

in ro

'to

raise fundsâ\200\231 |

bberie

â\200\230says members  
wing,

olved in the recent wave  
beries in the country.

Mr Heitmann said in a radio interview the  
most important reason was to raise funds for

S  
Ay )79y

JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The Southern Afri-  
can correspondent  
Weekly, Mr Helmut

of Janeâ\200\231s Defence  
Romer-Heitmann,  
of the ANCâ\200\231s. military

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), are in.

of armed rob-

A GANG of armed rob-  
bers held up a Newlands  
East, Durban, bottle-  
store and escaped with  
R25 000 in cash and  
took watches and  
Jjewellery from the man-  
ager and staff before  
making their getaway in  
a stolen car.

Police spokesman  
Cagt Hamilton Ngidi  
said five black men con-  
fronted the staff at the  
bottlestore in Garrick

man was armed with an  
AK-47 rifle, another

Place at 620 pm. One 3

Crime 'neporter  
â\200\230

with a shotgun, While  
three carried pistols.

They forced manager  
Leonaâ€¦d Buckley, 50, to  
hand over the cash and

. a pistol and also forced

staff to hand over their  
jewellery.

The men then made  
their getaway in a car  
which had been stolen  
at gunpoint from a man  
in Kwa Mashu a few  
minutes earlier.

While fleeing they ex-  
changed shots with a  
nearby shopkeeper, but  
nobody was injured.

â€¦200\224

MKâ€¦200\231s activities.

~Some MK members were  
their own pockets.

Armed robberies were  
by the  
mine

fled into South Africa.

He  
predominantly be-  
readily availableâ€¦2011e 1â€¦ing  
cally impossible for

South Africaâ€¦200\231s borders.  
Some of the weapons  
had been in South  
Africa for some time, as  
they had been dumped  
by former MK members  
who had left the organi-  
sation. -

When approached by  
the Mercury for com-  
mentin% last night, ANC  
internal leader Walter  
Sisulu said: â€¦200\230As a matter  
of policy, this would  
never be permitted by  
the African National  
Congress.

the ANC are also indi-  
viduals and they may  
eventually have their own inter-  
ests.â€¦200\231

He said the only such

â€¦200\230had happened in Natal,  
where

the ANC had allegedly  
held up the S A Perm  
branch in Umzinto and  
robbed it of R40  
month.  
â\200\230They (Press.rggorts)  
spoke of high officials  
ing involved. But they  
were not high officials â\200\224  
they were branch mem-  
bers,â\200\235 said Mr Sisulu. â\200\224  
(Sapa) ; !

Mr Heitmann did not exclude the

ANC leadership, because gr  
the organisationâ\200\231s image, he said

Mr Heitmann said it was easy to bring AK-47 rj.

pointed out that these weapons, which were  
used for armed attacks  
Mozambique and it was p

the security forces to

â\200\230However, members of

case he was aware of  
0 members of

to  
000 last

possibility that  
acting independently to fill

not likelghbo be welcomed  
could under-

THE â\200\230SUNAAY \_OBSERVER

SUNDAY 3JANUARY 1993

Allister Sparks in  
Johannesburg looks

forward with hope  
despite 8 grim 1992

IFOR South Africa, 1992 was a  
gritn yuw in which more than  
3,000 people died in political  
violence. A year in which talks  
broke down and massacres fol-  
lowed, crime boomed and the  
economy crashed, hope gave  
way to despair and trust to dirty  
tricks, and President F. W. Âç  
Klerk and Nelson Mandela fell  
to cursing cach other.

Yet, even as the yeuar cnds  
with threats of secession from  
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
and of race war froin the Pan-  
Africanist Congress, there are  
signs of hoĩ-\201e. Everything  
points to 1993 being the yeur of  
transformation, when real  
change will take place and  
South Africa will shift from  
white to black rule.

By mid-year, the Nautional  
Party any the African National  
Congress will jointly be admin-  
istering the country. By yearâ\200\231s  
cnd, or March 1994 aj the latest,  
the first one-person-one-vote  
elections will have been held,  
ushering in majority rule.

The paradox is that this  
hopeful prognosis grows  
dircctly out of the disasters of  
1992, which shocked the two  
major parties into realising they  
had better â\200\230work together or  
have nothing left to fight over.

This realisation DLegan to  
dawn last September, when the  
year reached its nadir with the  
tassacre of 29 ANC demon-

strators who were gunncd down  
Ly tnc Gasked ariny 03 whey

marched on Bisho, the capital of  
that nominally independent  
black homeland. %  
The bloodbath shocked mili-  
tants on both sides into pulling  
buck from their headlong rush  
into confrontation: It discred-  
ited radicals within the ANC,

who were threatening to dominate as the negotiations remained deadlocked and township violence escalated, and allowed Mandela and the other moderates to regain control over ANC strategy. Even on the government side, it muted the hardliners in the Cabinet who had wanted the security forces to confront the ANC's mass action demonstrations. Within two weeks Mandela and De Klerk held a crucial meeting which laid the foundations for a new impetus to co-operation, :

1

Several other factors contributed to this changed political chemistry. One was the growing division in De Klerk's Cabinet between young Ministers, aware that most of their careers still lay ahead in a system where black voters would be the

majority, and an 'old guard' section |

its ways and intent on justifying the past, . - .

The young Ministers began questioning the National Party's strategy of trying to defeat

the ANC at the polls by building an alliance with Buthelezi's Inkatha \* Freedom Party and

'other "homeland groups. To -

them, this seemed unlikely to

succeed, given the ANC's overwhelming

dominance in the opinion polls, compared with Buthelezi's 8-10 per cent showing and the negligible support for the other homeland leaders. Moreover, it looked like playing yesterday's politics in a way that would hurt their own career. R R TREN g P hit Buthelezi and form a coalition with the sure winners instead. Fortunately, this coincided with some hard thinking in ANC, where the realisation was growing that while it could win

political power, its ability to govern could be paralysed by a recalcitrant civil service, army and police force. Rather than risk this, why not offer the National Party - a temporary coalition deal? » . | -

The proposal, caused a brief spat with the ANC, but was eventually endorsed by the national executive. It played into the hands of the young Ministers just as Bishop was tilting the balance of power in the Cabinet in their favours only, . Two other factors did the same. Derek Keys, the technocrat Finance Minister, gave political leaders. & doomsday briefing on the outlook if South Africa did not halt its steep economic decline and boost its growth rate to match that of its population. Mandela, in particular, was alarmed, and there has been no further talk of nationalisation from the ANC. 2

At the same time, the ANC's negotiating committee published a document on regionalism, showing its position to be

far less centralist than was

thought, and not too distant from the National Party's federalist ideas. b

in the

1993, the year when apartheid will die

So the scene was set for a convergence of the moderates. The

Mandela-1994 Islamic meeting was

followed by two months of talks between - the Constitutional Affairs Minister, Roelf Meyer, - and the ANC's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa. -

Meyer is the National Party's leading young moderate, and Ramaphosa, who came to politics from the trade union movement, is South Africa's most experienced black negotiator. During their long sessions together the broad outline of a deal was agreed.

Early in December, two

teams, each 20-strong and headed by Meyer and Ramaphosa, met for five days in a secret bush resort in the northern â\200\230Iransvaul and reached a series of agreements. Another series of meetings will start on 20 January, one week before De Klerk opens what will almost certainly be the last session of the white-dominated - parliament. Soon afterwards, probably in - February, " . â\200\230'the constitutional convention, Codesa, is likely to be reconvened to ratify the informal National Party/ANC accords.

Sonnie of the smaller parties, in particular the Inkatha Freedom Party, are expected to protest and may threaten to walk

out, but if they do the deal will still go ahead. L f a t e

Strenuousâ\200\231 efforts will be made to include them, : especially Inkatha, and meetings are scheduled for early January between the National Party and Inkatha and between Mandela and Buthelezi. But the critical decisions have been 'reached between the major players and | Buthelezi will be told he has no power of veto. " . - s

The new Codesa will announce details of a Transitional Executive Council, which

WULOR S FPFYSYol e of equal numbers of ANC and National Party members, with some from the smaller parties, and will prepare for the elections. The Cabinet will remain in office, but only nominally, 'to

give legal effect to Transitional Executive Councilâ\200\231s decisions. - The election, which the ANC wants this year but the National Party says may take a little lon-

ger, will :be for a Constituent

Assembly to draft the new con-

stitution., The assemblyâ\200\231, will |

Ãdouble â\200\234as "an - interimâ\204¢ parliam,

ment, and an interim government: -an of national unity, will take â\200\230over until the constitution is

agreed upon. Then a new Southâ\200\231

Africa will be born. ", 73 "



/el

Row over Bush  
s ANC talks

group

NEW YORK: A 17-day health mis

sion by two senior Bush admmis-  
tration officials to eight African  
nations, including South Africa, has  
got off to a controversial start with  
the disclosure that the top-level  
group plans to have talks with the  
African National Congress but with  
no other black or non-government  
groups in South Africa.

The delegation is headed by Sec-  
retary of Health Louis Sullivan, a  
member of the Bush Cabinet, and  
Ronald Roskens, head of the US  
Agency for International Develop-  
ment. :

Although the mission has no po-  
litical objectives, it is the first Cab-  
inet-level group to visit South Afri-  
ca since visits by the Assistant Sec-  
retary of State for Africa, Herman  
Cohen, and the President has given  
it top priority.

Bush announced at the United  
Nations World Summit for Chil-  
dren in New York on September 30  
that he would send Sullivan and

b A 2T

Roskens to Africa to help deter-  
mine what â\200\234America can do to ad-  
vance child survival across that  
continent and across the worldâ\200\235.

They will administer an estimat-  
ed \$80 million (R200 million) for  
child survival and health-related  
activities in Africa, including Aids  
and its devastating effect on moth-  
ers and children, plus the same es-  
timated amount for family plan-  
ning activities.

It is the kind of American assis-  
tance from which South Africa has  
been excluded in the past.

Some observers say the visit is  
clouded by plans, agreed to by  
South African Government offi-  
cials in Pretoria and the US Em

~ bassy there, for the group to hold

official talks with Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders without seeing members of other black, coloured or Indian communities.â\200\234The problems they are address-

ing are universal ones,â\200\235 said one South African source, â\200\234and they should address them equally in all communities. One can only assume that the disclosure here that they are to have talks with the ANC is intended to make their overall visit to South Africa more palatable in the US â\200\235

Another criticism expressed of the visit, which otherwise has been warmly welcomed, is that by agreeing to meet the ANC (after initial talks with senior South African Government officials) the delegation might be seen to be signalling a future course of US diplomacy: to recognise the ANC as the main or sole organisation representing South African blacks.

â\200\234It is a pity that what is a humanitarian mission should be tarnished in this way,â\200\235 said a diplomatic spokesman.

The mission will be in Johannesburg and Pretoria on January 13 and 14 and in Cape Town on January 14 and 15.

S IKHASI 4

} .Â»\*â\200\230gr

e Sl v

ILANGA, JANUARY 3-5, 1991

" Diakoniaâ\200\231s Paddy Kearney last week had much to say about Mercedes Benz cars allocated to KwaZulu Government Cabinet Ministers. The

money spent on cars

:should rather be spent to

,;3 combat poverty suffered  
3 by "homeland residents."

3,!

Not a surprising state-

â\200\234 ment to come from Dia-

konia, a sort of left-wing political grouping dressed up as a "inter-church

help agency", to use the description given to it by an obedient servant in the media.

As usual Diakoniaâ\200\231s morality is selective. Have you heard Mr Kearney protesting of late about the profligacy in the Transkei? That "stateâ\200\231s" military dictator runs a whole independent army. What does he need it for? To keep himself in power, perhaps?

Why does Mr Kearney not suggest that all that money wasted on guns in the Transkei be spent to uplift the poor? Is it perhaps because it is the "homeland" of one of Kearneyâ\200\231s political heroes?

And when the Transkeiâ\200\231s military dictator arran-

ged for the ANCâ\200\231s  
AK47-toting Chris Hani  
to fly around in a military

Nauseating humbug

helicopter worth millions  
and millions of rands, did  
Kearney raise his voice in  
protest and suggest that  
the money rather be  
spent on education, de-  
velopment, social uplift-  
ment and health?

And now that Messrs  
Thambo and Mandela  
are being feted in the  
same independent coun-  
try, has Mr Kearney sug-  
gested that the money

might be better spent on

helping the poor? If he  
has, he must have done  
80 very privately.

If there is one movement  
that has done more than  
most to halt apartheid in  
its tracks, it is Inkatha.  
Even Mr Mandela him-  
self had the good grace  
to publicly accept this  
fact. Far from helping  
thu government carry  
â\200\234out its grand apartheid  
designs", as the writer of  
the Kearney article put

it, KwaZulu and Inkatha  
effectively blocked apart-  
heid.

KwaZulu was punished'

financially by the South  
African Government be-  
cause it refused to play  
along with Pretoria.  
Transkei was allocated  
far more money from the  
central treasury because  
it was Pretoriaâ\200\231s hand-  
maiden.

For more than a century  
successive white adminis-  
trations have deliberately  
kept that part of KwaZu-  
Iu which whites choose to  
call "Zululand", undeve-  
loned to suit their own  
selfish economic needs.

That cannot and will not

. be allowed to continue,

no matter what political  
system is ultimately ac-  
cepted by all South Afri-  
cans.

As we see it, the KwaZu-  
lu administration has  
sought to redress that  
economic imbalance wit-  
hin the limits imposed by  
funds allocated by the  
central treasury.

Yet, what thanks does  
KwaZulu get for fighting  
and halting apartheid?  
Instead, it gets kicked in  
the teeth by agencies like  
Diakonia. Kearney's  
humbug and arrogance is  
nauseating.

Call to Afrikaners

KwaZulu Chief Minister  
-~ and Inkatha Freedom  
. Party President, Dr M G

Buthelezi, has made a  
call to Afrikaners to rise  
to meet the demands

\* being made upon them

=it  
=8

by history. The call, an  
sedited version of whch  
is printed below, is mar-  
ked by a generosity of

&'spirit for which Zulu  
{ leaders have been known

since before the days of 1931

King Shaka.  
I want at this closing time

of 1990 to extend a par-

i

ticular hand of friendship  
to South Africa's  
Afrikaners. I want to say  
that Blacks are becoming  
proud of a State Presi-  
dent who has risen out of  
the Afrikaner volk to  
head South Africa into a

democratic future. We  
are proud of the support  
that Whites are giving  
him. We are at last

witnessing the emergence  
of White decency in  
politics which so many of  
us always knew was  
there.

The God-fearing  
decency that Afrikaners  
have aspired to can now  
be theirs for the taking  
because they are turning  
their backs on racism  
born of fear. They are  
recognising their  
dependence on Blacks  
and they are recognising  
that the interdependence  
in which White  
dependence on Black is  
reciprocated by Black  
dependence on White,  
provides a powerful  
mould for democratic

safeguards.  
We cannot un-write  
history and the

democracy we must  
establish will have to start  
where the history of con-

quest and subjugation  
left off and where apar-  
theid was abandoned. We  
will have to start where  
we now are. We have no  
other starting point. This  
is where we are. Let us go  
forth into 1991 with a  
mission to make strong  
and to make steady the  
springboard from which  
we will have to launch  
into a new democracy.

Let us make 1991 a  
year in which we as  
Blacks and Whites  
together secure it as a  
year in which all our  
children and the genera-  
tions to come recognise as  
a year in which political  
justice and courage, both  
from Black and White,  
laid the foundations for  
democracy that could  
never be shaken.

Let us make 1991 a  
year of reaching out to  
each other across racial

divisions. Let the Afrikaners enter 1991 relying on God to lead them safely through this - time of difficult transition. They must let God speak to South Africa and the world through their actions. They must help establish Christian faith as an essential ingredient of the democracy that a Christian country will rely on.

Afrikaners are privileged -ed at this time of South

Africa's history. They live under the searching international spotlights which will shine upon every decent deed. The whole world is poised to rally behind every decent, democratic act the Afrikaners can make. Let them move with certainty and let them dispel the

doubts that exist amongst some Blacks that they cannot do so.

Above all, let the Afrikaners show the world that they can assist in putting a democracy together in which democratic victories can be turned into victories from which Afrikaners and Whites generally can go forth with Blacks to do battle against what really is the common enemy - poverty, ignorance and disease.

Let us have a victory in South Africa which enables us to do that which others have failed to do in Africa. Let us go forth into the world of politics and economics where no African country has been before. Let us pioneer new attacks on poverty which were born in the way we put a democracy together. Let us act now for the sake of the future.

To Afrikaners of right-wing persuasion who want to seek refuge in that which so patently failed everywhere in the world, I say please come in from the cold.

Minority government has never worked anywhere in the world. It will not work in South Africa. The interdependence of Black and White makes it

imperative that we have -  
an integrated political

system.

Let me add the thought

that if the principles of democracy will not suffice to secure White interests in a non-racial, open democracy, they will not suffice to secure Afrikaner interests in a closed Afrikaner society. There is only grief ahead for those who seek division for fear of democracy.

There is a vast South African throng coming together and moving forward to march into the future. We can do it. We can put a democracy together that works. We can put a democracy together which stabilises South Africa because it establishes the circumstances in which the mortal enemy of democracy - spreading mass poverty - is trounced.

Let the Afrikaners' moral fibre and let his yearning for Christian Godliness now rise to help him to participate in moving away from apartheid in such a way that every race group in this country ends up being governed in the way that they are willing to be governed.



FEEEE S B

between Bop  
and the ANC

'y

THE African Nation-  
al Congress and the  
Bophuthatswana  
government are  
headed for a con-  
frontation over  
deportation of ac-  
tivists, the ANC has  
â\200\230said.

Mmabatho ANC  
branch chairman Job  
Mokgoro yesterday said  
the refusal by the Univer-  
sity of Bophuthatswana  
council to oppose the  
deportation of lecturer Mr  
Paul Daphney would al-  
most certainly lead to the  
collapse of examinations  
â\200\230set for this and next  
month. i

He said a summit  
meeting of the ANC, at  
national level, would be  
held to consider mass ac-  
tion against the homeland  
government's  
â\200\234â\200\230repressiveâ\200\231â\200\231 = actions.  
Daphney is Mmabatho  
ANC branch secretary.

David Green, another  
ANC activist and a medic  
at a Mmabatho hospital.  
Referring to the case  
of Daphney, Mokgoro  
said the Union of Demo-  
cratic University Staff  
Association would

certainly go ahead with-

the threat to call for the  
withdrawal of internal  
and external invigilators,  
a move Mokgoro said  
would automatically lead  
to the colapse of the ex-  
aminations.

Reply Â»

In a written reply to an  
earlier Udusa demand that  
Unibo keep Daphney on  
dts payroll despite the  
deportation\_order, Vice-  
Chancellor Professor R  
Malope said: â\200\230â\200\230While it  
(deportation) causes the

university occasional difficulty it is not in my view a situation which we expect to effectively overcome".

Concerning the future position of Daphney, Malope said: "I assure you ... we shall fulfil our obligations completely and sympathetically so long as he is employed by the university.

However, if at a subsequent time we are denied his services the university is rightly constrained to act lawfully in its employment procedure and we would be obliged to follow that requirement in this case.

Mokgoro said the professor's reply implied the university council was encouraging the deportation. Yes

In the case of Green, Mokgoro said ANC structures such as the National Education and Health Workers Union would be called in to assist in preserving the homeland. - Sapa.

Also deported was Dr

â\200\230SO Chris Hani, the mili-  
tary leader of the â\200\234phan-  
wmarmyâ\200\235oftheANC/-

December 16 as  
\*â\200\230certainly a mood of mili-  
tancy. Itâ\200\231s the mood of  
the fighting people, a  
people that are very im-  
Men â\200\235Â»

I say to this loud-  
mouthed braggart: â\200\234Your  
bomb throwers and lim-  
â\200\230pet mine planters who at-  
tack only civilian soft tar-  
gets have already been  
soundly beaten by the  
forces of Zulu military  
power. If you cannot beat  
the Zulu forces, who are  
only armed with tradit-  
ional weapons, how can  
you ever face the forces of  
law and order, which in  
one of the worldâ\200\231s most  
sophisticated anti-insur-  
gency forces, second only  
to that of Israel! Donâ\200\231t  
chance arm.â\200\235

Congmssasconsumted  
0'0â\200\23100â\200\230&0%'0--

L AdVice 16 Ch

your ;  
The African National

not inside South Africa,  
but in its traditional  
homeland, Transkei.  
That is from where Hani  
operates militarily. If it  
was not for the power of  
the White settlers in the  
eastern frontier of the  
Cape in the 1820s, when  
the forces of Shaka the  
Zulu warrior king crossed  
into Xhosa land during  
the period of the first  
Mfecane, then surely the  
Xhosa nation would have  
been eaten up just like all  
other Black tribes.

My advice to Mr Chris  
Hani and his fighting  
people is, â\200\234Stay inside the  
protected ring of negotia-  
tions offered by the legal

government of the Re-  
. public of South Africa.

Forget your militant

mood, mass mobilisation  
and mass action, and ac-  
cept that your organisa-

tion is but only one of the

many other racial groups  
future course of this, the  
most powerful military  
and economic union  
a dying Black Africa.

Within what these

(O= I N o6 D NE U Rt e B O

6, /

ris Hani/

braggarts call the re-  
gime, these people have

prospered and developed  
as no other Black nation

in Africa during the past.  
150 years. Destroy this  
regime and replace it  
by an ANC/SACP so-  
called people's democ-  
racy, and you will have  
chaos, misery and starva-  
tion which will in no time  
change this beautiful and  
bountiful country into yet  
another beggar nation.  
We, the silent White  
and Black majority will  
not allow Hani and his co-  
horts to destroy that  
which took centuries to  
achieve. Come the day  
that they put their idle  
threats into practice, that

day they will have to deal

with the anger of this all-

powerful bloc.

This bloc consists of  
who will not bend  
:hekneew&epewerof  
~barbarism. If we have to

fight to preserve that

which has been built-up

avertheentmgs then I

sny"iohent. ;  
INO BEN



0r/03 "91

o  
Â¥

s the battle for the middle ground in the - build-up to crucial constitntional talks el 12INS Momentum, wavermg homeland leaders are increasingly making their positions clear as to where tiiey may be seated at the negotiating table. And bidden agendas are rapidly unfolding to reveal a szrics of sophisticated rnoves on the part of - government 10 secure the support of leaders m the homelznds and Indizn and coloured pariizneats. The most recent was this wesk's meeting berwesn the Natiemal Party on the one hand and leaders of self-povernig; homelands ind InG-- a0 znd coloured pariizments orl the omer.

At the end of the mesting, there

were clear signs thet mn alliznes of sorts was begiramg 10 ernerpe: afier momhs of lobbiying by the govern- ment.

But the battle is not only bheing fought 2t a polical Jevel. Reports in

the past week suggest that the gov- -

eromenl may Â¢ven have a miljtary agenda znd that tHe coups in Ciskei znd Vendz may have been engi- neered by the security establish- menL

Despite the past weekâ\200\231s reports on the Ciskei 2nd the decsion. by . homeland leaders to formize a joint plan with the government 10

lmmch 2 mmlid-party conference, the- <

ANC doesniot beheve fthas lo't the

10:38

Tid4 3198

@002

?â\200\231he bai¬\201i¬\201e for the

- \_The involvement of homeland  
I:zdm-s i the agreement on the mul-  
t-partyÂ« conference is â\200\234another case  
of classic vacillating poimcs says  
ANC pationz! executive commitse  
member Aziz Pabad

â\200\234â\200\234Clearly they are hedging their

bets and will nifimately throw in  
their lot with the side that cngoyS S

the decisive support of the people.â\200\235  
If, however, the agreement is

interpreted as a clear signal that

homelznd leaders- haveÂ»chosen

sides, it has very serious imiplica-

ions for the ANC znd could lzy the  
basis for the emergence of & con-  
servative, non-racial alhzmce egr.mst  
T

#### ELECTORAL POLITICS

While the unphcznons may not  
be immediztely apparent, it could  
impact heavily when the struggle

- emzers the crucial stage of electoral  
politics.

It is therefore crucial Iha!. Lhe  
democratic movement estzblishes  
exacily wiere the homelend lead~  
ers will direct their Support.

Pzhad, however, points out that-..

the shift in the position of home-  
~lzmd leaders does not in ey way  
ireflect the direction i wb:ch mass

s:.vpormwi¬\202lmove. s =  
â\200\230Thxs mmzm:m wz'\_l'eonnme

lo be lhe teoam of the democratic  
movement,â\200\235 he says.

He cautions, however, that the  
ANC would be committing a fatal  
mistake if it remzined complacent  
and sat beck without mobilising the

rural population zround policyâ\200\231

lssues.

Close lo 15 million people, or

more than 51 percent of the country's African population, is based in the 10 homelands, and the ANC

- cannot afford to ignore this base.

Pahad warns that the illusion that government will be able to knock

5 Together a super-alliance of conser-

vatives will become a reality unless work among the masses is sensi-

- fied. -The degree of pressure

brought to bear on the homeland leaders is a direct function of the extent of mass mobilisation in the homelands.

It is instructive, in this regard, that Hudson Nisanwisi-of Gazankulu began adopting open public positions in favour of a federal South African state and reaction to government 25 South 28 mass resistance the homeland tapered off.

.Pahad concedes that the ANC let up on mass mobilisation in the rural areas. But this was not by design, he says, and it should be obvious to

. That mass action is the oxygen of the struggle

: ashaka 200/224 for the universal

" before coming to the ANC. Paham o poms of that the organisation

He reiterated earlier comments following the Ciskei coup in April last year that, after the ANC is able

to establish structures in the bome-

lands without delay, we will have [

made a remarkable psychological - a breakthrough, 3

and political Headed to the ucm: 200/230? 200/224 ple 200/231s resistance can be harnessed IO rasToots (regimental, the possibility exists that the whole of the

Eastern Cape would be transformed

into a zone of liberation.

Despite reports that the SA security

is not Ciskei military leader Oupz Gqozo, was in

control of the homeland, Pahad -



believes the potential for realising  
the objective still exists.

#### STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

Be cautious, however, that in its 5

attempts to win the middle ground.  
the ANC should not lose direction  
of its strategic objectives. Compromises  
will be made, but not on the  
ANC's core objectives.  
He cites a comment by ANC  
deputy president Nelson Mandela  
that the organisation will not act as

that homeland governments must  
resolve conflicts with the people

eg. B Cars  
RN IR : ALI ' AN

01-03

â\200\23091

;

f

Â¢ ,!ï¬\202)â\200\2301 A

Â¢ BT

= ek A S = . e s z

WINNING FRIENDS: {Top) Nelson Mandeia and Ciskei leader Oupa  
Ggoza outside Ciskei State House. (Above) Foreign Affairs minister Pik

Botha and Bophuthatswana head Lucas Mangope sign an agreement.

mmiddieground

nezdts to 2dopr & two-promged  
=pproach I winning over the heme-  
land leaders. While mzss mobilisa-  
tion in the rural areas must not be  
neglected, homeland leaders must be  
eagaged If they show any signs of  
wanting lo come ito the fold of the  
democratic movernent, he says.  
Pabiad says homeland lezders  
embarking on programmes that do  
not have popular support will rapid-  
ly isolare themselves. He cites the  
exarnple of massive oppositon to  
Gaozoâ\200\231s conrmmued rule in Ciskei.

CIVIL SERVANTS' STRIKE

The embanled Ciskei governmenr  
Iast vveek moved lo talk lo s stiking  
civil servamts, just as 2 rift opened  
up with the teritory s chiefs.

Suicers brought the Ciskei gov-  
ETTUNIEN! 10 2 commplete halt as the

. ucrest sgre2d lo include postal work-  
exs, entplovess of a mummberr of pams-

t=als, aud even hospitals,

Woonkers mitially dernended high-  
er wages, it soon mmcinded a  
demand for Gaozoâ\200\231s resignation.  
Relaions with the region's chiefs  
WweTe 2iso sajd to be tense.

- Alrnost two weeks agn, Permouns  
Ctief Maxhoba Sandile, the most

. senor chief nthe resion, was aest-

= mmd brought 10 Gaozo after pub-

e st

Pik Botha that the Ciskei would get  
2 new constitution.

Sandile szid the announcement,  
wiich has been widely seen as a  
move by Pretoria to assert its author-  
ity over its problematic homeland,  
hzd been made without consulation  
with Ciskelmms,

Sandtle spere four bours with Ggo-  
z0, and was then released. The Ciskel  
denied he had been errested, and said  
he bad merely been escorted to the  
meeting by police.

Gaozo then armeunced he would  
dismiss all anpomted chiefs arthe  
end of the momh.

Buz, without susiained organisz-  
tional work to direct militancy now

\_sweeping through Ciskei, there is

always the danger that homelend  
leaders can continue pursuing their  
unpopular agendas and the Sowth  
Affican goverrrment Iis strategy,

-Pzhad says the damocatic move-  
mext needs 10 exzrmine the govern-  
mentâ\200\231s super-zlliznce sralogy very  
carefully. This is no longer a seczer  
and itis clear thar the governmenr is  
determined to construct a non-racial,  
conservative alliznee.

If the ANC is 1o win 2t the polls, it  
will have 10 respond in a way that  
enstres. that a conservative alliance

allows us 0 rob the government of  
â\200\230the Qpportmity 10 dr=w on the sup-  
port of the homeland stuctmes,â\200\235 zn  
ANC actvist szid at the beight of  
unrestin the reralarées..

With noticezble shifts taking place  
in the positions of hameland leaders,  
the quesdon must be asked â\200\224 has  
such a sirztegy been developed.  
Pahad says mnch'sraiegiec thinking

remains to be done around these  
Issues. :  
In the meantime, there has been  
little or no contact between the ANC  
and former leaders in recent

months.  
MANGOSPE TURNED DOWN

Recently Bopithatswani's Lucas  
Mangospe tried to use the opportunity  
provided by last weekend's dinner-  
table of ANC member Bachanz Mok-  
WEDZ to meet with the organisers  
of the event. But he was turned down,  
and, justifiably so, given a number

of unresolved conflicts between the

former government and the people  
in the region.

But what of contact with other  
leaders? On the surface there seems  
to be no reason why the process that

started last year, when the ANC

has enjoyed minimal success, have over 2 million

former leaders, did not continue

its