

IFP on the interim govt

SIR - In the Sowetan of 28th June 1991 one of your readers, Mokgadi, of Rockville, in a letter headlined "Explain Buthelezi" asks why the president of IFP is opposed to the concept of the interim government.

As a member of the central committee in whose particular brief constitutional matters fall, I thought I might take the liberty of responding, particularly as I consider the question fair and valid and in the public interest.

Let me initially make it clear that the concept of an interim government as such is not anathema to the IFP. We are not saying that under any circumstances an interim government is absolutely ruled out. We are only saying that as an immediate step it is an impracticable demand which is bound to meet

resistance because many people would consider it a leap into the dark.

Our view is that what we need as of now is a process of negotiation. Any step or device or institution which results from that process of negotiation is then much more likely to reach broader support.

The first step therefore is negotiation. An un-negotiated jump into an interim government, we consider, poses very serious problems mainly at two levels, the theoretical and practical.

At the theoretical level the first problem is the legitimacy of such a device. Admittedly the present system also lacks legitimacy precisely because it is a result of a unilateral imposition without a broad based consent of the governed. To ensure legitimacy,

agreement is required about the structure, the composition, the method of appointment, the term of office, the functions of such a government and a host of other odds and ends.

How does one determine all these variables without prior agreement of the people to be governed? Further, given the multiplicity of interests affected or to be affected by the workings of such a government, how does one get such prior agreement without going through a process of wide consultation, negotiation and consensus?

If this step is ignored or short-circuited, then the result will just be as controversial and unacceptable as the present one. To move from one wrong to another does not solve but compounds our problems.

At the practical level it is an absolute certainty that such a demand for an interim government will be vigorously and even perhaps violently opposed especially by those who perceive that they stand to lose something by abandoning the devil they know for the devil they do not know. That applies particularly to the whites who are the ruling class right now.

Even if they realise that the present dispensation is immoral and therefore must go they would nevertheless be totally reluctant to abandon what control they have now for a future they have no certainty of. The business or investment sector in particular would offer the most resistance.

What we see therefore is that a call for and especially a demand for an interim government is simply confrontational and is most unlikely to be accepted without a scorched earth struggle.

When I put forth these arguments I am not saying that I support them but I am only illustrating the kind of difficulty one would be inviting if one went ahead on this path.

The real question, however, is whether the interim government path is the only available path for a movement towards a dispensation acceptable to all. If it were, then there would be no government. We would just have to go for it, come what may.

My thesis, however, is that there is an easier way, a more efficacious way and one that is likely to meet the needs of

everybody. That, I venture to say, is the path of negotiation. Buthelezi and the IFP therefore are persuading all those who want a negotiable solution to the problems of the country not to make confrontational demands which only invite suspicion and resistance, but to go for the path of negotiation.

DENNIS MADIDE
Ulundi.

Communists riding high in new team

THE NEW African National Congress executive, elected before dawn yesterday, is a visible embodiment of the organisation's commitment to nonracism.

Chosen in an independently organised election, it contains men and women of all races.

The two most successful candidates present analysts with a conundrum: Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, topped the poll with 1 858 votes, and Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for international affairs, came second with 1 824 votes.

The two men reportedly represent different factions of the ANC, Mr Hani the militants and Mr Mbeki the pragmatists. But, clearly, a major portion of the 2 244 delegates like both men enough to vote for them.

The dividing line between the two wings is less rigid and more porous than observers thought. The new executive may represent a fusing of the various strands in the ANC.

A number of points can, however, be made confidently about

PATRICK LAURENCE assesses the ANC's new national executive

the 50 members who were formally elected to applause early yesterday at the close of the five-day annual conference, the first to be held on South African soil in more than three decades.

It is a younger executive.

The only significant exceptions are the men who were jailed either with Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial of 1964 or at about the same time: Ahmed Kathrada (62), Andrew Mlangeni (66), Elias Motsoaledi (66) and Billy Nair (61).

Attrition

Typical of the younger members are Patrick Lekota (43), Popo Molefe (39) and Trevor Manuel (35), all of whom had leadership roles in the pro-ANC Mass Democratic Movement.

They fall into the same mould as Cyril Ramaphosa, the 38-year-old trade union leader who was spectacularly victorious in the triangular contest against two members of the old execu-

tive for the key post of secretary-general.

A second point which stands out starkly is the powerful position of the South African Communist Party on the new executive. Although the SACP lost one or two members, including its chairman, Dan Tloome, that was due to the attrition of age, not to dislike of its members or their policies.

Five of the 10 top positions went to communists, with Mr Hani, a member of the SACP central committee, and Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP, winning first and third places.

If Mr Mbeki, a reputed member of the central committee who appears to have become a "non-practising communist", is included, communists won the three top places on the poll and secured six of the first 10 rungs.

Of the 50 newly elected members, at least half are members of the SACP. The proportion

may be greater. Not all communists in the executive have declared their ideological allegiance.

The official line, voiced by Mr Ramaphosa when he was asked whether he is a member of the SACP, is that SACP affiliation is irrelevant and that to inquire is to exhibit an antiquated ideological prejudice appropriate to the Cold War.

Another distinguishing feature of the conference is represented by the surprise election of two men: Rocky Malebane-Metsing and Mcwayizeni Zulu.

Approval

The two men rose to prominence in opposing leaders in South Africa's tribal homelands: Mr Malebane-Metsing for leading an attempted military coup in 1988 against President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Prince Zulu, a member of the Zulu royal family, for his opposition to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Their election reflects dislike

among ANC rank-and-file members of "bantustans" — as they derisively refer to the "homelands" — and approval of the strong stand taken by the ANC against leaders of these territories who have refused to throw in their lot with the ANC.

Looking at the conference more broadly, one overwhelming theme stands out: a much tougher attitude towards President de Klerk's administration by the ANC, one which encompasses supposed "doves" such as Mr Mbeki as much as "hawks" like Mr Hani.

While the conference endorsed the concept of negotiations, they were seen as "a terrain of the struggle", and Mr de Klerk as a shrewd political foe whose still-firm hold on power would have to be pried loose.

The new executive includes able negotiators. Mr Ramaphosa, who honed his negotiating skills in encounters with South Africa's tough mining bosses, is a typical example.

The conference looked critically at itself, as the outgoing secretary-general's report makes clear. The report high-

Communists riding high in
new team.

lights a host of organisational weaknesses.

"We lack enterprise, creativity and initiative," the reports says with what Mr Mandela later referred to as brutal frankness. "We appear very happy to remain pigeon-holed within the confines of populist rhetoric and cliches."

It attributes poor attendance at mass rallies and marches in the past six months to bad planning and poor organisation.

The need for urgent remedial action is implicit in the importance attached by the ANC to "mass action" as a means of pressuring Mr de Klerk into giving "power to the people".

Competent

Ronnie Kasrils, underground operative and former ANC intelligence chief, remarked to journalists: "Organisation is everything."

The new executive has potentially competent organisers. Whether they will realise their potential remains to be seen.

Another task the ANC set itself is to improve its "low im-

pact" recruitment in the minority white, coloured and Indian communities. It has not removed one of the barriers to better performance identified in the secretary-general's report: its alliance with the SACP.

An even bigger problem is looming for the ANC: financial crisis. A confidential report by the treasurer-general shows that the organisation is almost totally dependent on donations to meet its internal costs. Barely 5 percent of its income comes from membership fees.

The ANC runs a sizeable operation from its Johannesburg headquarters: the building from which it operates is said to have cost it R20 million, and salaries account for nearly one-fifth of its expenses.

The treasurer-general expressed concern over the size of the ANC's administrative structures. He questioned the "financial viability of the organisation in the long term".

These questions are underlined by the admission of the ANC's head of finance, Vusi Khanyile, that the organisation is in the red. □

8/7/1991

The Economist offers an answer to the clergy's dilemma on women, gays and

marriage

Seeing the light on sexual love

STAR

8-7-91

SEXUAL intercourse began in 1963", wrote Philip Larkin. Not so for the main Christian churches, which seem to have taken until the 1990s to discover the joy and the complexity of sex.

At their 1991 conferences, America's Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans and Episcopalians are all debating requests to loosen up on sexual teachings, accept and bless sexual unions outside marriage, and ordain homosexual priests.

The Anglican Communion, when it next meets, is bound to be riven from top to bottom by two essentially sexual questions: the treatment of homosexual clergy and the ordination of women. These questions bother Catholics too.

Although most of the faithful might wish the churches would get on with mending lives and saving souls, and leave sex out of it, it is not prurience that has pushed these questions forward.

Congregations in the West are

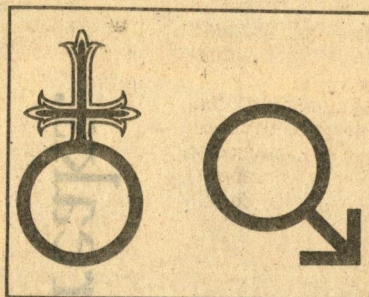
shrinking, and some members suspect this may be because the churches are not modern enough.

As much as a third of most congregations are single people who don't like to be lectured on sex and are probably breaking the rules anyway; and congregations as a whole are now full of drifters, picking up a service here and a doctrine there. Since churches have already tried to adapt their services and their prayerbooks, all that remains to change is the body of attitudes laid down in centuries of ministry.

The second source of pressure is Aids, which has required the churches to find new reserves of compassion to deal with its main victims: homosexuals, whose sexual behaviour is still accounted sinful by the church.

Homosexuals, whether priests or laymen, used to be hidden and quiet within the churches.

Now they are public, often suffering, and complaining.



They do not want condemnation. The churches, they say, should be "inclusive"; they should be truly Christ-like, offering mercy rather than judgment; they should rejoice in the "spirituality" of love, whatever physical form it takes, and face up to the sexual diversity in their ranks.

Honesty is also part of a third consideration: the shortage of ministers and priests, and the increasingly public sexual failings of some of those who remain. Any attempt to enlarge the ministry —

and thus to save souls — is said to demand the loosening of sexual rules: not only opening the ministry to women, but allowing the ordination of homosexuals and the marriage of Catholic priests.

Faced with these pressures, churches ought to do two things. First, they should listen; second, they should not be panicked into change they would, after further thought, find unchristian.

Most Christian churches, whether or not they place much emphasis on authority, share the same body of moral and social teachings. If these are considered carefully, it should become clear that some are deeply grounded and worth keeping, while others rest largely on prejudice, force of habit or the off-days of St Paul; that some should be toned down, and others restated with force. Chief among these last are the Christian teachings on the sanctity of marriage and the family.

In an age of disenchantment with churches, but also of longing

for stability and meaning in life, 85 percent of people still marry. It is still within marriage, and the families that spring from marriage, that most people come closest to an understanding of true love and creativity, which is as close as man can get to God.

Yet despite that, and despite the married ministers of the Protestant tradition, matrimony is the most ignored of sacraments — because sexual love, the love that came after the Fall, still keeps its taint of the second-rate.

If the sexual basis of marriage were revalued as something good and positive in itself, rather than seen as a mark of human failing, some surprising and overdue changes could happen. The rule of priestly celibacy in the Catholic Church could (and should) be made optional.

The value of women in the church could be made equal to that of men (although their spiritual roles would not necessarily be identical as a result of it).

Seeing the light on
sexual love.

Having done this reassessment, the churches would be on much firmer ground to state the obvious: that they do not have to accept every pressure to change their sexual standards.

In a secular and pluralist society, people can choose to live together in whatever combination they like; but churches are neither pluralist societies nor followers of fashion. Once churches have examined their consciences, those whose sexual behaviour still falls beyond the pale should do so too.

If their faith makes it too painful to leave the church they have chosen, then they should stay as thousands have stayed before them: if priests, on the Church's terms; if laymen, on the best compromise they can between God, their church and their consciences. Such compromises do not need to be put on public display. Nor do they need to divert the churches from the enormous spiritual case-load that remains to be tackled in the world at large. □

16/1/11

ANC shifts its sanctions stance

MECHRY 8/07/91

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

THE ANC this weekend shifted its hardline sanctions stance, opting for a phased lifting of the punitive measures.

'We have asked conference to consider the question of using a phased perspective on the question of sanctions and we have not been disappointed in the vision of our people,' ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his closing speech to the organisation's 48th conference early yesterday morning.

'We want to continue holding the line on the issue of sanctions and unless there is a great deal of flexibility and imagination, we will be left holding a shell and nothing else,' Mr Mandela told the more than 2 000 delegates in the University of Durban-Westville conference hall.

Although officials were unable to produce a copy of the final resolution yesterday, party sources said they had accepted a three-phase easing of the measures linked to political developments.

The first phase, reflected in a draft document accepted by the conference, would follow the removal of obstacles to negotiations, particularly the taking of effective measures to end the violence.

It is understood sanctions likely to go at this stage would be those involving sport, travel and culture.

The next would be the installation of an interim government according to 'agreed transitional arrangement and modalities'.

This would probably lead to an easing of trade, investment and international finance restrictions.

The final easing of oil sanctions and the arms embargo would follow the adoption of a democratic constitution and the holding of elections for a non-racial parliament.

NEC member Ronnie Kasrils explained yesterday that the conference had decided its approach to sanctions must be 'flexible and sophisticated'.

'Recent moves in the international community have proved to be a real threat to sanctions and have led to its erosion.'

'We are asking the international community to support the sanctions policy, but we must change our tactics and allow a phased lifting,' he said.

During his closing speech yesterday, Mr Mandela praised international affairs

director Thabo Mbeki, who has for long advocated a new line on sanctions. He had 'handled this matter very well', said Mr Mandela.

'What I heard I endorse without reservation because it is an attempt to get the delegates and the organisation not to rely on mere rhetoric but to look at the problem as it is developing.'

'I do not want my remarks to be misunderstood. We are calling for flexibility and for imagination, for an approach which is realistic.'

'The flexibility which we want to exercise is intended to ensure that this weapon is kept in our hands,' he said.

Mr Mandela showed sympathy for those African countries which have taken to dealing with South Africa, saying their 'economies are strained as a result of the support they have shown to our cause'.

'We cannot be inflexible in our approach to this particular policy.'

He said many other friends of the ANC were, however, holding the line.

He pointed to the Danish Government's stalling of EEC proposals to lift sanctions and said US President George Bush's administration had consulted the ANC before making any decision.

Nearly half of ANC's leadership are Reds

N/Mercury 8-7-91

By Chris Whitfield

THE ANC's new leadership emerged at the weekend, with Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, underground activists, members of the 'old guard' and the South African Communist Party sweeping the boards.

The results also gave a strong indication of the future leadership of the party, with MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, unionist and now ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Natal's Jacob Zuma, deputy secretary-general, emerging as the heirs apparent.

Nine of the top 20 elected positions announced early yesterday went to known members of the South African Communist Party.

The results of voting for the 50 positions outside the 'top six' cemented the SACP's relationship with, and influence on, the ANC.

The nine are Chris Hani, who polled the most votes, Thabo Mbeki, who came second, Joe Slovo, Ahmed Kathrada, Ronnie Kasrils, Harry Gwala, Raymond Mhlaba, Mac Maharaj and Raymond Suttner.

However, Mr Mbeki is no longer an active member of the party.

Other SACP names are sprinkled among the top 50.

The ANC's top six, announced on Friday, included no known members.

There has been speculation about new secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's possible membership, but at a Press conference this week he declined to be drawn on the issue.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has staunchly defended the alliance with the SACP.

Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Zuma are the new faces in the party hierarchy, but the support for Mr Hani and Mr Mbeki are strong indications that they will move up the ladder.

Symbolic of the balance in the 50 elected positions outside the 'top six' were the two most popular candidates.

Mr Hani, beloved of the militant youth, scooped 94,7% with 1 858 votes.

Close behind him with 93% and 1 824 votes was Mr Mbeki, regarded as a moderate who has argued for an easing of sanctions.

The more than 2 000 delegates burst into loud cheering and clapping for both.

Natal got eight posts on the 50. They are: Harry Gwala, who polled 1 644 votes, 'Mac' Maharaj (1 462), Siphiwe Nyanda (955), Mendi Msimang (884), Billy Nair (837), Mwayizeni Zulu (814), Sister Bernard Ncube (808) and Zola Skweyiya (719).

The support for Mr Gwala was unexpected after his thumping in the voting for the deputy president's position, which went to Walter Sisulu.

The announcement of Mr Gwala's name received enthusiastic support, as did Mr Maharaj, leader of the foiled 'Operation Vula'.

Bomber Marion Sparg was also loudly cheered.

Albie Sachs was resoundingly applauded as he walked to the stage, giving an imitation clenched fist salute with the stump of his right arm, blasted off in an assassination attempt.

Zulu prince and former Inkatha member Mcwayizeni Zulu also received massive applause as his name was read out.

Against expectations, Winnie Mandela also made the NEC, polling 1 057 votes.

Significantly, only nine women made the 50.

This followed heated debate and a protest in the conference hall on a proposal that a minimum of 15 women be guaranteed places on the NEC.

Other notable figures included Patrick 'Terror' Lekota, Joe Slovo, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils, Gert-rude Shope, Dullah Omar, youth leader Peter Mokaba, and Bophuthatswana coup leader Rocky Malebane Met-sing.

16/1/11

CHRIS WHITFIELD sums up the ANC national conference which ended yesterday



Revitalised ANC hits the road

THE new ANC hits the road today, fresh from its first national conference on South African soil in more than 30 years and apparently revitalised by a much-needed overhaul.

Delegates will start bus rides home to their regions across South Africa with a far clearer set of policies and strategies, a new leadership and with fresh direction. Grievances which were openly aired have also been addressed.

According to almost every delegate prepared to get within range of a microphone or notebook, the conference was a great success.

It was also a remarkable display of democracy, with the 2 244 delegates being chosen by branches and every major issue debated in the conference by those delegates.

Considering the relative unsophistication of many of the delegates, several of whom had never experienced such an exercise, the conference did run smoothly. It was clear from day one that the programme was not going to be completed in time, but the delegates did not seem too perturbed in spite of the wee-hours finish yesterday.

They had been concerned, it seems, with weightier matters.

The most visible of these was the leadership elections.

The key 'top five' jobs turned into a 'top six' with the creation of the post of national chairman, which went unanimously to outgoing president Oliver Tambo.

The post was the brainchild of Mr Nelson Mandela, who was also unopposed in succeeding Mr Tambo.

Deputy president went to Mr Walter Sisulu. At 79, Mr Sisulu cannot be described as the ideal choice except in a symbolic sense. In spite of the organisation's protestations, he certainly was a compromise candidate.

There was speculation after Mr Thabo Mbeki pulled out of the contest for the number two job that pressure was being put on Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala, the only other candidate, to remove himself.

Delegates have, however, since indicated that the leadership was quite happy to have the arch-militant in a straight fight with Mr Sisulu. His chances of beating the popular former Robben Islander were virtually nil and the support would give them an indication of just how many of the organisation were in favour of the Natal man's radical stance.

In the event, the 'Umbali warlord' was thoroughly demolished, losing by 412 votes

to 1 567. Mr Gwala had done his chances no good by his contributions to the conference commission on violence, delegates indicated.

National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa's ascension to the ANC secretary-general's position was met with huge acclaim from the 2 000 plus delegates in the conference hall at the University of Durban-Westville.

Mr Ramaphosa is an impressive, articulate figure who has earned himself a reputation for being a powerful negotiator and skilled organiser — two areas in which the ANC is going to be desperately in need.

However, at a Press conference after the election results were made known, he once again ducked the issue of whether he was a member of the South African Communist Party or not. He said that he did not consider it relevant in this day and age whether someone was a member.

The ANC is being naive and doing its chances of broadening its support little good if it does not realise that the experiences of Eastern Europe have had an impact on many South Africans. Given the SACP's policy shift, the organisation might consider changing its name sometime.

Former secretary-general Alfred Nzo raised the issue of the SACP in his report to the conference, saying the alliance had been an inhibiting factor on efforts to recruit from the white, Indian and 'coloured' communities.

Former 'Operation Vula' leader 'Mac' Maharaj told a Press conference any ANC gains made by dropping the SACP would be more than offset by losses in the black community.

Delegates indicated, however, that little discussion on the issue had taken place at the conference and it seems the widely predicted cracks that would emerge at the conference were either papered over or were not a factor.

Natal's Mr Jacob Zuma was elected deputy secretary-general. His majority indicated he was a popular choice and the fact that he is a Zulu could help the organisation in Natal. However, he will have a vital organisational role and some delegates pointed with concern to allegations of disarray in his Southern Natal region.

The incumbent, Mr Thomas Nkobi, kept the treasurer's job after a straight fight with London representative Mendi Msimang.

The other 50 posts voted on in the NEC reflected a mixture of old and new, giving the executive body an infusion of younger leaders who had emerged in the Mass Democratic Movement years. But

the 'old guard' was not demolished in quite as spectacular a manner as anticipated.

Only nine women were voted into the 55 posts after a proposal that a minimum of 15 be included was dropped during a three-hour long debate. The women's reaction — they held up proceedings for a quick protest — has ensured that the issue will not be forgotten.

The results, particularly for the top posts, were a huge personal success for Mr Mandela. If he had hand-picked the team himself he may well have come up with much the same combination. They amount to a significant endorsement of his commitment to negotiations, the argument for which he put powerfully in his opening speech.

The leadership also emerged with more space to manoeuvre on the sanctions issue, with the delegates

agreeing to a more 'flexible' approach.

But underlying the negotiations theme was another one that will sit less comfortably with many South Africans: The struggle continues.

Mass action would be retained and intensified as much as possible, the armed struggle was only suspended and would not be abandoned, self-defence units would be created, Umkhonto we Sizwe would continue to recruit, underground structures would remain in place ... and more.

Particularly disturbing among these was the commitment to armed self-defence units. Rhetoric about the need to defend people under attack from the State does little to offset fears of a 'Lebanonisation' of South Africa.

Just how disciplined will these units be and, given the ANC's position that it will just facilitate their creation,

who will they be accountable to?

With Inkatha already handing out machine-guns to some of its leaders, one can only pray that the church-sponsored peace initiative succeeds.

The closing of most of the conference to the media — and, therefore, the watching world — was another sour note which even drew some grumbles from the international guests.

Other political organisations have taken to allowing Press representatives into their 'closed sessions', but making them off-the-record. That would reduce the possibility of misunderstandings such as arose over Mr Nzo's comments on the SACP.

One explanation for the more confrontational elements of the conference was the need to address disgruntled elements in the organisation who might balk at negotiations. MK, the youth and rural constituencies came to the conference in a confrontational mood and time was spent pandering to them.

In his closing speech, Mr Mandela announced that a special MK conference would be held to address its grievances, and most of the NEC would be there.

Another reason was the growing feeling in the ANC that the Government cannot be trusted.

Mr Mandela dealt forcefully with the issue in bitter passages of his opening address, saying the Government was pursuing a double agenda, 'one of talking peace while actually conducting war'.

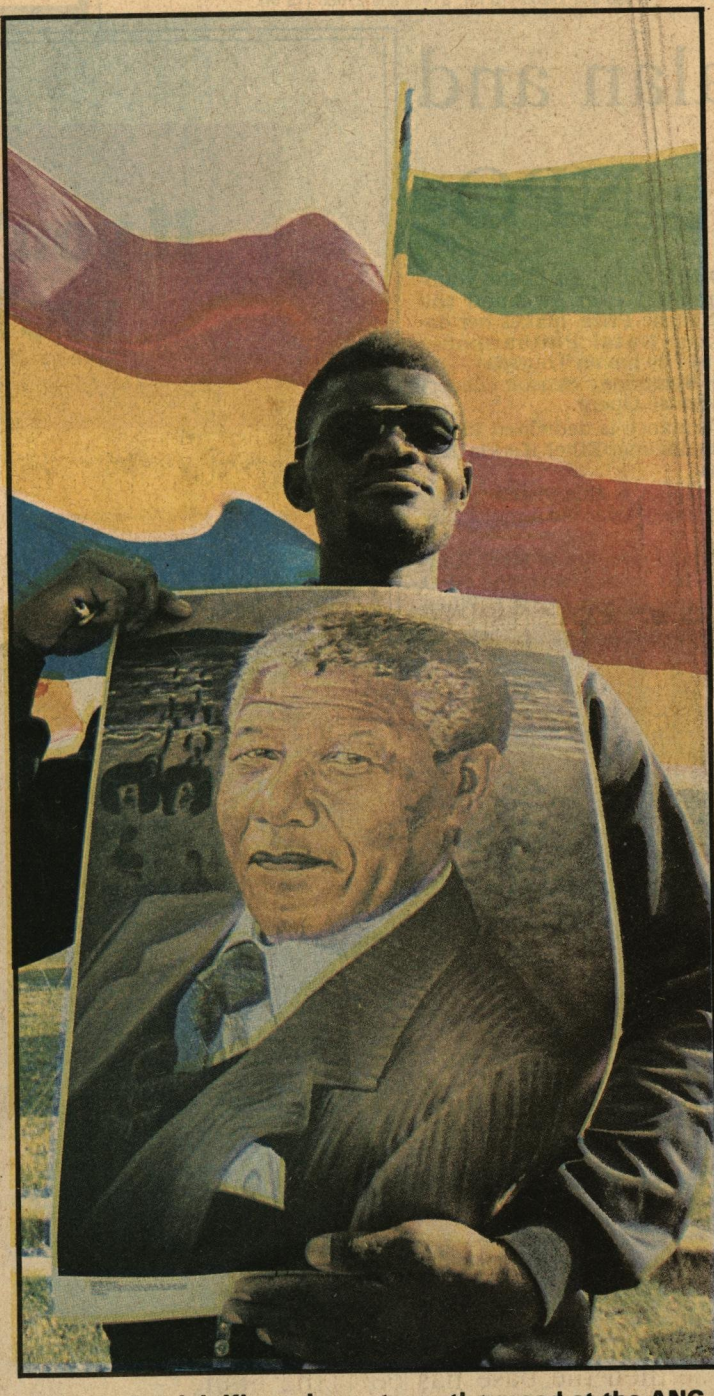
New NEC member Cheryl Carolus — a rising star in the organisation — returned to the theme at a Press conference on Saturday: 'Personally, I have never felt so angry and cheated by the South African Government.'

'I was never under any illusions about them (but) I had hoped that when we had a commitment to negotiations there was a seriousness about resolving the situation. But it is clear from the Government's side that they have a lot to do to regain the goodwill.'

The Government would obviously dispute the allegations, but the fact remains that the perceptions exist in an organisation that — given its commitment to renewed organisation — could muster massive support.

As Mr Mandela put it: 'It is for the regime to demonstrate its good faith not by what it says but by what it does.'

The euphoria surrounding the conference will obviously dissipate as the ANC gets down to the less glamorous task of organising, but the five long days at the University of Durban-Westville may well have had the effect of putting the ball back in the Government's court.



Madala Patrick Khumalo captures the mood at the ANC conference.

UK envoy quick to the hot spots

ANTHONY Reeve, Britain's new ambassador to South Africa, arrived in the country last Monday, just in time for the ANC's national conference.

Without further ado he flew to Durban and met ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

A less pacy introduction to his new post might have been inappropriate, as he has arrived at a time when history in South Africa is on a fast track, demanding constant attention and up-to-date analysis.

Listening to Mr Reeve during an interview with The Star, it is clear that he is more than ready for the task he faces.

Unlike his predecessor — the much-loved (and sometimes hated) Sir Robin Renwick, whose style was innovative and risky, bordering on the interventionist — Mr Reeve gives the impression of being a quiet observer with a formidable knowledge of his territory.

He has, as one of his embassy colleagues put it, a very distinct and individual style that cannot be compared with his predecessor's.

Mr Reeve is a softly spoken man, straight and to the point, but not one who wishes to prescribe or make judgments. This is certainly true of his attitude towards his government's role in South Africa.

"Britain has always had very close links with South Africa, and we are willing to assist when our help is sought, but we are not seeking to interfere where we are not wanted."

Although Mr Reeve, after only a week in his new post, is not to be drawn out yet on his personal opinion of South African political developments, he does reveal an acute sensitivity for the underprivileged sector.

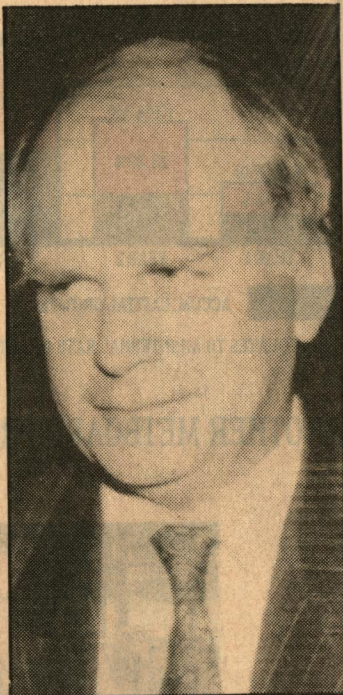
Britain's new ambassador to South Africa, Anthony Reeve (right), is nothing like his highly individualistic predecessor, Sir Robin Renwick. But as a pragmatist and cautious team-operator, with a formidable knowledge of his new territory, he is bound to win many friends. He spoke to HELEN GRANGE.

He has already visited Alexandra, where his government is funding several social upliftment projects.

"The question of aid to black townships is an important one. There has to be a lot more spent on the underprivileged, and the sums of money required are enormous. A great deal of effort is also needed and we will continue to do what we can to help."

He also perceives the underprivileged class to be a vital consideration in the political future.

"While I am optimistic about a political solution here, I don't want to minimise the difficulties. Those in control are very satisfied that their future is assured — but there are many underprivileged people who don't



have a say and are expecting great things."

Despite having spent considerable time in the British foreign service, focusing on the Middle East, he is hesitant to draw comparisons with the South Africa.

"I think it's rather unwise to detail comparisons between the Middle East and South Africa. The South African situation is unique, and involves the people of one country, whereas the Middle East involves conflict between different countries."

"What is similar, though, is the difficulty in achieving a compromise. South Africa is more encouraging in this respect because, in the Middle East, there is no sign of compromise, whereas in the case of South Africa, there has been a

great movement forward and a transformation of attitudes."

Mr Reeve has, on previous occasions, met the leaders at the forefront of South Africa's transformation: President de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"Mr Mandela is a remarkable man. I believe he is a moderate and rational man who will be ready for the changes ahead ... I met Mr de Klerk a few years ago in London and I found him to be a very interesting and astute man with clear ideas."

Meeting everybody who has a role to play in negotiations is what Mr Reeve sees as his first and most important task — and an indication that he will probably show himself to be a pragmatic and cautious team-operator.

"I want to get to know people from the Right and the Left, as well as the moderates. Their views are important. It's a big task. There so many shades of opinion among the various cultural groups."

"I do know a lot about South Africa, but I'll learn a lot more. I'll be travelling a lot. I regard it as a challenge, and I feel very ready for it."

One thing Mr Reeve is prepared to state at this stage is his belief that the removal of sanctions is crucial if Africa is to be uplifted to a state of economic independence.

"We have been known to resist sanctions, and are looking forward to a growing economy. The economic problems are crucially important, and the extent to which the economy can grow to provide jobs is absolutely vital."

"If the South African economy is allowed to grow, it will be the most important country in Africa." □

Good luck!

THE ANC's first legal congress inside South Africa in more than 30 years is over. The team which will lead the organisation's future contacts with the Government is in place. On behalf of all those South Africans who have waited so many long and bitter years for the wheel to turn, *Sowetan* wishes them good luck and wisdom.

It is good news that the mandate which the new leadership carries from the congress is to continue the negotiating process without delay.

As we have said before, there is no real alternative to negotiation. Talk of armed struggle is bravado. Mass action is a more realistic weapon although, perhaps, it should now be held in reserve.

What needs to happen now is that the new leadership of the ANC must get down to its "patriotic front" talks with the PAC and others and then engage the Government with full force.

Leaders across the liberation spectrum have repeatedly made the point that the Government is not looking forward to sitting down to negotiate the handover of power.

In fact, there is much evidence that elements within the Government will try to block this process wherever they can.

Still, talking remains the only realistic option. And that talking must be done by as powerful and as representative a body of black opinion as possible.

Any other strategy will only lead to us and our children inheriting a wasteland. No sane person wants that. The difficult way, which is talk, talk and yet more talk, is the only way before us right now.

THE early release from jail of considerable numbers of convicted killers is worrying.

No matter what these people may say now, the fact is that they once lost their judgment to the extent that they were willing to kill other people.

Although we do not say this means that they will do it again, the truth is that such people were once dangerously unbalanced and for all we know they may still be so.

The other danger is that, with all these releases, other people might begin to lose sight of the difference between right and wrong. Murder is the ultimate crime and it would be terrifying if numbers of people began to think they could get away with it at the cost of only a few years in jail.

The point is that the authorities need to be extremely careful. We do not need convicted killers walking among us.

Watch out NP, the ANC is on the way

THE ANC has elected a leadership with the experience and tenacity to take on the ruling National Party juggernaut at the negotiation table.

Apart from the 55-person national executive committee elected on Saturday, the 48th national conference of the movement which ended in Durban yesterday elected Mr Nelson Mandela as president, Mr Walter Sisulu deputy president, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma assistant secretary-general and Mr Thomas Nkobi retained the position of treasurer-general.

The five office-bearers were voted in by overwhelming majorities over their closest rivals. Mandela was unopposed as president.

A special position, that of national chairman, was created for the outgoing president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

This was the first time since Chief Albert Luthuli led the ANC that the position has been resuscitated.

Sisulu beat closest rival, Mr Harry Gwala - the man who reportedly defends Stalinism and who is opposed to talks with the Government - by 1 567 votes to 412.

The third person nominated for the post of deputy president, Mr Thabo Mbeki, withdrew late on Thursday.

Sisulu (79) is a former Robben Islander, a close friend of Mandela and a member of the ANC's negotiating team.

A confidential source (a voting delegate from Gwala's Natal stronghold) told *Sowetan* that "Natal voted in the majority for Sisulu. He's got more experience".

For the position of secretary-general, Ramaphosa is said to have been "the most intelligent

FOCUS
8/7/91

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN



Political Correspondent

choice" as one of the five office-bearers.

As the outgoing general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Ramaphosa has highly-developed negotiating skills after leading the powerful trade union to countless successes in the past nine years.

While he has never dealt with central Government directly, Ramaphosa has had extensive talks with local government over the rent boycotts.

Ramaphosa is nevertheless highly respected in Government circles for the influence he has had over major labour issues in recent years.

Asked to describe how he felt when he was carried shoulder-high from the back of the hall to the stage after he was voted in, Ramaphosa went quiet for a moment and then said: "I felt very humble to have been elected in the way that I had been."

And how did he think he could help the ANC against "the National Party juggernaut" in the negotiating process?

"Negotiations are negotiations are negotiations," Ramaphosa said confidently, provoking laughter from the more than 200 print and electronic media journal-

ists who had been waiting around in the Durban mid-winter heat for more than three hours for the election results.

Ramaphosa stood against and beat the outgoing secretary-general of the ANC, Mr Alfred Nzo, and the movement's intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma.

Nzo received 371 votes, Zuma got 450 and Ramaphosa got a stunning 1 156 votes.

Zuma was later in the day elected deputy secretary-general. He was nominated with Nzo and former United Democratic Front leader Mr Popo Molefe.

Nzo trailed the troika with a mere 258 while, Molefe received 659 and Zuma 1 039.

Nkobi retained his position by beating his colleague, the ANC's London representative Mr Mendi Msimang, by what was described as a "surprising" 1 277 to 680 votes.

The announcement of the election results for the office-bearers was a highly emotional moment in the remaking of black South Africa's political history.

When Mr Charles Nupen, who headed the independent election monitoring committee, told a packed University of Durban Westville Sports Centre that Mandela was unopposed, the delegates, stalwarts, foreign dignitaries, journalists, service personnel and other observers rose in unison to applaud the new president.

Mandela rose slowly from his seat and, with tears in his eyes, turned to outgoing president Oliver Tambo and embraced him.

After spending 27 years in prison, Mandela had finally reached the helm of his movement and, if that were not enough, within minutes his old cellmate and fellow Rivonia trialist Sisulu received a similarly rumbustious applause when it was announced that he was deputy president.

While Mandela and Sisulu em-

braced, the delegates from Gwala's stronghold, the Natal Midlands, sat silently in defeat while everyone around them danced with joy.

By the end of the day's elections - through a remarkably democratic process - of the five office-bearers the signal went out to the ruling National Party: It's time to get your house in order, the ANC is coming.

In his opening speech, Mandela told the delegates to the conference to prepare themselves and their branches for negotiations - because the ANC was ready.

The mood of the conference throughout the five days was: Let's go for it.

Commenting after the elections of the five office-bearers, newly elected deputy president Sisulu said the ANC had been revitalised by the conference.

"We will be able to move forward with the confidence that has been shown to us at this conference," he said.

In his post-election comments Ramaphosa said his job would be complemented by the "wisdom and guidance of the people around him".

As the only person among the five office-bearers who had managed to hold on to his position as treasurer-general, Nkobi has been on the ANC's executive since 1973.

Nkobi (68) was born in the then Southern Rhodesia and came to South Africa as a little boy in 1933.

Ramaphosa spent most of his early days in politics in the Black Consciousness Movement. He is a qualified lawyer.

Nzo, Molefe and Msimang were elected to the enlarged NEC.

Fifty five people were elected at the conference and 28 (two from each of the 14 branches) are automatically included in the enlarged NEC.

ANC will not negotiate as beggars – Mandela

Political Staff

DURBAN — Political negotiations leading to a new constitution should start in earnest within weeks.

This became clear as Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, closed the organisation's five-day national conference that gave the go-ahead to talks.

Delegates gave the new national executive committee freedom to continue with "the process of talks about

talks and invests it with discretionary powers, within the policies of the ANC".

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, welcomed the ANC's greater flexibility on constitutional negotiations, and the indication that the ANC's leaders were in a hurry to start the constitutional discussion.

Although critical of the SA Communist Party's "decisive role" in the ANC and decisions on the future role of

● To Page 2

'ANC will not negotiate as beggars'

● From Page 1

the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Dr Viljoen said the Government was of the opinion that the conference "could usher in a new period in the negotiation process".

It could be expected that preparatory discussions for a multiparty conference would now get back on track.

Summing up the five-day conference, Mr Mandela said negotiations would be used to realise the ANC's objective of "transferring power to the people".

The ANC was determined not to allow the Government to occupy centre stage or to be "the manager of transition" while treating the ANC as an unequal partner which should merely be consulted.

Deliberations with the Government would be backed up by mass action.

And, although calling for the maintenance of sanctions, Mr Mandela publicly endorsed the proposals of international affairs head Thabo Mbeki for the phased lifting of punitive measures once the obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

The resolutions on sanctions adopted at the conference had not been made public by last night. But ANC sources said the conference had adopted a three-phase plan endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity.

Punitive measures including sport, cultural and academic sanctions as well as restrictions on tourism and air

links should be lifted once all political prisoners were freed, exiles unconditionally indemnified, repressive security laws repealed, political trials stopped and effective Government measures taken to stop the violence.

The ANC would support the lifting of trade sanctions and restrictions on foreign investment once an interim government had been set up, and the lifting of the oil and arms embargo once a democratic government had been elected.

Speaking at a rally at King's Park yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC did not go to the negotiating table as beggars.

● ANC conference
— Pages 6 and 11

Police guard ANC homes after slaying

Own Correspondent

Police have put an around-the-clock guard on the homes of at least 12 African National Congress officials in the Vaal Triangle after last week's slaying of three family members of an ANC official in Boipatong, near Vanderbijlpark.

Security was stepped up after Ernest Sotsu's wife Constance (49), daughter Margaret (33) and grandson Sabata were shot on Wednesday night.

A group armed with AK-47 rifles fired on the family and then petrol-bombed their home.

Vuyana and Vusi Sotsu, who were also injured in the attack, are still in hospital.

Mr Sotsu, who was away at the ANC conference in Durban, rushed home with the other Vaal leaders of the ANC immediately after news of the attack was relayed to delegates in Durban.

The Vaal leaders feared that the assailants were planning further attacks of ANC homes.

SAP spokesman Captain Piet van Deventer said police had been prepared to guard the Sotsu home before the attack, but had withdrawn at the Sotsus' request.

Police have offered a R20 000 reward to anyone with information leading to the arrest of the killers.

The Star

A new team, a new start

WITH the election yesterday of 50 directly chosen members, a new ANC executive is now in place. Its emergence is an event of major importance to South Africans. As Saths Cooper of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy has observed, the ANC is so central to South Africa — it was established one year before the National Party — that it impacts on all our lives, either as a source of hope or a generator of fear. The new executive has several traits likely to do just that.

On the positive side it is an executive which has been rejuvenated by younger men and women. Nearly two-thirds of the old 35-member executive failed to win election. Many of the newcomers served in the leadership of the Mass Democratic Movement, which, in the main, deployed civil disobedience in the fight for a non-racial South Africa. They have a useful contribution to make in the negotiating manoeuvres ahead. The election of nine women, on their own merits without a special quota, is another positive feature.

The new executive, like the old one, has a strong communist presence. Five of the first 10 positions in yesterday's poll were secured by communists. Chris Hani, a member of the SACP central committee, topped the poll. Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP, came third. It is a clear signal that, like it or not, the South African Communist Party is with us for the immediate future.

And it is futile to lament the stupidity of the ANC for "allowing itself to be taken over by the SACP". The ANC membership, like newly elected president Nelson Mandela, does not see it that way. They regard the SACP as a loyal ally, not as a hijacker. In the past the security police and their propagandists made the mistake of trying to condemn the ANC by emphasising its link with the SACP. They ended up commending the SACP to many black people.

A worrying trend is the refusal of ANC leaders to give a straight reply to the question of whether they are members of the SACP. Newly elected secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa responded by saying the

question was irrelevant and outdated. We disagree. The South African public is entitled to know who are and who are not communists in the ANC. Communism must take its chance in the marketplace of ideas. Mr Slovo has drawn a distinction between the SACP and the Broederbond. The SACP, he says, does not, want to operate as a secret cabal within the ANC and is working towards a situation where communists will openly acknowledge their membership of the party. The time for that is now.

Broader justice

WITH eight out of every 10 accused in our criminal courts left unrepresented by lawyers, it is painfully obvious that South Africa has a long way to go before the right to a fair trial becomes reality. But guaranteed legal representation in criminal matters is only the start of spreading justice around.

If there is not to be one law for the poor and one for the rich, then funded legal services for the poor and powerless must be far more varied than a last-ditch defence in the criminal courts. Just as vast corporations need legal advisers to ensure that their interests are thoroughly served in the contracts they conclude, so do less affluent sectors of society need lawyers to safeguard and secure their social and economic rights — rights to housing, fair employment, etc.

It is this enabling use of the law that helps convert the noble words of a bill of rights into substantive benefits. In the best of democratic states it complements and reinforces the influence that people can wield through democratic process. In less ideal circumstances it is a check on the power of the State and elites. Ironically, the internationally recognised imperative of fighting apartheid law and the apartheid state ensured funding during the last decade for innovative rights-oriented legal services — while conventional legal aid stagnated or even decomposed.

This unintended spin-off from the apartheid system must be treasured, used and widely copied in a democratic SA.

Mandela attacks media coverage

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday launched a strong attack on the media's coverage of ANC politics, but reaffirmed the ANC's commitment to press freedom.

Speaking at a mass rally at King's Park Stadium after the ANC's five-day national conference, Mr Mandela criticised the media for having pre-empted the crucial election of new office-bearers by speculating on the outcome for weeks before the conference.

The media had had "their election campaign in which they told us who should lead the ANC". At the weekend, he said, the ANC had elected the national executive committee it had wanted to lead the organisation.

Controls

"We know that we are at an enormous disadvantage in relation to the media. The State controls the radio and television which at the end of the day are organs of the National Party.

"Most national newspapers are in the hands of a few monopolies. But we must not take this too far. We must accept that the press has a right and a duty to report on politics."

The position that the ANC occupied in politics had come about through its own achievements.

The ANC had the right to complain about disinformation but "it would be dangerous to question the right of the media to criticise from the highest to the lowest", he said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC's job was to "ans-

wer and not just to swear at them".

He continued: "We might not like some of the things they say, but we should not undermine their right to say it.

"If we did, we will undermine one of the most cherished rights we stand for. The media must do their job and we must do ours."

The issue of media coverage was raised several times at the ANC conference, and journalists frequently asked why the media had been barred from most of the proceedings.

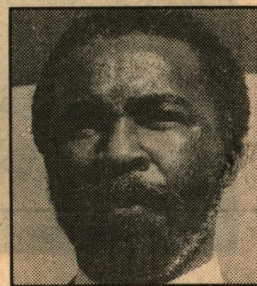
Hundreds of media representatives from South African as well as foreign publications noted their unpopularity among ANC delegates when, at one stage, the gathering enthusiastically applauded an announcement that the media should leave the conference hall for the start of yet another closed session.

Most of the conference was held behind closed doors.

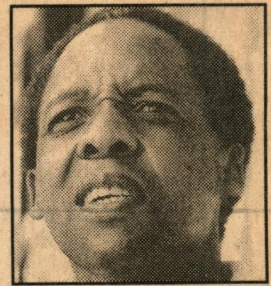
Mr Mandela told the rally that the ANC would no longer tolerate the leaking of confidential documents to the media — not by members and not by some leaders of the organisation.

Indirectly referring to the leaking of confidential reports delivered at the conference by outgoing secretary-general Alfred Nzo — which first appeared in Argus newspapers on Saturday — and of treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, Mr Mandela said those documents had been intended for internal debate.

The reports, which gave a frank assessment of ANC affairs, had been of critical importance to the debate and the ANC's future, he said.



Elected ... Thabo Mbeki.



Elected ... MK chief Chris Hani.

Breakdown of voting for NEC members

This is the breakdown of the voting for the 50 directly elected seats on the ANC's national executive committee announced yesterday. Number of votes and percentage recorded after each name.

1. Chris Hani (1 858 — 94,7) 2. Thabo Mbeki (1 824 — 93) 3. Joe Slovo (1 761 — 89,8) 4. Patrick "Terror" Lekota (1 724 — 87,9) 5. Pallo Jordan (1 702 — 86,8) 6. Ahmed Kathrada (1 697 — 86,5) 7. Ronnie Kasrils (1 666 — 85) 8. Harry Gwala (1 644 — 83,8) 9. Steve Tshwete (1 634 — 83,3) 10. Arnold Stofile (1 546 — 78,8) 11. Popo Molefe (1 523 — 77,7) 12. Joe Modise (1 510 — 77) 13. Raymond Mhlaba (1 489 — 75,9) 14. Mac Maharaj (1 462 — 74,6) 15. Alfred Nzo (1 420 — 72,4) 16. Ruth Mompati (1 357 — 69,2) 17. Albertina Sisulu (1 321 — 67,4) 18. Raymond Suttner (1 310 — 66,8) 19. Trevor Manuel (1 253 — 63,9) 20. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (1 249 — 63,7) 21. Aziz Pahad (1 198 — 61,1) 22. Cheryl Carolus (1 168 — 59,6) 23. Albie Sachs (1 161 — 59,2) 24. Joel Netshitenzhe (1 119 — 57,1) 25. Wilton Mkwayi (1 107 — 56,5) 26. Winnie Mandela (1 057 — 53,9) 27. Joe Nhlanhla (1 053 — 53,7) 28. John Nkadimeng (1 049 — 53,5) 29. Dullah Omar (1 031 — 52,6) 30. Mohammed Valli Moosa (1 014 — 51,7) 31. Gertrude Shope (958 — 48,9) 32. Andrew Mlangeni (956 — 48,8) 33. Sipiwe Nkanda (955 — 48,7) 34. Sidney Mafumadi (931 — 47,5) 35. Elias Motsoaledi (927 — 47,3) 36. Mendi Msimang (884 — 45,1) 37. Reginald September (854 — 43,5) 38. Barbara Masekela (844 — 43) 39. Billy Nair (837 — 42,7) 40. Mcwayizeni Zulu (814 — 41,5) 41. Sister Bernard Ncube (808 — 41,2) 42. Gill Marcus (800 — 40,8) 43. Jeremy Cronin (792 — 40,4) 44. Rocky Malebane-Metsing (772 — 39,4) 45. Kadar Asmal (771 — 39,3) 46. Saki Macozoma (758 — 38,7) 47. Peter Mokaba (731 — 37,3) 48. Zola Skweyiya (719 — 36,7) 49. Thozamile Botha (717 — 36,6) 50. Marion Sparg (717 — 36,6)

The six top officials, elected by secret ballot on Friday, are Nelson Mandela (president), Walter Sisulu (deputy president), Oliver Tambo (chairman, a newly created position), Cyril Ramaphosa (secretary-general), Jacob Zuma (deputy secretary-general) and Thomas Nkobi (treasurer-general).

● Communists riding high — See Page 11

ANC leaders mirror ideals

The ANC's 48th national conference at the weekend elected a leadership which reflects the movement's activities inside and outside the country over the past 30 years.

Among the 55 national executive committee members and five office-bearers are leaders who spent decades in exile, internal leaders, persons who had been on trial for deeds committed in the name of the movement, others who were imprisoned for the same reason, persons who formed and led the ANC's internal cover (the UDF and MDM), prominent trade union leaders, constitutional experts, communists, Christians, Jews and Muslims, moderates and hardliners.

There is also a Botha on the new NEC - the ANC's local government expert Mr Thozamile Botha.

The NEC is the body which executes decisions taken by the conference, and which will in the future represent the party in various areas of political life.

Fourteen people lost their positions on the NEC. They are: Mr Robert Conco, Mr Steve Dhlamini, Mr Simon Makana, Mr Henry Makgothi, Mr Anthony Mongalo, Mr Mzwai Piliso, Mr Sizakele Sigxashe, Mr James Stuart, Mr Dan Tloome, Mr Siniso Mfenyana, Mr Timothy Mokoena, Ms Jackie Molefe, Mr Jackie Selebi and Mr Stanley Mabizela.

Mrs Winnie Mandela was elected, as was Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

Among the newcomers, the biggest surprise is the election of Mr Rocky Malebane Metsing, believed to have been behind the 1988 coup to overthrow Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Ms Marion Sparg, the first white woman to be con-

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

victed for Umkhonto we Sizwe activities, was the final addition to the list of 50 people.

A further 28 people from the 14 regions will automatically be added to the NEC.

The complete list of the 50 newly elected NEC (figure in brackets denote percentage votes accrued) is:

Mr Chris Hani (94,7), Mr Thabo Mbeki (93), Mr Joe Slovo (89,8), Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (87,9), Mr Pallo Jordan (86,8), Mr Ahmed Kathrada (86,5), Mr Ronnie Kasrils (85), Mr Harry Gwala (83,8), Mr Steve Tshwete (83,3), Mr Arnold Stofile (78,8), Mr Popo Molefe (77,7), Mr Joe Modise, Mr Raymond Mhlaba (75,9), Mr Mac Maharaj (74,6), Mr Alfred Nzo (72,4), Ms Ruth Mompati (69,2), Ms Albertina Sisulu (67,4), Mr Raymond Suttner (66,8), Mr Trevor Manuel (63,9), Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (63,7), Mr Aziz Pahad (61,1), Ms Cheryl Carolus (59,6), Mr Albie Sachs (59,2), Mr Joel Netshitenzhe (57,1), Mr Wilton Mkwayi (56,5), Mrs Winnie Mandela (53,9), Mr Joe Nhlanhla (53,7), Mr John Nkadimeng (53,5), Mr Dullah Omar (52,6), Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa (51,7), Ms Gertrude Shope (48,9), Mr Andrew Mlangeni (48,8), Mr Siphwe Nyanda (48,7), Mr Sydney Mafumadi (47,5), Mr Elias Motsoaledi (47,3), Mr Mendi Msimang (45,1), Mr Reginald September (43,5), Ms Barbara Masekela (43), Mr Billy Nair (42,7), Mr Mcwayizeni Zulu (41,5), Sister Bernard Ncube (41,2), Ms Gill Marcus (40,8), Mr Jeremy Cronin (40,4), Mr Rocky Malebane Metsing (39,4), Mr Kadar Asmal (39,3), Mr Sakkie Macozoma (38,7), Mr Peter Mokaba (37,3), Mr Zola Skweyiya (36,7), Mr Thozamile Botha (36,6) and Ms Marion Sparg (36,6).

Most ANC funds still outside South Africa

Political Correspondent

THE ANC has more fixed assets outside the country than cash inside the country, the movement's treasurer-general's report reveals.

Leaders within the movement have indicated that the cash-flow crisis is the main reason why the ANC is unable to speed up the repatriation of almost 10 000 exiles.

The treasurer-general's report, obtained at the ANC's 48th national conference in Durban last week, reveals that the movement had a total income of R79,9 million last year and had spent R69,9 million. The bulk of this was spent on activities outside the country.

The confidential report also says that, within the first 10 months of its unbanning, the movement spent R10 million inside the country.

While money accruing inside the country amounted to R11,3 million, only R598 420 came from membership. The remainder came from donations and grants.

Of the money spent inside the country, almost 17 percent went to salaries - R1 900 000.

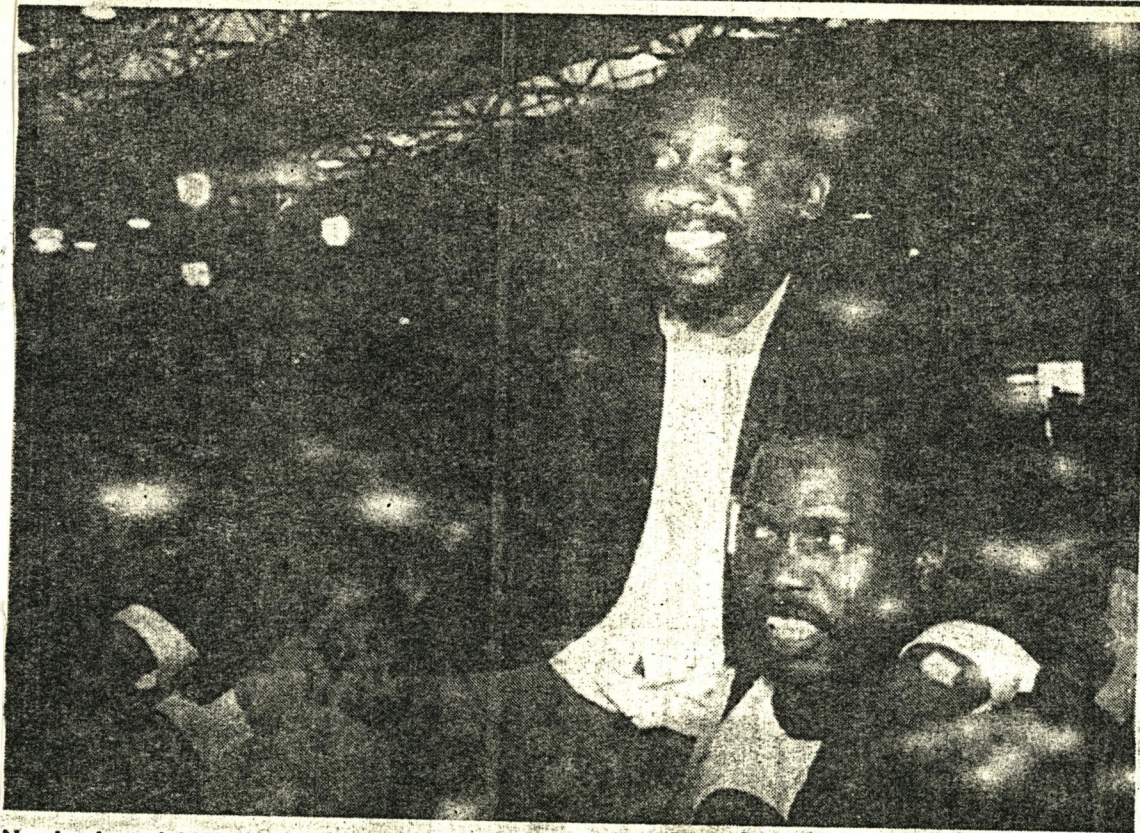
On the other hand, however, the document reveals that the ANC has R657,9 million in fixed assets abroad, much of which is in Tanzania and which the ANC will hand back when it clears out completely from that country. The ANC also owns property in European capitals.

After he was re-elected to office, treasurer-general Mr Thomas Nkobi said he expected foreign aid to stop but that any new funds would be directed to projects inside the country.

He said the organisation had recently received a donation from Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi but the millions promised by the American government "were still in the United States".

The American government had said it was withholding the money because of the ANC's relationship with the SACP.

Most of the ANC's funding over the past years has been from Scandinavian countries and from Italy, according to the report.



Newly elected ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is carried on the shoulders of supporters at the first national congress of the organisation inside South Africa in 30 years.



JOE SLOVO



CHRIS HANI



THABO MBEKI



'TERROR' LEKOTA



RONNIE KASRILS



AHMED KATHRADA



PALLO JORDAN



STEVE TSHWETE



HARRY GWALA

8/1/91