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Friday July 19 1991

Exiled MK cadre Sowetan July 19, 1991 returns to testify

A MEMBER of the African National Congress' military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe has returned to South Africa temporarily to give evidence into the death of ANC members killed by police at Piet Retief.

Mr Richard Vallihu, who arrived in the country on Saturday, will leave Durban for Piet Retief next week to help piece together the baffling circumstances surrounding the deaths of Mr Surendra Lenny Naidu and three women, Ms Makhosi Nyoka, Ms Lindiwe Mthembu and Ms June-Rose Cothoza.

All four were crossing into South Africa from Swaziland on

June 8 in 1988 when the vehicle in which they were travelling was shot at by police under the command of Major Eugene de Kock, based at Vlakplaas.

Vallihu said this week he was the last person to see Naidu alive.

The inquest court has heard from De Kock that the police believed the people in the vehicle were trained ANC members.

The court has been told that police approached the group at the Swazi border.

De Kock said when police approached Naidu's vehicle and ordered out the occupants, Naidu fired at police from inside the car.

Lawyers acting for the families

dispute this and claim that De Kock and his command intended to kill all those in the vehicle.

Former Death Row prisoner, Butana Almond Nofomela, whose shock allegations about a police hit squad helped uncover the Civil Cooperation Bureau, testified at the inquest that De Kock was a police officer "who specialised in destruction" and was involved in stealing motor vehicles and kidnapping.

On Sunday, Naidu's family hosted a memorial service at the Chatsworth cemetery which was attended by hundreds of ANC members.

Vallihu spoke briefly at the service. He joined the ANC with Naidu in 1986. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Then and now...

from the 1959 Conference to the 1991 Conference

N. Nation
19/07/91

The July 1991 Conference in Durban was the forty-eighth conference of the African National Congress. The forty-seventh conference, also held in Durban, was in December 1959. More than thirty years separate the two conferences and in that period many changes have occurred on many levels. These changes include changes in the world situation, the economic situation and the sorts of organisational questions facing our movement. A look at the NEC report of the 1959 conference provides an important counterpoint to the 1991 conference and reveals how much has changed, and also how much still remains unchanged.

In its opening remarks, the NEC 1959 report noted: "The African National Congress is the premier national organisation and its conference and decisions are of importance not only to the people of South Africa but to the world at large."

The July conference decisions are important not only for the ANC but for all South Africa's peoples and indeed the peoples of Southern Africa. The world is surely watching us with intense interest.

A changing world situation

The 1959 report states: "It is essential to take stock of the rapid changes in the world situation because we no longer live in isolation. Boundaries and oceans merely separate people physically but the changing political and economic situation has its impact ... beyond the narrow confines of a country."

The 1959 report was delivered in the context of struggles for independence in Africa. The Pan-African conference had been held in Ghana in 1958 and the report remarked: "During the past year there has been an unprecedented upsurge in Africa. Self-government has become the cry of the peoples throughout the length and breadth of the continent. The cry can no longer be resisted by the imperialists who are making a last desperate bid to withhold the legitimate rights of the African people."

More than thirty years later, all countries of Africa except South Africa have majority rule. Socialism has suffered a set-back with the collapse of Eastern Europe and imperialism still exercises a strangle-hold over much of the

so-called Third World countries. This confidence of imperialism is also shown in the eagerness to lift sanctions even before majority rule has been achieved in SA. The states of emergencies which were imposed across many countries in Africa by imperialists at the time of the 1959 conference have now been replaced by economic states of emergencies imposed by the same imperialist powers on the new independent African states. The forms of imperialist rule have changed. The substance remains the same.

The political situation in SA

When the NEC delivered its report in 1959, South Africa was on the eve of the most intense repression in its history.

The 1959 NEC report noted the consolidation of National Party rule, the repression it was unleashing on the masses, but also the rising resistance of the masses to the oppression. It listed a whole series of measures which were being taken against the ANC. Leaders were being banned, a ban was imposed on the ANC in the Marico district in Rustenburg, mass trials were taking place in Sekukhuneland, 22 people were sentenced to death, and the Treason Trial continued. Numerous cabinet ministers publically threatened to ban the ANC.

Now, thirty years later, the ANC has been unbanned, the Nationalist Party proclaims its commitment to democracy and negotiations for a new South Africa have begun. The bannings have gone, but other forms of repression remain. The Bantustans remain. The townships are still subjected to large-scale violence, assassinations continue, and the attempts to destabilise the ANC continue unabated. Here too, the rhetoric of the ruling class has changed, but the substance of its practice remains unchanged.

The economic crisis continues

Like now, the 1959 conference was held in the midst of an economic recession. The NEC report to the 1958 conference, also held in Durban, had remarked: "Government tries by all means to hide the fact that the country is faced with some sort of crisis; there is a recession in the country ... some of the factories are closing down. Unemployment is growing, and some people are employed part-time..." The story will sound familiar to all of us, but this similar story hides very profound differences between "then and now".



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In the intervening 30 years the structure of the South African economy has changed profoundly. Now, in 1991, the crisis of the South African economy is deep and structural in nature. Virtually all in the ANC are agreed that the current crisis cannot be overcome without an overall restructuring along the lines of the Freedom Charter.

Then, increased tax burdens were heaped on an already underpaid and oppressed population. Now, the introduction of VAT tells the same story. After more than 30 years, the words of the NEC report to the 1958 conference remain the same: "It is obvious that in our struggle we should wage a relentless struggle on the economic front ... We must study the role of various business organisations such as the Sake Kamer, Chambers of Commerce and Industries, mining and farm organisations. Their role during the election time and stay-at-home reveals a lot to us."

Mass struggles and campaigns

At the time of the 1959 Conference, the attacks on the ANC and the people were met with increasing resistance. In Natal alone, widespread demonstrations and struggles were waged over Bantu Commissioners, dipping tanks, boycotts of buses, picketting of beerhalls and the picketing of potato-sellers. In the aftermath of the 1958 conference, the NEC had established the Anti-pass Council and the Economic Boycott Committees to launch campaigns against passes and other oppressive measures.

In announcing the campaigns against passes and the launch of the economic boycott, the NEC report remarked: "The economic boycott in South Africa has unlimited potentialities. When our local purchasing power is combined with that of sympathetic organisations overseas we will wield a devastating weapon." And further on: "... emphasis must be placed on efficiency, good organisation and painstaking attention to the immediate problems of the people, influx control, pass and beer raids, high rents, low wages and land and cattle restrictions."

In the intervening 30 years, the methods of mass action have been developed. The issues continue to be the same - high rents, low wages, housing and unemployment. Other issues have been won like the development of the trade union movement and the scrapping of influx control. Now, 30 years later, mass struggle remains the key to day-to-day issues like rents, transport and ultimately the transfer of power.

Building the ANC

The 1959 NEC report devoted considerable space to the question of building the ANC. The NEC noted that for many regions and provinces, membership targets remain a challenge. In its report, the NEC remarked: "All our Annual National Conferences since 1956 were called upon to debate (the subject of the organisation).

... That this is so and that it should be so is quite understandable. It is an admission that conditions under which we live require organisation and because there is real need for an efficient and influential organisation to direct the everyday affairs and activities of our people. There can be no doubt or argument that at this critical period in our history when we are being ruthlessly uprooted, scattered and gagged we need such an organisation."

After 30 years, there is little to add to this statement. In 1959 the NEC went further and highlighted the crucial importance of organisation in the rural areas. Conferences of rural people were proposed where special attention could be paid to issues affecting rural areas. With respect to this issue as well, the tasks remain fundamentally the same today.

In July 1991, the remarks of the NEC report of 1959 remain relevant: "As delegates charged with the duty of planning our struggle for the coming year it behoves us not to be superficial in examining the past year from which we will plan our march forward, but to study this report critically and to discuss it thoroughly, that those who have honoured us by sending us to this conference to be their eyes, ears and spokesmen (and women) can accept our decisions and resolutions with the confidence that they have received the serious and critical examination which they deserve."



19/07/91

SAP 'funded Inkatha rallies'

DOCUMENTS allegedly showing the South African Police have made large secret cash payments to back Inkatha rallies and thus oppose the African National Congress have been revealed.

Other related documents indicate extensive discussions between Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a senior Durban security police officer on how to stop the ANC from whittling away Inkatha support in Natal.

According to today's Weekly Mail, which carries a full report on the documents, security police paid at least R250 000 into an Inkatha bank account to organise rallies and other anti-ANC activities. The Mail has receipts, bank deposit slips and top secret internal security police memoranda, con-

Natal witness 19 July 1991
Documents reveal secret payments of up to R250 000

firming the cash payments to Inkatha by the SAP.

The documents also confirm meetings between Buthelezi, some of his cabinet ministers and a senior Durban police officer, then in the security police, Major Louis Botha.

According to the documents Botha wrote to the chief of security police in Pretoria in February 1990 asking for R120 000 in cash to back an Inkatha rally. Botha said a massive turnout at the rally was of the utmost importance "to show everyone that he (Buthelezi)

has a strong base".

"It is recommended that a clandestine grant of at least R120 000 be made available for this purpose," Botha wrote. If the rally failed it would have far-reaching implications "for Buthelezi and the RSA".

The cash was paid into a Durban bank account in Inkatha's name 10 days before the March 25 rally last year. Similar evidence indicates another payment of R100 000 to finance an earlier rally in November 1989, addressed by Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini.

There is no conclusive evidence that Buthelezi or members of Inkatha knew that the money deposited into their account came directly from the security police.

In his memorandum, Botha says the police should support Inkatha because Buthelezi, under pressure from some of his ministers because of failing support, would otherwise be forced to join forces with the ANC.

"During our discussion it became very clear that the actions and political manoeuvres of the ANC were a matter of con-

cern to the chief minister, especially if one considers the shrinking Inkatha membership figures," Botha said. He added that Buthelezi had hoped he would win support after arranging the return to the country of PAC veteran Prince Velekhaya Shange and ANC veteran Wilson Chonco.

Botha said his division of the police feared Buthelezi would seriously consider throwing in his lot with the ANC. Buthelezi was concerned that with the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the ANC would be seen as commanding the support of most blacks and many whites, Indians and coloureds and that this would be used overseas to pressurise Pretoria during negotiations.

To counter this, Buthelezi planned a mass rally at King's Park where he would speak against the armed struggle and sanctions, and it was this rally which Botha asked Pretoria to help finance.

The rally, however, took place in pouring rain with far fewer attending than was hoped, and it was followed by a week of horrific conflict now known as the "Maritzburg war". — Witness Reporter and Weekly Mail.

16/1/11

1977/11/11 Business Day

Malan hits at Mandela claims

ANC president Nelson Mandela's claims about the security forces are outrageous and his generalisations about whites terrible, Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan said yesterday.

Responding to Mandela's comments during an interview with The Star, Malan called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about SA's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

Malan was speaking at an NP meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand.

References to individual transgressions by soldiers or policemen "due to the stress caused by the nature of their work" did not con-

stitute proof of security force complicity in township violence, Malan said.

Mandela's sweeping statements placed a question mark on his ability to "forsee the consequences if the security forces were not there to pull the chestnuts out of the fire".

Insult

He said Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations" because of his claim that white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level."

Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways in a new order.

"The question begging is, who is going to hijack whom, with so many SACP members in the ANC executive."

The tone of Mandela's interview was confrontational and did not reflect a spirit of conciliation, Malan said.

Malan's speech also included a warning that he did not regard Mandela's claims as simple rhetoric aimed at keeping an electorate satisfied.

"These allegations, and the ANC's insistence on developing MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) as a private army — unacceptable in any country — have far reaching implications for security," Malan said. — Sapa.

16/1/11
Mandela at last produces his version of De Klerk's stunner

South Africa could be at the cusp of history

D. NEWS 19/07/91

THE full significance of the ANC's recent conference is beginning to sink in. Nelson Mandela has been given three years in which to deliver the goods, in very much the same way F.W. de Klerk has three years.

His negotiating position, as revealed in an interview with veteran political analyst Stanley Uys, bears about as much resemblance to traditional ANC dogma as De Klerk's does to traditional Nationalist dogma.

Both men have been granted a relatively short space of time, in terms of negotiation and constitution-making, in which to produce results with which to convince their constituencies that something reasonable can be worked out, the country need not opt for Gotterdammerung.

The results will have to be convincing as there are plenty of sceptics out there.

Mr Mandela has his own AWB of the Left to contend with. The township radicals were able to turn on ferocious

LINSCOTT AT LARGE



Mandela: a man ready to talk turkey?

The headline to this column after Nelson Mandela's opening speech to the ANC.

heat at the ANC's interim conference last year and would make plenty of trouble if Mr Mandela were to come to the next conference, in three years' time, empty-handed.

Mr de Klerk has to hold an election, offering the white voters something more substantial than one man, one vote plus vague reassurances.

It is difficult to know which is in the trickier position. Each is threatened by the smouldering violence, the unproven yet not disproven involvement of agents provocateurs, officially or unofficially sanc-

tioned. Each is threatened by the economic tailspin which feeds the discontent.

Yet they have a few things going for them, not least the promised involvement of the G-7 nations in rebuilding South Africa. This is the closest we are likely to come to Marshall Aid, and it is surely heartening that the world's wealthiest democracies are on our side.

But we do need to distinguish between what the G-7 offer and what the Americans did in rebuilding West Germany from the rubble of World War 2, setting

up the wirtschaftswunder.

The Americans poured in billions of dollars in aid. The G-7 offer a degree of aid, but what they are really speaking about is private investment by their citizens.

Given their enthusiasm for reforms in South Africa, one imagines the G-7 will offer all kinds of incentives for investment here. But the bottom line is stability, profitability and the right to withdraw profits. Without those, we can whistle.

Which brings us back to Mr Mandela. At the ANC conference he made an intriguing speech in which he spoke of a transitional government of national unity. He also sharply criticised the government for failing to end the violence and on various other counts.

It was possible to put the most positive interpretation on that speech, also to read it rather negatively. Many chose the latter.

However, this week's interview swings Mr Mandela most definitely into positive mode.

Minority representation in government ...

the inclusion of Inkatha ... no dogmatic attachment to nationalisation or state intervention ... learning from the mistakes of countries such as Angola and Mozambique ... no commitment to a post-apartheid alliance with the Communist Party. Unless you happen to be a Stalinist, this is sweet music.

It is certain to appeal to potential investors in the G-7, which would make possible the kind of national upliftment where people are too busy improving their lot in life to man the barricades or opsaal vir volk en vaderland.

Statesmanship is the word that springs to mind. This week's interview surely ranks with President de Klerk's speech to Parliament of February 2 last year, in which he served apartheid with its demolition order.

Three years is a very short time in which to kick-start the economy and produce something substantial in terms of a constitutional structure. But the will appears to be there. We could be at the very cusp of history.

16/1/91

Cosatu to meet to thrash out issues

Sowetan 19-07-91

COSATU will hold its fourth national congress next weekend where some of the major political issues of the day will be discussed.

The congress, to be held at Nasrec south of Johannesburg and attended by more than 2 500 delegates, will debate a number of important labour and political issues.

These will include the labour federation's role in negotiations and a review of the tripartite alliance with the ANC and the SACP.

In a statement issued yesterday Cosatu said organisations invited to attend the congress included the ANC, the SACP, the PAC, the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

Also invited are international guests from trade unions and labour federations around the world. These guests will be taken on a tour of the townships, hostels and mines.

Violence

Cosatu said its three-day programme - from Friday to Sunday - will include a number of sessions which will be open to the Press and diplomats.

The open sessions will include speeches by the leaders of Cosatu, Nactu, the ANC, the SACP, the PAC and representatives of international trade unions.

Political issues to be discussed at the congress include violence and Cosatu's role in negotiations. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Bruntville quiet again after clashes

by CRAIG URQUHART

BRUNTVILLE township near Mooi River appears to be quiet again following the latest clashes between African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha supporters which left six dead and four injured — bringing the death toll up to 12 people this week.

However, many of the residents who fled from the fighting are still too afraid to return and some are staying in Pietermaritzburg.

Residents say that, although the fighting has subsided, there is no way of telling whether it will flare up again.

There are conflicting reports as to how the latest fighting started, but a bakkie driven by members of the Bruntville Town Board was upturned and set alight by a group of residents in the Sigane section at 8.45 am on Thursday which was followed by shots being fired throughout the

Hopes for peace raised in Richmond

Witness Reporter

HOPES have been raised that there could be a ceasefire between warring factions in Richmond's townships following an announcement that peace talks will be held in the area tomorrow.

The chairman of the ANC branch in the area, Sifiso Nkabinde, said two other meetings are to be held at the weekend for Richmond refugees so that preparations can be made for their return home.

Peace talks between ANC and Inkatha officials failed in January after violence flared in Magoda.

area and hundreds of people were seen running in all directions from the township.

One onlooker at the Mooi River Toll Plaza said groups of men — many armed with AK47 assault rifles — were seen run-

ning across the N3 highway and seeking refuge in the dense undergrowth.

Meanwhile, a massive pre-dawn crime prevention operation labelled "Alley Cat" was carried out in the area yesterday, but met with little success.

SAP units from Pietermaritzburg, Ladysmith, Newcastle and the SADF carried out the joint operation in an attempt to arrest perpetrators of the violence and to confiscate illegal firearms.

Police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching said roadblocks were set up and several houses and all the hostels were searched.

Kitching added that, although the security personnel came home empty handed, the operation was a success in that residents were able to see that the police and army are doing everything possible to end the violence.

Buthlezi to seek recognition in U.S.

ATLANTA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrives in the United States today seeking recognition from officials and civil rights groups that he is the main alternative to Nelson Mandela as South Africa's major black leader.

Buthlezi will lunch with President George Bush and meet media and corporate executives to press the views of his Inkatha Freedom Party, which wants sanctions against Pretoria lifted.

Commenting yesterday, Bush said Buthelezi has "a strong following and constituency. What we want to do is see peace and reconciliation in South Africa, and I think they're moving dramatically in that direction".

The week-long visit to Atlanta, Washington and New York marks Buthelezi's biggest U.S. public relations offensive since President F.W. de Klerk released Mandela from prison and legalised his African National Congress (ANC) and other banned opposition parties in early 1990.

Inkatha U.S. representative Sipo Mzimela said Buthelezi seeks the same recognition as a "key player" in shaping a post-apartheid society that Americans accord Mandela and de Klerk.

"We hope we have a role to play in a peaceful future South Africa," said Mzimela, who says he quit the ANC in 1985 because of its alliance with the Communist Party.

The bitter rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC in South Africa may be moving across the ocean, since some of Buthelezi's critics plan protest and activists who back the ANC have said they intend to stage demonstrations outside some of Buthelezi's appearances. — Sapa-Reuter.

16/1/11

ANC flexibility

D News
19/07/91

IT has been a momentous week for South Africa, with developments on several fronts, both locally and abroad, giving cause for greater optimism about the country's future. The lifting of major sanctions and the promise of aid from the world's leading industrial nations bodes well for an early economic recovery, and South Africa's standing in the world community was enhanced by its re-admission to the Olympic fold and other international sporting movements.

On the home front, the prospects for a peaceful settlement to the country's problems have been boosted by encouraging signs of real negotiations getting off the ground soon. In an extensive interview this week ANC president Nelson Mandela indicated that his organisation was prepared to show flexibility

and conciliation on several key issues blocking the negotiation process. Provided the Government demonstrated its sincerity in resolving existing obstacles, the ANC was prepared to make significant concessions on issues such as its call for an interim government, its contentious links with the Communist Party, nationalisation and minority representation in future government structures.

This new-found flexibility is an encouraging signal that the ANC will no longer operate from fixed positions, and is willing to adapt and accommodate the realities of the South African situation. Having now won a clear mandate as undisputed leader of the ANC, Mr Mandela seems ready to join the process that promises to deliver the new South Africa.

'Chief Buthelezi was very emotional. He could not say thank you enough'

— From the memo signed by Major Botha

It is believed that he was for some time involved with Buthelezi's personal security.

The question of police support for Inkatha was raised in parliament earlier this year by the Democratic Party's Kobus Jordaan. He asked whether any section of the intelligence service or the SAP had given financial or organisational support to groups such as Inkatha.

President FW de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok refused to answer as this would "defeat the legal protection of security information".

Botha's 10-page memorandum motivating the payment to Inkatha gives a rare insight into how the security police see Inkatha as the only organisation capable of countering the influence of the ANC. He refers to discussions with Buthelezi over a two-to-three week period and previous security police reports on "Conflict within Inkatha following peace talks" and "Strategic perspectives: Chief Minister Buthelezi and Inkatha: Implications for current negotiations politics".

Botha argues that the police should support Inkatha because Buthelezi, under pressure from some of his ministers because of falling support, would otherwise be forced to join forces with the ANC.

"During our discussion it became very clear that the actions and political manoeuvres of the ANC were a matter of concern to the chief minister, especially if one considers the shrinking Inkatha membership figures," Botha said.

He added that Buthelezi had hoped that he would win support after arranging the return to the country of Pan Africanist Congress veteran Prince Velekhaya Shange (described only as "Prins Shange") and ANC veteran Dr Wilson Chonco.

"It is also clear that he is very suspicious of overtures from the ANC which according to him would make it easy for the ANC hierarchy to destroy him if he and Inkatha joined the ANC..."

"He is also worried about the possible role of his supporters and cabinet members, namely Dr O Dlomo (sic), minister of education, Dr F Mdloshe, minister of health, Chief Gumede, minister of public works and minister S Sithebe, minister of home affairs," Botha said, also referring to another memo on "Internal conflict in Inkatha as a result of peace talks".

Dlomo, then also Inkatha secretary general, resigned from the organisation and the kwaZulu cabinet two months later.

Botha added: "If he (Buthelezi) seeks reconciliation with the ANC, there is the possibility he will be accepted and



The man behind the Inkatha memos, Major Louis Botha, was chosen to accompany President FW De Klerk and his wife Marika on their official tour of Natal in October last year. He can be seen here behind Mrs De Klerk.

Photo: Courtesy SUNDAY TRIBUNE

then removed from the scene ... If he stands on the political sidelines, then he won't be able to take part in the game later on, which will also lead to political humiliation.

"It is the fear of this division (of the police) that, bearing the above in mind, the minister will seriously consider throwing in his lot with the ANC with far-reaching implications for Natal and the ANC. With the release of Nelson Mandela, this becomes a serious possibility," Botha reported.

Botha went on to say that Buthelezi was worried that, with the release of Mandela, the ANC would be seen as commanding the support of most blacks, and many whites, Indians and coloureds, and that this would be used overseas to put pressure on Pretoria during the negotiation period.

As a counter, he says, Buthelezi planned a mass rally at King's Park on March 25 1990 where he would speak against armed struggle and sanctions. Botha recommended that police help pay for the rally.

The rally was a failure. It poured with

rain on the day and only about 10 000 people attended, though Inkatha contested these figures. Clashes between busloads of Inkatha supporters and residents of Pietermaritzburg townships broke out before and after the rally.

The next few days saw some of the bloodiest conflict in the area, including a planned invasion of Edendale by Inkatha-supporting "impis".

These revelations are supported by recent disclosures that there is a sophisticated plan by the government to use Inkatha as a conservative counterweight to the ANC during negotiations.

Earlier this year Sipho Madlala, a self-confessed security police agent, told reporters in Natal that he had been recruited by officers in the security police and military intelligence to assassinate pro-ANC Zulu chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Other evidence is now emerging about clandestine support from military intelligence and the police for Inkatha so that the Zulu movement can be used to undermine the ANC.

19-25 June

(5)

The Star 19 July 1991

NP lauds 'flexible' Nelson

Political Editor

National Party sources have hailed ANC president Nelson Mandela's latest statements on negotiations, calling them "remarkable" and "good news for the process".

In an exclusive interview published by The Star yesterday, Mr Mandela indicated that the ANC was prepared to be flexible and conciliatory on key issues if President de Klerk moved quickly to restore ANC trust in his Government.

However, Sapa reports that last night Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said Mr Mandela's claims about the security forces and his generalisations about white people were outrageous.

The NP sources told The Star they were encouraged by the conciliatory tone adopted by Mr Mandela. "It substantially counters the somewhat confusing signals from the recent ANC conference. This is far more in tune with the times, and with the initial phase of Mr Mandela's leadership after his release."

Some MPs expressed "irrita-

tion" with the ANC leader's insistence that Mr de Klerk had not done enough to halt township violence — or was being "undermined" by reactionaries in Government — but said this should not detract from the "overall, positive" impact of his latest remarks.

"It looks to us as if he has decided, as he suggested at the end of the ANC conference, that as leader he must lead.

Indiscriminate

"This provides great impetus — we've said all along that Mr Mandela's role within the ANC is absolutely crucial to the future," said one MP.

Asked whether Mr de Klerk was likely to respond with a positive gesture now that Mr Mandela had "put the ball in his court", a Nat MP replied: "On the multiparty congress, the locality of the ball hasn't changed. Mr de Klerk put it in the court of the ANC some time ago. The ANC has just acknowledged that the game can go on. They've stopped sitting on the ball."

General Malan, speaking at a

National Party meeting at Brentwood on the East Rand, called on the ANC leader to substantiate "indiscriminate allegations" about South Africa's security forces slaughtering people.

"This is an outrageous accusation, which strikes at the integrity and very nature of our security forces. I challenge him to substantiate his claim with full detail."

He said Mr Mandela was also guilty of "terrible generalisations", because the ANC president claimed white South Africans regarded the lives of their black compatriots as cheap.

"This is an insult to the overwhelming majority of whites, who maintain good relations with others — from the domestics upwards to the office level."

Mr Mandela's comment was, in fact, an attempt to cause tension between black and white people, General Malan said.

He also cast doubt on Mr Mandela's claim that the ANC and the SACP would go their separate ways once the apartheid state was removed.

*The Star**19 July 1991*

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Grasp ANC olive branch

NELSON MANDELA has held out an olive branch to President de Klerk. In his first full interview since being elected ANC president — published in The Star yesterday — Mr Mandela adopts a conciliatory tone. The angry language which permeated the ANC ultimatum of April 5 is conspicuously absent. So, too, are the demands for the dismissal of Cabinet Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok.

What the ANC is looking for is an unequivocal initiative from Mr de Klerk to remove remaining difficulties on three issues: release of political prisoners, return of exiles and, above all, the ongoing township violence. A positive response is required from Mr de Klerk if Mr Mandela is to persuade ANC members that the State President is, indeed, a man of integrity. This would clear the way for an all-party conference and, beyond that, substantive constitutional negotiations.

Immediate rewards are visible on the horizon for Mr de Klerk and South Africa as a whole. One is ANC co-operation in removing remaining sanctions, which are still substantial in the United States, despite the repeal of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Another is the hint of structural guarantees for minorities.

As important, from the perspective of many South Africans, including the business barons, is the prospect of a separation between the ANC and the SA Communist Party. Once apartheid is finally abolished the ANC and the SACP will go their separate ways, Mr Mandela says. "We won't follow socialism," he promises.

There is a degree of ambiguity. It is not clear when, in the ANC's view, apartheid can be said to have ended. Clearly, however, it will not be before a genuine non-racial election. The sooner we get there, the better.

This is a challenge that must be grasped boldly. So must Mr Mandela's renewed invitation to businessmen to offer a viable alternative to nationalisation and a fair distribution of wealth and life opportunities in South Africa.

The Star 19 July 1991

ANC asks SA business for funds

By Sham Johnson
Political Editor

Nelson Mandela this morning appealed directly to South African businessmen to help the ANC with funds in order to ensure a negotiated settlement.

Addressing a Finance Week breakfast meeting in Johannesburg, the ANC president said: "We have noticed that it is only when we go abroad — be it in Africa, Asia or Europe — that we have the support of governments and business people."

"It is only in South Africa where we have encountered enormous problems, which are leading our own constituency to increasingly ask: 'Are you sure that the white businessmen of this country are behind the peace process?'"

"If they are, we should not learn this purely from Pretoria — we should be able to point at the concrete responses on their part which give us the capacity to carry on with this initiative which we have successfully undertaken ... and which has led to the talks between us and the Government."

The ANC leader said "very few liberation movements have taken the line that we have".

He said the ANC was putting "tremendous pressure" on Pretoria "for a speedy solution to our problems".

Mr Mandela said he was making this appeal to businessmen "because we do want to carry our own constituency, and if they are not ready to accept businessmen as a key element in striving for a peaceful solution, it is going to be difficult for us to make progress."

The Star
19 July 1991

NP plans to open township offices

By Shareen Singh

Blacks have started joining the National Party in increasing numbers since April this year, the NP says, and plans are under way to open offices in a few black townships.

NP spokesman for the greater Pretoria region, Joggie Boers, said the NP would open offices in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Soshanguve in the next few days because membership in these areas had been increasing rapidly.

However, he could not say how many blacks had joined in his region because "the party does not register people on a racial basis and would not like to differentiate between black and white".

The Hillbrow branch of the NP, which has a "multiracial" executive committee, also says it has a significant number of black members.

Ronnie Ontong, a Pentecostal church minister, said he joined the NP in May this year because he believed in President de Klerk and the NP's policies.



New Nats ... Hillbrow office holders David Mathiba (above) and Ronnie Ontong.

However, he was full of praise for Nelson Mandela and said he would have joined the ANC if it did not have communist alliances.



The secretary of the NP's Johannesburg region, Juli Coetzer, said "disillusioned ANC members" were joining the NP, particularly in Hillbrow.

Responding to NP claims, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said "naturally they are free to recruit and open branches anywhere and we don't see it as a threat".

"Our membership, as we stated at the congress, is 700 000, most of which we managed to recruit in difficult circumstances in a short time since our unbanning."

Mr Macozoma, of Hillbrow, accused the NP of "engaging in propaganda" to try to increase its membership.

"I am a Hillbrow resident and I don't believe our members are joining the NP. If anything, the ANC branch in Hillbrow is very strong."

The NP was attracting conservative people who "are their political offspring and their natural allies".

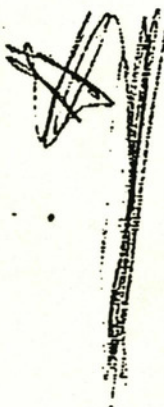
Mr Macozoma said the ANC would like some guarantee from the NP that its recruitment drive would not be accompanied by repression and restriction of free political activity.

He said ANC members in some areas had been harassed by police who had torn up their ANC membership cards.

Weetly Mare

(4)

19-25 July 1991



The memo in full

●From PAGE 2

18.4. Die laaste vergadering te Kings Park op 1987-11-05 (sien hierdie Streek se berig 294 met verwysing S22/29/16N oor S7/28/3/0/4N gedateer 1989-11-20) was 'n reuse sukses en gesien in die lig van die beplande massa vergaderings wat deur die ANC beplan word, het dit uiters belangrik geword dat daar weer beplan en uitgevoer word.

18.5. Dit word voorgestel dat 'n klandestiene skenking van minstens R120,000-00 gemaak word vir hierdie doel.

18.6. Geen beloftes van enige finansiële steun is gemaak nie. Dit moet ook aanvaar word dat ENKATHA nie die finansies besit om so 'n projek op die hooftjie aan te pak nie. Die nagevolge van 'n mishukking van so 'n vergadering sal verreikende implikasies inhou vir BUTHELEZI en die RSA.

STREEKHOOE : VEILIGSHEIDSTAFK :
NATAL LB/doot/635/7