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Test of democracy in Guguletu tonight

T should not have been necessary for the

Democratic Party Youth to call in United Nations monitors for its second township meeting in Guguletu tonight.

But it is not surprising, given the provocative utterances of the ANCâ\200\231s Tony Yengeni and the DPâ\200\231s experience at its last attempt at electioneering in the townships when speakers were shouted down, chairs and other missiles were thrown and the | meeting ended in chaos.

The behaviour of part of that audience was reprehensible. It demonstrated just how fragile the democratic tendrils in South Africa. More than that, it was a flagrant violation of the National Peace Accord. One of the fundamental principles of the accord, to which the ANC is a signatory, is that everyone must be allowed to take part freely in peaceful political activity.

The ANC $\hat{a}\200\224$ and anyone else for that matter $\hat{a}\200\224$ has a legitimate right to raise questions about DP policies past and present and to demonstrate what Mr Yengeni calls $\hat{a}\200\234$ democratic accountability to the people. $\hat{a}\200\235$ But at the appropriate time and in the appropriate manner. ;

Tonightâ\200\231s meeting must be properly conducted. Speakers must be given every opportunity to put their case before fielding questions from the floor.

A stern obligation rests with everyone to ensure free and fair debate.

GLOBAL GREENING

 $a\200\230$ New industrial revolution $a\200\235$

to save the environment

DAVID BRISCOE of Sapa-AP reports from Washington.

CLEANING the global environment has become a huge growth industry that promises to create a myriad jobs worldwide, the 10th annual State Of The World report says.

Pollution and misuse of resources, meanwhile, are costing billions of rands a year, according to the Worldwatch Institute report released at the weekend.

Efforts to save the environment are fuelling a $a\200\234$ new industrial revolution, $a\200\235$ affecting nearly all industries and offering global profit-making opportunities, the report from the non-profit, independent research group says.

 $a\200\234$ The environment is now a power-

ful market force in its own right, \(\alpha\) 200\235 researchers Christopher Flavin and | John E Young write in the study\(\alpha\)\200\231s | concluding chapter.

The new route to economic success, they said, would be \(\alpha\)\200\234su\{)plying | energy services rather than electric-\(\mathbf{"}\) ity, information rather than a newspaper, and crop protection rather than pesticides\(\alpha\)\235.

Industr¥ will need to produce new cars fuelled by hydrogen, natural gas, electricity or far less petrol than current models.

â\200\234Tt now appears that the automotive industry is about to undergo some of the most rapid change since Hean Ford introduced the Model T, the report said, predicting the demise of the internal combustion engine.

Other emerging industries include fish farming, recycled steel manufacturing and solar energy production, the report said.

Nearly all such industries have profit-making opportunities, said the report, which for the first time focuses on the role of private business in protecting the worldâ\200\231s environment. %

Cleaning up air, water and soil already is a R600-billion annual business, and environment-related industries may be counted in the trillions of rands in the next century, the report said. 4

Ecological progress worldwide

727 languages.

should be spurred by the administration of President-elect Clinton and Vice President-elect Albert Gore, said Worldwatch president Lester R Brown.

He said Mr Goreâ\200\231s knowledge of environmental issues $a\200\234$ exceeds that of any person I know of in government in the worldâ\200\235.

The report said taxes on products that damage the earth $\hat{a}200\224$ toxic chemicals and air pollutants $\hat{a}200\224$ are better than regulations for promoting greener industries.

Without controls, the earth faces overpopulation, impoverishment, polluted air, dying forests, soil loss, poisoned waterways, ozoneî depletion and global warming, said the re-

ortâ $\200\231s$ opening chapter, written by rown.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ If our generation does not turn things around, our children may not ha}('le the option of doing so, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Brown said.

Since the first State Of The World | report in 1984, tropical forest loss

has increased 60 percent, more species are disappearing, and popula-

tion increases have accelerated | from 80 million a year in 1984 to an |

expected 92 million in 1993, the group said.
The new report estimates that re-

~ duced forest productivity from air

pollution costs Europe R90 billion a

year, overgrazing costs African

countries R21 billion a year and global warming States alone about year in lost crops, damaged forests and rising sea levels.

Flavin and Young write that busi-

nesses fighting environmentalists

might be better off employing them to increase profits.

 \hat{A} «While some have begun to revamp their products and processes, others are fighting the tide and failing to look ahead, \hat{a} \200\235 the authors say. \hat{A} «Businesses that do not learn how to earn profits in an ecologically sound way may find they have no profits to worry about. \hat{a} \200\235

The report is being translated into

Aalat

costs the United
R180 billion a |

| Another negotiation hindrance removed {-

Political Staff A FURTHER hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been c eared in a crucial meeting between the ggvemment and the Concerned uth Africans Group (Cosag). The government and Cosag â\200\224 the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei %ovemments, the Conservative >arty and the Afrikaner Volksunie \hat{a} 200\224 a at the two-day meeting in Pretoria over the weekend to convene a planning conference.

. The conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible way to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s insistence on a Conference of Review.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conference as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

African National Congress spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said last night that the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-/government meeting before

â\200\230But the ANC wanted the urgaltlxâ\200\230tsresumv mption of multiparty alks. In a brief joint statement after the Cosag/government meeting on Saturday, the organisation said the planning conference should â\200\234assess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiationâ\200\235 and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the

resumption of talks in a multi-

arty negotiating forum, the instalment of a Transitional Executive Authority and elections for a constitution-making

body. : ;

- * The significance of the week- $a\200\234$ end $a\200\231$ s summit was that it facilitated contact between the government and the IFP, which $a\200\230$ broke off constitutional talks $a\200\230$ after the government and the ANC reached a Record of Understanding last September.
- Observers said the meeting $\hat{a}\200\230$ also managed to bring the Conservative Party into some $\hat{a}\200\230$ form of discussion.

The leader of the Bophuth-

atswana government delega-Etion, Mr Rowan Cronjé, said af-'ter the meeting that \hat{a} \200\234serious \hat{a} \200\230differences \hat{a} \200\235 still existed be- \hat{a} \200\230tween Cosag and the govern- \hat{a} \200\230ment. AR

) .:;?; unresolved issues are to $\hat{a}\200\230$ be addressed at another meeting, for which a date is still to $\hat{a}\200\230$ be set.

commenting.

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Anger i¬\202arlng in charred hostel debris

The Argus Correspondent

MOOI RIVER. â\200\224 Tensions ran high here as angry Bruntville hostel dwellers picked through their charred belongings, watched by township residents demanding they be evicted from the area.

Following the declaration of Mooi River, Estcourt and Winterton magisterial districts as unrest areas, a strong contingent of security forces patrolled the streets in armoured vehicles, on foot and by helicopter.

United Nations observers were present today, while delegates from the National Peace Secretariat continued their efforts to placate the local lead-

ership of the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Natal Midlands IFP secretary Mr Phillip Powell said hostel dwellers had lost personal belongings when the hostels were torched last week.

They were further angered at being shot at while entering the township, in spite of a heavy police and South African Defence Force presence.

Deputy chairman of the ANC in the Natal Midlands Mr Blade Nzimande said ANC supporters in Bruntville were against hostel dwellers returning to live in the township until a lasting solution for peace was thrashed out.

At a meeting between the ANC regional leadership and

the National Peace Secretairat here yesterday, ANC support- | ers alleged police were taking advantage of the unrest declaration and harassing them.

However weapons, some

home-made, have been confiscated from township remdents during raids.

Head of the National Peace Secretariat Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said residentsâ\200\231 complaints had been noted and would be investigated.

The situation is expected to be strained further today, wit! hostel dwellers walkin to an

from work under police guard.

Meanwhile 32 Bruntville residents are expected to appear in court in connection with arson and possession of unlicensed firearms.

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Apla chief denies

Transkei

THEMBA MOLEFE
Political Staff - :

AZANIAN Peopleâ\200\231s Liberation Armg chief Sabelo Phama said South African military intelli-

gence was either mischievous

or deliberately misleading the world by linking them to Transkei.

- In a face-to-face interview in Dar es Salaam at the weekend Mr Phama dismissed as â\200\234abso-lute nonsenseâ\200\235 claims that Apla had bases in Transkei and had infiltrated the homelandâ\200\231s defence force:

He said: â\200\234We are concerned that South Africaâ\200\231s military intelliï¬\201ence is either playing a trick by misinforming the world or is really ignorant if it can feed the international community with such stories.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is absolute nonsense and mischievous to push the line that Apla plans to infiltrate 500 fighters into the Transkei Defence Force. $\hat{a}\200\235$

About the chairman of the Transkei military council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Phama said: â\200\234He is innocent.

The Boers have a problem with $\boldsymbol{\cdot}$

him and want to implicate him.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Also, we have no influence over Holomisa $\hat{a}\200\231$ s decision to arm the PAC leadership with 9mm pistols, as reported, and we have no contact with him. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mr Phama said the government was mounting a propaganda campaign as an excuse to conduct a raid into Tanzania

in pursuit of Apla cadres in order to appease whites.

 $\hat{a}\200\234But$ I warn De Klerk that his men will not return unscathed. $\hat{a}\200\235$

On the special inquiry into Apla activities by the Goldstone Commission Mr Phama said: $\hat{a}200234$ We will not go to Goldstone and we will not invite them to our camps. $\hat{a}200235$

A committee of the commission, which began hearing evidence on Apla last week, resumes its work in Port Elizabeth today.

Mr Phama'siid Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was misrepresenting Apla by saying it was untrue to the princi-

les of Africanism and PAC ounder Robert Sobukwe.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Tutu was never close to Prof (Sobukwe) nor is he in the Africanist camp to understand why he said at that stage that we were not ready to kill. He was calling for a peaceful campaign against the pass laws at the time.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ In other words, there was never a time when Sobukwe could imagine a situation in which he could reallf watch his people die. He would not support Tutuâ\200\231s utterances today.â\200\235

Mr Phama said Apla forces were in pursuit of specific $a\200\234en-emy$ agents $a\200\231a\200\235$ when they attacked partygoers at the King William $a\200\231s$ Town golf club on December 8.

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Zambia set to kick out exiles

The Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. â\200\224 Zambia has declared about 700 South African exiles illegal immigrants and has threatened to send them home.

The exiles $a\200\224$ most of them ANC supporters $a\200\224$ missed the December 31 deadline for voluntary repatriation by the United Nations High Commis-

sioner (UNHCR) allegedly because they feared township violence.

The ANC last night said it would seek urgent talks with the Zambian government to sort the matter out.

Zambian Home Affairs
Minister Newstead Zimba
said since the deadline had
passed there was â\200\234no reason
why South African refugees
should be accorded refugee
statusâ\200\235.

In terms of Zambiaâ\200\231s immigration laws, illegal immigrants could be detained and deported to their home country.

ANC spokesman Gill Mï¬\201" cus said last night that the organisation $a\200\234$ would be following up immmediately with the Zambian government $a\200\235$ to discuss the fate of the exiles.

Many ANC exiles had been reluctant to return home, $\frac{3}{200}$ because they are constantly harassed $\frac{200}{235}$. $\frac{3}{200}$ Sapa and Staff Reporter.

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~ Established 1887 South Africa's largest daily newspaper

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The season of reason

HE past three days have demon-. Wstrated once again just how much i our country $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$ transition process depends on abstract, as opposed to concrete, elements. In terms of practical agreements, nothing significant has changed between last year and this year $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ and yet the signs are suddenly auspicious for a quick resumption of Codesa-style talks.

What has changed is the attitude of the major political %layers. Whereas 1992 was characterised by buill-headedness and brinkmanship, this year has seen the politicians keen to find each other once again, and eager to reassure the public that 2 settlement is possible. On Friday Nelson Mandela delivered a conciliatory message of hope. On Saturday the Concerned South Africans Group agreed to take part in a committee aimed at restarting talks.

The major catalyst for this unexpected rush of reason is a negative one: most leaders seem to have taken fright at the mess they made of 1992. But we should not mind that these signs of statemanship are the product of selfish motives. What is critical is that talks get under way again, and that a date be set for interim government. If the price is a series of face-saving bosberaads, then they must be held weekly if necessary.

When the Government-Cosag discussions ended, it was clear that little of substance had been agreed upon.

But to focus attention on remaining differences is to miss the point: most of this month (and probably next month) is being committed to a process which is more important for its symbolism than anything else, so that all parties can go back to the table claiming that their concerns have been addressed. This may seem indulgent when South Africans are still dying in such numbers, but it is the way of negotiating politics, and therefore essential.

A window of opportunity has been opened. Members of the public should issue a

clear warning to politicians: whoever chooses to close that window before a preliminary settlement is achieved, is a traitor to South Africa.

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Govt-Cosag talks

remove obstacle

By Esther Waungh Political Reporter

A further hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been cleared in a erucial meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Government and Cosag.

â\200\224 the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei gvemments, the Conservative

arty and the Afrikaner Volks-unle $\hat{a}\200\224$ agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria at the weekend to convene a planmng conference.

The planning conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister
Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible route to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s insistence on a conference of review â\200\224 a precondition he has set to returning to the negotiating forum. —

A date has not yet been finalised for the $\tilde{A} \odot$:lanmng conferencem as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the or

and parti 1y its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-Government meeting before commenting.

However, the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of talks.

In a brief joint statement after the Cosag-Government

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the planning conference should $\hat{a}\200\234$ asgess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiation $\hat{a}\200\235$, and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this * month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a maltiparty negotiating forum, the instalment of a transitional executive authority and elections for a constitution-making body. The significance of the weekendâ $\200\231s$ summit was that it facilitated contact between the Government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the Government and ANC reached a Record of Understanding in September. .

. Observers said the meeting < also managed to bring the CP into some form of discussion and would get the party at least to discuss the ros and cons of multiparty

The leader of the. Bophuthatswana government delegation,
Rowan Cronje, said after the
meeting that â\200\234serious differencesâ\200\235 still existed between
Cosag and the Government..
The issues would be adat another meeting, for
which a date was still to be get.
These issues were bilateral
agreements between the Government and â\200\230ANC, the need for
2 transitional government. regionalism, and the status of de-

cisions reached at Oodm -

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By Peter Wellman

The Swedigsh embassy has furnished details of its previously secret funding to the ANC, which totals about R50 million for the year ending in June this year. 5

As with all Swedish aid proâ\200\230grammes in South Africa for this period (R110 million in total), the focus was on assistin the democratic process as wel as development and education for the victims of apartheid, said an embassy spokesman in Pretoria on Friday.

In the next two years Swedenâ\200\231s total South African aid package would be trimmed because of financial constraints,

There would be bigger cuts in ald to the ANC once the democratic process had produced clcetions or a ucw cuusdtution, the spukesman saiqa.

The total international nrajant aid package for South Africa last year was R1 billion, said 2 UN %) evempment, Programme report.; Ay

The biggest chunk (R328 million) went to education,

And the biggest single donor was the European Community with R302 million, followed by the US (R224 million), Sweden

(R159 million), Britain (R78 million) and Germany (RS§0 million).-

A spokesman for the Australian embassy, which provided R15 million in project aid, said reports that R88 000 went for

 $\tilde{\ }$ outright aid to the PAC were

not correct.
As with most countries, aid

. Was commonly channelled

through non-governmental organisations, he said.

PAC members were among the beneficiaries. .

â\200\230-Patric_1(Laurence focuses on factors which cou icht not triumph BE oountdown to South Africaâ\200\231s first natiooal noaracial electioa begun. S0, too, have predictions on how the various political! ; :; peaple have parties and organisations will fare. 2 With the election likely o take place by April 1994 at the latest, Nelson Mandelaâ\200\231s ANC-led alliaoce is favoured by most political pundits to win $a\200\224$ at the very least \hat{a} 200\224 a plurality of votes. i "The ANC is seen as a South African equivalent of Robert Mugabe's Zanu-PF or Sam Nojomaâ\200\231s -Swapo; like them, it led the resistance which broke the old colanial or racial order. As Zanw-PF was victorious in Zimbabwe's 1980 independence election and Swapo in Namibiaâ\200\231s 1989 independence election, so, it is expected, the ANC will triumpb io South Africa. y But an- oocasional dissenting voice bas been raised, cautioaing aiost equadng the contemporary South African situation with {hose that pertained in Zimbabwe and Namibia. RW Johnson, the South- Afrilecturer, bas [fornia in the United States. Reyuolds is the author of an ar- \hat{A} «cle catitled \hat{a} \200\234A shock in the mak-ER LS R XV hy ANC m ing", which challenges $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 30$ the as- \hat{a} \200\230syraption of an ANC win. 5 Revnolds concludes that F W de -Klerk's ruling - National Party (NP) \hat{a} 200\234will do much better than

edâ\200\235 and that it may, with its allies, hold a majority of seats in the envisaged constituent assembly. In his analysis â\200\224 which as-" sumes that the election will be - â\200\230held on the proporticnal representation or PR list sysbem, with a \hat{A} « five percent threshold \hat{a} \200\224 Reynolds predicts that the ANC will captare roughly 46 percent of the te. p Party (IFP), and Party-Afrikaner Volksunie axis* will obtain enough votes to cross the threshold and qualify for representation in the constitueat assembly. According toâ\200\235 Reynolds, percentage of the vote will be as follows: NP $\hat{a}\200\224$ A 13 percent; CP-AV alliace â\200\224 6,5 percent. Collectively they rep-{ : com ; 75 percent of the population. But, resent a majority. Reyunolds anticipates that they will form an alliance under De Klerk's leadership to exclude the ANC. His analysis rests essentially ca two pillars: first that De Klerk will capture a decisive majority of votes in the three minority communities, white, celoured and their cent; IFP â\200\224 | In their footsteps . . . ';'Lg Il Nelson Mandela (centre) succeed ke \\â\200\224\ - s 1d affect SAâ\200\231s first non-racial election i; a 61 Robert Mugabe (right) and Sam Nujoma? *.J will not transtate into a commensurate number of seats in the constituent assembly.

Reynolds says several factors : will combine to reduce the influ-

ence of (he black vobe generally
and its potential to carry the ANC

to power.

{ Oce is demography. The black

raunity accoants for roughly

because nearly half of the blacks are under the voling age of 18, the proportion who will qualify as voters is 68 percent. .

Another factor is the relatively: small proportion of blacks who have identity books, T2 percent against pearly 100 percent for the

! used &

three migority communities. As-

{f suming that ideatity books are
o identify voters'and it is
- difficult to see how else polling ofAdicers will be able to distinguish
South African citizens from cross-~ |
i" border migrants â\200\224 that will aisoâ\200\231

devalue the poteatial black vote.

Reynolds ideatifies further factors which may impact adverseiy oa the ANC: the domination of the media by {he white establishment and inbibitions which may

! cause black voters (o stay away.

Reynolds idenlities (hree

groups of black voters who may -

pot exercise their right to vote:
@ Illiterate blacks. He guotes a

' Development Bank calculation that 55 percent of blacks are il-.

literate. Attempts to make ballat.

papers â\200\234illitevate frieadlyâ\200\235 will.

not guaraatee a high turnout.
â\200\234fliterate people turn out in far
â\200\230fewer numbers through fear of the
(voting) process.â\200\235 i
@ Blacks, including many ANC
supporters, who aolicipate ao
ANC victory and therefore will
not bother to vote. Even if their
pumbers are small, they â\200\234could be

iofluential®.
@ Blacks who will stay away from the polls if they anticipate that voting will trigger fresh violence or fuel existing violence. He quotes research which found that 16 percent of blacks will refrain

t from votiog rather thae risk their safety.

Unlike Zanu-PF and Swapo, the

ANC may be deprived of the ad-'i vantage of a leader still shrouded i in the mystique of â\200\234the struggle".

Zanu-PF and Swapo fought elections within months of the retwrn from exile of Mugabe and Nujoma; the ANC will go into an election some foar years after the release of Mandela. Zanu-PF and Swapo were the beneficiaries of the uoblemished heraic status of their leaders; after four years Mandela, while a formidable leader, is no langer a demigod.

The problem-in assessing the chances of Lhe various contenders for power in the ing elections are the imponderables, factors which may be decisive but which cannot easily be quantified.

One is last Septemberâ\200\231s rap-

prochement between De Kleck1 and Mandela and their de faclo.
agreemenat to a form of powershariog in the new order. Will it:
commend or condernn them in the
eyes of the electorate and, more
particularly, their constituencies?

Will it rendpr De Klerk vuloerable to the white right wing and Mandela to the radical Pan Afci-

. canist Congress (PAC)? %

Another imponderable is the rise of Apla aud the publicity which its attacks on whites gained for it and the PAC. Will it belp or hinder the PAC in realising its po-

_tential as a force to be reckoned with? :

A third unknown variable is the political import of growing inequality within the black community, where inequality is now not much lower than it is for South Alrica as a whole. Does it createâ\200\231 opportunities for the PAC or even the NP which, with its greater re-

sources, may be able to bay votes?

With all these fluctuating fac tors to pander, political strate-.gists and psephologists ace in for a hard time. A

Let me, however, put my neck 4

S

/4 out with a prediction, guided as

much by my viscera as my brain: the ANC, as the premier force of resistance to apartheid, will . emerge from the firs \hat{A} ¢ moncacial election with an overall majority rather than a mere plurality. G

e THE ST _Comrade Joe flionâ\200\231's den

: HE recent plot against the life of SACP chairman Joe Slovo by alleged

rightwingers was no surprise to him.

Comrade Joe or JS as he is affectionately known in the Party and the ANC, has lived with death threats ever since he went into exile in 1963 to organise Umkhonto weSizwe for the ANC.

volved in any military activity but was a lecturer at the univer-

sity. ::

 $\frac{200}{234}$ But you can $\frac{200}{231}$ act politically with revenge or bitterness.

We'â\200\230ve got objectives and we've got to move ahead in an effective way. You canâ\200\231t move ahead if all

that motivates you is emotion $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31 -$

and feelings of revenge. \hat{a} \200\235

Although it was too painful for Slovo to recount Ruthâ $200\231s$ death, he did describe it in a

) Jor

his home in Observatory, Johan-

. nesburg, from a tower about 500

metres away.

The alleged mastermind has since been arrested. i

For decades _the Security
Branch alleged Slovo was a colo- 1
nel in the KGB, the Russian'
secret police, and he was portrayed to white South Africans
as Public Enemy No. 1.

Because of his banning.order no SA publication could publish

nism in Eastern Europe Slovo remains convinced that genuine socialism $\hat{a}\200\224$ as long as it is multiparty $\hat{a}\200\224$ is the policy for the future and that poverty will be overcome and the gap between

rich and poor will be narrowed.

Slovo said it was difficult to

tell if he would have become a'

communist if he had lived in

another country and not known

the plight of blacks in SA. \hat{a} 200\234Every person moves towards

 $\tilde{}$ In fact when the SADF raided foreword to the reissue of Ruthâ\200\231s Mozambique in search of MK book 117 Days, her touching and

cadres in 1981, the government triumphantly announced that Slovo had been blown up in the truck he was driving.

" $\hat{a}\200\234But$ as you see they didn $\hat{a}\200\231t$ succeed. It was a case of mistak— en identity, and some poor Portuguese guy was killed, $\hat{a}\200\235$, he told City Press this week. $\hat{a}\200\234/$ — For 27 years in exile Slovo was | $\hat{a}\200\230$ constantly on the alert for would—be assassins.;

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Fortunately we had good intelligence information and I was often warned to change my address or to vary my routes when travelling. $\hat{a}\200\235$

However, the most traumati experience JS had with deathâ\200\231 was when his wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a parcel bomb in 1982 at Eduardo-Mondlane University in Maputo.

_JS was loathe to Ruthâ $200\231s$ death this week.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is difficult to talk about, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said, $\hat{a}\200\234$ but Ruth $\hat{a}\200\231$ s murdqr was very wounding. My primary emotion was one of hurt and anger because she was not in-

dramatic account of her 117 days in solitary detention at the hands of the Security Police.

. In the foreword Slovo wrote that when he arrived at the university where Ruth was killed â\200\234The overwhelming urge to remember her life paralysed me at the entrance to her devastated office. She lay hidden by the remnants of her desk, only her feet were visible, clad in one of her stylish beige-coloured pairs of shoes.â\200\235

Slovo says although he dpqs not seek revenge he believes it is

. necessary o uncover the truth

about all the tortures and murders committed by the security forces.

T think it is most important

that we have a truth cqmmissiqn because it is vital that if there is

-discuss | going to be forgiveness there
must be full exposure and some,
kind of acknowlegement by

those involved.

He is still adamant that 'thg police did not warn him of the alleged plot to shoot him outside

any denial by Slovo, but he was @ certain ideology through perable to deny these allegations Sonal experience, and all personthis week. al experiences are not the same.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It was a lot of rubbish - a, $\hat{a}\200\234$ My experiences were in typical misinformation slander South Africa. 1 was a clerk in a against the opposition to say factory after I left school in they $\hat{a}\200\231$ re members of Moscow se- 1941. I was a trade unionist and curity. $\hat{a}\200\235$ a shop steward and joined the

Slovo believes there is now a Communist Party. I was persongreater threat against him and ally involved in a number of other ANC and SACP leaders Strikes and we achieved enor-

Joe Slovo had very little school-

than when they were in exile $200\234$ because we are now in the liona $200\231s$ $\$

denâ\200\235, /g'z I

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ When,'we were in exile the main plotters against us were the security forces, now there are all kinds of people engaged in third force activity who want the talks to fail and the best way they can do this is to cause turmoil and violence. $\hat{a}\200\235$ s

It is not generally known that ing. He immigrated to SA from Lithuania with his parents when

he was eight, and was forced to\It

leave school after Std 6 when he was 15 because he had to help, support his poor family.

Despite the failure of commu-

mous improvements as a result of collective action as white workers, and it struck me increasingly that it was unfair that the blacks who stood by us in our - strike action were not allowed to **

be members of our union and could not benefit " from the strikes.

Because of his union activities Slovo was fired from his job. When he was fired from his second job for the same reason he

joined the SA army to fight fas-

CISHLE

He saw action in Egypt and aly and when he returned, he

was given exemption from matric because he had served in the army and was allowed to go to university where he studied law

/%
thrives in

and despite his lack of schooling he was awarded the prize as the best law student in his final year.

Had Slovo not fought for his ideals and been content to re. main a lawyer in SA he would have been very wealthy today.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ was in exile for 27 years and I earned no money. While I was in London for 10 years I was paid a monthly allowance but for the 17 years I was in Angola, Zambia and Mozambique I was not paid. None of us were paid. We were supplied with certain basic necessities like food, accommodation and cigarettes $\hat{a}\200\224$ that is all. $\hat{a}\200\235$

â\200\231(@I /)