

AP1991-8-7-1

COMMENT

ANC congress

THE eyes of South Africa will be on the University of Durban Westville this week as the ANC sets about making decisions whose effects will be felt far beyond the bounds of that organisation. The decisions will not determine whether South Africa moves towards a negotiated political settlement — that is the only way to go. But they will play a crucial role in determining the speed of the process, how smoothly it goes and how the economy fares during that period.

Probably the most important issue for the congress to decide is whether the negotiating process itself should continue to be used as a bargaining chip. It is not a simple matter. The ANC's April "ultimatum" did help focus the government's mind on the violence. It must also be accepted that, where the victims of that violence are ANC members, they would feel betrayed if their leaders continued to interact with government leaders who are seen as at least partly responsible for the violence, by acts of omission or commission.

But there does seem to be a new perspective developing in some ANC regions — the argument being that delaying negotiations simply sets back the day when the organisation itself can take an official hand in countering the violence.

Other "obstacles to negotiations" — the release of prisoners and return of exiles — will colour congress proceedings. If some significant progress on these matters can

be announced in the next few days, delegates' mood could change.

But while it is not altogether naive to hope for a new attitude to negotiation to emerge from the congress, no one should expect the ANC to become transformed into a "soft" negotiating partner. On the contrary, future agreements will be arrived at only after much anguish and careful examination to avoid loopholes which, the ANC believes, government was able to use to undermine the organisation's standing — as with delays in prisoner releases.

The other key policy issue is sanctions. Last December the leadership failed to push through its recommendations on a phasing out of sanctions. Now it will try again. Even if it succeeds, this will mean a linking of each step to a particular aspect of progress. Sanctions will remain a political weapon although, one hopes, a more focused and considered one. Of course, the rest of the world no longer takes its cue on sanctions from the ANC. But that does not mean the organisation's view has become irrelevant. American city and state sanctions are probably a case in point.

The significance of the leadership contests has probably been overstated in the past few weeks. Logically, the results should merely reflect the same balance of forces reflected in policy decisions. In the end, the congress will be judged by the extent to which it encourages or hinders South Africa's progress towards democracy.

SACP may provide half ANC executive committee

Communists to stay strong

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN
Political Reporter

THE South African Communist Party is expected to comprise about half of the African National Congress's new 90-member national executive committee and maintain its influence in the 25-person national working committee that would effectively manage the daily running of the ANC, says the International Freedom Foundation.

Although the SACP is likely to

lose a number of key positions on the executive during this week's elections at the ANC conference in Durban, this would not necessarily result in a decrease in SACP influence.

The non-aligned foundation said in a statement released last night that their research indicated that more than half the members of the current ANC national executive committee would lose their positions to internal ANC leaders, which would also result in the SACP losing a number of key members on the national executive committee.

However, the SACP would still hold important administrative posts and many younger party members would be elected. The foundation listed 15 SACP leaders serving on the ANC's executive whom it thought faced little chance of re-election.

These included Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general; Mr Henry Makgothi, ANC deputy secretary-general; Dr Simon Makana, former ANC representative to Moscow and a member of the ANC's national preparatory committee; Mr Jackie Selebi, former ANC youth league member; Mr Timothy Mokoena, Umkhonto we Sizwe commissar and member of the ANC's political military commit-

tee; Mr Dan Thloome, SACP chairman, ANC deputy treasurer and auditor-general; and Mr John Nkadimeng, military committee chairman.

The foundation said SACP leaders likely to be elected to the new ANC executive included Mr Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's department of political education; Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, former United Democratic Front acting general secretary; Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Congress of South African Trade Unions assistant general secretary; Mr Chris Dhlamini, Cosatu vice-president; Mr Johnny Issel, ANC Western Cape leader; Mr Billy Nair, former UDF executive member; Mr Jeff Radebe, vice-chairman ANC southern Natal region; and Mr Albie Sachs and Mr Penuel Maduna, both members of the ANC's constitutions committee.

Mandela and
Tambo arrive:
Page 3

Inkatha Freedom Party turns down invitation

Political
Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will not attend the African National Congress's national conference, which begins in Durban tomorrow, Inkatha's central committee decided this weekend.

Confirming that Inkatha had received an invitation from the ANC inviting two representatives to attend the opening of the conference, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that the central committee had decided that relations between the two organisations would have to be normalised before Inkatha could accept such an invitation.

However, he revealed that the ANC's national executive committee and Inkatha's central committee had agreed to meet after the ANC conference "to resolve the set-back in our relations caused by attacks by the ANC on the IFP in the ultimatum that was sent to President de Klerk by the ANC.

"This is a meeting which the deputy president of the ANC (Mr Nelson Mandela) discussed with me on the telephone and which we agreed was necessary in order

to normalise relations between the ANC and the IFP," Dr Buthelezi said.

"We hope that it is this meeting which will normalise relations between the two organisations. We have to wait for the normalisation of relations between the two organisations first before we relate in the normal way to each other as organisations and as members of our organisations by, for example, accepting the kind of invitation under discussion."

Dr Buthelezi said the IFP wished the ANC well in its conference and applauded the ANC's "attempt to link itself to the wider society around it".

TACTICAL FROM P 2



Changing times demand changing strategies
— that's why the ANC needs pragmatic leaders

1 July 1991

ANC-IFP relations 'improving'

Natal Mercury
1 July 1991

ANC LEADERS Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo flew into Durban's Louis Botha Airport last night to a rousing and militant reception from Natal members of the ANC.

At the same time, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a thawing in relations between Inkatha and the ANC, who have been at loggerheads since the ANC's 'open letter' to the Government.

Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo, accompanied by senior leaders of the ANC, arrived in Durban yesterday where a crowd of spirited ANC supporters greeted them.

Mr Mandela briefly addressed the crowd, where he told them the ANC were the original 'architects of the peace process in this country'.

He said the outcome of the conference would indicate the 'way forward from an apartheid state to an interim government'.

Issues such as an interim

**By Dominic Mitchell
Political Reporter**

government, a constituent assembly, strategy and tactics, negotiations and an all-party congress would be discussed and decided upon, Mr Mandela said.

To the amusement of the crowd, Mr Mandela said the conference would not focus on the question of elections, as the 'Press has been holding them for us'.

The thaw in ANC/IFP relations was announced late on Saturday when the IFP central committee resolved to wish the ANC 'well' for tomorrow's conference.

However, they also resolved to turn down an invitation to attend the ANC national conference, because relations between the organisations had not yet been 'normalised'.

However, Dr Buthelezi revealed that both organisations had agreed that a full meeting between the executives of the two would finally go ahead after the ANC's national conference had

ended.

Tension between Inkatha and the ANC has been high since the ANC's 'open letter' to the Government, which made strong criticisms of Inkatha.

Dr Buthelezi said a senior ANC man, Mr Alfred Nzo, had conveyed the ANC national executive committee's willingness to meet with Inkatha about 10 days ago.

He said Inkatha hoped that relations between the two organisations would be normalised after the meeting.

● Two busses bearing 120 delegates on their way to the ANC conference were stopped at gunpoint and searched at a road-block near De Doorns yesterday.

ANC Western Cape member Mr Willie Hofmeyr said 50 security policemen dressed in camouflage uniforms and armed with machineguns, R-4 rifles and pistols pulled the buses off the road.

Police liaison officer, Captain Denise Benson, said it was a roadblock in which private cars, taxis and buses were stopped yesterday.

● See also Page 2

ANC - IFP RELATIONS 'IMPROVING'



Regional ANC vice-chairman Jeff Radebe (left) welcomes ANC president Oliver Tambo (centre) and deputy president Nelson Mandela as the ANC's senior leadership arrive at Durban's Louis Botha Airport yesterday. Mrs Adelaide Tambo (back, left) and Mrs Winnie Mandela stand behind their husbands. Picture by ANTHONY McMILLAN

1 July 1991

Tambo and Mandela get a big reception

DAILY NEWS 1 July 1991

MORE than 200 people chanted and toyi-toyed an enthusiastic welcome for African National Congress president Oliver Tambo and deputy president Nelson Mandela, when they arrived in Durban yesterday for the ANC national conference, which begins tomorrow.

The ANC leaders made a brief appearance at Louis Botha Airport and Mr Mandela addressed the crowd before the two men were whisked away.

Meanwhile, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, arrived quietly and were driven away

VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

Daily News Reporter

without any of the fanfare that greeted Mr Tambo and Mr Mandela.

"I have brought your president to you," Mr Mandela told the cheering crowd, adding that Mr Tambo would not address them, but could be heard when he addressed the conference.

He said the conference would focus on issues "which form the essence of the national debate in the country".

"The conference will address the issues of the way forward from an apartheid state to a democracy," he said.

Other issues under focus will be an interim government, a patriotic front, a constituent assembly, an all-party conference and negotiations.

"We are the architect of the peace process in South Africa and we are determined to continue this momentum forward," Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo were accompanied by national executive members Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi, Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Adelaide Tambo.

Meanwhile hundreds of foreign dignitaries, journalists and photographers have poured into Durban. The conference venue, the University of Durban-Westville, is tight with security, and those entering and leaving are monitored.

Freed Bop coup leader heads for city conference

Political Reporter

MR Rocky Malebane-Metsing, who was arrested on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday, was on his way to Durban to attend the African National Congress's national conference, an ANC spokesman said last night.

Mr Malebane-Metsing, who master-minded the abortive 1988 coup attempt in Bophuthatswana, was released on bail of R100 after appearing in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on Saturday night. He faces extradition to Bophuthatswana following the coup attempt, which includes charges of treason and murder.

A request for his arrest in terms of an extradition agreement with South Africa was delivered to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, on Saturday.

Mr Malebane-Metsing's arrest angered the ANC and has had various Government departments at loggerheads.

It has also created an acute embarrassment on the very sensitive issue of indemnity at a critical

juncture in the process of political normalisation inside South Africa. Irrespective of the legal correctness of procedures to secure the arrest, questions have been raised regarding the likely harm an extradition in such circumstances would do to the Government's credibility.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said last night that Mr Malebane-Metsing had been granted indemnity from prosecution for illegally leaving the country and for undergoing military training outside the country.

The indemnity did not apply to the extradition application, he said.

"The Government cannot interfere with the due process of law or with the sovereignty of another state," he said.

However, Department of Foreign Affairs sources indicated surprise at Mr Malebane-Metsing's arrest.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that there was nothing specific contemplated with regard to Mr Metsing's situation.

TO P92



AN enthusiastic crowd greeted African National Congress president Oliver Tambo (left) and deputy president Nelson Mandela when they arrived in Durban by air yesterday.

They have come to Durban to attend this week's ANC national conference. Before being whisked away, the two men and their wives, Mrs Adelaide Tambo (behind left) and Mrs Winnie Mandela, greeted supporters at the airport.

Picture: Robert D'Avise

TAMBO AND MANDELA
FROM PG 1

1161
4 July 1991

Focus on the ANC executive committee elections: Political Reporter DOMINIC MITCHELL reports

Natal Mercury 1 July 1991

Politburo with an SACP majority?

THE ISSUE of communists within the National Executive Committee of the ANC will attract attention again tomorrow when the national conference kicks off.

There are a total of 90 members in the ANC's NEC, but a core group of 25 members will also be elected.

The 25-person politburo or 'working committee' is expected to contain 13 communists and 12 non-communists, according to an analysis of individuals likely to be elected to the NEC.

The analysis, which is published in London and co-edited by veteran South African journalist Stanley Uys and the former chief risk consultant for Standard Charter Bank, Richard Hopgood.

Drawing on discussions with ANC insiders, Uys suggests that thus far the only certainty is that Nelson Mandela will take over from a retiring Oliver Tambo as president during the conference.

And Winnie Mandela is not considered a contender for NEC membership. Also omitted is Joe Modise, the current commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

In considering the four leadership positions, there is strong pressure from the internal leaders for veteran Walter Sisulu, who was imprisoned with Mr Mandela, to accept the position of deputy president.

This would, however, block Jacob Zuma, who is seen as Mr Mandela's choice.

In this case Mr Zuma would become secretary-general, replacing Alfred Nzo, although mining union boss Cyril Ramaphosa has also become a front-runner for secretary-general.

Border regional chairman Arnold Stofile is mooted as becoming the next treasurer-general in the place of Thomas Nkobi, while UDF stalwart Popo Molefe could become the deputy secretary-general, replacing Henry Magothi.

Other certainties for election to the NEC and possible contenders for the leadership posts, are Harry Gwala, information secretary Pello Jordan, international affairs secretary Thabo Mbeki, MK chief-of-staff Chris Hani, Albertina Sisulu, Joe Slovo and Barbara Masekela.

This accounts for 12 of the 55 elected NEC seats on the 90-member executive. Of the remaining 43 seats, 15 are reserved for women.

The analysis suggests the following front-runners for the remaining 28 elected male seats on the NEC: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota, Sydney Mufamadi, Ronnie Kasrils, Raymond Suttner, Zola Skweyiya, Steve Tshwete, Raymond Mhlaba, Tokyo Sexwale, Govan Mbeki, Kgalema Motlanthe, Simon Makana, John Nkadimeng, Dullah Omar, Blade Nzimande, Joe Nhlanhla, Smangaliso Mkatshwa, Siphiwe Nyanda, Timothy Mokoena, Trevor Manuel, Aziz Pahad, Ebrahim Ebrahim, Mohammed Valli Moosa and Thomas Nkobi.

The first nine names listed above — up to and including Govan Mbeki — are expected to join the previous group of 13 in the Working Committee, together with three more women — Frene Ginwala, Lindiwe Mabuza and Adelaide Tambo.

These three, could well be joined on the full NEC by M. Mahlangu-Ngcobo, Ivy Ngcina, Janet Love, Barbara Hogan,

Thenjiwe Mtintso, Ivy Matsepe, Cheryl Carolus, Jackie Molefe, Hilda Ndundi, Depua Muelase, Linda Zama and Ruth Mompati.

If one 'categorises' these leaders into communists and non-communists, there are 13 'communists' and 12 'non-communists'. But this is not clear cut, Uys says.

People like Mr Mbeki, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Mabizela, although communists, can be counted with the non-communists on many issues. It should be noted that people identified as communists are not necessarily hawks or revolutionaries — a significant number are doves and negotiators.

The non-communists expected to get on to the working committee are Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Arnold Stofile, Popo Molefe, Pello Jordan, Albertina Sisulu, Barbara Masekela, 'Terror' Lekota and Zola

Skweyiya.

Thirty-five members of the NEC will not be elected. They are the regional chairpersons and secretaries, and therefore *ex officio*.

Prominent among these are Matthew Phosa, Kgalema Molanthe, Barbara Hogan, Joel Netshitenze, Jomo Khasu, Christmas Tinto, Benson Fihla, Ruth Mompati, Jeff Radebe, Sibusiso Ndebele, Arnold Stofile, Jacob Zuma and Harry Gwala.

The remaining *ex officio* members will be the ANC Women's League president, Gertrude Shope, and its secretary, Baleka Seghotsile; as well as the ANC Youth

League president Peter Mokaba, and its secretary, Rapu Molekane.

Of the *ex officio* members, only those elected to the NEC will qualify for membership of the the working committee.

Politburo with an SACP majority?

Natal Mercury

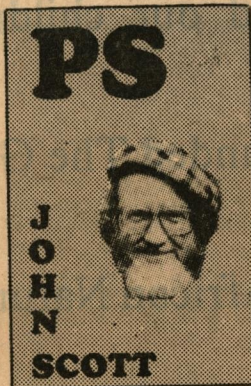
1 July 1991

CIGARETTE companies will all be looking for new copy writers if the Control of Smoking and Advertising of Tobacco Products Draft Bill becomes law.

No longer may smoking be romanticised. Nor may it be associated with sporting success. Advertisements implying that smoking is a sign of manliness, daring or feminine charm will be prohibited.

It is obvious that cigarette companies need my help in changing their marketing strategy. I am entirely unbiased. I have never smoked so am therefore not driven by the fanaticism of a non-smoking convert.

Very seldom do I stop a train and call the guard if I detect cigarette fumes in a non-smoking coach, and I can't remember when last I stormed out of a restaurant because I discovered a diner



having a secret puff in the toilet.

I try to see all sides, as long as my view is not obscured by the slightest whiff.

The first step is to burn all movie ads that show bronzed men blowing smoke rings into the sunset while luscious blondes gaze at them in ado-

ration. They will have to be replaced by weedy characters spluttering on unfragrant weeds.

There will also be no American-accented over-voice intoning that anyone is enjoying after-action satisfaction. It will be clear that the weedy characters don't even know where the action is.

This should help to cut sales to the point where there is no product to be advertised. Which is just as well, because all cigarette advertising may be banned 10 years hence anyway.

But how to replace the women with feminine charm? Even housewives up to their elbows in dirty sinks can be quite cute, especially if you offer to relight the sodden cigarette stubs dangling from their lips.

To be on the safe side, women smokers must look able, at

a moment's notice, to step into the role of one of Macbeth's witches. It will save tobacco corporations much toil and trouble.

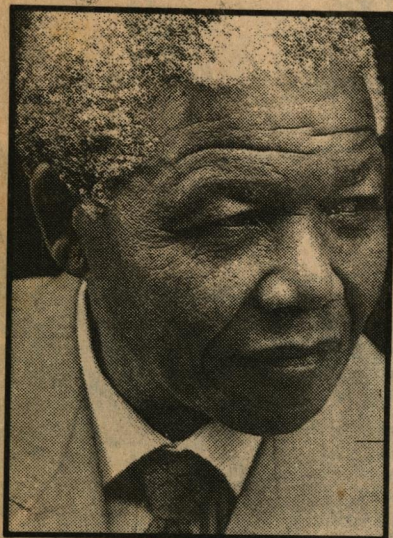
Naturally no smoking ad may depict sporting prowess. Soccer players who smoke must be shown either missing goals or accidentally scoring their own ones, fag-sucking batsmen must all make ducks, and nicotine-addicted golfers must consistently drive into the rough and lose their balls.

Yachts are taboo, unless the smoking skipper is capsizing them. Surfers who rate anything great will only be the ones who fall off their boards. Tennis players seeking an international passport to emphysema will always be those who double fault.

In fact smokers in ads could turn out to be ordinary folks, just like the rest of us.

Who'll stay in

Natal Mercury



NELSON MANDELA
Deputy President

NO ONE disputes the probability that Mr Nelson Mandela, national leader and international symbol, will step into the No 1 position of the ANC that he has waited so long for.

But he would be the first to insist the ANC is a democratic organisation, and that his election to the post of president depends on the casting of votes by delegates to the ANC's 48th national conference.

Mr Mandela is 73, keen as mustard, and quite as articulate as he was as a practising lawyer in Johannesburg before his arrest and subsequent 1964 conviction.

He has the ability to command respect, and a presence which lesser political figures can only yearn for.

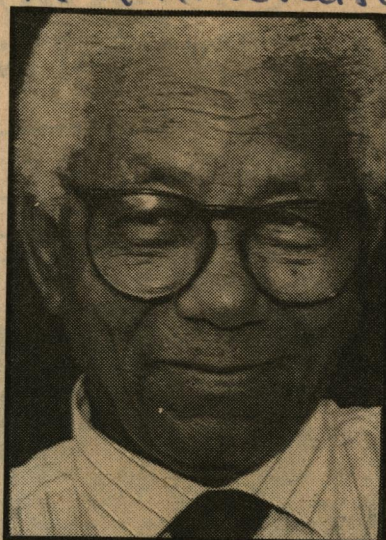
He is known among the Press for his ability to 'crack the whip', and to deal only with sensible questions. Reporters who waste his time have often felt the edge of his razor-sharp wit.

Within the ANC there are few who are opposed to his leadership.

Though he is correctly perceived to be the driving force in the ANC behind negotiations with the Government, even the militant elements don't question his leadership capabilities.

From country-lad, to lawyer, to politician, to Mkhonto we Sizwe's 'Black Pimpernel', to political prisoner, to international symbol — then back to politics.

The full circle has turned and the way is now clear for Nelson Mandela.



WALTER SISULU
Internal leader

THERE would have been a national uproar if Walter Sisulu had gone through with initial plans to stand down from election to the national conference.

He has been a consistently popular and well-considered politician with strong support from both the Left and Right of the tripartite alliance of the ANC, Cosatu and SACP.

Political observers claim a recent massive surge of confidence in the the PWV region for the 79-year-old leader.

He has spoken at rallies, trade union congresses and a number of other functions and has been seen to be a clear thinker, with vision. This opinion is also being generated among white ANC sympathisers and businessmen in the Transvaal.

A recent interview indicates he favours the phased lifting of sanctions coupled with re-investment.

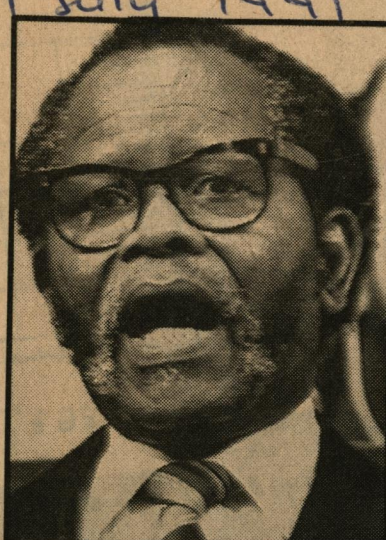
He has recently made a national tour of assessment to all the regions of the ANC on behalf the ANC NEC in preparation for tomorrow's conference.

Mr Sisulu also has presence, and the ability to make people sit up and listen.

Interestingly, Mr Sisulu played a major role in Mr Mandela's life. He provided him with accommodation in Johannesburg while he was studying law, paid his study fees, and even introduced him to his cousin Eveline, who he married within two months.

He looks set to assume the position of deputy-president of the ANC.

Who'll go out



OLIVER TAMBO
President

TOMORROW is a big day for the 74-year-old who commands legendary respect within the ANC and particularly among members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After suffering a stroke late in 1989, Mr Oliver Tambo is no longer the articulate firebrand who led the Africa's oldest revolutionary movement during its most difficult years. He is limping his way out of politics.

From the time the Rivonia trialists were sentenced and the ANC outlawed, Mr Tambo, as *de facto* leader, earned the respect of the thousands of South Africans who fled the country to live and train in the 'bush'.

In ANC camps from Algeria and Morocco in the North to Angola and Mozambique in the South, he generated a legendary reputation.

Stalwarts in the movement were quoted at the time as saying that even if Mr Mandela had been released before 1990, he could not have issued any orders because: 'Comrade Tambo is the president.'

In the relatively few public appearances Mr Tambo has made since he suffered a stroke, there has been an air of pathos about his mumbled statements.

Nonetheless, he is still regarded with a great deal of affection and respect by both African leaders and members of the ANC.

On the personal side, a close friend of his while he was in exile tells us he is a strong Christian and a gentleman.

WHO'LL STAY IN WHO'LL GO
OUT.



ALFRED NZO
Secretary-general

ALFRED NZO was elected to the executive of the ANC in 1958, making 1991 his 33rd year in a senior position. This week's conference probably signals the start of his last week in office.

He was a health inspector in Alexandra before his dismissal for political involvement. He was then banned and went into exile in the 1960s.

There has been a great deal of dissatisfaction within the movement regarding Mr Nzo's recent alleged ineffectivity and lack of popularity among branch structures.

However, on returning from exile when the ANC was unbanned, he received a tumultuous welcome from the grassroots members of the ANC.

He is fast developing a reputation as 'excess baggage' being carried by the ANC instead of being one of the dynamic forces. In spite of this he has been nominated as secretary-general.

It is widely felt that his status is only upheld within the 'old guard' — comrades with whom he has shared more than 30 years in exile.

There is no question of his historical stature within the ANC. For many years he showed his dedication and abilities as a leader, and was often the only voice for the ANC while other senior colleagues were imprisoned or engaged in other activities.

But Mr Nzo is probably on his way out. One thing is certain. If he leaves, he will do so with dignity.

1 July 1991

Isinqumo esithathwe yiNkatha ngesimemo senhlangano i-ANC

ILanga 5

1/07/91

16/1/14

XOLANI NXUMALO

ETHEKWINI:-Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), kayisamukelanga isimemo sokuba ithumele izithunywa ezimbili ziyoyimela engqungqutheleni yonyaka ye-African National Congress (ANC), e-University of Durban-Westville, eThekwini, ezoqala kusasa ngolwesibili.

Emuva kokuhlangana komGwamanda we-IFP ngomGqibelo, uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, uthe kufanele kulungiswe lesimo esingasihle phakathi kwalezizinhlangano zombili kandaba kukhulunywe ngodaba olufana nalesisimemo.

Lesisimemo sibhalwe usuku lomhlaka June 14, besiqondiswe ngqo kuMongameli we-IFP, sisayinwe nguNobhala -jikelele we-ANC, uMnuz. Alfred Nzo. Emhlanganweni wekomidi elikhulu le-IFP wangomGqibelo kuthathwe lezizinqumo mayelana nesimemo:

* I-IFP iyifisela okuhle i-ANC kulengqungquthela yayo yayibongela nangemizamo yayo yokuzixhumanisa nawowonke umphakathi.

* Ithe ilindele ukuba kube nezingxoxo phakathi kwekomoti likazwelonke le-IFP nelikazwelonke le-ANC, okuyinto ne-ANC esigcine ngokuyivuma.

* I-IFP ilindele umhlangano phakathi kwalamakomiti alezizinhlangano zombili ukuze kuxazuluwe lezizinkinga eziphakathi kwalezinhlangano.

UDr Buthelezi ubuye waveza ukuthi ekubuyeni kwakhe phesheya, utshelwe ukuthi uNobhala -jikelele we-ANC uMnuz. Nzo, usexhumene nosihlalo kazwelonke we-IFP, uDr F.T.R. Mdloose, ngodaba lokuba amakomiti kazwelonke azozombili lezizinhlangano ahlangani. Lokhukuhlangana kungokokuho-nisana ngokuphazamiseka kobuhlobo okwadalwizinto ezazishiwo ng-IFP encwadini engumnqamajajuqu eyayibhalwe uMongameli F.W. de Klerk.

UMongameli we-IFP uqhube wathi, "yiwo-ke lo umhlangano esaxoxa ngawo nephini likaMongameli we-ANC ngocingo futhi savumelana ngokuthi ubalulekile ukuze kulungiswe ubudlelwano phakathi kwe-ANC ne-IFP."

16/1/11

1-3 July 91
Lanka

Kufufusa iqembu elisha lezepolitiki

ETHEKWINI:-Sekunc-
mibiko ethi kungase ku-
sungulwe iqembu elisha
lezombusazwe elizokwa-
ziwa ngeSocial Demo-
cratic Party, elizobe la-
khiwe ngukuhlangana
kwe-African National
Congress (ANC), South
African Communist Par-
ty (SACP) kanye Congress
of South African Trade
Unions (Cosatu).

Kulindeleke ukuba i-
ANC ithathe isinqumo
esigcwele ngalokhu
engqungqutheleni yayo
ezoba seThekwini nge-
sonto elizayo. Lokhu ku-
thathwa njengokuqanjwa
kweqembu elizophikisa-
na nelinye okukholakala
ukuthi lingase lisungulwe
ngabathile abangongqo-
ndongqondo kwezombu-
sazwe iChristian Demo-
cratic Party.

Ukusungulwa kwaleli-
qembu iSocial Democra-
tic Party, kukholakala
ukuthi sekuqanjwa oku-
yilona qembu elizong-
nela ukhetho uma sekufi-
ke lesosikhathi.

UMnuz. Joe Slovo
uyakuvuma ukuthi iSACP
izolungenela ukhetho
kodwa wangathanda
ukukudalula ukuthi lok-
hu kuyokwenzeka ngayi-
phi indlela.

AbeCosatu kuthiwa babhaxabula iphoyisa linqunu ba'limodelisa'

EGOLI. - Ilungu lezokuphepha embuthweni wamaphoyisa akuleli lithe lashaywa lakhunyuliswa labanqunu kwathiwa ali'modele' phambi kwabacosheli bezindaba ngenkathi izikhulu zenyunyana, iCongress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) zilibamba zithi liyinhloli.

Iphoyisa, uMonge Maleka (25), ubethula ubufakazi enkantolo yesifunda eGoli lapho kuqulwa khona amacala abekwe unobhala-jikelele weCosatu, uMnuz. Jay Naidoo (36), isekela lakhe uMnuz. Sydney Mafumadi (32) nonobhala-jikelele weNational Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), uMnuz. Moses Mayekiso (42) nesinye isisebenzi seCosatu, uMnuz. Baba Schalk (30).

Bobane abamangelelwa bayawaphika amacala okuthumba nokushaya uMnuz. Maleka ngomhlaka August 28 ngonyaka odlule ekomkhulu leCosatu eGoli.

UMnuz. Maleka ebufakazini bakhe uvumile ukuthi wayewuphethe u-ova (two-way radio) wamaphoyisa futhi ephele nesithombe sesinye isikhulu seSouth African Communist Party (Sapc) ayesazi kuphela ngokuthi singuNksz. Fraser, ngenkathi uMnuz. Naidoo eza kuyena emtshela ukuthi uzomdubula uma engabambisani nabo.

Uthi uMnuz. Mayekiso noMnuz. Mafumadi bamphoqa ukuba ahambe nabo bawelele emahhovisi eCosatu asesitezi sesithupha ebhilidini iNational Acceptance House lapho bafike bathi uyiphoyisa, base beqala bemhlukumeza, bamshaya ngenqindi bemkhahlela base bemphoqa ukuba akhumule.

Kwabizwa uNksz. Fraser basebemphoqa ukuba amchazele ukuthi isithombe sakhe usithathephi futhi uwuphatheleli u-ova. Uthi wabathshela ukuthi lo-ova wayewunikezwe yiphoyisa elamnikeza nesithombe

ukuze afune ngaso lowesifazane okusona.

Uthi akabatshelanga ukuthi uliphoyisa ngoba esabela impilo yakhe.

UMnuz. Naidoo wabuya ehhovisi wayesebatshelela ukuthi izintatheli zamaphephandaba sezifikile zifuna ukumbona futhi kufanele azitshale ukuthi uzingenele ebhilidini akaphoqwanga.

UMnuz. Maleka uthi wasiwa kwelinye ihhovisi lapho izintatheli zabona eshaywa ehlukenyezwa.

UMnuz. John Myburgh, SC, obembele abamangelelwa bobane, utshale uMnuz. Maleka ukuthi akangazenzi umuntu oyisikhohlwa ngokuthi agcizelele ukuthi wayengazani nakancane nabamangelelwa uMnuz. Naidoo noMnuz. Mayekiso ngaphambi kwalesisehlakalo.

UMnuz. Maleka ubuye waphika ukuthi wayeqaphe iNational Acceptance House ngenkathi ebanjwa futhi wayengazi ukuthi kunamahhovisi eCosatu kulona.

"Cishe ungukuphela kwephoyisa eGoli elingalazi ikomkhulu leCosatu," kusho uMnuz. Myburgh.

Ngaphambi kokuba kuqale icala, uMongameli we-Anti-Apartheid Movement, u-Archbishop Trevor Huddleston ujoyine abebbhikisha ngaphandle kwenkantolo kubona obekukhona izikhulu ze-ANC, oMnuz. Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo noSteve Tshwete abebekhombisa ukuzwelana nabamangelelwa.

Umbhishobhi lona uchaze lelicala njenge'lezombangazwe' futhi 'eliphazamisa izingxoxo zoxolo eziqhubekayo lapha eSouth Africa'.

The men with oil cans have now taken charge

Natal Mercury
1 July 1991

THE recent conference on violence, viewed against the background of the similar meeting called by President de Klerk in May, was both more successful and more important than media commentary suggests.

Although homeland political leaders and certain centrist political organisations were not invited, and the CP and related Right-wing organisations declined invitations to attend, the conference was remarkable in that it brought together for the first time the Government, the PAC, Azapo, the SACP and Cosatu, as well as the ANC, the IFP and parliamentary parties.

The conference also committed all of these organisations to working for peaceful political change and finding ways of ending politically inspired violence, and locked them into a process from which no party would be able to back out without a tremendous loss of credibility.

But more important than

who did and who did not participate, and the concrete action programme agreed upon, is the fact that the conference took the initiative for negotiations out of Government hands.

Although they would strenuously deny this, Louw Alberts and his fellow facilitators have taken over. The NP no longer calls the shots, and the irony is that De Klerk was himself responsible for this development.

None of the non-parliamentary organisations attended the earlier meeting. The main participants were the tricameral parties and the NP and the IFP. Gazankulu was the only homeland to attend. While Eugene Terre'Blanche and the AWB made an original and surprising contribution, the CP chose to stay away.

It was no doubt this which promoted Johan Heyns to declare that it was 'futile' to continue. He invited everybody present to join a church-organised meeting on violence the next week.

This statement stunned

those present. And although De Klerk showed no reaction whatsoever, Heyns' statement would have been like a body blow.

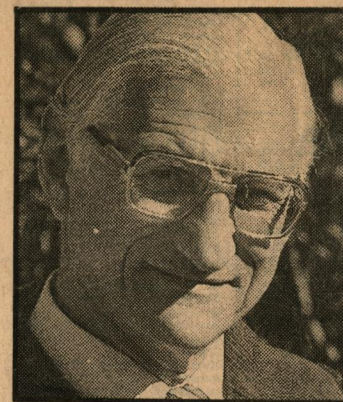
Momentarily, the conference teetered on the brink of collapse, with De Klerk facing acute embarrassment.

The result was that the President, in his closing statement to the conference acknowledged, in Nelson Mandela's words, that the Government 'could not be both a player and the referee'.

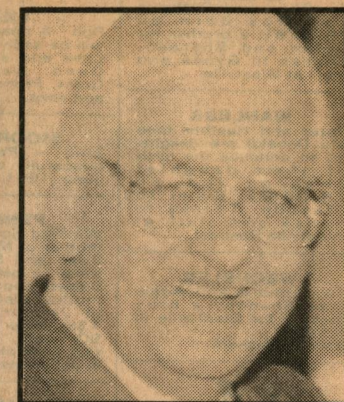
The President went on to announce the appointment of a 'continuity committee' consisting of representatives of business, the churches, the NP and the IFP.

But he also announced the appointment of Louw Alberts as sole facilitator. And whether the President intended this or not, the fact is that Alberts and his facilitators have developed a being and momentum of their own.

While some attempt was made at the May conference to structure discussion by having three interesting and stimulating keynote addresses, the organisers adopted the



Johan Heyns stunned everyone present.



Gerrit Viljoen was impatient, as were others.

tricameral protocol and the value of the keynote addresses was lost in hot air, as a series of political leaders, making predictable speeches, all proclaimed their commitment to peace without getting down to specifics.

And when the conference did turn to the causes of violence and possible concrete responses, hopelessly too little time was allowed for discussion.

By contrast, Alberts and his fellow facilitators, with no political axes to grind, a profound sense of the urgency of the matter and lots of negotiating and diplomatic skill, knew just where they wanted their meeting to go and what had to be avoided if it was to get there.

(Incidentally, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with Sean Cleary, co-chaired the most difficult session. It was my first experience of this remarkable personality in this capacity, and I can truly say he is unquestionably the most charmingly manipulative chairman I have encountered.)

The ending of violence is

not an end in itself. That, surely, must be a stable, broad-based democracy. But the ending of violence is a necessary condition for serious constitutional talks to begin.

And herein lies the significance of that conference for future developments.

Eric Walker, in his life of Sir Henry de Villiers, says that SA's first chief justice, who chaired the national convention, was referred to by delegates as 'the man with the oil can'.

As far as the peace process is concerned, the men (there are no women among the facilitators) with the oil cans have taken charge. And President de Klerk and Gerrit Viljoen, who, with many others, are understandably impatient to see the multi-party conference meet and constitutional negotiations start, would be wise to hold back on that conference until these men with the oil cans have finished this assignment.

And President de Klerk would be even wiser were he then to ask them to set up the constitutional talks.

NEWS



An SADF soldier keeps a close watch on events at the funeral for victims of the latest unrest in Ndoleni.



The dead were laid to rest in a mass grave on the outskirts of Ndoleni yesterday.

Ndalen ANC buries 16 at mass funeral

Natal Witness
1 July 1991

by CRAIG URQUHART

ABOUT two thousand ANC supporters attended an emotionally charged funeral yesterday for the 16 victims of last week's fighting in Richmond's Ndalen township.

The killings occurred on the eve of of peace talks between the ANC and Inkatha and followed an ANC meeting at the Ndala sports ground last Sunday.

Addressing the mourners in Ndalen, Sifiso Nkabinde, the ANC's Richmond branch chairman, blamed the police and Inkatha supporters for the recent bloodshed.

He said order would only be restored if a neutral peace-keeping force was employed in the area.

He described last weekend's attacks — allegedly by Inkatha supporters — as "cowardly", particu-

larly in view of the fact that an infant was stabbed to death.

"Can anyone call a two-year-old child an ANC supporter," he said.

There were reports throughout yesterday afternoon that a heavily armed Inkatha impi was waiting for the mourners to return to Ndalen from the burial site nearby.

However, no incidents of unrest were reported last night.

A large contingent of police and SADF personnel was present at the funeral, but they kept watch from a distance.

Several Ndalen residents said support for the Inkatha Freedom Party in Richmond's townships has drastically reduced over the last couple of months and that there are only a handful of Inkatha supporters left in Ndalen. They added that last week's violence shattered hopes for any future peace talks.

Finance Editor **JON BEVERLEY** on big business in the pipeline

Billion rand boom will boost

Natal

NATAL has projects worth R15 billion in the offing which will boost its economy and go hand-in-hand with job creation as sugar farming, aluminum, timber, oil and paper and pulp chip into expensive expansion programmes.

And as their plans start building up the economy, the infrastructure — such as water works and electricity — will have to keep up with demand.

Mondi Paper recently said it would be buying 8 750 ha of timber and caneland from Shell — a switch of emphasis from Shell's plan to process timber to Mondi's hungry appetite for pulp used for export and for paper-making.

Mondi's Richards Bay paper mill has expanded from 200 000 tons a year to 420 000 as part of the group's R1,1 billion expansion, which included the Merebank mill.

But it is now contemplating the possibility of further expansion, having bought the resources in the substantial forests.

Richards Bay Minerals is in the last stages of a R1,1 billion expansion programme, which has added 600 jobs to the payroll — and this

phase does not take into account any expansion that would result from the controversial proposals to mine the St Lucia area.

Not far from this mining operation, but inland, Shell and Rhoex are talking seriously about a R320 million mine to win minerals from the sand dunes.

However, the biggest project that could take place at Richards Bay is a R3 000 million expansion of Alusaf's aluminum plant. It is not certain that the project would come to 'the Bay', as Witbank and Saldanha Bay are also being considered.

Building of the plant, which would boost output by 420 000 tons, would create 6 000 jobs in the building stage and would have substantial downstream effects with plants being set up to process the raw aluminum, which could earn R700 million a year.

Most of the metal would be exported — but the project hinges on getting the price right. Eskom has agreed to a preferential price, but the Government is still to say whether it will grant concessions based on the plant's export potential — estimated at earnings of

R1 000 million a year.

Large quantities of coal — about 3 400 000 tons a year — would be needed, giving that mining sector a boost.

Coal exports through Richards Bay are expected to continue rising with the terminal having just spent R316 million on expansion to export up to 53 million tons a year. The job should be finished by December.

At the same time, there are strong reports that the Railways faced with under-utilisation of the Coal Line are exploring the possibility of persuading other coal mine owners to export through Richards Bay.

Two of Sappi's mills in Natal are undergoing a R1 000 million expansion — the Tugela Mill at Mandini and Saiccor's dissolving pulp mill at Umkomaas were selected.

While Durban does not feature strongly in these plans, the announcements by the oil majors forecast substantial expansion of the two refineries, which could lend force to the movement to shift the airport to its originally planned site at La Mercy.

Engen, which took over the Mobil refinery at Wentworth, will spend R2 000 million over the next five

years. It has raised most of the money through a rights issue and is set to expand.

Increasing the size of the Sapref plant, owned by Shell and BP, is also on the cards, a Shell spokesman said without indicating how much would be spent.

In the offing is a possible downstream R4 000 million naphtha cracker plant for Sentrachem.

The sugar-cane farming plans to lift output by 300 000 tons were announced some time ago and while the major boost would come from a new mill and farmlands in the Eastern Transvaal, a vigorous expansion of small cane farmers is already under way.

Small farmers can now start operations within a 30 km radius of the sugar mills, which is viable for transport and the ability of the support services to help the new farmers.

An estimated 10 000 to 12 000 jobs are envisaged, while the development costs of new farms and infrastructure are high.

Changing export requirements for sugar might lead to an expansion of the refining part of the industry, while storage has just been in-

creased with a warehouse on Maydon Wharf.

Water supplies to the greater Durban area are secure for the next few years as the Inanda Dam capacity is used up, but if growth speeds up to the hoped-for 8% a year a multi-billion scheme to harness the Umkomaas, Mooi and Illovo rivers will come into play.

The first stage, which is already being considered seriously by the planners, would be a smallish dam on the Illovo costing much less than the R112 million of the Inanda project but an essential part of the Umkomaas scheme.

Hard decisions on these projects are still several years away — their progress being highly dependent on how fast the region grows.

On the commercial and industrial property side, shopping centres tend to dominate the scene. Apart from the much-publicised 'war' between Westville and Durban over which local authority will get the benefit of a huge multi-million-rand centre, Richards Bay seems set to go ahead with its own R60 million expansion in its embryo CBD.

Eshowe is getting more shops, while down south Port Shepstone

has movement, including recently announced proposals for a R500 million resort development, over which those involved have asked for caution, as it is still in extremely early stages.

Yet there are still cranes in Durban's City Centre where new faces have appeared. Sanlam Properties' skyscraper, the Embassy, is taking tenants, the Reserve Bank's new Natal headquarters was opened this week, the Medite Shipping building is growing apace and Victoria Maine on the Victoria Embankment is ready.

More work is continuing in Field Street with new premises for the New Republic Bank and a shopping centre, Citygate.

On the industrial side, there is activity, but nothing to dominate the headlines. Springfield Park has filled satisfactorily, but agents are restless at the lack of industrial land being made available.

Hence, presumably, the call by the Mayor of Durban, Mr Gys Muller, for Louis Botha Airport to be converted into factory sites and for La Mercy Airport to be taken off the drawing board and converted into reality.

Now that would be something!



A ROW of 10 coffins of victims of a massacre near Richmond last weekend bear testimony to the tragedy of the current situation in the area. The victims were buried yesterday in a mass funeral at Ndoleni, outside Richmond.

Pictures: John Woodroof

NDALENI MOURNERS PAY THEIR RESPECTS

Daily News Reporter

TEN people who were killed along with six others in an attack by alleged Inkatha members last weekend were buried in a mass funeral at Ndoleni, outside Richmond, yesterday.

Thousands of mourners, many carrying African National Congress flags, gathered at the funeral to pay their tributes to the dead and listened to addresses by ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and local ANC chairman fiso Nkabinde.

In a hard-hitting speech, Mr Gwala criticised the security forces for their apparent inability to curb fighting and also for their alleged involvement in last week's attack.

He said it was difficult

to expect people to pursue peace when their enemies were intent on murdering them and said communities had a right to defend themselves.

There was a strong South African Police and Defence Force presence at the funeral: no incidents were reported.

A police spokesman said last night that the areas of Ndoleni and Magoda, outside Richmond, were very tense and that police were monitoring the situation.

Most houses in both areas are empty and the people who still live there tend to congregate in large groups of up to 400 at night for protection.



A YOUNG mourner leans on a wooden cross during addresses by ANC officials at the mass funeral.

DAILY NEWS

1 JULY 1991

Govt 'will steal ANC thunder'

THE South African Government is expected to steal some of the ANC's thunder during its conference this week by announcing the signing of an agreement with the UN High Commission for Refugees enabling exiles to return home.

This was suggested yesterday by the London Sunday Times in one of several previews of this week's historic first ANC national conference inside South Africa since

1958.

All the articles focus on the leadership battle and the expected voting out of top office of much of the formerly exiled leadership.

And the probable election of Walter Sisulu as deputy president is widely seen as a compromise, delaying for a time the confrontation between the hawks as represented by Chris Hani, and the doves represented by Thabo Mbeki.

London Bureau

Under the headline 'Mandela's battered ANC seeks new path' the Sunday Times says the jockeying for leadership in the ANC underlines the dilemma facing the ANC. Whether it can transform itself from a national liberation movement into a streamlined political party complete with specific policies.

A broad movement with members ranging from Stalinists to social democrats, the Sunday Times says 'the moment it defines precisely where it stands politically, it

will lose supporters'.

The Observer, like the Sunday Times, does not believe moderate Jacob Zuma will be elected to the deputy presidency. 'As if to give the kiss of death to Zuma's deputy presidency, Chief Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said he would welcome Zuma's election to a senior position.'

An Independent correspondent predicts that 'judging by the nominations so far, two-thirds of the present leadership will lose their seats'.

Kaunda thanks SA firms

LUSAKA—President Kenneth Kaunda, one of the staunchest supporters in Africa of economic sanctions against South Africa, has thanked South African companies for exhibiting for the first time at the Zambia International Trade Fair, it was reported yesterday.

'We want more of you to come and join us. We love your companies,' Mr Kaunda told representatives of several South African companies at the fair in Ndola in the industrialised central copperbelt region, the State-controlled Zambian Sunday Times reported.

The newspaper reported the Zambian leader as saying the exposition was taking place at 'a historic time' for the whole of southern Africa, because white-governed South

Africa was repealing its racial legislation.

'This is a dawn that promises not only freedom of choice in the political field, but freedom in economic action across the whole region,' Mr Kaunda said.

He said reformist South African President de Klerk was 'a man who stands out in the long and bitter history as the only white leader with the courage and commitment to move white South Africa towards being one with black South Africa'.

It was not immediately clear what South African products were exhibited at the Ndola fair or whether trade deals were signed between the two countries.

'South Africa is currently Zambia's biggest trading partner' — (Sapa-AP)

The Orlando Sentinel, Monday, July 1, 1991

What fate for democracy?

A peek into South Africa's future as ANC meets this week

By Kenneth W. Grundy

SPECIAL TO THE SENTINEL

For a hint about the future of democracy in South Africa, look carefully at the National Conference of the African National Congress this week in Durban. It is true that the ANC does not speak for all South Africans or even for all black South Africans. But it is one of the few political parties there that transcends ethnic, regional and racial divisions.

The 2,000 delegates to the conference have been chosen by the 14 regional branches and by branches abroad. That in itself is instructive, for this gathering comes as close to a representative collection of anti-apartheid activists as has been seen in that country since the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

The ANC leadership as well as its rank and file are putting great stock in this conference. They are taken by the symbolism of a national conference on South African soil, the first there since the party was banned in 1960. They have postponed the conference three times to assure a strong representative turnout. But agreements with government to release political prisoners and to indemnify operatives in exile (that is, to protect them from criminal prosecution for acts of political protest and violence that they committed when the ANC was illegal) have not been carried out efficiently. Until recently, many leaders were still in exile or underground.

Party organization is difficult. The masses support the ANC verbally and in public opinion polls, but they haven't joined in large numbers. In some areas, ANC activists have been targets of police hit squads and Inkatha gangs and other reactionary vigilantes.

The ANC's National Executive Committee, so long in exile, got a warning of what to expect at the ANC's national consultative conference in December 1990. The executive committee discovered that the rank and file are far more militant and uncompromising than it had realized. Dissatisfied members complained that the leaders had not consulted with them closely, particularly over the suspension of the armed struggle, about ANC relations with government, about the need for protection of their followers in the townships and about a proposed reconsideration of sanctions.

So the July conference, probably the last before a general, all-in election, could set the tone and direction for years to come. Mapping electoral strategy is on the agenda.

So is developing a mechanism to get the negotiations back on track. The ANC currently calls for the

election of an assembly to draft a new constitution for South Africa. Following that, the ANC demands an interim government in which the present white ruling party shares with the ANC responsibility for overseeing the process.

Finally, the conference will elect the ANC's new executive committee and its top leaders. Certainly, Nelson Mandela's position is secure. His performance in the face of the delegates' hostility at the December consultative conference was impressive. He listened well and showed that he understood their points of view. But he was firm in defending his cooperative approach toward government. He is sure to be elected president, replacing Oliver Tambo, who suffered a stroke in late 1989.

The composition of the new executive committee is crucial. Many of the old guard are seen as out of touch, too soft, too ineffectual as the ANC moves from a revolutionary party in exile to one involved in the transfer of power. The new draft constitution for the ANC calls for an enlargement of the executive committee from 35 to around 100. An enlarged executive committee is partly an effort to protect the positions of ANC leaders who might otherwise be rejected. But it also enables the party to add freshness by bringing in people from ancillary organizations such as the Youth League and Women's League and by tapping all 14 regional chairpersons.

The most revealing battle will be for the post of deputy president. It had been created especially for Mandela, but it will be retained. Its occupant

would presumably become the heir apparent to the presidency, and Mandela is nearly 73 years old. Yet a long-term decision may be deferred and a neutral interim deputy president elected because there's too much ferment in the party.

The ANC is no monolith. It is a lively and sometimes contentious collection of interests and strong personalities. A knowledge of the new executive committee membership could provide insight into the policy preference and style the ANC might adopt.

My guess is that the ANC will be pushed leftward, by ideologues in the Communist Party, militants in the ANC's armed forces and in the trade unions, and by young people dissatisfied by the pace of change. Can their fire be contained by the fact that a 100-member executive committee will need a small, inner circle to lead and take initiatives? Beware, those with a reputation for compromise.

Kenneth W. Grundy is M.A. Hanna professor of political science at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland and the author of the forthcoming *South Africa: Domestic Crisis and Global Challenge* (Westview Press).



Nelson Mandela

Compliments of
Cliff Gossney