had provided arms to both sides would now stop.

Turning to the Soviet and American delegates present, he added: "Did you hear that, gentlemen?"

Dr do Nascimento said to emotional applause it was time to heal the wounds of Angola's "body, soul and heart."

Earlier he told newsmen he thought a government of national unity was not only possible, but desirable in order to heal those wounds.

No formal agenda was set for the weekend's discussions of the Joint

Military-Political Commission established last month to direct the peace process — made up of representatives of the MPLA, Unita, the United States, the Soviet Union and Portugal.

But the consensus was that the talks had been fruitful. A Portuguese representative said: "This trip will give confidence to the whole population."

"They will see that all Angolans are finally set on peace."

The party from Luanda included United Nations monetary commission officers from Portugal, Spain, Britain and Brazil who will help oversee the movement of the two armies into 50 assembly points next month.

2 July 1991



# ANC fear FW won't fight clean for ever

DAILY NEWS 2 JULY 1991

**P**IK BOTHA, South Africa's Foreign Minister and one of the architects of President F.W. de Klerk's reforms, admitted recently that apartheid was the toughest glue uniting his political opponents in the African National Congress. Removing apartheid was the solution.

The ANC's undisputed success in helping to compel Botha and de Klerk to reverse apartheid posed problems that have absorbed the ANC for 16 months.

At the root is the debate within the ANC about whether apartheid really is over or whether the reforms are just another subtle set of obstacles erected by Pretoria. The answers will determine what kind of institution the ANC becomes in the near future.

## Prepare

Those who believe South Africa is moving towards a post-apartheid society want to turn the ANC into a conventional political party, so that it can prepare itself for elections.

They want to develop position papers on education, land reform, economic and financial policies, and defence. They want to become a credible alternative government.

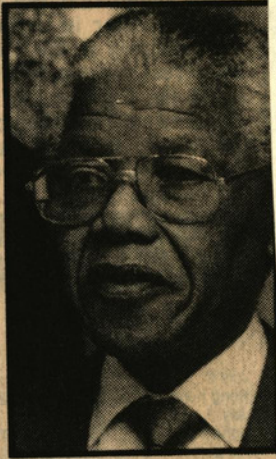
For this group, any back-tracking by the Government on its promises to end apartheid or release political prisoners would be another reason for writing a constitution and holding an election so that the ANC can form a government and control the errant white bureaucracy.

The other view within the ANC is that the Government has had to withdraw to a fallback position, but is determined to resist a genuine handover of power.

**JOHN MATTISONN** of the Observer's Johannesburg bureau looks at the future of the ANC.



Pik Botha



Nelson Mandela



Thabo Mbeki



Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi

For this faction, negotiations must be conducted with the Government, but not without credible pressure in the form of political protests, strikes, consumer boycotts and other "mass actions". For them the ANC must not give up its vision of itself as a liberation movement.

The legalisation of the ANC gave the Government the initiative for the first time. While taking care to show courtesy to, and even heap praise on, Nelson Mandela, de Klerk was quietly removing Mandela's hands from the levers of control in both the political and diplomatic contexts.

Politically, de Klerk kept the initiative with announcements ending statutory apartheid, taking care to promise just a little more than was expected from him.

The progress was sufficiently dramatic to make anything more than the mildest criticism seem churlish. That paved the way for him to seize the diplomatic initiative.

Governments in Africa, Eastern Europe and the West all saw their interests served best by a rapid movement to establish trade and diplomatic relations, before their competitors beat them to it.

Although little investment has followed these efforts, they rendered the ANC's rigid pro-sanctions stance an anachronism.

## Battle

Bitter as that contest might seem, it was nothing compared with the battle within the townships. There, the party which looks increasingly like de Klerk's future political alliance partner, the Inkatha Freedom Party, has become the ANC's worst nightmare.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha has damaged the ANC in two ways.

First, it has embarrassed Mandela and the ANC by showing that for all the mythology about the "armed struggle" and the cadres of guerillas in the townships, the ANC cannot protect its own supporters from Inkatha.

A year ago ANC T-shirts, insignia, flags and graffiti were everywhere; now one can drive for miles before finding any.

At least as insidious, and perhaps in the long run more disturbing, is the way Inkatha has turned the conflict between blacks into an ethnic battlefield.

The ANC has had trouble combating these challenges. Used to a slow and painstaking

process of decision-making and implementation, it had a lot to learn about responding effectively.

There are signs it is making progress. Recently, Mandela invited chiefs and elders from numerous ethnic groups to join him on the platform at a rally on the edge of Soweto.

And while the ANC is still grappling with its sanctions policy, its Secretary for International Affairs, the urbane Thabo Mbeki, seems to be realistic about the international trend towards lifting sanctions.

Perhaps most heartening for the ANC is that its leaders last week showed signs that they had developed a response to the de Klerk phenomenon.

## Groping

For months Mandela seemed to be trying to say that de Klerk was both an angel and a devil. But ANC leaders are now groping their way towards a better formulation.

The problem for the ANC is that both descriptions of the President are probably correct. He has revolutionised South African politics by bringing the ANC back into the game. But he has not changed his mind that the ANC is his most dangerous political opponent.

ANC leaders have begun to say that while de Klerk has changed the South African political environment for ever, they cannot always rely on him to fight according to Queensberry rules.



# FROM REVOLUTION TO NEGOTIATION

The ANC is struggling to cope with

DAILY NEWS 2 July 1991

the complex challenges faced by mainstream political parties

**T**HE recent arrest of Chris Hani bearing a placard at an illegal protest showed the African National Congress's leading military commander in a role more akin to a civil rights worker in Martin Luther King's deep south than to a leading player in the projected future government of South Africa.

Since the ANC was legalised on 2 February, it has been expected to have strategy for negotiations with President F.W. de Klerk; a bureaucracy capable of building and servicing a nationwide network of branches; a machine that can revive internal protest; and think-tank posi-

tions on all aspects of government.

It is disturbing, exciting, a major transition for an organisation that, until recently, operated from a couple of ramshackle, single-storey buildings reached via an alley in Lusaka.

The ANC's tasks then were relatively straightforward: to develop resistance to a repressive, racist, regime through a diplomatic, military and underground internal campaign.

Now, Alfred Nzo, the organisation's secretary general and a prime rep-

resentative of the old guard, presides from new, 22-storey headquarters in central Johannesburg over an organisation with more than 800 branches and 500 000 members in 14 regions.

The Press, too, treats the ANC like an alternative government, and wants answers. Often, the ANC cannot deliver.

Obviously, it would be premature to expect the organisation to have completed its uphill struggle to battle with the National Party on equal terms.

But its bureaucracy

has still to develop an effective communications channel. Specific messages to head office, and internal memos, go unanswered. Ordinary members, and even leaders, are left to follow

On the eve of the African National Congress's first democratic elections in South Africa, **JOHN MATTISONN** of the London Observer's Johannesburg office looks at how the ANC is transforming itself from an exile organisation involved in revolution into a political party engaged in negotiation.

vague signals from the top.

The ANC has offices to discuss the country's future land policy, constitution, justice system,

economic policy, education, foreign affairs, welfare. It has publications.

But many of the phones at its new headquarters do not work. Many offices are empty.

When Nelson Mandela concluded that de Klerk was manipulating the negotiations by withholding implementation of agreements, he began to promote "mass action".

Regions, branches and individual leaders interpreted his call in their own ways.

One of the exiles, Mr Hazwar Piliso, was appointed head of a "campaigns committee" to supervise public protest. Mr Piliso left South Africa in about 1950, and his knowledge of the real situation in the regions must be limited.

In any given week, around the country, there are dozens of different protests of varying sizes, focusing on different subjects, all acting on what they regard as general ANC policy.

There are consumer and rent boycotts, marches and placard demonstrations calling for a constituent assembly and an interim gov-

ernment, opposing individual local town councils or rent and electricity fees.

Meanwhile, the headquarters are preoccupied with the heady and unaccustomed business of democratic internal elections.

This presents problems for an organisation that is headed by a mythological figure, many of whose members adhere to Communist policies, and whose supporters still face harassment and assassination.

The ANC's organisational difficulties stem from the fact that its structure has been decades in the making, mostly in exile. It was run by Oliver Tambo as a kind of gentle dictator, but one who balanced ethnic and ideological influences on his executive.

Nelson Mandela in-

herited that organisation when he emerged from prison as deputy president, replacing his ailing former law partner who was already in semi-retirement after suffering a stroke.

As a leader, Mandela is comfortable taking decisions, even unpopular ones. But inevitably, he is less knowledgeable about the personalities and problems of the 1990s.

There is a problem of political culture. Mandela still believes his health is a private matter, a quaint notion in a world where a rumour about it can be expected to trigger a sharp rise or fall on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Nzo and Piliso are part of an old guard likely to be voted out of power at the organisation's congress starting in Durban today. For

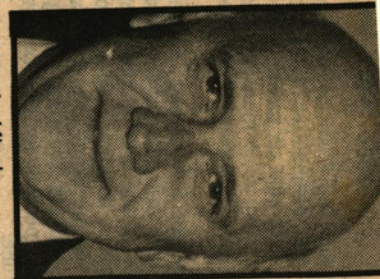
now, they have power inside the country because they had it when they arrived. They also have it because the internal leaders of the United Democratic Front voluntarily gave up their position of pre-eminence.

In doing so, the movement lost at least some of the more skilled young activists who had earned their spurs in the tough battles of the state of emergency in the 1980s.

Now they have become part of the ANC's branch system, but they are pressing for a share of power.

At this week's first democratic elections inside the country in more than 30 years, there will be plenty of young activists more than ready to step into the shoes of the exiles whose names they paraded on banners when they were adolescents protesting at high schools.

F.W. de Klerk



Oliver Tambo



Alfred Nzo



Chris Hani





# DELEGATES AND GUESTS ARRIVE AT UNIVERSITY

## Political Reporter

THE African National Congress's national conference got under way in earnest this morning when more than 2 200 accredited delegates and a further 1 000 observers and guests converged on the University of Durban-Westville campus.

The sports stadium at the university is bedecked with huge painted banners depicting scenes of South African life by internationally-acclaimed Durban artist Andrew Verster, as well as hundreds of ANC flags and posters.

The marathon five-day event will begin with a special appearance by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston who, as a young Anglican priest in Sophiatown, achieved fame in the 1950s as a pioneer resister of forced removals in South Africa.

The archbishop will deliver a prayer before the ailing ANC president, Oliver Tambo, delivers what most delegates expect to be his farewell speech to the ANC.

The conference is expected to elect his deputy, Nelson Mandela, as the new ANC president. Mr Tambo may be given an honorary life presidency of the movement.

The main debate of the conference, shaping a new constitution for the ANC itself, is due to begin tomorrow.

Security arrangements are very tight, with hundreds of khaki-uniformed officials keeping a vigilant eye on proceedings.

Access to the sports stadium at the university is limited to delegates, invited guests and journalists, who are all given different-coloured security cards through a system of accreditation according to their status.

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# INSIGHT

St. George & the Dragon. *De Witt* 10





# Apartheid fighters to hold big talks

*Daily News 2 July 1991*

LONDON: Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement has called a national conference for its local groups and affiliates to decide its role in and attitude towards a post-apartheid South Africa.

But it has ruled out any suggestion of winding up the movement until all the people of South African can elect a democratic government of their choice.

The meeting's main objective will be to establish a post-apartheid solidarity movement to investigate "possible structures and alternative timetables" for the process of transition.

The decision to convene the Consultative Conference — to be held on July 13 — was taken at the movement's 1990 annual meeting held in Sheffield last year. A spokesman said: "It will be one further stage in a process of debate and discussion which will also involve organisations with whom the AAM has been working over the years in southern Africa as well as other organisations in Britain and internationally which are outside the ranks of the AAM but which have made an important contribution to the international campaign against apartheid."

The conference will be opened by AAM chairman Robert Hughes who will be reporting back from the ANC National Conference in Durban from July 2-6.

He said: "Our meeting decided that this conference should be convened at a

## Foreign Service

time when there was much greater optimism that the "peace process" would move forward rapidly. In fact, De Klerk has broken his promises over the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles and above all failed to curb the violence which has put the entire prospect of political settlement at risk.

"However, we have decided to go ahead so that we can take stock of the situation and begin to make the necessary preparations for the future. I will be able to report back directly from the ANC conference on the role the ANC sees for the international anti-apartheid movement.

"Above all, we want to get across the message that if we achieve the goal of the AAM — a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa — this does not mean that solidarity work in Britain and internationally will be over.

"Indeed, this will be the signal for a new stage in the struggle to liberate southern Africa of all the vestiges of apartheid, racism and colonialism. We will need different objectives, we will be undertaking different work and we will need new structures. But our movement has never been anti-South African and we wish to demonstrate this concretely by planning now how best on-going solidarity can be organised for the new South Africa and the region as a whole.

"There is no question of winding up the Anti-Apartheid Movement until our work is done. Indeed, we will not relax until all the people of South African can democratically elect a government of their choice."

ANC man warns of dangers in lifting sport curbs

*Daily News 2 July 1991*

## Foreign Service

PERTH: The Rev Arnold Stofile, prominent member of the South African Rugby Union and the ANC, said here today that lifting sports sanctions would plunge South Africa into further turmoil and violence.

Completing a tour of Australia and New Zealand, he warned politicians and sports leaders not to accept at face value claims that apartheid was dead.

In a busy schedule organised by the local ANC support group, Mr Stofile also took his message to churches, schools and trade unions.

He said sanctions against South Africa should not be lifted until an interim government had been installed there.

Mr Stofile leaves Perth tonight on his return to South Africa.

Meanwhile, the West Australian Sports Minister, Mr Graham Edwards, just back from South Africa, said he realised that some sports there still had a long way to go towards integration. But cricket had made enormous strides and should be rewarded.

"I cannot accept that readmitting South Africa to world sport should have to wait for majority government. That could take 20 or 30 years," he said.

He added that his delegation had been impressed by the enthusiasm and hard work done by South African sporting bodies towards re-joining world sport.



# Pulling the wool over the ANC's eyes

ON APRIL 1, 1989, Swapo attempted to infiltrate guerillas into Namibia, violating agreements that had been more than a decade in the making. Hundreds were slaughtered for the sake of a victory that to all intents had long been won. Why did Sam Nujoma order this madness? Two reasons have always seemed paramount: bad advice and an even shakier grasp on facts.

The advice came chiefly from Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe who had pulled a similar stunt in the run-up to his own country's first independence elections. In his case, it worked. He thought it might work again. As for Nujoma's misapprehensions, they stemmed from the years of pandering to which Swapo had been subjected by its sympathisers. Having never been corrected by those it trusted, it naively believed it could do no wrong. Its global network of sycophants had shielded the organisation from the obvious. The old geo-

political verities no longer applied. Swapo's understanding of the world had become a fly in amber. The truth, when it finally obtruded, came as a violent shock.

The ANC likewise has been chronically blinded — by prison walls, suppression, exile, the irrefutable justice of its cause, and, last but not least, the sort of company it chose (indeed, still chooses) to keep. Now that it finally has the chance — nay, more the obligation — to see things clearly, efforts, some conscious, some unconscious, are being made to continue shading its eyes.

In a number of respects, the protection is being afforded because the ANC itself demands it. The movement has time and again shown itself touchy about the open dissemination of facts and opinions that conflict with its self-image and ambition. The international Press, anxious to maintain lines of communication with a critical player, prettifies, glosses, and some-

times outright distorts lest it be denied access. Much the same might be said of some domestic reporting, though, as the Institute of Race Relations has documented, journalists often fear a fate more debilitating than a simple loss of contacts.

More subtly, and perhaps even more perniciously, there may well be a tendency on the part of some publications to alter not only the content but the general orientation of their coverage to make it more appealing to what are assumed will be the tastes of the new order.

Broadening the focus of newsgathering and expanding the range of voices that must be heard in order to serve a wider readership are one thing. Quite different, however, is the selection and interpretation of events to bring the news into line with the supposed political prejudices of the changing marketplace.

That may entail something worse than simple condescen-

sion — 'black facts' for black readers — for it may easily lead to a dangerous misunderstanding of the way things are and of the options open to the various actors involved in shaping a post-apartheid South Africa.

Those actors, to give an important example, need to know as clearly and unequivocally as is possible what the chances are of American sanctions coming off within the next few weeks and whether those opposed to such a move have any real hope of preventing it. Political and investment decisions critical to the country's future may hinge upon such information.

Now, a lot of activists, Congressmen and others would like South Africa to believe that they still have the power to obstruct a decision by President George Bush to terminate the sanctions contained in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. They do not.

Their fulminations on the

subject must not be confused with their actual capacities even at the risk of giving offence.

Senator Edward Kennedy has threatened to seek some form of legal injunction to vitiate, either directly or in effect, the executive order Bush has pledged to issue lifting the CAAA's sanctions once he decides that political prisoners have been released. The Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law and others are currently studying ways of putting Kennedy's threat into practice.

Is it not being rude either to them or to Kennedy, or to those in South Africa who have looked to them for support, to say the prospects of such a suit succeeding are so negligible that they may be discounted. Indeed, to construe the facts in other way is to sail perilously close to deceit.

This is not to say there will be no legal action, it is merely to fairly assess the obstacles

such an action faces. The plaintiffs must first find a judge willing to ignore all pre-existing case law and not dismiss their argument as a purely political matter. To obtain even a temporary restraining order they must then be able to prove that Bush's decision materially harmed their legitimate personal interests.

It is difficult to see how they could so prove, but there are some quixotic judges out there even in the Federal bench. If they tucked into one, the Justice Department would immediately appeal. There is no precedent to suggest the appeal would fail.

Contrary to what Kennedy asserts, the CAAA is unambiguous in granting the executive branch exclusive authority to determine that its five conditions have been met, thus causing the automatic termination of the Act's sanctions. Section 601 states clearly that the President 'shall issue such rules, regulations, licences and orders as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act', including, needless to say, the termination clause.

So long as Bush has abided by the plain English of the conditions — for example he could not find that Nelson Mandela had been released, if, in fact, the ANC Deputy President was still in jail — the decision is his. His interpretation cannot, without a quite dazzling breach of precedent, be challenged nor can he be accused of usurping powers that are not his.

Finally, even if the plaintiffs did manage to get a hearing on the interpretation question by arguing that the president was defying the intent of Congress when it passed the Bill, they would have to contend with the statements of their own partisans when the law was being debated. Congress did intend that the sanctions should come off under present circumstances and not when a constitution had been negotiated.

One of the Bill's key managers, House Majority Whip William Gray, stated in the House on June 11, 1986, that: 'We say to the South Africans: if you begin to dismantle apartheid, if you free the thousands of political prisoners locked in your jails, if you begin negotiating with the majority leadership, we say we will lift all the sanctions.' Of course, there will be those who will harrumph and still try to dangle the possibility of continued sanctions before the ANC's wishful thinkers. A couple of members of the Congressional black caucus will be in Durban for the ANC's conference this week and will no doubt try to hold out the promise that something can still be done to 'keep the pressure on'.

It would be far better if they restricted themselves to the truth — which also includes (Ambassador William Swing, please note) that the US body politic is starting to get mighty edgy about the kinds of international thugs the ANC persists in hanging out with — but, alas, their egos probably will not let them. They wish to be admired and thanked for all their efforts.



## Barbarism vs Judaism

Mr Nkgodi Thipe accuses the Jews and the CIA of conspiring to overthrow the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia (Readers' Views, June 24).

This accentuates the extent to which the human mind can be controlled to fabricate and then believe in order to uphold instilled anti-semitism, bigotry and hatred.

Not only does Mr Thipe refer to the State of Israel as illegitimate when it was the UN that supported its existence, but he defends the Mengistu regime — merciless killers of thousands of their own "brothers" — while he condemns Israelis for compassion to their own people in times of peril.

Comparing the two objectives of the Ethiopian hierarchy and Israel tells its own story: the difference between barbarism and Judaism.

H Stein

Fairmount Ext

# Identify intimidators

It is important to identify those responsible for the barbaric, cruel and undemocratic intimidation in the townships. They are the ANC, SACP and Cosatu.

Let us mince no words about this diabolical alliance, for they are the sole engineers and benefactors of the policy of intimidation.

The reasons behind this are not encouraging. It is common knowledge that the ANC/SACP have for more than 30 years languished in exile while organisations such as Swapo in Namibia, Frelimo in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola and Zanu in Zimbabwe have become governments in their respective countries.

All these friends of the ANC/SACP are today in power and they wish to see the ANC/SACP in the same position in South Africa. The ANC/SACP feel they deserve power.

We in the townships who oppose them or are neutral are punished for our negative attitude. We have seen, or heard of the hundreds who have been gunned down, burned alive or tortured for being passive.

The ANC has formed units, committees and organisations from among the street youth, students and workers' unions. Through their culture of violence these groups have created fear among us and stripped us of our democratic right to choose any organisation we wish. Therefore it is not surprising that the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has violently torn itself loose from the tentacles of the ANC/SACP octopus.

As individuals ours is a pathetic case, for we cannot fight the ANC/SACP war machine. These terrorists have tried destroying the image of the SA Police, who

are an insurmountable obstacle, by murdering their members and burning their homes so that the ANC/SACP can take over the townships.

I appeal to the Government, the police, the victims and all moderate blacks to act firmly against this evil menace. We will then live in a free society without fear and the ANC/SACP will be as the dust.

Stanley Mokoena

Braamfontein

Letters to the editor should be sent to Box 61682, Marshalltown 2107 (fax 836-8398). Your letter stands a better chance of publication if written over your own name. If you must use a nom de plume, please tell us why. (Letters must in any event be signed and full address given).



# Biography of ANC founder out this week

By James Mitchell,  
Books Editor

With the African National Congress currently holding its conference in Durban comes the news that a biography of one of its founders is to be published by Skotaville (right).

Little is generally known of the life of Pixley kalsaka Seme, and no previous biography has been published. Yet his ideas had much to do with the formation of the ANC in January 1912.

Dr Richard Rive left the uncompleted manuscript of "Seme: Founder of the ANC" when he was murdered in 1989. Now the book has been completed by Tim Couzens and will be available later this week at R22,95.

□ □ □

When it was founded in 1961, South Africa's own CNA Literary award of R2 000 was second in magnitude only to the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Total prizemoney is now R37 000, but even this pales in comparison with a new book award set up this year by Ted Turner, the CNN magnate, America's Cup yachtsman and husband-to-be of Jane Fonda.

His Turner Tomorrow Award attracted more than 5 000 manuscripts from over 50 countries — not surprising in view of the \$500 000 (R1,4 million) on offer (the Nobel laureate gets only a miserly \$450 000 these days).

For those wishing to rush out and see what Ted has spent all this tax-deductable boodle on, the winner was one Daniel Quinn, of Texas. His winning novel, "Ishmael", concerns one man's philosophical conversations with an ape.

You have been warned.

□ □ □



Judging the CNA awards is, no doubt, an exciting business.

Fighting off ambitious authors, resisting less-than-subtle inducements from publishers, standing up to peer pressure to "do the right thing"?

Well, not quite.

Not only were the names of the six judges kept quiet this year, but they didn't even get to meet for any last-minute horse-trading. In fact the first any of them knew who their fellow judges were, was at the shortlist announcements last week.

Reason for all this secrecy, says award organiser Stephen Johnson coyly, was the "requests from leading writers, as well as certain publishers..."

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You have been warned, Part 2: "Introducing the novel that is destined to be the most talked about publishing event of 1991", said the publisher's blurb that landed on my desk recently.

A cynic had scrawled underneath this modest claim: "Oh no!"

Inside was the information that "Every reviewer in South Africa will receive a copy of 'Scarlett' on or just after the publication date, ensuring huge media coverage for the book." Someone really ought to tell those responsible, Macmillan, that the way to

get media coverage is to get the book to the reviewers *before* publication date, not "just after".

The book? I nearly forgot. It's the sequel to Margaret Mitchell's "Gone With the Wind", which sold over 28 million copies in its time. Now Alexandra Ripley has written "Scarlett" (Macmillan R64,99). But you'll have to wait until September to find out if the reviewers say: "Frankly, Mac, I don't give a damn."

□ □ □

With all the fuss about the New York auction of the Alan Paton manuscripts, and the worry about whether they would return to South Africa (they did) it is nice to be able to report on other holdings in this country.

In 1974 Paton presented to the Wits University Library the manuscript of his biography of the late Archbishop of Cape Town, "Apartheid and the Archbishop". Much of the research for the book was done at the Wits Library, which is custodian of the archives of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

In addition to the hand-written version, typed drafts, galleys and page proofs, there are notes and correspondence, making it an extremely interesting collection which is open to researchers. Copies of the entire collection have been sent to the Alan Paton Centre at the University of Natal Library, Pietermaritzburg.

□ □ □

If you, dear Author, have unaccountably failed to win the Ted Turner Mammoth (see above), the Next-Best Nobel, or even get shortlisted for the CNA, take heart. Especially if you have written a huge, boring tome requiring a long, complicated index.

The British Society of Indexers is presenting an illuminated scroll (presumably running from A to Z) — but no cash — to the author of its choice.



# The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

## Challenges for the ANC

**W**HEN the ANC congress starts today, it will mark the beginning of a process which many have been waiting for. Developments will be watched keenly to see whether the organisation is able to shed the cloak of a liberation movement and become an effective, dynamic, political organisation.

So far the debate has been raging about personalities, but other issues have to be dealt with. The ANC needs to emerge from the conference with a strong and clear message on its direction. Transition from whites-only politics is grinding on; the ANC will also have to make the transition from sloganeering to practical alternatives. The country awaits clear policy proposals on issues such as education, the economy, health and social services.

We hope to see strong leadership emerge, with Nelson Mandela ridding himself of the weight of contradictory demands from the various forces within the organisation. It's called leading from the front.

The alliance with the South African Communist Party has become uncomfortable. If the SACP wishes to play a role in South Africa, then it ought to show that it is strong enough to stand on its own as a political party. Not only is the alliance creating doubts as to the ANC's commitment to democracy, but the SACP's agenda is not clear. It is time for the ANC to get rid of the excess baggage. It cannot be answerable for a party that seems bent on advocating policies that have failed abysmally everywhere else. In any event, once apartheid goes, the bond that holds the organisations together will also disappear.

We hope that, at the end of this conference, the ANC will emerge prepared to become a modern, effective, political machine. Without this, the initiative of turning the country into a democracy will remain firmly in the hands of President de Klerk.



16/1/11

Mercury 2/07/91

# ANC proposes 'health tax'

AN ANC discussion document, to be debated at the organisation's 48th annual conference at the University of Durban-Westville this week, advocates a national health service funded by taxes 'levied on those who can afford them'.

The document maintains that current health services reflect 'all the injustices and irrationality of apartheid'.

'No one should be excluded from public health services because they do not have money to pay,' it says. 'Only when this is achieved will it be possible to reduce the differences in health care between rich and poor, black and

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

white, and the urban and rural communities.'

The Government will have to pay for health care and will therefore have to tax those who can afford it to fund the national health service.

The document also suggests that a patient's bill of rights be drawn up and publicly displayed and that various interest groups have formal and easy access to policy-making bodies.

The document notes that there are major differences in access to good health care between black and white, rich

and poor and urban and rural communities.

'The most advanced hospital care is inaccessible to the majority of people because of the costs and the time involved in travelling to the major urban centres where these hospitals are located.'

It adds that privatisation and cuts in Government spending have meant that not enough money is being spent on public health services and as a result the quality of care in the public health sector has deteriorated.

A national health service would be:

- Unified and non-racial, and all communities should

be provided with local clinics, community health centres and hospitals.

- Accessible and affordable — no one should be denied access to essential health care because the service is too far away or costs too much.

- Geared to giving priority to those most in need — children, mothers, the elderly, the mentally ill, the unemployed, workers in hazardous situations and the disabled.

- Focused on eradicating or controlling major diseases such as Aids, tuberculosis, measles and polio.

- Reflective of democratic ideals and geared to make efficient use of resources.

- See Editorial Opinion



# Chaos predicted as Durban fills to brim

DURBAN'S Golden Mile faces a week of chaos with thousands of ANC delegates and supporters vying with July Handicap fans for scarce hotel accommodation, hired transport and other facilities.

A visit to major beachfront hotels yesterday revealed that many July punters will have to forsake their favourite hotels.

Staff at the hotels said yesterday they were all fully booked.

'I don't know where all the horse racing fans are going to go,' said one harassed receptionist.

**By Chris Whitfield  
and Dominic Mitchell**

She added that those Durban July fans who had booked well in advance would still get their rooms, but there was traditionally a late rush in the days leading up to the big race.

The situation has been complicated by the massive interest shown, by ANC supporters and world media, in the historic conference at the University of Durban-Westville.

Only about one-third of the

more than 3 000 delegates, supporters and media representatives here for the conference have been accommodated at the university.

Meanwhile, last-minute preparations at the conference hall were still under way last night.

The hall is festooned with massive swathes of cotton painted in bright colours, each one representing a different theme of the conference.

Some depict armed guerillas, some workers and others images of the environment and youth.

One contains a portrait of executed Goch Street bomber Solomon Mahlangu with wording from a letter he wrote from the death cell.

The backdrop to the stage is covered in massive drapes of black, green and gold — the ANC colours.

Flags hanging from the roof indicate where the various regions will be seated. Tablecloths are also in ANC colours.

The hall design was envisaged by Durban artist and ANC member Andrew Verster to create the spectacular effect.



Hani and Mbeki pull out of race for top ANC jobs

# Ugly mood on eve of talks

Monday 2/07/91

CHRIS Hani and Thabo Mbeki, two of the leading contenders for the ANC's key 'top five' jobs, have pulled out of the race.

Top sources said the decision had finally been taken in the past few days. It effectively kills speculation that the two would be involved in a so-called 'hawks and doves' contest for the deputy presidential seat or one of the key jobs.

However, they are almost certain to get posts on the 90-strong national executive committee, which will be announced on Saturday.

The development comes amid indications that some ANC regions — particularly the three from Natal — are approaching the historic conference in a militant mood.

An ANC source said yesterday recent outbreaks of violence in Natal were being seen as little more than warnings to the organisation. 'The mood is ugly,' he said.

This weekend, 16 victims of violence were buried at Richmond after an outbreak of fighting in the Ndoleni township.

ANC spokesmen at the fu-

By Chris Whitfield  
and Dominic Mitchell

neral alleged that the 16 died in an attack by Inkatha.

The mood from the Natal regions could boost the prospects of arch-militant Harry Gwala, who has been nominated for the deputy president's job by Southern Natal.

However, confirmation of the decision by Mr Hani, Mkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff, and Mr Mbeki, ANC international affairs director, to pull out of the top-five contest means that veteran ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu will almost certainly get the nod.

Yesterday, delegates gave an indication of the main objectives of the historic conference — the first held by the organisation inside South Africa for 33 years.

Much of the emphasis would be on rebuilding and consolidating the organisation.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, who has played a prominent part in organising the conference, said: 'The forces of the ANC have been dispersed by extreme repression and the conference will give the ANC the sharp edge which is so

needed.'

He said the organisation was not yet considering converting to a political party as the 'struggle for national liberation' continued.

However, he pointed out that it already contained elements of political party organisation and planned to organise so it would be in a position to win an election when it took place.

Mr Simon Makana, chairman of the National Preparatory Committee, told the Press: 'We will be addressing the question of violence. Everyone knows violence has become a national issue — a national disaster, in fact.'

He said delegates at the conference would attempt to establish who the 'perpetrators' of the violence were.

He also said the ANC wanted to involve the white population in political dialogue as much as possible. 'We need to talk to our white compatriots across the colour line and solve our problems together.'

Other issues that will be discussed include the constitution, negotiations, sanctions and other policy areas.

● See Editorial Opinion and Page 2





## 'Neutrals' to oversee this week's election

### Political Staff

NEUTRAL commissioners, including the former Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, have been appointed to oversee the elections later this week for the ANC's national executive.

Elaborate electoral mechanisms, including an independent mediation service, supporting staff, including lawyers and computerised voting systems, will be used in the elections which will determine the ANC's leadership for the foreseeable future.

The extent to which the ANC has gone to ensure that the elections are both fair and accepted as legitimate underlines their importance for the future of the organisation.

Apart from Mr Mabuza, three other commissioners have been appointed. They are the principal of the University of Durban-Westville, Prof Jayram Reddy, the director of the Legal Resources Centre, Mr Arthur Chaskalson, and head of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa, Mr Charles Nupen.

Imssa is also supplying administrative staff, including an advocate.



First national conference in 30 years begins in Durban today



# BIG ROLE FOR WHITES, SAYS ANC

*D. H. Z. W. J.* *2/07/91*

**NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN**  
Political Reporter

*16/1/11*

THE African National Congress wants to involve whites as much as possible in establishing a non-racial South Africa, its national preparatory committee chairman, Simon Makana, said in Durban last night.

Addressing hundreds of journalists from all over the world on the eve of the ANC's first national conference inside South Africa in more than 30 years, Mr Makana said the ANC wanted to build the "broadest possible patriotic front".

He specifically included whites, saying: "We want to involve the whites as much as possible. We want to talk to whites across the colour line."

Mr Makana, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, identified one of the key tasks facing the 2 000 delegates as deciding on the "broad elements" of the ANC's proposed constitution for a new South Africa.

A discussion document, drawn up by the ANC's constitutional committee, has been prepared for debate at the conference. It includes proposals for a Bill of Rights, proportional representation and a limitation of the tenure of office of the future president to two terms of five years each.

The ANC conference will also consider the appropriate strategy and tactics they need to adopt to form the organisation's future direction.

However, the movement will also treat the matter of restructuring and rebuilding the organisation as a priority.

Many analysts believe that this is one of the most vital purposes of the conference and that this week will determine decisively whether the ANC, publicly presenting a fragmented image and a strong bent for youthful militancy, will indeed be able to rise to the challenge.

In order to unite as a cohesive organisation, factions resulting from the ANC's fragmented underground existence under apartheid will have to be reconciled this week, united not only behind the leadership of deputy president Nelson Mandela, but also locked into the programmes and strategies of an efficient and cohesive political force with a clearly identifiable political face and direction.

The conference opens today with the delivery of an address by ailing president Oliver Tambo, who led the ANC during the long, difficult years when it was outlawed in South Africa and when many of its leaders, including Mr Mandela, were in jail.

Mr Tambo is tipped to become the ANC's elder statesman and honorary president.



16/1/94  
Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD asks the question that has to be answered this week

Memory 2/07/94

# Can the ANC transform itself into a government?

**C**AN THE ANC effectively transform itself into an organisation capable of running the country?

Given its relatively recent emergence from an underground role in which much of its leadership was forced into exile, that may seem a harsh question. But the world is watching and the 2 000-plus delegates who cram into the University of Durban-Westville this morning for its week-long conference are going to have to answer it.

Since its unbanning the organisation has failed to meet the expectations of not only its own rank and file support but the international community as well.

It has been forced, largely by President de Klerk's political manipulation, to adopt a defensive role. It has lost ground on agreements reached with Government.

Other crucial issues will be tossed around during the five-day conference, but the underlying theme will be establishing its identity and regaining the political initiative.

The conference will have to redefine how negotiations should be conducted and it is

likely the leadership will emerge with a limited mandate.

Much of its energies will be directed at developing a cohesive strategy and set of tactics, particularly to chart its way through the difficult transition period.

The organisation will also move towards genuine democratic participation and effective links between leadership and grassroots will have to be established.

Much will depend on the so-called leadership race. But whatever the result, it seems certain the organisation will remain committed to negotiations. Realistically, it has no alternative.

A *Weekly Mail* cartoon strip highlights the ANC's 'old guard' dilemma.

The joke will be old by Sunday. The dominance of the 'old guard' in the NEC is expected to last no longer than the vote counting after Friday's elections.

The winners of the leadership race will be announced on Saturday, and the present 35-strong NEC will almost certainly have been shattered.

Younger officials who headed the Mass Democratic Movement in its struggle in

the 1980s will flood into the expanded executive, for which 55 of the 90 seats will be chosen at this week's conference.

Three of the 'top five' posts could also go to fresh faces, with unionist Cyril Ramaphosa and former UDF leaders the Rev Arnold Stofile, now Border regional chairman, and Popo Molefe being widely nominated by the ANC's 14 regions.

The top two posts — president and deputy president — will, however, almost certainly go to two veterans. Active politicians don't come much older than Nelson Mandela, 73, and Walter Sisulu, 79. The status of both former Robben Islanders is sufficient to ensure that they will sweep home, but there have been reservations about Mr Sisulu's health and doubts over whether he will stand.

Speculation that the leadership contest will boil down to a 'hawks versus doves' battle appears to have been premature. Sources in the organisation claim the divisions are largely a media product and there is a fairly wide consensus on what shape the leadership should take.

The organisation is also de-

termined to present a unified front as it faces growing international and local scepticism. Any suggestion that there are serious divisions will add weight to those determined to force a wedge between factions.

It had been anticipated that Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani — darling of the youth — and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, seen as a moderate, would be involved in a potentially damaging fight for the deputy president's job.

This, however, is not likely to materialise and although Mbeki has been nominated by some of the regions for the job, he is unlikely to stand against Sisulu.

It is understood Hani might be given the special task of rebuilding MK. Its future will be a thorny issue, with former soldiers saying at the weekend funeral of ANC activist Mzwonke Pro Jack that they would ask for a return to the armed struggle.

The keenest contest for a top five job is likely to be for secretary-general. Ramaphosa's negotiating and organising skills have marked him as an early favourite, but

others nominated for the job include intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, Alfred Nzo, and Stofile.

Nzo, the incumbent, will be able to call on some weighty support from the likes of Mr Mandela, but is generally unpopular with the rank and file and likely to get the boot.

Zuma, from Natal, has been landed with the image of a moderate, which will cost him support. He is, however, a Zulu and his presence in a top job could help the ANC dispel the impression that it is Xhosa-dominated.

Molefe has scooped several nominations for the assistant secretary-general's job and must be the front-runner. It has been reported, however, that he may stand down for one of the losing candidates for the secretary-general's job.

The present assistant secretary, Henry Makgothi, appears destined to disappear without trace.

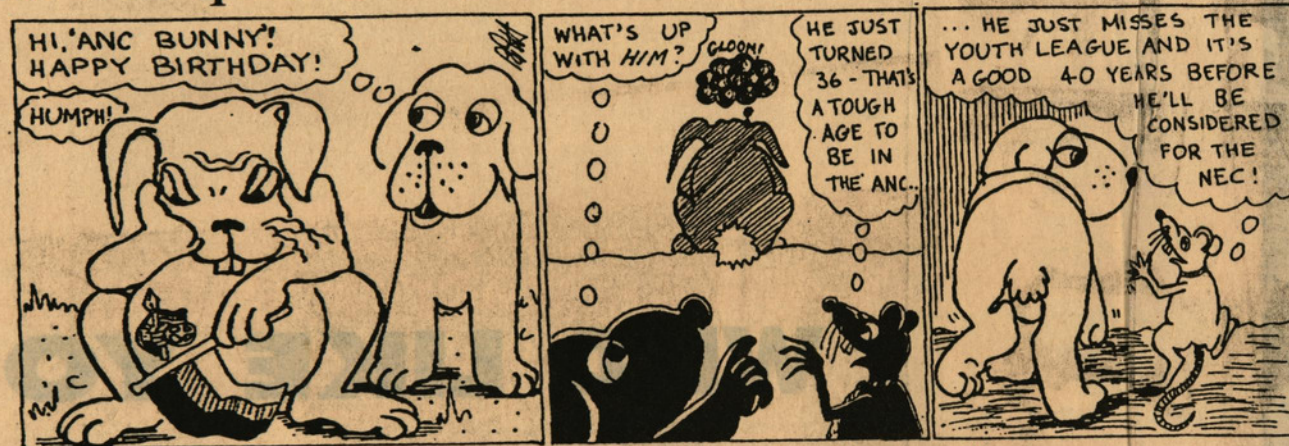
Incumbent treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi has received some support for staying in the post, but others who have received nominations include Zuma, Stofile and Mendi Msimang, the chief representative in Britain.

Among the current NEC members likely to be re-elected to the expanded executive are: Mbeki, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Zuma, Hani, Steve Tshwete, Palo Jordan, Ruth Mompoti, Gertrude Shope, Joe Modise, Aziz Pahad, John Nkadimeng, Joe Nhlanhla, Stanley Matizela, Nzo and Nkobi.

The head of Operation Vula, Mac Maharaj, has accepted nominations from several regions to stand for a NEC post in spite of his resignation from the ANC leadership in December last year. Other Vula participants, including Kasrils, have received considerable support from the regions.

New faces could include Ahmed Kathrada, Ramaphosa, Molefe, Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, Natal's Harry Gwala, Raymond Sutner, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Raymond Mhlaba, Sydney Mufamadi, Wilton Mkwayi, Andrew Mlangeni, Stofile, Albertina Sisulu, Cheryl Carolus and Dr Frene Ginwala.

Outgoing president Oliver Tambo — who has indicated he will not stand for re-election — could be nominated honorary president.



How the *Weekly Mail* sees the 'old guard' dilemma