COMMENT

Quis custodiet...?

N REJECTING public demands for a commission of inquiry into the "Death Squad" allegations, President de Klerk has committed the first major blunder of his presidency. It will haunt him until he leaves office, and perhaps afterwards, for he has invoked those devices of government, such as the police, the lower courts and the much-abused sub judice rule, which are most deeply distrusted by the majority of South Africans, in order to avoid using the one remaining institutional instrument that retains a measure of public trust, which is the higher judiciary.

More disturbing is the announcement that the first to be prosecuted for so-called "Death Squad" murders are those former policemen who have provided most evidence for the existence of such a squad, Butana Nofomela and Dirk Coetzee. To a sceptical public, it will seem a curious repetition of the case of Lt Gregory Rockman who found, after an inquiry into his allegations that police behaved like wild animals discovered some substance to the charge, that he alone ended up in court.

The decision to prosecute Nofomela and Coetzee (rather than, say, use them as accomplice witnesses) will also seem to many to bear out the finding of Miss Justice van der Heever in her inquiry into DET corruption that those officials who try to make public the sins of the bureaucracies are threatened with disciplinary action and possible loss of livelihood. To any policeman tempted to expose wrong-doing

within the force, it must surely seem that the threat for speaking out may be no less than loss of life by hanging.

Even worse is the fact that President de Klerk has essentially ducked the real issue: murder is bad enough, but it occurs in the normal course of human life; police "death squads" are a mortal threat to the life of the nation, an instrument which may be turned on the political leaders of any party at any time including the ruling party or the State President himself. To prosecute acts of murder is important, but not nearly so important as to discover whether there exists within the ranks of the police force or the military community a secret organisation that seeks to subvert the will of the electorate by a systematic programme of murder. The outcome of such an inquiry, plainly, must be credible to all reasonable people.

This raises a final point: the day may come, under another government, when such murders are brought to light and the people responsible for them are brought to justice. In that case, it will be difficult for political leaders to establish their own innocence if they have acted in a manner that seems, prima facie, to indicate that they were a party to a cover-up. They will find it almost impossible to explain why, when the higher ranks of the police force stood accused by its own officers, they assigned to those very higher ranks the responsibility to investigate themselves, and to prosecute their accusers.

Sowetans urged to pay service charges

By Jovial Rantao The Soweto Council, in response to the December 31 deadline set by the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), urged residents at a public meeting yesterday to pay service charges announced in May

this year.
Addresssing the meeting at the Eyethu Cinema in Mofolo, Soweto, the chairman of the Soweto Council's management committee, Mr Butana Tshabalala, urged residents to "forget about the rent and pay for what you consume".

us and solve this problem by paying your service charges," Mr Tshabalala said.

"As you might be aware, if you don't pay, that will mean that you don't co-operate with us and we will be replaced by the TPA."

RESIGNATION

Mr Tshabalala made it clear at the meeting that if residents did not respond to the council's call to pay the service charges, the council would resign en masse.

In his address, Soweto mayor "We urge you to co-operate with Mr Sam Mkhwanazi said the council had shown its loyalty to residents by not evicting them when they did not pay rent and service charges.

"I ask you to show your support by paying the tariffs, which are very low as far as I'm concerned." • Mr Butana Tshabalala announced that a R7 000 loan would be made available to unemployed Mshenguville residents who wished to be resettled in Orange Farm but could not afford to build their own houses.

The loan would be repaid at the rate of 75c a month, he said.

Nineties a decade of mass defiance'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The huge Conference for a Democratic Future — the biggest assembly of black resistance organisations since the Congress of the People in 1955 — decided at the weekend to make the 1990s a decade of mass defiance against the Government.

But it failed to achieve complete unity — especially on the vital question of negotiations. While the much larger Mass Democratic Movement endorsed the ANC-backed Harare Declaration, the smaller Black Consciousness Movement failed to do so. The BCM also did not endorse the conference's plans for mass action.

Rejecting President de Klerk's reform moves as merely an attempt to make apartheid more "palatable" while continuing to entrench white privilege, the conference of some 4 600 delegates from 200 organisations, resolved to intensify the struggle with wide-ranging mass actions.

These included marches, rallies, and the occupation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to prevent trading of shares of privatised enterprises such as Sats, Eskom and the Post Office.

The conference also called on whites to "break decisively with all apartheid forces and side with the majority in acting to end apartheid" by taking action such as marching from towns into townships "as an expression of solidarity with the struggling masses".

It also decided on a campaign to create single municipalities out of neighbouring black and white towns and cities such as Johannesburg and Soweto and called on whites to participate in such campaigns.

UDF leader Mr Mohammed Valli said the conference had established the foundation for the democratic forces' mass action for the decade of the 1990s.

Although there was no agreement on negotiations and the Harare Declaration, organisers halled the conference as a "roaring success" and said the adoption of the Harare Declaration by most of the delegates was its most significant achievement.

The Harare Declaration says there is a possibility of ending apartheid through negotiations if the Government releases political prisoners and detainees; unbans political organisations; removes troops from the townships; lifts the state of emergency and repeals security legislation, and ends all political trials and executions.

Step to black unity

BCM spokesman Mr Strini Moodley saw the conference as a step towards unity among black resistance groups.

A conference declaration noted that if President de Klerk could convince them he was serious about genuine negotiations, "we are ready to talk".

The conference resolved to intensify the struggle for a single non-racial democratic South Africa and to call on the international community to intensify the isolation of the Government and to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Released ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu in his keynote address said the ultimate aim of the Government was a "Great Indaba", a negotiating forum of representatives from the tricameral parliament, the bantustans and other "groups" such as "urban blacks", chosen by separate election.

All of these groups would have the power of veto and the white group would therefore be able to block fundamental change.

He appealed to President de Klerk to abandon the "Great Indaba" and black election and to "submit to a democratically elected constituent assembly".

Mr Sisulu's speech was the most conciliatory. Though casting some doubt on Mr de Klerk's reform moves, he also noted that "sections within the ruling bloc" were becoming increasingly aware that South Africa could only be rebuilt on the principles of freedom, equality and a living wage.

"Those groups know that under such

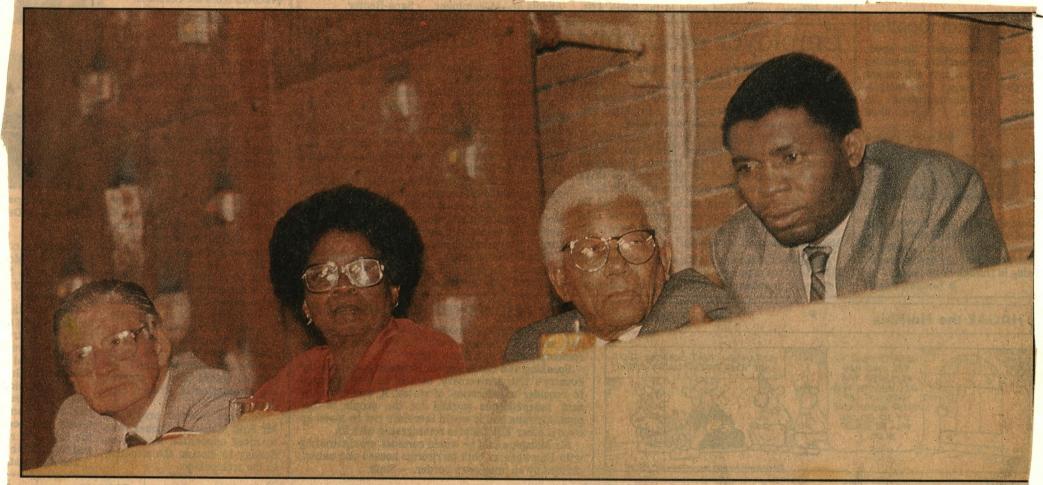
"Those groups know that under such conditions we are ready to offer them our hand."

He said Mr de Klerk was being forced to reform due to international economic pressure and local pressure from liberation movements.

He added that new circumstances needed fresh analysis and urged delegates to "remain tenacious to our principles but be flexible in our tactics".

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.



Calling for unity and peace . . . leaders of the Mass Democratic Movement preside at the Conference for a Democratic Future, which attracted 4 600 delegates (below) to the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend. The leaders are (from left) Dr Beyers Naude, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Sydney Mafumadi.

Rumours of royal split denied Buthelezi attacks rénegade prince

ULUNDI Zulu senior Prince Mcwayizeni's joining of Contralesa drew strong criticism yesterday Kwafrom Zulu chief minister



Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi. The chief said that Contralesa was an organisation aimed at sowing discord between Kwa-Zulu and Inkatha officials.

The prince had appeared on platforms and abused Chief Buthelezi, he said.

"I have never had a quarrel with the senior prince and politically it never occurred to me he would want to challenge me," Chief Buthelezi said. "I have never had to deal with him as a political enemy.

"The kind of vendetta which the senior prince is now engaged in is carefully shaped as part and parcel of political tac-

tics against Inkatha.

"For the senior prince now to present the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly as some kind of ogrething that usurps the power of the king is altogether mind-boggling," he said, adding that he had no quarrel with the prince.

Prince Mcwayizeni denied a quarrel in a news-paper article last week.

The article quoted the prince as saying that "he realised the

Legislative Assembly was a 'vehicle' only for its driver".

"The Prince's stand points to a split within the KwaZulu ruling circles and a challenge to the legitimacy of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rule," it said.

On this Dr Buthelezi commented: "The problem which reporters ... have in writing about black politics is they do not understand black politics generally and most certainly do not understand KwaZulu poli-tics. Any understanding of Kwa-Zulu, its past and present, its Royal family and its day-to-day politics, would scream out against the absurdity of making the point that the senior prince can actually challenge me. It is like ridiculing him for he does not have even a snowball's chance in hell to challenge me."

He added that the prince was "unfortunately a pawn in the hands of those who are now trying to deal in subterfuge be-cause their full might could not challenge my legitimacy

The ANC and the UDF/Cosatu alliance were "really shaming themselves in stooping to use a person like the senior prince to mouth their messages. It is their divisiveness which the senior prince is now mouthing'

"My prediction is the royal household will rise to the occasion and show that they have the old true Zulu genius of putting together that which KwaZulu's enemies try to tear asunder, Chief Buthelezi said. - Sapa.

What about the hit squads elsewhere?

WITH reference to hit squads and the furore surrounding them; could some enlightened soul from the liberal camp or Press explain to this simple man the following:

1. It is common knowledge that Israel employs hit squads. I think they are controlled by, or are a branch of, an organisation called Mossad. Do I hear the Jewish communi-

ty waxing strong on human rights?

2. England has an organisation called the SAS. Is it not common knowledge that a number of IRA thugs have met their deaths at the hands of this well-trained organisation? Did we hear the English media, immigrants, or supporters of Maggie Thatcher voicing their loud protests?

3. Then, of course, our fine American friends—
the CIA is it not? These gentlemen, I understand, frequently incorporate the service of the Mafia.

I have read that highly remunerative arrangements, known as contracts, are frequently made between these two organisations.

Do I hear a murmur of protest from our American friends? The American Embassy, so strong on human rights, fair play justice for all? (Ah me, what it is to be without sin).

4. I vaguely suspect that our friends the French are not on very safe territory when it comes to talking about assassination squads. Perhaps the era of Gen De Gaulle is not quite as white and pure as the driven snow. Do I hear whisperings from this rather unsafe territory?

5. Finally the ANC. Every team, squad or individual from this organisation is a hit squad or hit man. This organisations has considerable advantage over the others mentioned. Mossad, SAS, CIA, Mafia, are normally under directive to hit a specific target. They are in serious trouble if they hit the wrong person.

No such cumbersome formalities for the ANC. Any person, Black, White, woman, child, is available for "hitting".

South Africa is under pressure to change to standards acceptable to the rest of the world. Could the enlightened person mentioned at the start of this letter explain to a poor simple man these standards as regards hit squads.

B R NICHOLLS

Brakpan North

Wouldn't have to do without Blacks

I READ the letter of M S Russel (The Citizen, November 27), with much interest. He obviously wrote in haste or omitted really to think the issue through. Taking his letter point for point, let me elucidate on the waywardness of his argument:

1. The firm in Pinetown employing only Whites at higher wages. If the Black labourer had been properly trained and remunerated at the appropriate level, the firm would have enjoyed the same loyalty and enthusiasm, without hassles from unions, etc.

2. Why could the farmers not have given these amenities in the tractor to the labourer? If the farmer had, he would have re-

ceived the same productivity.

3. The suggestion that robots or higher mechanisation be employed is obviously less than brilliant. What I ask, are the unemployed going to do in this copious free time at their disposal? Let me answer:

3.1 They are going to become bored.

3.2 They are going to compare what they don't have with what those who work have, and plan to procure what they don't have. Will they steal? They must. As unemployed they have no money.

3.3 They are going to hang around the town, maybe Kloof, looking for something to do.

When Mr Russel says that South Africans are addicted to Blacks, he again misses a very important social point. Every country on earth has the "servant class" — ours is only a bit cheaper than say, the UK or US. It is not so much a problem of addiction but availability.

With a decent education programme and a good living wage, we wouldn't have to do without Blacks. Everybody cannot be the boss and there will always be the less capable to do the menial jobs, immaterial of the colour of their skin.

J B RALPH

Diskobolos

Conference adopts ANC position on talks with Pretoria

THE Mass Democratic Movement, the mainstream coalition of organisations fighting apartheid inside South Africa, unanimously resolved to adopt the African National Congress position on negotiations as its own at a national conference on Saturday, antiapartheid leaders said yesterday.

The resolution fixed the ANC as the key political organisation with which the government must deal if it is to be serious in its own purported commitment to negotiate the terms of "a new South Africa". In line with the ANC plan, set out in a declaration issued in Harare in August, 4,600 delegates representing more than 2,000 organisations gathered at the Conference for a Democratic Future agreed to demand the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a non-racial, democratic constitution based on the principle of a single parliament and universal suffrage. Thus the principal objective of the conference was achieved: to demonstrate that the exiled ANC and the MDM speak, on the central question of negotiations, with one voice.

Tomorrow the United Nations General Assembly meets in New York to examine the South African question. Representatives of From John Carlin in Johannesburg

the MDM and ANC will be there seeking to persuade the UN to adopt the Harare document. Allan Bocsak, who left for New York last night to explain the new MDM position, said yesterday the backing given to the document by the conference ought to ensure that the UN votes in favour of it.

The essential demands of the ANC are that before taking part in negotiations the government must release all political prisoners, lift all bans on political organisations (the ANC among them), end the state of emergency, repeal all legislation designed to circumscribe political activity and cease all political trials and executions.

At Saturday's conference it was resolved that in order to push through these demands the MDM would set about a programme of intensified mass protest. Here MDM leaders were addressing what has been a central concern since a combination of international and government pressure forced the question of negotiations on to the centre stage of South African politics:

how to negotiate without dimirishing the level of political mobifsation, which will be a crucial factor in determining the strength of the ANC-MDM's bargaining position. By rallying antiapartied organisations around the call for the creation of a constituent assembly — a call which Mr & Klerk shows no sign of heeding, although he may cede a great deal on the pre-conditions demaced by the ANC — the MDM leadership hopes to sustain, or increase, mass protest.

Saturday's key-note conference addressby the ANC veteran, Walter Stalu, was devoid of the dogmt which has long cluttered the rheoric of "liberation". He urged fesh thinking and flexibility or all people committed to ending apartheid to seek "a new way forward" and exploit "the trementous opportunity" provided by the government's loss of control over the process of change in South Africa.

■ Polc: are investigating the possitilty that political assassinations have been arranged by a secret rgnt-wing group led by civil servant, businessmen and other white professionals, the Sunday Star of Johannesburg said yesterday, AP reports.



The ANC leader, Walter Sisulu, addresses the Conference for a lemocratic Future.

CAMAY QUITS NACTU cil of Trade Unions to go if its principle of

has accepted "with regret" the resignation last week of its general secretary, Mr Piroshaw Camay.

A special central on Saturday also appointed first assistant general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana as acting general secretary until the federation's national council appoints a successor, according to Nactu president James Mndaweni.

effective on December 31 this year, has precipitated a crisis within the federation as the accountant, Mrs Florence Thinane, Africanists and Black has also resigned.

Three other senior officials are also said to be on their way out. Mndaweni said Camay had said he was "tired."

Camay had no comment to make on his resig- a head when the federnation but, according to ation voted to stay out of

open secret that he did not in April this year. It is member of the recently ing. The federation's imlaunched Pan Africanist age took a beating when Movement Ngcukana has dismissed resolution and attended committee meeting held reports of a rift between the summit. himself and Camay as

of the federation, includ- to withdraw from last ing Mndaweni and vice weekend's Conference for president Patricia De a Democratic Future Lille, are Africanists. (CDF). The federation has been plagued by controversy conference representing since the last congress last Camay's resignation, year when the present At least eight affiliates of Africanist dominated executive was elected into CDF in defiance of the

The divisions between Consciousness Movement adherents started when the principles of the federation were changed from "black working class unity" to "African working class unity."

The divisions came to weekend reports, it is an the Workers Summit held

see eye to eye with known that Camay had Ngcukana, a founding been in favour of attend-(PAM). 11 affiliates defied the

But it is believed that "unfounded speculation." the last straw came when Other senior officials of Nactu decided

Camay attended the Nactu also attended the federation's decision not

non-collaboration was compromised.

Camay has considerable international links with major funding agencies and his exit from the position under such controversial circumstances may affect the federation's finances.

Camay (42) was appointed general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) when it was formed in in 1978. He became general secretary of Nactu when Cusa and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) merged in 1986. He was reconfirmed to the position last year.



Mr Cunningham Ngcukana.



Mr Piroshay Camay

Re-incorporation fever sweeps through TBVC

By MATHATHA **TSEDU**

IS the government just about to dismantle the TBVC states and re-declare those areas part of a unified South Africa?

This question begs to be asked in the light of the euphoria that is sweeping the states now. Following Mr FW De Klerk's appointment as State President, he has been at pains to explain that a new South Africa is about to burst forth with freedom and justice for

Then came Transkei military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, stating that his government was prepared to test public opinion on the acceptability of independence. Since then he has stated that a committee had been appointed to look into the mechanism of conducting a referendum on the issue.

Futile

Transkeian state president Ndamase told Venda president Ravele that it was futile to hang on to outdated institutions to protect one's interests. This was seen as more proof of Transkei's unquestionable commitment to the concept of reincorporation.

Venda has also seen movement in the same direction. Senior bureaucrats recently met to discuss possible options

in the event of reincorporation. They were studying whether a unitary or federal set-up would be most appropriate. The results are not yet known.

On Friday last week De Klerk was at Thohoyandou, where he met Ravele and his cabinet. A statement issued after the talks merely stated that both parties had

agreed that a new era had dawned in Southern Africa. No indications of whether renounciation of independence was discussed at all.

But Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a news conference that such an issue could not be discussed in public. The states had asked for themsleves about independence and if for one reason or another they did not want to continue the process they should approach South Africa through the normal channels, he said.

But still the euphoria continues. People say the independence days are numbered. Is this out of line? Have they any reason to be optimistic? Is the government ready to make an about turn?

Expensive

Yes, according to Unisa lecturer in African Political Development and former journalist, Mr Phil Mthimkulu.

He says De Klerk and his National Party have realised that maintaining the duplicate structures with more than nine ministries of education, health, roads etc was expensive.

Although survival of white domination rested on the continued division of black people into tribal nations allegedly independent from each other, the reality of the situation

now is that De Klerk has committed his party to negotiations with liberation movements such as the ANC, PAC and the BCMA.

All these movements have demanded that the government commit itself to a unitary state, among other things. Would the government dismantle the TBVC states immediately or wait for the negotiations to get under way and then announce the measure as part of its compromises in the spirit of give and take that forms part of everyday

negotiations?

Mthimkulu said without the dismantling of the TBVC states and the tiations can take place. Negotiations can only take place if all these states are brought back into South Africa, he added.

He said it was immaterial whether the leaders of these states wanted the idea of reincorporation. "You have to bear in mind that these states are wholly dependent on De Klerk financially. So it is a case here of he who pays the piper calling the tune. If Mangope for example was to say 'no I am not going back to South Africa,' De KLerk would just simply switch off the financial tap. We saw that happening with even real independent states like

Lesotho," Mthimkulu * said.

He said a major announcement on the deother bantustans, no nego- mise of the bantustans was definitely imminent. The announcement last weekend by Ravele that Venda would take part, although the format of the new dispensation was still hazy, can be seen as proof

> "The euphoria is justified if one analyses the moves that De Klerk has made in recent months. The releases of political prisoners and the marches are cases in point. But in the end pressure must of necessity come from the people themselves, who must indicate quite clearly that the so-called independence is unacceptable.

Mood

"We must realise that the independence that we are talking about here was not fought for. The people in those states never asked for it.

realisation that these states were corruptable was another major factor to be looked at. And with the present mood in these states, any attempt to hang on the status of the TBVC states would unleash mass mobilisation that would equal what we have been witnessing in the socialist Eastern of Mthimkulu Europe," said.

He discounted the theory that De Klerk would keep the TBVC states and the non-independent states intact and form a nucleus of a local DTA with which he would go to the negotiation table.

"The DTA in Namibia has just been a very expensive affair with very little returns. The government wanted to stop a Swapo government from taking over Namibia but the DTA failed dismally in that. So did Muzorewa in Zimbabwe," he said.

The demise of bantustans would effectively remove one of the major demands of the liberation movements - namely that of a unitary South Africa. This, however, would not necessarily ensure the success of the process itself, other observers said.

What is likely to be agreed upon would be a South Africa without entrenched discrimination. The state would be capitalist. Taking into consideration that organisations such as the PAC and the BCMA have stated their ultimate aim as

socialism of one kind or another, it is understandable why the two feel the stage is not yet set for talks with the ruling white minority.

As the euphoria in the TBVC states goes on, it is important to remember that re-incorporation is not the same as liberation.



Senier Prince Managygen

Buthelezi slams 'pro-ANC' prince

ULUNDI. — Zulu Senior.
Prince Mcwayizeni's joining of the pro-ANC group
Contralesa drew strong
criticism yesterday from
KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosutho
Buthelezi.

The Chief said in a statement Contralesa was an organisation aimed at sowing discord between KwaZulu and Inkatha officials.

The Prince had appeared on ANC platforms and abused Chief Buthelezi.

An article, which appeared in Britain's Guardian newspaper on November 27, under the headline "Zulu Prince challenges Buthelezi", was an "audacious misrepresentation of Black politics and the Senior Prince's role in it", the statement said.

"I have never had a quarrel with the Senior Prince and, politically, it never occurred to me he would want to challenge

me. I have never had to deal with him as a political enemy.

"The kind of vendetta which the Senior Prince is now engaged in is carefully shaped as part and parcel of political tactics against Inkatha."

"For the Senior Prince now to present the Kwa-Zulu Legislative sembly as some kind of ogre thing that usurps the power of the King is altogether mind-boggling, the statement said. Chief Buthelezi added: "Beyond the hurt which I feel that this Guardian article gives rise to, there is also the hurt of the Senior Prince's eldest son joining the UDF and Cosatu and demanding the annihilation of me and Inkatha."

The Chief said he had no quarrel with the Prince.

The Prince gave a similar message in an interview this week with the Weekly Mail.

The Weekly Mail arti-

cle headlined "Zulu Prince gives MDM support" quoted Prince Mcwayizeni as saying: "He realised the legislative assembly was a 'vehicle' only for its driver:"

The Weekly Mall then said: "The Prince's stand points to a split within the KwaZulu ruling circles and a challenge to the legitamacy of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rule."

On this Dr Buthelezi said: "The problem which reporters like Mofra Levy have in writing about Black politics is they do not understand Black politics generally and most certainly do not understand KwaZulu politics.

"Any understanding of KwaZulu, its past and present, its royal family and its day-to-day politics, would scream out against the absurdity of making the point that the Senior Prince can actually challenge me. It is like ridiculing him for he does no have even a snowball's chance in hell to challenge me, politically speaking. This is a non-starter."

He added that the Prince was "unfortunately a pawn in the hands of those who are now trying to deal in subterfuge because their full might could not challenge my legitimacy".—Sapa.

Page 4 11 SECENSER 1989 THE CITIZEN Page 4 Politburo, Marxist-Leninism for Zimbabwe?

HARARE - Saturday's Central Committee meeting yesterday approved a draft constitution with three major amendments, and the final document is to be presented to Zimbabwe's Congress next week, the United Zandu (PF) co-secretary for publicity, Mr Nathan Shamhuyarira, said on Sunday.

Zanu's joint central committee met in Harare to discuss the document, Ziana, Zimbabwe's news agency reports.

Mr Shamhuyarira said the major amendments involved the appointment of a Politburo, powers of the Party's new National Chairman and upholding of socialism.

"The very useful and

frank discussions underlined the fact that the people should have the final say in deciding whether they reject or accept our mandate. The supremacy of the people is underlined and through several clauses, democratic centralism is underlined," he said.

Mr Shamhuyarira, who is also the Foreign Minister, said the meeting made the amendment that the Politburo should be appointed by the Party's president in the same way as he appoints the cabinet.

Committee Central membership would remain subject to elections, and the Politburo would have 22 members, while the Central Committee would have 160.

"The other amendment was on powers of the National Chairman. It was agreed that he would chair all meetings, except the main congress which would be chaired by the president of the party, Mr Shamhuyarira said.

He said most speakers spoke very strongly on the need to highlight the upholding of socialism at the forthcoming congress, but stressed it should be based on Zimbabwean experiences and guided by Marxist and Leninist principles.

* principles "These should be based on our social, cultural and historical expenriences with the aim to create economic independence, increased production and equitable distribution of wealth," he added. -Sapa

Anti-apartheid leaders announce 'final onslaught'

By SCOTT KRAFT

LIA. Times/Weshington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa

Concluding the largest antiapartheid conference inside South
Africa in 34 years, black leaders
Sunday invited South African
whites to join them in an intensified campaign of civil disobedience to pressure President
Frederik de Klerk to move more
swiftly to dismantle apartheid and
open negotiations with the black
majority.

Murphy Morobe, a spokesman for the conference, acknowledged that black unity remains elusive, but he said that "a firm basis was established for the political direction of all anti-apartheid forces well into the 1990s." He described the 1990s as "the decade of the final onslaught against apartheid."

The 4,662 black, white, mixedrace and Indian delegates, in resolutions adopted late Saturday at a closed session, declared de Klerk's reform initiatives "devoid of any substance. There have been no actions to back up his vague promises."

"We want to end apartheid and exploitation as soon as possible," the delegates said in a statement is sued Sunday. "If de Klerk can convince us that he is serious about genuine negotiations, ... we are ready to talk about the creation of a democratic South Africa."

Although the Conference for a Democratic Future brought together representatives of more than 2,100 organizations, several major black organizations either boycotted the meeting or were not invited.

Among them was the left-wing Pan-Africanist Movement, an ideological twin of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress that opposes the African National Congress' philosophy of non-racism. Also excluded was the Inkatha movement, headed by the moderate Zulu Chief, Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, who opposes the ANC's guerrilla tactics as too militant.

The meeting was one of the largest anti-apartheld gatherings inside. South Africa since 1955, when opposition groups wrote the guideline for South Africa's future known as the Freedom Charter.

Compliments of Cliff Gosney