

EDITOR: RAYMOND LOUW . \â\200\231 EVERY WEEK
 ANC likely to delay detailed policy discussion
 because of anger over â\200\230compromisesâ\200\231 at Codesa
 THE ANCâ\200\231s negotiating team - which includes some of its most senior leaders
 â\200\224 has to â\200\230face the musicâ\200\231 this weekend from an increasingly angry
 membership,
 disappointed at the compromises made during last weekâ\200\231s sittings of Codesa.
 . The â\200\230showdownâ\200\231 will come at a national policy workshop to be held in J
 ohannesburg.
 Planned several months ago ,(as reported in SA Report on May 22) to discuss the
 movementâ\200\231s policy on issues such as the economy, health, education and housing, t
 he
 meeting is likely to be turned into a frank discussion of the ANC-led allianceâ\200\231s
 negotiations strategy.
 Angry ANC regions - in particular the Western Cape, Border and the PWV â\200\224 are
 insisting-that- thenegotiations process must take'preference overâ\200\230discussion of p
 olicy
 issues. They say there is â\200\230little pointâ\200\231 in discussing policy if the AN C
 is going to be denied
 the opportunity to implement that policy because of the delays at Codesa.
 Two main issues of concern have been
 Cumnt Affairs raised:
 ANC and SACP phone v 0 The decision by the ANC negotiating
 \$\$â\200\230ggmgî-\201gam team toback down on their demand for a
 Infp-lyescandals 66% majority in the constituent assem-
 Winnie Mandela lpscs 1351 4 . , blyi on constitution issues; and
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 IPlmay_meelinSA , government in the run-up to elections
 î-\201î-\2011â\200\231z A for a constituent assembly.
 - . _ ~ Added to this is concern at the Na-
 l-labour . ' â\200\230 tional Partyâ\200\231s attempts to introduceâ\200\230sun-
 wî-\201oiî-\201imâ\200\231; ' set clausesâ\200\231 into discussion on the struc-
 General strike looms - ture of a future government - in effect,
 . because of sunedgzggmgî-\201mrnwwwâ\200\230d u. ...-clnuseswhichwillgive the outgoingp
 arty
 3.9.â\200\235 â\200\230a disproportionate presence in a post-
 Tuming a war zone into ' apartheid government.
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 rs have
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 . Privatisation [centers â\200\230 ;.- ; .- . > . .atheir' compromise positions, this is
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 \200\231:".'" 9, ~ .. lî-\202Sely to sati'sfyfANC regions which feel
 mezz'î-\201nabjÃm . ->â\200\230 these positions should not have been
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 those positions - but what if the govern-

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ment danceptedthem?Wewouldhave
M been; (13 with eoipĩ-\201ro ĩ-\201romise positions,â\200\235
; said " â\200\230 â\200\235 fgÃ©ĩ-\201the ANCâ\200\231s PWV delegat-
ĩ-\202ow d Dome! warhshop
',- Members of the ANC alliance,â\200\230 ln par-
tam members ofCosatu and the SACP,
say their problem is not just with the
detail of the compromises, but the fact
that they were made at all, without there
being sufficient discussion within the
alliance structures.
â\200\230People within Cosatu have long had
a problem with the process at Codesa,â\200\231
said a trade unionist due to attend the
policy workshop. â\200\230What happened last
weekend only conĩ-\201rms fears that the
1 negotiating 'team is operating without
â\200\230 an understanding of what their mem-
bers want.â\200\231
The delays at Codesa will also
strengthen the hand of those within the
SACP and Cosatu calling for a general
strike m J uly (see article on page 6 of this
issue)
Cosatu argued earlier this year that if
an interim government was not ln place
by J une, along with plans for elections to
a constituent assembly by the end of the
year, it would mobilise a general strike
during J uly to force the government to
handvover-power. Â« v
Cosatu argued the Codesa working
groups should be disbanded after Codesa
2 and negotiations on the Codesa execu-
tive should concentrate only on transfer-
ring power to an interim government.
Cosatu applied at the beginning of
the year to participate in Codesa but has
not yet received a response.
Tough talking
Another factor contributing to the angry
mood among members of the ANC alli-
ance is the failure of the National Peace
Accord - signed with much fanfare last
year â\200\224 to put an end to the attacks on
township residents.
w- ., The PWVregiop of the ANC has called : -
" on its national leadership to pull out of
the Peace Accord, and a war of words
ensued this week between ANC presi-
dent Nelson Mandela and law and order
minister Hernus Kriel over reasons why
the accord was failing.
_An urgent meeting of the National
~. V . was being prepared for printincâ\200\231E and no
details were available ofhow -â\200\230
, were going. " 75E
Peace Committee was in progressssththis _ â\200\230
edition of SOUTHERNAFRICAREPORT .
The meeting was called a month ear- 3'1
lier than planned, because of concern at
the fact that violence continues, un-
abated, in many townships.
AN C participants ln peace structures
have warned of growing anger among
the movementâ\200\231s membership at theeom-
mitteeâ\200\231 s apparent inability to stop the
carnage. _
They are also. insisting on joint or
neutral control of the security forces as

part of an interim arrangement. â\200\230
- Proof of the need for urgent action has
come from the Human Rights Commis-
sion, which this week released figures
showing that there have been 119 politi-
cal murders since the unbanning of the
liberation movements in 1990- 35 of them
this year. More than 100 of the victims
are identifiable as anti-apartheid activ-
ists or their families, according to the
HRC.

ANC and SACPâ\200\231s phone
lines tapped at Codesa

â\200\230LETâ\200\231S COMMUNICATEâ\200\231 is the advertising
jingle used by Telkom, the former post office
department handling South Africaâ\200\231s telephone
and telecommunication services. The slogan
was emblazoned on TV screens around the
country during the first dayâ\200\231s sitting of Codesa,
with Telkom sponsoring the live TV broadcast
of proceedings and receiving a hearty pack on
the back from TV presenters.

Now, it seems, there may be more to the
Telkom slogan than meets the eye- the ANC
and the SACP have both found that their
telephone and fax lines at Codesa were tapped
before the proceedings began. â\200\230

And the telecommunications com-
pany has been implicated in the process. " ' ,r - ,
According to private investigators;- tailed
in when the ANC suspected interference on its
linesâ\200\224 only Telkom staff would have had the
necessary access to tap the lines, particularly
the fax line which was interfered with at the
local telephone exchange. â\200\230 Ã©.

A crucial element in the background process is

access to the circuit diagrams for the Codesa venue, the WorldTrade Centre. Only a Telkom engineer would have had access to the diagrams, which show which underground cable to tap into, according to investigators. The police, the defence ministry and the ministry of posts and telecommunications have pointed out that individual post office technicians and Telkom engineers have been known to bug lines for state agencies in the past to supplement their incomes.

The matter received urgent attention at the first sitting of Codesa's management committee, which met on May 28 to try and overcome the impasse which developed at last week's talks.

More state corruption in the 1990s type scandals

ANOTHER TWO FINANCIAL scandals engulfed the South African government this week, hard on the heels of revelations of corruption: in the civil service.

The first scandal involves R1,6-million in taxpayers' money, paid to an unnamed West African businessman believed to be a Nigerian in a move similar to the infamous Info Scandal of the late 70s.

Officials of Pik Botha's Foreign Affairs Department were approached by the businessman in 1986 with a proposal to set up a network of pro-Pretoria magazines for distribution in West Africa. Based in London, the network would be half-owned by the businessman and half-owned by a foreign affairs front company. The government paid the R1,6-m to the businessman in 1986. To date, no magazines have been published, and the businessman still refuses to give back the money even though he has apparently been confronted by the foreign affairs officials.

Foreign affairs director-general Neil van Heerden has been left looking particularly embarrassed by the incident, with questions being asked about the way his officials conduct their affairs. His explanation of the chain of events is as follows: "Our money went into a joint account. His money did not go in. He, in violation of our agreement, took the money out. The whole thing collapsed."

To make things worse for Pretoria, its officials are reluctant to pursue their attempts all denied involvement, but investigators have

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to recover their money as they are keen to establish diplomatic ties with the businessman's home country and he is a senior politician in that country.

The R1,6-m in question came from the Foreign Affairs Secret Service Account, which has also been used to fund Inkatha rallies and to fund the activities of anti-Swapo parties during the Namibian elections.

The second financial scandal to break this week also involved attempts to sell Pretoria's image in Africa.

Former SABC journalist Kolie van Coller has been accused of receiving state funds to set up Television Media Services (TMS) and Africa Television Network (ATN), a TV station broadcasting throughout Africa.

TMS received two mysterious payments of R700 000 and R264 000 between June 1990 and April 1991. The payments stopped around July last year – the time the Inkathagate scandal broke – raising suspicion that Van Collier was a victim of the state’s, announcement that it was scaling down secret projects. Van Collier’s partner left TMS late in 1990 because he believed the company was being funded by secret payments from Military Intelligence or another state department, according to reports in the weekend press. Van Collier, a former National Party parliamentary candidate, has denied that he received secret funds from the state. He insists that the funds for his project – which included his own salary of R18 000 a month – came from sympathetic businessmen and family members. TMS has since been closed down, and the remnants of ATN installations in Madagascar have been sold to foreign TV networks.

Foreign affairs officials are not the first South Africans to burn their fingers in money-making forays into Africa. Several businessmen have been lured to Nigeria: with the promise of lucrative get-rich-quick schemes – only to lose thousands of rands. One businessman’s greed resulted in him losing R20 000 in a government contract scam involving promises of up to \$26,5-million. The businessman claimed he had to flee Nigeria to escape those behind the scam. Another South African was arrested in Botswana after allegedly trying to cash a phoney cheque for \$20-million. The man claims he was given the cheque by a group of Nigerians who employed him as a consultant. .; ~.;. %-,.:s- i w

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Winnie Mandela loses last
toehold after protests

WINNIE MANDELA, the estranged wife of
ANC president Nelson Mandela, is battling to
salvage her political career after losing her
most important power base in the ANC.

Mandela was ousted as chairperson of the
Johnannesburg-centred PWV region of the ANC
Women's League when the region's executive
was suspended after a meeting of representa-
tives from its 33 branches. Mandela's hopes of
reversing the decision by political action were
quashed when the Women's League national
executive endorsed it.

Her sole chance of recapturing her power
base appear to depend on whether her law-
yers can prove that the suspension contra-
vened the League's constitution.

Mandela's loss of her position as chairper-
son of the League's PWV region a position to
which she was recently re-elected unanimously
- is the second major setback she has suffered
in the past six weeks. On April 15 she resigned
as head of the ANC's department of social
welfare after a series of newspaper reports
linking her, on the basis of legally untested
information, to the deaths more than three
years ago of a Soweto doctor (Abu-baker Asvat)
and a teenage activist (Stompie Sepele).

At the time Mandela stressed that she was
surrendering her appointed position as head
of the department of social welfare. By impli-
cation she was signalling her intention to
retain her elected positions - as chairperson
of the Women's League PWV region and as a
member of the ANC national executive as
bastions from which to realise her future aspi-
rations.

Mandela threw herself zealously into the
struggle, championing the causes of the poor
and the young and appearing on political
platforms with ANC militants like Harry
Gwala, the organisation's Natal Midlands
chairperson, and Peter Mokaba, president of
the ANC Youth League.

But then, just as political observers started
to plot the contours of Mandela's 'come back', -
came the coup against her in her own back-
yard. It was a sequel to a planned march on
ANC headquarters by Mandela's supporters.
The march was postponed at the last minute
when two ANC leaders, Tokyo Sexwale and
Steve Tshwete, persuaded the 'marchers to
abandon their plans. The women did, how-

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ever, present a memorandum to ANC secre-
tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. * ,
The memorandum demanded the rein-
statement of Mandela and her deputy, Dali
Mpofu, who had been dismissed a few weeks
after Mandela's resignation, and bitterly
criticised a 'faceless cabal of power-hungry
men' in the ANC. The memorandum was re-
leased to the media;

Mandela was suspected of having orches-
trated the demonstration and thus of
embarrassing the ANC, despite attempts by
her supporters to present it as a 'spontaneous'.
The counter-stroke came at the inter-branch

meeting of the PWV region of the Women's League less than three days later.

The whole affair was compounded by misleading reports that the ANC was investigating the loss of R400 000, allegedly caused by the unauthorised issue of cheques by the department of social welfare during Mandela's tenure as its head. The reports were vigorously denied by Mandela and repudiated by the ANC's department of information and publicity.

ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan

told SOUTHERN AFRICA REPORT that some ANC cheques had been stopped by the bank after they had been detected as fraudulent.

No money left the ANC treasury, he said.

The cheques did not amount to R400 000

as stated in newspaper reports. Insinuations

that Mandela and Mporo had gone on an

extravagant 'spending spree' during a trip to

the United States were false, Jordan said

the trip had been paid for by their American hosts.

In a statement the ANC expressed concern

at the excessive zeal of unnamed journalists

to find fault with Comrade Nomzamo (Winnie)

Mandela. It charged that their zest had led

them to print inaccuracies that injure the

reputation of both Comrade Mandela and the

ANC. Special Correspondent

Generals debate future.

SA army without SADF

SOME of the country's most senior military

strategists gathered this week to discuss the

role of a future South African army but they

had to do so without the official army, the SA Defence Force.

SADF officials were prevented from at-

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tending the discussions, according to the Defence Ministry, â\200\230because they are talking about these issues at Codesaâ\200\231 â\200\224but this did not prevent the SADF getting a blast from

Umkhonto we Sizweâ\200\231s Joe Modise. Modise accused Defence Minister Roelf Meyer of using the defence force â\200\230as an instrument, rather than allowing it to participate and think for itself about its own futureâ\200\231.

The conference itself criticised the SADFâ\200\231s absence, saying: â\200\230We urge all those who declined to participate to think of our nationâ\200\231s needs above particular desires and interests.â\200\231 Without the SADF, the conference delegates reached consensus on the need for a new defence force which would integrate the existing armies â\200\224 MK, SADF, APLA and the bantustan armies.

It saw this as part of the negotiations process, during which the existing armies would all be disbanded and their members would unite to form an army which reflects the national composition of South Africaâ\200\231s people.

The conference was attended by representatives from MK, the Venda- and Transkei defence forces*â\200\224 including Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa â\200\224 retired senior SADF officers and several military researchers.

0 On the eve of the Five Freedoms Forum conference, Meyer called a press conference to announce that the SADF had in fact already begun direct discussions with the ANC on the nature of a future army. But ANC officials pointed out later that these discussions had taken place at a â\200\230politicalâ\200\231 level, as part of discussions at Codesa. MK commanders and SADF officials had never met to discuss the nature of future defence structures.

IPI may meet in SA

THE WORLDâ\200\231S PRESS, represented by about 400 editors and newspaper publishers in up to 70 countries, will spend several days observing the transitional constitutional processes and the conduct of the media in April or May next year if the annual assembly of the International Press Institute is held in Johannesburg and Cape Town next year.

South Africa' 15 favoured as the venue for the conference as a country of prime international interest to journalists. It will have the first time the IPI has held a conference in South Africa. â\200\230 , , ' â\200\230

Inkatha image dented by evidence of involvement

THE IMAGE OF Chief Gatsha Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has taken a severe battering in the last few weeks as more and more evidence emerges linking it to township and train violence.

Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza has been named during investigations as having ordered attacks on ANC followers and township residents. Khoza - who is soon to appear in court on charges of reckless and negligent driving as well as defeating the ends of justice â\200\224 has been implicated in several acts of violence.â\200\230

And the Goldstone Commission, which is

looking into the violence' in many Witwaters-
rand townships, heard that Inkatha leaders
(including Transvaal chairman Musa Myeni)
have encouraged hostel dwellers to i- \201ght town-
ship people, especially ANC followers. The
' main reason, it was said, was the death of IF?
members in Tokoza township in the East
Rand after a rally earlier this year.
The commission was told by a 'witneâ\200\231ss â\200\224.
identified only as-Oâ\200\231Iâ\200\224 bbwthe leaders warned
their supporters not to give any information to
the police if they were arrested, even if they
were tortured. They were assured that legal
assistance will be provided in that situation.
The witness, who claimed to be a police â\200\231
informer, told the commission how Inkatha
leaders had mobilised hostel people during a
meeting to attack trains. He also said that a
certain Mr Ntombela asked â\200\230brave peopleâ\200\231 and
those who could use spears and pangas well to
volunteer for attacks on township residents.
The witnessâ\200\224 who gave information to the
police on people carrying illegal weapons for a
reward â\200\224 testiï-\201ed that a Mr Mbatha, a senior
induna, told various meeting that weapons
had been bought and that there was going to
be a lot of i-\201Ã@htinEHe also said that the police
had promised not to search hostels for danger-
ous weapons. â\200\230 â\200\230-
The informant gave names of people who
were allegedly involved in a train attack at
Kliptown Station in Soweto where commuters
Were killed and others injured; The attackers
'oftenchanged their clothes and â\200\230mixed with
people toâ\200\235 avoid identification; he said.
.. Recently, eight members'and supp
of the IFP appeared' In a VÃ@reemgm g co
connection with the deaths of '38 people alt-

ture of learning and weâ\200\231ve embarked on aback to school campaign. But the teachers canâ\200\231t go to the classroom only to hang around there.â\200\230We want to create conducive conditions of learning but the DET is not working in good faith with the education fraternity as a whole.â\200\231 The student protests have been soured by allegations that they are involved in violent acts in some parts of Soweto â\200\224 behaviour which has been condemned by both the NECC: and Cosas.

â\200\230 â\200\230Students are going to lose their lives. We are calling on them not to take part in the violence,â\200\231 said Cosas national organiser Frank Namohapi.

' Another area of concern in township education is a recent DET policy statement that the medium of instruction from standard eight be made optional â\200\224 English or a vernacular.

â\200\230We are concerned about the rural areas where thereâ\200\231s no infrastructure for English. The urban situation is better but you still ï-\201nd matriculants who canâ\200\231t write a good composition in English,â\200\231 the NECC said.

General strike looms .

because of stalled Codesa

THE FAILURE of Codesa 2 to deliver agreement on mechanisms for~ transition has

strengthened the hands of forces who argue -

that negotiations are only aâ\200\230terrain of struggleâ\200\231

- and that other forms 'of struggle should not

be subordinated to the negotiations process.

Chief amongst these is the 1,5â\200\224million

strong Cosatu.

In the run-up to Codesa 2, Cosatu argued '

that if an interim government was not in place â\200\230lg;

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by June, along with plans for elections to a constituent assembly by the end of the year, it would mobilise a general strike during July to force the government to hand over power.

It took this position to meetings of the Congress Alliance - the ANC, SACP and Cosatu - shortly before Codesa 2. Cosatu argued that Codesa working groups should be disbanded after Codesa 2 and negotiations on the Codesa executive should concentrate only on transferring power to an interim government.

Although the ANC and SACP leadership succeeded in pre-Codesa meetings in toning down Cosatu's position, the federation's language of mass action has been publicly echoed since Codesa 2 by the ANC's Nelson Mandela and the SACP's Chris Hani.

Cosatu applied at the beginning of the year to participate in Codesa but has not yet received a response. While a strong minority in the federation (including the NUM) opposed participation, the majority argued that organised workers needed to make their own voice heard at Codesa.

The question of Codesa participation is now academic: as so much water has passed under the Codesa bridge. But Cosatu's application still stands mainly to act as a counter to the demand of Inkatha that the Zulu king be represented.

In the meantime 10 Cosatu executive committee members have been participating in Codesa negotiations recently as part of the ANC, SACP and TIC/NIC delegations.

This weekend Cosatu and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) are convening a Workers Summit to which all independent unions have been invited. Cosatu will try to persuade the summit - which will represent about 2,5-million workers - to back its call for a general strike in July.

Besides the call for an interim government; the general strike is aimed at forcing the government to bring farm, domestic and public sector workers under the Labour Relations Act;

stopping what Cosatu calls unilateral economic restructuring and privatisation;

putting a stop to retrenchments and creating jobs through public works programmes and . . .

getting the government to negotiate the implementation of VAT - and in particular to zero-rate certain food and medical items.

Last year Cosatu led a two day general Labour

MA, strike around VAT, as well as forming a broad-based VAT Co-ordinating Committee to galvanise support for its anti-VAT campaign.

Another aspect of the Worker Summit will be an attempt to merge three major documents on Worker Rights - Cosatu's Workers' Charter, Nactu's Worker Manifesto and the Social Charter of Fundamental Rights of Southern African Workers - into one statement of worker rights.

If successful, the unions will then push to have elements of it included in a future constitution and Bill of Rights. For example, Cosatu

wants things like the right to strike, union independence from government and the right to work entrenched in a new constitution. The Worker Summit will also try to get agreement on a single investment code for SA. Already Cosatu and Nactu have their own investment codes and the summit will try and marry these into one union supported code. But the main aim of the summit is to create greater organisational unity in the union movement. This year Nactu and Cosatu unity has been greater than ever before. The two federations have held joint executive committee meetings and jointly organised May Day rallies for the first time. - In addition, negotiations with employers and government around the national economic forum, the restructuring of the National Manpower Committee and the National Peace Accord have been carried out together. Nactu is in the process of restructuring its organisation to facilitate greater unity with Cosatu. Nactu affiliates have until October to merge into national industrial unions that match Cosatu's industrial sectors. The first merger - in the public sector - took place last weekend. Cosatu and Nactu have set up a joint unity committee to facilitate talks between their affiliates in the same industrial sector. These are proceeding well in the metal and public sectors but there are problems in the chemical, food, transport and construction sectors. If Cosatu succeeds in getting the Worker Summit to support its programmes the unions look set to become central actors in the post Codesa 2 political process for the first time since February 1990. a In any event, Cosatu will almost certainly carry out its general strike threat in July for anything up to 15 days. And its allies - the ANC and SACP - are bound to support it.