

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

When is an ultimatum?

SOME gamesmanship is to be expected as political groups jockey for position in the run-up to transition. Ordinary people are pretty well inured to it. But there ought to be a limit — and we believe the ANC “ultimatum” exceeded it.

South Africa, black and white, is in a febrile state. Mood swings alarmingly as hopes teeter (witness the business confidence indicator). Extremists come into their own, feeding on uncertainty and unrelenting violence. The vital middle subsides into dismayed silence.

Into this maelstrom was thrown, last week, a set of demands that precisely fitted the definition of an ultimatum. The emphatic nature of the “open letter” — with its explicit threat to break off negotiations — was reinforced by Nelson Mandela in international TV interviews. This was Showdown at High Noon. It caused predictable ripples.

Suddenly, this week, there was an about-face. “Leaks” from a meeting between Mr Mandela and foreign diplomats suggested that the ultimatum was not an ultimatum at all. Surely that interpretation was owed first to South Africans, who got it only later from other ANC spokesmen? Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation was not inflexible. Pallo Jordan insisted that many others, too, had called for the resignation of Ministers Vlok and Malan. He conveniently overlooked that the ANC was the only one to set a deadline and a clear consequence of non-delivery.

Naturally, the media got blamed — wrongly. If, indeed, the “open letter” was misinterpreted, then that is a reflection on the message, not the messenger; the authors failed to make their meaning clear. A more likely explanation is that the ANC went too far and is now trying to row back. We welcome this development, of course. Peaceful progress demands it.

But we would urge the organisation to take more care. Like the Nationalists have done so many times before, the ANC risks making a tricky situation worse at a time when we all can least afford it.

ANC attempts to heal rift with Buthelezi

N/Witness 11/4/91
JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress has softened its ultimatum to the Government and appeased IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a telephone conversation between him and Nelson Mandela.

While the organisation's information secretary, Pallo Jordan, harangued newspaper editors for claiming a "bloody cheek" on the ANC's part, he said Inkatha was placated and foreign diplomats softened.

Mandela yesterday told Buthelezi that the ANC's "open letter" ultimatum last week was directed at Government inaction and not at the IFP.

The two leaders agreed during a lengthy telephone conversation to lend their "immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments", the ANC said.

Buthelezi said last night, however, that only the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC's national executive could take steps towards rectifying the "very difficult position" into which the ANC's letter to the President had thrust the IFP-ANC relationship.

In the open letter the ANC demanded the Government take action to stop the ongoing township violence which has claimed thousands of lives.

The ANC threatened to withdraw from negotiations aimed at establishing a new constitution if its demands, which included a call for the resignation of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok were not met by May 9.

The letter also attacked the IFP, accusing it of using violence, with the help of the security forces, to infiltrate areas where it previously had no support.

In the letter the ANC referred to the IFP as a "minor" in the political field, a term

Mandela said was not an insult but a fact.

Yesterday's telephone conversation, which the ANC said was initiated by Mandela, concerned Buthelezi's response that the demands contained in the open letter would lead to civil war.

"... Mandela explained the purpose of the ANC's open letter, pointing out that it was directed at Government inaction and not at the IFP."

Foreign diplomats, meanwhile, are to join forces in a concerted endeavour to extricate the ANC from its deadlock with the Government.

This follows an urgent briefing by Mandela to assembled ambassadors and heads of foreign missions in Cape Town on Tuesday.

He told them the demands contained in the open letter to President F.W. de Klerk were not an ultimatum and that the ANC would accept a "serious gesture from the Government" in order to resume negotiations.

In an article written for several morning newspapers Pallo Jordan accused the press of failing to grasp the depth of the crisis being faced and defended the organisation against what he said was a consensus among editors that the ANC's demands were unreasonable.

The demand for Malan's sacking was no more than what MPs, newspapers and other public figures had done.

The ANC merely added its voice to what had become a veritable chorus, "but only ours merited the riposte: Bloody Cheek!"

"We find it quite remarkable that after a year which ended with something of the order of 2 900 African citizens killed and with almost 600 deaths already reported since January 1991, that most of our fellow South Africans, who pen the editorials and features in our daily newspapers, do not seem to realise that what we face is a deep crisis." — Sapa.

Uxwayisa

intsha

X
ye-ANC

VUSI SOSIBO

EMPANGENI. - Unobhala wesifunda saseNse-
leni ngaphansi kweNka-
tha Freedom Party (IFP),
uMnuz M.B. Gwala, nge-
sonto elidlule uxwayise
uphiko lwentsha ye-Afri-
can National Congress
olwaziwa ngokuthi yiPro-
visional Regional Youth
Committee esifundeni
saseNyakatho ukuba se-
hlukane nokuvuthela
amalangabi odlame kule-
ndawo.

Ekhuluma emhlanga-
nweni we-IFP obusema-
hhovisi alenhlango
eMpangeni uMnuz Gwa-
la uthe abaholi be-IFP
kulendawo sebekhathele
ukubizwa ngophakimpi.
Wathi abantu futhi ba-
khathele yindluzula eye-
nzeka ezindaweni abakhe-
kuzo.

Ubuye wahlaba iCon-
gress of South African
Trade Union (Cosatu)
ngokuthi idala uqhekeko
emphakathini wakule-
ndawo.

Uthe ngaso sonke isi-
khathi uma benezingxoxo
ne-ANC kuyaqhubeka
ukubulawa kwamalungu
e-IFP. Wathi lokhu kwe-
nzeke ngisho nangemuva
komhlangano oyingqo-
phamlando owawupha-
kathi kwabaholi be-IFP
kanye nabe-ANC eThe-
kwini. Uthe kuyaziwa
ukuthi ngemuva kwalom-
hlangano kwabulawa
amalungu e-IFP eMga-
baba, eNdwedwe, Kwa-
Shange ngaseMgungu-
ndlovu kanye naseRich-
mond. Wathi kodwa na-
phezu kwalezizehlakalo
akaqondile ukuthi ama-
lungu e-IFP kufanele
aguqukele odlameni.

Unxuse amalungu
alenhlango ukuba azi-
nikele emigomweni emi-
ne yayo yokuzabalazela
yokuba kusungulwe um-
phakathi ovulekile onge-
nabandulululo nonama-
thuba alinganayo. Wathi
ngakolunye uhlangothi
kufanele alwele ukuse-
tshenziswa komnotho
wezwe ngendlela yoku-
lwa nesitha sesiNtu oku-
ngubuphofu, indlala,
ukungasebenzi, izifo,
ukungazi, ukungavikele-
ki, ukungabinamizi kanye
nokulahlekelwa wubu-
Ntu.

16/1/11

The ANC moves to appease its disillusioned supporters

by Lakela Kaunda

THE African National Congress moved last week to come closer to its members and supporters who were becoming disillusioned with its inaction, and further away from the government and Inkatha Freedom Party who were beginning to be seen as their allies by the extreme left such as Azapo and the PAC.

The ANC issued the most militant statement since February 2 to the state President F.W. de Klerk to sort out his security establishment and ensure that perpetrators of violence were brought to book, or face a suspension of the spirit of negotiations by May 9. The move has been endorsed by Cosatu, South African Communist Party and the ANC Youth League.

The anti-collaboration line is expected to be furthered after the Harare summit of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC this weekend. The PAC has stated unequivocally that the ANC should choose between the other members of the liberation movement and the National Party government; they cannot have it both ways.

The new ANC position may have shocked the

international community and the white community in the country, who believed all was well between the ANC and the government, but it has appeased the communities who have been calling for visible tough action from the organisation.

The ANC has admitted that the violence is curbing their recruitment drive. The youth league has failed to make the one-million mark they had intended, and the ANC itself had only 200 000 members in December. The Youth League has 210 605 paid-up members.

In their open letter the ANC says the killings, maimings and beatings in the townships have inflamed feelings of ethnic antagonism among various sections of the African people, have distracted public attention from root causes of poverty, hunger, deprivation in the country, and have "rendered it more difficult to achieve united action among the African people for generally accepted and commendable goals".

They said the perpetrators have a clear intention to sow divisions and stoke up a psychosis of fear, inse-

curity and mutual distrust among the African people. At the same time, they "hope to prey on the worst fears and prejudices of our white compatriots and thus make them more apprehensive about a democratic transformation."

The ANC has been losing the initiative and been reacting to the government since its unbanning. It has also come under fire from supporters who say it fails to defend them when they are attacked. Most have opted to become apolitical or non-aligned. At the same time, it has failed to convince supporters that the Peace Accord with Inkatha will work, in the light of continuing violence. Most of all, they have been seen to have been co-opted by the government, and the youth in particular fail to reconcile the new collaborationist ANC with the fighting ANC they hero-worshipped from exile.

The youth have also been brought up to believe that Inkatha is part of the oppressive machinery, hence they challenge Nelson Mandela's contention that there is a "third force". They argue that there are two camps, the oppressor and the oppressed and no in-betweeners.

In a statement issued on Monday the ANCYL said they ruled out the notion of a third force.

"The reluctance of government and its security forces to act to stop violence, even when notified of imminent attacks, left us with no illusion that there could be any other force that is responsible for this violence other than the government and its surrogate forces."

Mandela and the rest of the NEC have been under pressure mainly from the Youth League not to "legitimise" Inkatha and elevate it to the rank of a liberation movement which they believe it is not. This has put the January 29 Accord with Inkatha under more stress.

The ANC has demanded:

- That the government take legislative measures during the current session of parliament to outlaw the carrying of weapons, traditional or otherwise, at public assemblies, processions, rallies etc.

- The dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads.

- The visible, public dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, Battalion 32, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z Squad etc and the establishment of a multiparty commission to oversee this process.

- The immediate suspension from duty of all police officers and constables who were implicated in the massacres at Sebokeng on March 22 and the commencement of legal proceedings against them, and the immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shootings in Daveyton and Benoni on March 24 pending a commission of inquiry into that incident.

- Satisfactory assurances that in future the SAP, SADF and other security organs will employ acceptable and civilised methods of crowd control, and that the issuance of live ammunition to the police on such occasions shall be disallowed.

- That effective steps are taken to begin the process of phasing out the hostels and other labour compounds and transforming them into family units and single occupancy flats.

- The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security services.

If by May 9 these demands have not been met the ANC will suspend

16/10/11
16/11/11

ANC's ultimatum could provoke civil war, says Buthelezi

N.W. Enno 11/04/91

by Lakela Kaunda

THE president of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called upon the international community to cut funding and support for the ANC following its ultimatum to the government.

Buthelezi was responding to the ultimatum given to State President F.W. de Klerk by the ANC NEC this week to clear his security establishment of Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok and ensure the arrest of perpetrators of violence. If that is not done by May 9, they will suspend talks, they said.

The ANC's open letter to De Klerk also blames Inkatha supporting "rooi-doeke" for the violence on the Reef. It said vigilantes had created "no-go" areas for the ANC to weaken and discredit it.

It said the aim of this was to "inflate the image of the Inkatha Freedom Party from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player on the political arena."

Buthelezi said the ANC's "totally destructive and ill-conceived and power-grabbing" ultimatum to De Klerk could provoke civil war in the country.

He urged De Klerk to inform the world of the seriousness of the new situation and seek the help of freedom-loving nations in curbing the ANC's "lust for power".

He said this "astounding turnabout by the ANC must be roundly condemned".

No government or semi-government organisation in the world must now "dare to fund and support this sabotaging ANC into becoming a power monster that succeeds in riding roughshod over negotiating partners the way it is now attempting to do."

He said the situation was so serious that the possibility might have to be faced of going on with the negotiations without the ANC, "leaving them to do their bloody damnest to destroy what we are doing".

He said radical reform in South Africa was already totally unstoppable and there was nothing in current politics that could be regarded as a threat to the emergence of democracy.

Now, however, "we face the crisis from which the prospects of the proposed negotiations may not recover from one totally destructive, ill-conceived, power-grabbing attempt by the ANC and its Communist Party ally to thwart the whole process."

Buthelezi said the government would not survive if it gave in to ANC demands. It would break up under resultant internal conflict and many members would go to the rightwing parties.

"What the ANC is actually doing is making the kind of demands which would precipitate what would be nothing less than a civil war in South Africa."

He said the negotiations which included the IFP, government and the ANC were no longer on track, and the ANC had walked out of the negotiations. He said the ANC might initiate another process in which the government actually started handing over power to it. Those negotiations would exclude the IFP.

Law and order minister Adriaan Vlok said the

ANC/SACP alliance were locked in a power struggle and still regarded themselves as a dictatorial liberation movement.

He said the ANC/SACP remained intolerant of other political parties and were continuing their smear campaign against the government and the security forces.

With regard to calls for his resignation, he said he would not hesitate to leave political life if he stood in the way of South Africa's future.

16/1/11

Mandela explains ultimatum to Buthelezi

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In an effort to patch up strained relations with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANC's open letter to the Government, in which Inkatha was labelled a "minor" political player and which demanded drastic State action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said in a statement that Mr Mandela had initiated the telephone conversation with Chief Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had been directed at Government "inaction" and not at the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC's department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as lengthy and cordial.

"Both leaders agreed to lend their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments."

Chief Buthelezi last night issued a statement in which he said he told Mr Mandela that only the IFP central committee and the ANC national executive could take any step towards rectifying the "very difficult position into which the ANC's letter thrust IFP/ANC relationships".

The IFP's central committee would consider the matter on Sunday.

On Monday, Chief Buthelezi responded heatedly to the ANC's letter and the accusation that perpetrators of the protracted violence aimed to "in-

flate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena".

He warned that negotiations between the Government and the IFP would now proceed without the ANC.

From Cape Town Shaun Johnson reports that the ANC is attempting to make a strong diplomatic comeback after the avalanche of criticism following Friday's "ultimatum".

Diplomats and political observers are revising their earlier assessment that the ANC was being disingenuous in threatening the negotiation process because of the Government's failure to halt violence.

After extraordinary briefings to senior diplomats, community representatives and some journalists in Cape Town on Tuesday by Mr Mandela, a variety of sources said they had found the ANC's explanation of its

reasons for issuing the ultimatum "convincing".

"I think they have a point when they say no one realises the seriousness with which they regard the violence in which some 6 000 people have died," said one source. "I have no doubt there are internal tensions (within the ANC) but this ultimatum is primarily a genuine attempt to solve the problem of violence."

Stalling

According to the sources, Mr Mandela railed against the media for interpreting the letter as a stalling tactic and an ultimatum which sought to derail the negotiation process. He argued that the peace process would collapse if the Government was not prompted into dramatic action.

Mr Mandela is reported to have said in closed-door brief-

ings: "We want to create an ideal climate conducive to negotiations. But the violence is a priority issue. I live in the townships, where people are dying.

"De Klerk lives in the Union Buildings.

"Black life is cheap in this country... My attempts (at rectifying this perception) have been fruitless... We thought we could persuade the Government of this, but we have failed."

It was not Mr de Klerk's supporters who were dying, Mr Mandela is reported to have said, and white "indifference and insensitivity" was unacceptable.

Believing that all avenues had been exhausted in trying to prompt the Government to react decisively, the ANC had decided "the time has come to say this far and no further".

It was not an ultimatum which sought to buy time or threaten negotiations, he said.

"We have been making all these demands ever since I left prison... (We have been compelled) to take action to end the violence, to ensure peace, and that the process remains on course..."

"If the Government addresses the demands seriously, the ANC will not be found wanting."

Mr Mandela reportedly dismissed suggestions that he had been pressured by ANC "hawks" into supporting the hardline stand on the violence. He had considered this as early as September last year, he said, and the national executive committee was now in full agreement.

"When we were convinced that all possibilities had been tried, we said, okay, our aim (still) remains to create conditions conducive to peace, and we appeal to you to support us."

Mr Mandela conceded there was a "factional" element to

Mandela explains ultimatum.

the violence and that ANC members were not blameless.

But this had to be seen in the context of three other related factors: a "third force", "unacceptable methods of crowd control", and the "connivance of the Government" with other organisations.

"If there is still violence being committed by our supporters," he is reported to have said, "we are trying to stop it."

"But (Ministers Adriaan and Magnus) Vlok and Malan must clean up their own departments."

Yesterday, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said in Johannesburg the organisation was not adamant that its ultimatum had to be met in full by May 9.

A "response" by the Government before the deadline would result in the ANC considering whether to go ahead with its threat to pull out of negotiations.

Mandela to meet Major for talks

CAPE TOWN. — ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, is to visit Japan and Britain this month. He is expected to meet with British Prime Minister John Major, an ANC spokesperson, Ms Gill Marcus, said yesterday.

Mr Mandela (72), would leave South Africa on April 19 for Japan, then travel to Britain.

She did not know how long Mr Mandela would stay in either country, but said the trip was expected to last about a week.

A spokesman for No 10 Downing Street confirmed yesterday that Mr

Mandela and Mr Major would hold talks towards the end of the month.

No specific details or a date for the meeting were available yet, he added.

President F W de Klerk is scheduled to meet Mr Major on April 22 during his visit to Britain, Denmark and Ireland.

Whitehall officials yes-

terday dismissed the possibility of Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela holding a unique joint meeting with the British Prime Minister to discuss latest developments towards constitutional negotiations in South Africa.

Britain has called for easing sanctions imposed against South Africa to protest the apartheid policy of racial segregation and White dominance.

The ANC has opposed the lifting of sanctions, saying foreign countries should continue pressuring South Africa to change until apartheid has been completely eliminated.

Mr De Klerk's government has proposed the elimination of all remaining apartheid laws and held talks with the ANC on setting up negotiations to end White minority rule.

Under apartheid, South Africa's Whites control the government and economy, while the Blacks have no national voting rights. — Sapa-AP.

Racist landlords in the spotlight



African National Congress leaders at the head of the march through Durban on Saturday. Pic: Siphosiso Dhlomo

New African Reporter

THE demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government took on a very real flavour at the weekend when thousands of South Africans marched in support of these and other demands.

Memoranda outlining the demands were submitted at police stations, prisons and courthouses around the country by marchers, who used the occasion of Solomon Mahlangu Day to make the demands heard.

In Durban several thousand people gathered at Curries Fountain before marching on CR Swart police station, where a memorandum was handed over to the officer in charge.

The memorandum, apart from outlining the demands on the constituent assembly and interim government, called for the resignation of South Africa's two most controversial cabinet ministers, Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok.

Thousands march in support of constituent assembly

It also demanded the release of all political prisoners, including those on Death Row; the safe return of exiles; the disbandment of the state's death squads and the lifting of security legislation.

Speakers at both the march and the rally emphasised the seriousness of the demands and made it clear that if they were not met by state president FW de Klerk, he would face the withdrawal of the African National Congress (ANC) from the constitutional negotiations process. Several thousand signatures endorsing the constituent assembly campaign were collected at the Durban rally as ANC members and supporters streamed into the stadium.

The spirited mood at the rally - which also received a report of the ANC Youth League's national meeting held in Durban last week - continued throughout the march despite the searing heat.

The road leading to CR Swart had to be closed during the march and the subsequent addresses by ANC leadership.

In Pietermaritzburg, the ANC Midlands region held its own march around the same demands and the launch of the 'Hands off Natal Midlands' campaign.

Midlands ANC leader Reggie Hadebe called for the strengthening of the region and for the defence of communities and of Midlands chairperson Harry Gwala.

Gwala, Hadebe said, had become a

target for the state, the commercial press controlled by the ruling classes and Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister Gatsha Buthelezi.

These forces, he said, were attempting to portray Gwala and the Midlands region as a whole as opponents of peace.

'Let us go back and build even stronger defence committees. We should also take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment to peace. But our commitment to peace does not mean that we want peace of the grave,' Hadebe said.

'We are also not going to sacrifice the lives of our people on the altar of false peace - a peace that means our further subjugation.'

He also called on the state to take action against warlords including KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member David Ntombela, who he said had been implicated in killings but was still walking free.

16/1/11

Why no murder charges after Seven Day War, challenges ANC

W. ECHO

by Nomusa Cembali

11/04/91

THE Natal Midlands branch of the ANC attacked the attorney general of Natal and the minister of justice in a statement read to thousands of supporters in the city on Saturday as part of marches countrywide calling for the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles.

In a statement read to supporters outside Davies Alexander House, ANC regional executive member Reggie Hadebe challenged Justice Minister Kobie Kotzee to act on affidavits and dossiers submitted to him in August 1990.

The statement also challenged the Attorney General of Natal Mike Imber to act on the Mpophomeni inquests and asked why no one had been charged for murders in the Seven Day War.

Supporters were told not to allow the government to control the process of the release of prisoners and return of exiles.

"We must force this government to respond to the people's demands. The only language that apartheid understands is the force of people's power."

The statement asked why State President F.W. de Klerk was "demanding our exiles to sign ridiculous forms as to when they left South Africa. How did they

leave the country? And what activities have they been involved in? This is rather strange since the regime itself knows full well what our comrades in exile have been doing."

The statement warned people to be aware that the De Klerk government had a double agenda. "On the one hand it is talking to us, but on the other hand it is trying very hard to weaken and divide the African National Congress."

"This double agenda by the De Klerk regime becomes more obvious in the war that is being waged in Natal and the Transvaal on our people. The fundamental aim of this war is to weaken the ANC and its allies, and catapult other forces onto the centre stage of negotiations."

The statement said the ANC was committed to talk to Inkatha but was not going to let certain people be above the law.

It said it believed Inkatha Freedom Party official David Ntombela was directly involved in the Seven Day War. "We are not going to talk to him until his involvement is thoroughly investigated."

Chief Minister of KwaZulu Mangosuthu Buthelezi was also attacked for "using the platform of the KwaZulu bantustan" to attack the Midlands region.

16/1/11

Esmare van der Merwe suggests what motivated the ANC ultimatum

STAR 11 APRIL 1991

Getting down to grassroots

ONCE bitten, twice shy. This is the philosophy behind the African National Congress's threat to pull out of constitutional talks unless the Government acts on the recurring violence in the townships.

At the organisation's consultative conference in December, the leadership was astounded by the militancy of grassroots supporters. Now, in preparing for its national conference in June — at which a new leadership will be elected — the national executive committee has given the Government an ultimatum which is, above all else, an attempt to solidify support among its rank and file.

Sceptics may question the tacti-

cal wisdom of demanding the resignation of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok. Critics may regard the ultimatum — the second since December, although on unrelated issues — as an unacceptable attempt to shift the goalposts. But in the townships, reeling under the bloody violence which has turned streets into war zones, supporters have welcomed the ANC's firm stand.

Blamed

For ANC supporters, the issue at stake is not whether the violence should be blamed on the security forces, factional in-fighting, gangsters or guerilla-type armed

groups hell-bent on destroying the present or future political order. They simply argue that they have the right to protection by the State. And the State has failed to fulfil that obligation.

Furthermore, township residents have become disillusioned with the ANC, arguing that they have not benefited from the Government/ANC peace talks, and criticising the ANC for giving up more than it has gained in pre-negotiations talks with the Government.

Township and regional ANC leaders, recognising the real threat of losing support from disgruntled supporters, have put immense pressure on the National

Executive Committee to throw down the gauntlet to the Government and demand drastic action to curb the violence. ANC insiders maintain that the NEC was unanimous in its decision to do just that.

While it is unrealistic for the ANC to blame the violence solely on the Government, the ultimatum may come close to an admission that the leadership has lost control over its supporters.

And despite media speculation that the "hawks" have won another round in the power contest with the "doves", for once the militants and the moderates seem to have agreed that they needed to flex some muscle. This is not a

case of the "hawks" winning another battle. For there simply was no battle to be fought.

Agreeing

Nevertheless, while agreeing with the ultimatum in principle, some moderates within the ANC leadership obviously feel uncomfortable about the consequences of imposing impractical demands on the Government. If the Government fails to respond, ANC negotiators will face the difficult task of getting the process back on track.

But with grassroots opinion running against the moderates,

and amid speculation that some of them risk losing key positions to the hardliners at the June conference, their support for the ultimatum could bolster their position. If nothing else, the ANC has succeeded in highlighting the protracted violence — to which many white South Africans, it is argued, and the Government have become insensitive.

At the risk of losing international credibility and putting negotiations in jeopardy, at least temporarily, the ANC has installed renewed confidence in its rank and file. And come June, the NEC hopes to garner praise from its membership for its actions, rather than the harsh criticism it faced in December. □

A new role for Archbishop Tutu

by Lakela Kaunda

AFTER being the most prominent international spokesperson for the oppressed during the pre-February 2 era, Archbishop Desmond Tutu faded from the scene after the unbannings of the liberation movement, and has re-emerged as a conscience of the liberation movement.

Attentive members of the public had been asking what had happened to the Archbishop. Some observers had thought he had political ambitions and would immediately join a political organisation after unbannings. However, he seemed to have retired from active politics.

Tutu had said in 1981 that he had no intentions of being in a future government. He said he was merely "doing Mandela's job" because the man was not around at that time, and when Mandela returned he would disappear. However, last week, Tutu showed the world his new role — that of an above-politics conscience of the liberation movement and the future government, a role that would be expected of a church leader.

His Easter sermon in which he unveiled six points which make up his peace plan gave hopes that there is a trusted voice that the liberation movement may listen to.

The only grouping that seems to be anti-Tutu so far is the Inkatha Freedom Party, because of historical differences over sanctions, and also because they see him as being aligned to the tripartite alliance (ANC/SACP/Cosatu). They have not attended his peace summits at Bishoppoort.

Tutu's widely-publicised peace plan consists of the

following points:

- A call on the police to disarm all armed people no matter which political groupings they belong to.

put their houses in order, to instill discipline in their members, to adopt at least a minimum code of conduct that says "these are the

law and order without fear or favour.

- That all political leaders stop their killing talk, stop their belligerent, bellicose

- He suggested that municipalities, city councils, local councils, the churches, community organisations and political groupings participate in a campaign with the police to clean up these townships. Perhaps our people may then begin to regain the self-esteem, self-respect and pride that they are losing.

Last week Tutu said leaders of the liberation movement should discuss whether the time had not come to review sanctions. Tutu has been the most vocal exponent of sanctions against South Africa, and has travelled the world extensively canvassing. In the process he incurred the wrath of the business community, Inkatha and the government.

Tutu last week said South African blacks, not foreign governments should decide when sanctions should be lifted.

He said the promise of F.W. de Klerk to repeal bedrock apartheid laws by June and his agreement to free political prisoners and allow exiles home went a long way towards meeting his own conditions for ending sanctions.

But, Tutu said, an end to sanctions would have little effect without peace.

"We can call for reinvestment until we are blue in our faces, if the situation on the ground is such as to scare people away then investment will not come. Consequently it is important that we do something and that we do it pretty quickly about the violence. We have to turn the spotlight on ourselves and ask what is in fact happening to us as a people, as a black community. One has to say that clearly we are beginning to be the victims of a culture of violence."



- A call on all to help develop the culture of tolerance, to practice the motto "I disagree with what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it."
- Political organisations need to

parameters beyond which we will not stray in conducting our political activity."

- Let the police become a professional peace-keeping force that upholds the rule of

utterances that incite others to violence whatever the intention of the speaker might have been. He said there was legislation available and urged the government to use it.

EIGHT DIE IN VIOLENCE IN THE NATAL MIDLANDS

by Nomusa Cembali

EIGHT people were killed in separate violent incidents in the Natal Midlands over the weekend.

Seven people were shot and killed in Matimatolo, Mbuba near Greytown on Friday after an attack on the home of Richard Ngubane.

According to the chairman of the ANC in Greytown, Alfred Mzolo, the people who were killed were ANC members. He alleged that they had been killed by Inkatha supporters while watching television.

Mzolo said that this was another incident which showed that Inkatha people were not sincere when they called for peace.

Police have confirmed four of the seven deaths in

the Matimatolo incident.

Police shot and killed a suspect who was believed to have been involved in an attack on an Inkatha Freedom Party member's home near Richmond on Saturday morning. Police said his name was Thulani Phungula.

According to police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching, the suspect was part of a group of ten people who had attacked a kraal belonging to Khehlo Mtolo with rifles and hand grenades.

Shots were fired and an RPG42 hand grenade was thrown at Mtolo's house. Kitching said that when the police arrived, the attackers directed their fire at them.

He said in Table Mountain, six Inkatha sup-

porters were attacked in their car after it was ambushed by a group of men armed with rifles on Friday afternoon.

Two passengers, Alfred Mbatha and Eric Ndlovu, were shot in the right arm and left shoulder respectively but the attackers fled when a member of the KwaZulu Police, a Constable Zuma returned fire.

The occupants then drove to the South African Defence Force camp and reported the matter. A pursuit was launched which resulted in the shooting of an SADF member, a Sergeant Klepper who was shot from dense undergrowth. He was hit in the left leg. Kitching said that no one had been arrested in connection with these incidents.

ASC accuses ANC of 'compounding misery'

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress has been accused of compounding misery in the townships by using the death of black people to boost its bargaining power at the negotiating table.

This accusation came on Tuesday from the Azapo's student wing, the Azanian Students' Convention, in the wake of the ANC's recent ultimatum to the government on the ending of violence.

According to a statement issued by the movement, the wrangling between the ANC and the government was indicative of the non-starter nature of negotiations between the two parties.

"In fact it shows the bankruptcy of the joint monitoring groups they have both established."

The reality of such bankruptcy was the death of black people, it said.

"This use of our people's death as bargaining power must stop as it compounds their misery."

— Sapa

ANC woman to be buried

A PROMINENT member of the ANC's Dambuza branch Duzu Mlambo, who was killed on Easter Monday, will be buried on Saturday at Inanda Newtown.

Mlambo, who was also a part-time photographer, had attended the rally to welcome back exiles and ex-political prisoners in Sobantu.

According to friends she arrived at Dambuza after the rally and went to buy meat at a local butchery. She never returned home. She was later found dead.

She will be buried on Saturday at Inanda. Buses will leave her former Dambuza residence at 7am.

— ER



Duzu Mlambo

The Government and ANC

WE are all gravely concerned and disappointed that the current exchanges between the ANC and the Government pertaining to violence are threatening to delay or even derail the process of political transition. We are even more concerned that not only did the ANC stipulate stiff preconditions in this regard but that these preconditions were formulated in the form of an ultimatum. As things stand, Government is supposed to act on these preconditions by May 9, 1991, or else...

There are many angles from which we could examine this problem. One angle would be to scrutinise the ANC preconditions themselves with a view to passing judgment as to whether or not they are reasonable or whether or not the Government will be able to accept them without hurting itself. It would perhaps

be a useful political or academic exercise to adopt this angle; the problem is this exercise would not bring us closer to a solution.

The other angle would be to question the motives of the ANC and the manner in which it presented its grievances when there are already alternative channels of communication between itself and the Government. Once again, this would perhaps be a useful exercise except that it would amount to nothing more than a "postmortem". I prefer to address the angle which accepts and regrets what has happened and then look ahead in an attempt to salvage the process of transition that is now clearly under serious threat. What can be done in this regard?

Firstly, I think both Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela must exercise control not only over

"I prefer to address the angle which accepts and regrets what has happened and then look ahead in an attempt to salvage the process of transition that is now clearly under serious threat."

themselves but also over their colleagues who have seemingly embarked upon the undesirable public practice of trading accusations and counter-accusations over this matter. The only contribution this practice can make to the debate is to deepen the hurt on both sides and in the process generate more heat and less light.

Secondly, the two leaders must keep the channels of communication they have so painstakingly opened over the past twelve months open. If these channels are already closed, they must be urgently assisted to re-open them as quickly as possible. On the other hand, if the channels are kept open there is always hope that these issues, difficult and sensitive as they might be, can still be tabled somewhere and discussed rationally away from the glare of publicity.

Thirdly, the two leaders must accept that processes of political transition, even under the most favourable conditions, are always accompanied by ups and downs as well as setbacks. Our own process could not have been different. In Namibia, there were very serious ups and downs in spite of the fact that Namibians had UN Resolution 435 which more or less mapped out the constitutional route for them. We have no such resolution and we are virtually on our own. The proposed Multi-Party

Conference which is now also under threat would have, hopefully, mapped out the constitutional route for us.

In the fourth place, the two leaders must also accept that as long as we do not have a government that enjoys the support and the allegiance of the majority of our citizens, we are bound to experience these problems; and that the solution therefore is to accelerate and not stall the constitutional process that is likely to provide us with such a government in the near future.

Finally, judging by statements emanating from Ulundi, there is no doubt that the Inkatha leadership has also been seriously offended by what has been said about their party in the ANC's open letter to Mr de Klerk. When Dr Buthelezi alludes to a possibility of civil war, all peace-lovers must take his analysis seriously and examine it instead of simply laughing it off as hyperbolic. He too has a constituency whose feelings must be taken into consideration. It appears that Inkatha believes the Inkatha-ANC peace talks are now virtually off.

It need not be so. During the last 96 hours, the ANC leadership has already repeated twice that as far as they are concerned they are still talking to Inkatha. This provides a ray of hope which Dr Frank Mdlalose, Mr John Nkadi-meng and Mr Jacob Zuma must quickly grab. Their immediate task now is to arrange another meeting between their two leaders and clear misunderstandings, seek clarification, and, where necessary, pour oil on troubled waters. As in the case of Mandela and De Klerk, channels of communication between Mandela and Buthelezi must remain open at all costs.

• Dr Oscar Dhlomo is the Executive Chairman of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

Thursday, April 11, 1991

by Oscar Dhlomo

Future economy must be competitive — Mbeki

Natal witness 11 April 1991

JOHANNESBURG — A future South African economy had to relate to the southern African region and the rest of the world, and had to be able to compete in international markets, ANC International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki said in Johannesburg yesterday.

"What we need is a developed region of southern Africa. It is not in the interest of a liberated South Africa that other countries in the region be undeveloped," Mbeki told delegates to the National African Federated Transport Organisation conference.

He said South Africa had to have the ability to compete in international markets, especially in manufacturing.

"This country continues to be an exporter of raw materials.

"This is an old colonial relationship that has to change," he said.

Part of the process of mismanaging South Africa's economy had resulted in a decline of manufactured products from 16% in 1960 to five percent now. Production of raw materials had increased from 29% to 42%. These figures reflected poorly on the country's economy, he said.

"South Africa has been going backwards in terms of its relationship with the more developed parts of the world," Mbeki added.

South Africa had inherited a society that was divided, in conflict and prone to violence with intolerable levels of poverty.

One of the biggest problems, however, was the economic situation and whites had to accept that this had to be addressed.

"We need a reduction in the levels of inequality," he said.

Referring to the land question, Mbeki said the African National Congress welcomed the repeal of the land acts, but this did not solve the land problem.

The National Party had not consulted widely enough before it passed new legisla-

tion around land as it wanted to soften the impact on whites of making land available to the landless.

White South Africa had to understand that it had to be affected by the problems that had to be redressed.

South Africa needed an economic programme that was elaborate and developed, Mbeki added.

Mbeki had just completed a visit with Frontline States foreign ministers in Gaborone, Botswana, and was due to fly to Brussels later yesterday to meet European foreign ministers.

The former chief executive of Reebok and prominent financial advisor, Joseph la Bonte told the conference sanctions against South Africa should be maintained until the majority of the country's people wanted them lifted.

He said it would be political suicide for the U.S. Government to lift sanctions now.

"I do not believe it is for us to say sanctions must end — it's for you. They should be maintained as long as the majority want them," La Bonte said.

He said it was important for South African businessmen to realise what foreign investors were thinking about the country. He said the international image of South Africa was not positive and focused on violence and disruption.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry president Sam Motsuenyane said 30% of all board members of companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange must be black within the next 10 years.

He said that within the next 10 years, at least 60% of top management in these companies should be black.

Motsuenyane also said at least 40% of total shareholdings on the JSE should be controlled by black businessmen by that time. — Sapa.

African common market carrot plan

LUSAKA — The Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern Africa is to embark on a four-point programme to accelerate the economic bloc's achievement of a common market and to improve goods and services.

Reports from Lusaka yesterday said that the regional body would focus on industrialising PTA countries through the small-scale industry sector.

At a meeting for small entrepreneurs in Lusaka, PTA secretary general Mbingu wa Mutharika said the organisation would investigate the possibilities of enabling businessmen to set up economic ventures in PTA countries other than their own.

In its four-point plan of action, the PTA would pay particular attention to the least-developed countries in the region.

These countries would be encouraged to produce new brands of products and services for export within the region and to the rest of the world.

Wa Mutharika said his organisation would "prefer private sector collaboration and involvement in its programmes to start at the earliest phase possible".

"The desired goal is for wider private sector participation on the implementation of various projects during the 1990s."

To realise this objective, the PTA Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, along with member states and donor agencies, would help create the necessary "enabling environment" for private sector participation in the regional body's quest to develop a common market.

In the past, according to Wa Mutharika "the few large industries that were established failed to be viable principally because they did not utilise local raw materials".

There was an urgent need to change this approach. — Sapa.

The Natal Witness

11 April 1991

Boycott respite

In a state where the usual channels for political expression are still closed to most citizens, alternative means for making a point have to be found. On the surface, a consumer boycott seems to offer a non-violent but salutary way of communicating popular displeasure, and, where individual municipalities have latterly applied racially discriminatory by-laws, consumer boycotts seem to have had some effect.

On the other hand, large-scale boycotts are unselective weapons that do not necessarily hurt the intended targets. Very often, indeed, it is the low-income consumer who has to endure the most suffering, and who undergoes real hardship for the sake of a relatively small particular gain.

While the specific objectives of a widespread boycott are not readily achieved, the country's economy is sufficiently brittle for every negative blow to do damage which will disadvantage everyone for years to come. Moreover, the presumption that consumer boycotts are peaceable has proved false in the past, and in the present volatile atmosphere there is reason to fear that pressure could again turn to violent intimidation.

It is welcome news, therefore, that the midlands and southern Natal regions of the ANC have decided not to participate in a nationwide consumer boycott that would otherwise be in force at this moment. Their decision not to go ahead without thorough consultation with all the involved organisations is wise. Perhaps the exercise of similar discretion in future may do much to contribute to the stabilisation of the region.

British government refuses to grant funds to Azapo

THE British government has refused to grant funds to the Azanian People's Organisation this year, and Azapo officials accused them on Monday of "doling out funds to political organisations in a sectarian manner".

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley told a press conference in Durban they had been turned down by the British government because they were not prepared to "wheel and deal" with State President F.W. de Klerk and had not renounced the armed struggle.

"The British government claims that it supports Inkatha and the ANC because these organisations are speaking to De Klerk and because they have renounced violence," he said.

"However, both those organisations are primarily responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent black people in townships countrywide.

"It seems to us that the British government is prepared to give

money to organisations that are responsible for black people's deaths.

"Azapo is a legal organisation that has operated inside this country since its birth in 1978. It has never had a policy of bearing arms... and thus it is strange for the British to call on us to renounce the armed struggle.

"The British government's demand that Azapo speak to De Klerk before it gives money is typical of imperialist governments. It also vindicates Azapo's position that it is Britain and the United States of America that are behind De Klerk.

"We want the British government and the people of Britain to know that they have no right to hold organisations and people in this country to ransom.

"Black people in this country will determine their own future without having guns to our head by imperialist powers who dangle carrots of filthy lucre.

"It is this money that is responsible for our continued oppression and for the deaths in the townships," he said.

— Sapa

ANCYL member stabbed

by Nomusa Cembu

AFRICAN National Congress Youth League members in Nkumba, Bulwer, say they live in fear of their lives after the recent stabbing of one of their colleagues.

Zenzele Sokhela was stabbed in the stomach and at the back, allegedly by Inkatha supporters led by a local leader whose name he supplied to *Echo*. He had to spend seven days at Edendale hospital.

Speaking to *Echo* after being discharged from hospital, Sokhela said the youth had for quite some time been threatened him for not attending Inkatha meetings and for wearing ANC T-shirts.

He said the attack happened after his friend Mku Mdlangala had visited his aunt, MaMdlangala Ngcobo who is staying at St Catherine which he described as an Inkatha stronghold. He said Inkatha people attacked them and threw stones at the house, breaking windows.

Mku fled with his aunt and had to spend a night at a nearby clinic.

The following morning Mku, Zenzele and other youths went to the house to collect furniture.

Inkatha supporters approached and stabbed Zenzele in the back and in the stomach, he said.

Eight youths who were in the house were allegedly taken to a local chief's house where they were beaten.

Zenzele was taken to the clinic and later transferred to Edendale hospital.

He said the youths who had beaten him were arrested by the police and later released.

Member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Hlanganani which falls under Bulwer, Chief N.J. Ngubane could not confirm the incident. However he said that he was aware of clashes among the youths from Nkumba and Bhidla but added they did not stem from forcing people to join Inkatha.

He said that he went to the area on Sunday and addressed a meeting at the local chief's house where he called for peace. "I hope this will not happen again after Sunday's meeting," he said.

Blacks want sanctions

— Mandela

Khaba Mkhize reports from San Francisco

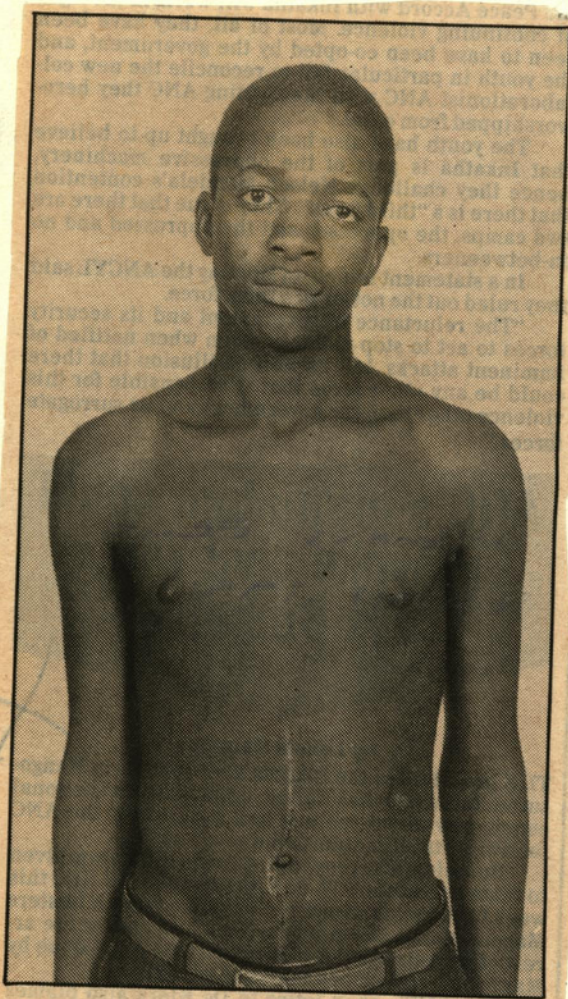
DEPUTY ANC president Nelson Mandela scorned results of surveys suggesting that the majority of black people in South Africa wanted sanctions lifted.

In an interview with the CBS television station in its "Face the Nation" programme, it was suggested to Mandela that 82% of blacks favoured the lifting of sanctions.

Before answering he laughed, then said: "If the things that were desired by my people were taken into consideration I would be sitting in the Union Buildings in Pretoria right now."

The interview was beamed on Sunday on Channel Five and was linked to South Africa via satellite.

Mandela pointed out that some people in the USA "think we are now free because of State President F.W. de Klerk's reforms". He said that some of the reforms are commendable.



Zenzele Sokhela shows his injuries

ANC clearly wants all the power — on its own terms

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

THE African National Congress (ANC), in alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP), last week publicly turned on SA government leaders, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the KwaZulu Police, sections of the SA Police and Defence Force, citizens of the Zulu nation who uphold their traditional rights and various others too numerous to mention here.

All had been singled out and stood accused and condemned by the ANC/SACP of various onerous charges.

The ANC/SACP see themselves as faultless champions of peace, of course, and therefore insist that their perceived adversaries be marginalised or eliminated in one way or another.

Their demands were made well known as were their threats — if they didn't get their own way — to suspend discussion with the government on the all-party congress and exchanges on a future constitution.

This week, in an amazing turnaround, ANC deputy president Dr Nelson Mandela is said to claim that their demands have been "over-blown" (not by them, naturally). He chose an audience of diplomats, academics, human rights lawyers, party activists and selected journalists to leak this breathtaking news to a worried nation.

They are, they say "flexible" on their ultimatum "If the government reacts positively...". What is the difference between what was said last week and this week?

Nevertheless, the uninitiated to these kinds of revolutionary power games are now sighing with relief. Compromise is in the air, is it? I seem to remember the same kind of tactics being used when they first championed nationalisation, scared the wits out of everybody who is not a socialist, and then appeared to

Things were not perfect (they were, indeed, fragile) but we had hopefully made a positive start. The ANC/SACP then launched, in its open letter to the president, what was literally a Scud missile into the whole extremely delicate peace/negotiation process.

They now say their actions were designed to "jolt South Africa out of complacency".

To me their agenda is quite obvious. They want power and they want it on their terms.

Sticking your head up and daring to face the ANC/SACP head-on, to question them, is seen by some as suicide, foolhardy or treacherous. Do not rock the boat, they say. How passé to even whisper fears of Marxist hardliners in the midst of the ANC calling the shots!

Do we wait and see? Wait and find out — when it is too late? Must we keep silent?

If the name of the ANC/SACP game is dissipating the energies that others need to work for the good of the nation, they win. They are streets ahead when it comes to the political posturing that I had thought would,

goes, thrown all their toys out of their pram. They will not play until the targets of their angst give in. Do we indulge them, or do we not? The people of SA must think very seriously about this because it does not only involve their outrage now aimed at elements of the government, the IFP, the KwaZulu Police etc (to quote their document).

Let me first of all say the concern of the IFP is that they are wasting not only our time but the time of every South African, regardless of race, creed or colour, who wants to proceed with, among other things, dismantling apartheid and establishing a reconciled society with democratic safeguards for all.

Their attacks do not scare the IFP. We have long been accustomed to their tactics and strategies. Others are not. The ANC/SACP alliance is, pure and simply, engaged in a battle for political supremacy. That is the long and short of it.

The IFP's worry is for SA as a

I did not say I or the IFP would pull out of negotiations. I said the actions of the ANC/SACP alliance had created a crisis because they had made impossible demands and set a ridiculous time-scale within which their demands had to be met. SA would suffer as a result.

Business Day, it appears, believes the "stakes" are too high for "any player to destroy the peace process wilfully". By implication does this mean Business Day recognises that the ANC/SACP are indeed just playing political games and that if everybody else keeps "cool heads" talks will go "their faltering way...".

In other words, for heaven's sake pander to the ANC/SACP and whatever you do, do not ruffle their feathers by talking back or really taking them seriously? Must we all play along?

The IFP has been working hard in trying to arrange joint peace rallies with the ANC. Within days of a meeting between myself and Dr Mandela, the ANC cancelled joint peace talks arranged for April 11. I express my deep concern and Business Day says I am being "petulant".

recent years. It shares the ANC/SACP's recently expressed abhorrence of the senseless mayhem. It equally condemns the terror to which so many have been subjected, regardless of party-political affiliation, and is openly ashamed that some of its members have been caught up, along with others, in the perpetuation of this carnage.

We do not, however, care to use this horror to score political points and to shift blame. We want it to stop and it will not if the ANC/SACP postpones peace talks, as it has done.

Space does not permit a detailed rejoinder to the ANC/SACP's attack on the IFP and its attempt to place culpability at our feet and those of Zulu citizens who carry traditional weapons — among others.

We found it interesting that the ANC/SACP found it necessary to point out in their open letter that they are having difficulty in recruiting members, and that they resent the IFP's stature as a "major player on the political arena...". This, perhaps more than anything else, gives their game away.

A view has been expressed that a senior source in the ANC's NEC told the Sowetan's political correspondent that the future of the country and of negotiations can no longer be driven only by the apparent friendship between President F.W. de Klerk and Dr Mandela.

This reminded me of the cordiality, warmth and friendship that has existed between me and the deputy president of the ANC, which spans four decades. We were closeted in a Durban hotel for nearly six hours on March 30. I cannot therefore associate the somersault implied in the open letter with Dr Mandela.

I can only recall that even last year in April, we agreed to go to Maritzburg to address a joint peace rally. A delegation from Maritzburg forced the deputy president to change his mind. In Umtata a few

Mandela on phone to patch strained relations

Daily News 11/4/91
Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: In an effort to patch up strained relations with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANC's open letter to the Government — in which Inkatha was labelled a "minor" political player and which demanded drastic state action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said in a statement Mr Mandela had "initiated" the telephone conversation with Dr Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had been directed at Government "inaction" and not at the IFP.

The ANC's department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as "lengthy and cordial".

The conversation dealt with Dr Buthelezi's response to the open letter, it said.

"Both leaders agreed to lend their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments," the statement said.

In his reaction to the ultimatum this week, Dr Buthelezi said it had "destroyed" the newly-established accord between the two organisations.

Dr Buthelezi told Mr Mandela the contents of the telephone call would be discussed at an IFP central committee meeting at the weekend.

Last night Mr Mandela accused the media of creating a "smokescreen of propaganda" and attempting to destroy his organisation.

16/1/11

Poor economic growth 'will make country ungovernable'

Business Day

11 April 1994

GRETA STEYN

BELLAGIO If SA's poor economic growth performance continued, the country would become ungovernable by 1995, Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals said yesterday.

Speaking in Italy at an economic conference organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for SA (Idasa), Stals put the blame for the poor economic performance on the political situation.

He said there were three reasons for SA's economic stagnation — political uncertainties that inhibited business confidence both locally and abroad, social unrest and industrial action, and sanctions.

"As managers of the economy, we find the situation frustrating because it is beyond our

control. It will be impossible to develop SA's economic potential before these problems are solved," he said.

Many economic factors were cited as reasons for the poor growth of the economy, but these were often symptoms, rather than causes, of a problem that was fundamentally political. They included the low savings propensity, weakening productivity of capital and labour, and rising government deficits.

"The Third Force referred to by ANC delegates discussing violence in the townships could be the low economic growth rate. We must not overlook the influence of the low

growth rate on the prevailing violence," he said.

While it was not the role of the Reserve Bank to foster growth, he did not want to just "wash my hands" in the interim before a new government takes over.

He believed more ambitious employment creation schemes could be very important, Stals said.

In discussion time, University of the Western Cape academic Pieter le Roux said Stals's interpretation of SA's economic problems as being mainly political raised the question as to why the Bank's officials had criticised the Budget as too expansionary when social pensions

had not even been equalised.

The ANC's head of economic planning Max Sisulu said the economic performance would continue to be weak unless demand was generated by providing people with the means to purchase goods. At the same time, there was a need for mass production.

At the conference is Sindiso Mfenyane, a member of the ANC national executive committee who is still based in Lusaka.

Mfenyane briefed foreign diplomats and the Italian government on the ANC's call for the resignations of Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok before coming to Bellagio.



● STALS

SA must increase manufacturing exports — Mbeki

Business Day
11 April 1991

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki appealed yesterday for increased manufacturing exports and warned that it was not in SA's interests for neighbouring states to remain underdeveloped to ensure markets for its goods.

Mbeki said a future SA economy would have to relate effectively to the southern African region and to the rest of the world.

Speaking at a National African Federated Transport Organisation (Nafto) conference in Johannesburg, Mbeki said: "We need to develop the view that other countries should also be developed. It is not in the interest of a liberated SA that other countries in the region be undeveloped and remain an appendage of SA where goods can be sold."

Mbeki said SA had to be able to compete in international markets, particularly in manufacturing.

"This country continues to be an exporter of raw materials. This is an old colonial relationship that has to change."

Because of mismanagement of SA's economy, the value of manufactured products had declined as a percentage of exports from 16% in 1960 to 5% in 1989. Exports of raw materials increased from 29% to 42%.

SA had been going backwards in terms of its relationship with the more developed parts of the world, Mbeki said, and the country would be in trouble if current economic problems were not addressed.

The repeal of the Land Acts did not solve the land problem for government.

The NP had not consulted widely enough before it passed new land legislation because it wanted to soften the impact on whites of making land available to the landless.

"It's not going to work. Even if the ANC was the government, it could not unilaterally solve the land question."

THEO RAWANA

White South Africans should understand that they would be affected by the problems needing redressing. "Redistribution of wealth must make an impact on white SA," Mbeki said.

The economic objectives facing the country, and the closing of the gap between haves and have-nots, should not be only the ANC's objectives. To end poverty should be a national objective.

"This involves transferring resources from those who have to those who don't have," he said.

All South Africans had a responsibility to narrow the black-white, income and wealth gaps.

SA was a society that was divided, in conflict and prone to violence and with intolerable levels of poverty.

Sanctions

"It's an explosive mixture which spells conflict and instability."

Former Reebok International CEO Joseph la Bonte told the conference sanctions should be maintained until the majority of the people — the blacks — said they wanted them lifted.

South Africans needed to improve their image internationally. "All the outside world gets from TV and the Press is bad news — violence, disruption and lack of priorities."

He said: "Capital flows to attractive investments and South Africans need to define guidelines for investors — and to make incentives attractive."

La Bonte said these guidelines could take the form of what was being done in the areas of housing, education, job creation, health and social services and the advancement of black business.

But, the outside world should maintain sanctions until blacks said they wanted them lifted.



At the National African Federated Transport Organisation conference in Johannesburg yesterday were former Reebok CEO Joseph la Bonte, left, counsel to the US Senate's Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee Carolyn Jordan, centre, and Small Business Development Corporation MD Ben Vosloo.
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

16/1/11

Hysteria after ANC's open letter

NEW AFRICAN 11/04/91

By Lechesa Tsenoli

THE African National Congress (ANC) has once more jolted the volatile South African political climate, with its open letter to De Klerk producing a reaction of near hysteria in some circles.

'It is often necessary to jar your interlocutor in order to demonstrate your seriousness,' said Pallo Jordaan, director of publicity for the movement, on SABC TV on Monday night.

The open letter calls for the removal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan; the return of all exiles and the release of all political prisoners; an end to security trials and the disbanding of the state's death squads.

De Klerk has until May 9 to meet the ultimatum of face the ANC's withdrawal

from constitutional negotiations.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) president and KwaZulu chief minister Gatsha Buthelezi replied by literally advising De Klerk not to meet the ANC's demands. In turn, he made his own demands that he claims must be met before negotiations can start.

'The situation we now face is that with or without, or because of or in spite of Dr Mandela's leadership, the ANC has forced a crisis onto the South African Government and broken with its January 29 Durban accord with the Inkatha Freedom Party,' he said.

'Before negotiations can proceed, reparation must be done to severed IFP-ANC links. There can be no negotiation unless there are normalised politics.'

'The ANC action in issuing this ultimatum and in destroying the new accord

between the IFP and the ANC has, for the moment, scuttled negotiations,' he maintained. However, nowhere in its open letter does the ANC mention calling off talks with the IFP.

Ironically it is precisely because the ANC felt 'there can be no negotiations unless there are normalised politics,' that it decided to issue the ultimatum.

Replying to De Klerk, the ANC said: 'To make so petty a response and say the ANC is trying to draw political gain, or that our endeavours to protect the lives of our people and keep negotiations on track, reflect internal problems within our ranks, underscores precisely why we say the government has no regard for black life.'

Please turn to page 3

16/1/11

tanker were safe. The —Sapa-AP

Mandela on phone to patch strained relations

Daily News 11/4/91
Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: In an effort to patch up strained relations with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANC's open letter to the Government — in which Inkatha was labelled a "minor" political player and which demanded drastic state action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said in a statement Mr Mandela had "initiated" the telephone conversation with Dr Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had been directed at Government "inaction" and not at the IFP.

The ANC's department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as "lengthy and cordial".

The conversation dealt with Dr Buthelezi's response to the open letter, it said.

"Both leaders agreed to lend their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments," the statement said.

In his reaction to the ultimatum this week, Dr Buthelezi said it had "destroyed" the newly-established accord between the two organisations.

Dr Buthelezi told Mr Mandela the contents of the telephone call would be discussed at an IFP central committee meeting at the weekend.

Last night Mr Mandela accused the media of creating a "smokescreen of propaganda" and attempting to destroy his organisation.

16/1/11

ILANGA, APRIL

UChris Hani usha amashushu ngezempi

ILANGA 11/04/91

ETHEKWINI. - Isikhulu soMkhonto weSizwe (MK), uMnuz. Chris Hani, sesihambele amazwe amaningi omhlaba kulezizinsukwana sizama ukuthola izindawo okuzoqeqeshelwa kuzo amalungu alombutho, ngokusho kwemibiko ekhishwe ephephabhukwini le-African National Congress (ANC), iMayibuye.

Lelibhuku liveze ukuthi uMnuz. Hani uthe ukuqeqeshwa nokwenza ngcono izinkambu zoMK kuyaqhubeka emazweni angaphandle kwaseSouth Africa. Lithe izinkambu zalombutho ziyaqhubeka nokwanda emazweni amaningi omhlaba ukuze bakwazi ukuqeqesha amalunga aqhamuka kuleli futhi atheleka ngezinkani.

Umbiko uveze ukuthi loluphiko seluvule uphiko olusha lokuqeqesha intsha ukuba ibengamasosha e-ANC, abashayela izindiza zokulwa nabashayeli bamabhanoyi kanye nokunye okuningi okudingwa yinoma yiluphi uhlobo lwamasotsha.

UMnuz. Hani uca-shunwe kulelibhukwana ethi babonisana namazwe amaningi ukuze abasize ekuqeqesheni iningi lamalungu angaphansi kombutho wabo ukuze aqeqeshwe ngokwanele kwezempi.

Uthe i-ANC inenkinga ebangelwa wukuthelaka kwentsha eqhamuka kuleli efisa ukuqeqeshwa emikhakheni eminingi yezempi. UMnuz. Hani uthi kuvele ukuthi intsha

ifisa ukuba ngamasosha eSouth Africa ekhululekile yesikhathi esizayo. Imibiko iveze ukuthi uMnuz. Hani ukuchithile ukuthi umbutho weSouth African Defence Force (Sadf), ingaba ngamasotsha eSouth Africa ekhululekile yakusasa nebuswa ngentando yeningi.

Uthe uma kwenzeka iSadf ibakhona kuyodingeka ukuba baqale phansi iyoqeqesha kabusha ukuze kususwe ukungathenjwa yizakhamuzi zaseSouth Africa. Lokhu athe kuyobasiza ukuze babengamasotsha eSouth Africa entsha.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Compromise?

THE ANC, it seems, is backpedalling somewhat on its ultimatum to the government to meet seven demands by May 9, including the dismissal of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Nobody had any doubt when the ANC issued its ultimatum in an open letter to State President De Klerk that if its demands were not met, the ANC would suspend further talks on the all-party congress and a future constitution.

Now ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has told foreign diplomats that the ANC's demands have been overblown by the media. They were not an ultimatum but a "cry from the people for peace".

He could have fooled us.

We had no doubt whatsoever that it was an ultimatum — and since the government had to accept the ANC demands by May 9 or else, it was nothing but an ultimatum.

Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC Information Secretary, says that judging from the responses to the open letter, the "ANC has either not been properly heard or its words are being completely misunderstood".

He refers to the "deep crisis" over violence and says: "What the ANC has sought to do is to shake the government and many of our compatriots out of their apparent complacency".

There was nothing new about calls for the resignation of General Magnus Malan.

The ANC was adding its own voice, rather belatedly one might add, to what had become a veritable chorus, he said.

"But only ours merited the riposte, bloody cheek, from one newspaper."

Since The Citizen used the expression, it is only right to point out that the ANC had not merely demanded the dismissal of both General Malan and Mr Vlok, but had made this one of the conditions that had to be met if the ANC was not to break off talks with the government.

In other words, it was a "dismiss or else" ultimatum, and it was in this context that The Citizen regarded the ANC's demand as "a bloody cheek."

The change in the ANC's stance may have resulted from the outcry the ultimatum caused, as well as the adverse reaction abroad.

Mr Mandela told the diplomats that the ANC would be more flexible to the government if there was a positive reaction to its demands.

According to the ANC, Mr Mandela said: "Every single demand we have made is designed to restore confidence in the peace pro-

cess. It is not too late.

"If the government shows a reasonable response to our reasonable demands, we, on our side, will not be found wanting."

We sense that the ANC would not be averse to a compromise.

And we do not think it will, in the final analysis, make the dismissal of the two Ministers an issue over which it would break off talks.

Mr Vlok, after slating the ANC for its untruths and its hand in the violence, told a media conference, in response to a question, that the ultimatum and demands were not an "insurmountable obstacle", and solutions could be found through negotiation between the government and the ANC.

At the same time it is reported that some of the diplomats are going to use their influence to resolve the deadlock.

They will urge the government to react calmly and responsibly and to let the dust settle "before arranging a one-to-one meeting between Mr Mandela and the State President".

We hope, in fact, they will keep their noses out of South Africa's affairs.

Despite the ultimatum, we believe the ANC wants to keep the negotiations going; similarly, the government wants to maintain the impetus towards a settlement.

We, therefore, smell compromise.

However, we hope the government will not do anything to suggest it is bowing to the ultimatum.

It has to stand firm not only on the issue of the two Ministers, but on other matters that have been raised.

It must not give in, or it will be rejected by its own constituency.

Mamelodi City Council 'to take action'

Citizen Reporter

THE City Council of Mamelodi, near Pretoria, is to take legal action against the Mamelodi Civic Association to stop it from "inciting violence in the township with inflammatory allegations".

The Mayor of Mamelodi, Mr S S Mokone said yesterday the Civic Association was distributing pamphlets containing allegations "calculated to import into Mamelodi the endemic violence in Black townships presently experienced in areas such as Katlehong on the East Rand".

He said the allegations were nothing other than a recipe for chaos and bloody violence in the otherwise peaceful Mamelodi.

The Councillors are

elected community leaders and have nothing to do with Askaris, the CCB, or the Inkatha's of this world. As for councillors being "armed to death", it is nothing but a cheap propaganda ploy, Mr Mokone said.

The Mamelodi council has instructed its attorneys to stop the attempt by "wicked" elements who want to disturb the peace and promote anarchy and blood-letting to reach a selfish political end.

Mr Mokone also warned that the repeated call by the Civic Association for residents to pay a R50 flat rate towards municipal services would lead to an electricity cut off which would plunge the township in darkness and a resultant orgy of violence.

CCB chief, others sacked

FROM PAGE 1

motives would now also turn their attention from the CCB back to the real issues facing the country.

"As I have said, my conscience is clear. I accept political responsibility for my department.

"In the case of the CCB, the position is similar to that of the chairman of a rugby club, who is informed in advance of the tactics and plans, but who cannot be held responsible when one or two players indulge in foul play on the field."

General Malan denied there had been unnecessary delay in terminating the CCB, although it was disbanded in February last year.

There had been the Harms Commission inquiry, resulting in a report on November 13 last year, and the subsequent inquiry into CCB funds by the Auditor-General, which reported to Parliament's Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

The committee held that project Goldie (CCB actions within the country) was unauthorised, involving R82 000. In this case, the matter was being investigated by the police, and decisions on prosecution would be made by attorneys-general.

Referring to 10 other projects, involving an amount of R577 000, the committee said there was a "rebuttable" presumption that they were unauthorised.

Court action

Court action was being taken in the hope of recovering the documentation, which could mean that the unauthorised expenditure would be con-

siderably less, said General Malan.

In an "open cards" speech on winding up the affairs of the CCB, General Malan told Parliament in the Budget debate last night that CCB members had been offered their alternatives: they could resign, could be transferred to the SADF, or could accept retrenchment packages which were individually designed.

Originally, 32 resisted the offers. Three had already gone to the Supreme Court, but their applications had been rejected with costs. However, one of the three had now accepted the package offered, as had a further three of these 32 ex-CCB members.

"The position is that 95 accepted the packages, eight joined the Permanent Force and one resigned.

"Altogether 28, including Colonel Joe Verster, at this stage, however, have dug in their heels and still refuse to accept the severance packages, which were individually designed.

"For example, they demand pension benefits as though they had retired at the age of 60 as members of the State Pension Fund, plus fringe benefits, irrespective of their actual period of service. These excessive demands are unacceptable to the SADF."

General Malan said that while the activities of the CCB had been ended last February and it was operationally disbanded, some of the members who had accepted the severance packages had been retained in the SADF for a few months to help with the administrative winding-up and the audit of CCB records.

He outlined steps taken by the SADF in the past three weeks since the Joint Committee's report had been finalised:

- The services have been terminated of all members who did not accept

the severance package they were offered. There is still a possibility that some may resort to the courts.

- Civil action has been taken against Colonel Verster to demand "the delivery of those assets, contracts and files" necessary for the winding up and auditing of the CCB records.

- The SADF has laid a complaint with the SAP about the 11 missing operational files referred to by the Parliamentary Joint Committee and which related to expenditure of R659 000.

- The SADF has already instructed the State Attorney to summons all those who were still in possession of State property and had not returned it.

General Malan said there were in fact, only four instances of unreturned assets, one of which was a fishing vessel in Durban. Other items were office equipment, motor cars and attache cases.

The SADF has also offered its help to former CCB members who wished to apply for indemnity, where this was applicable, similar to that being given to ANC members.

Referring to Operation Samoesa, General Malan said there had been nothing "sinister or dishonest" about it. After the CCB was disbanded last year, the acting head of Special Forces had authorised advances against their retrenchment packages, to help them in their resettlement.

"However, out of ignorance he neglected to get Treasury approval for this step, so that the expenditure is unauthorised.

"The fact is that R2,2 million of the amount has already been recovered. The remaining R900 000 will be recovered by the end of June."

In his speech, General Malan also dealt with some of the issues raised

in the report of the Joint Committee on Public Accounts, one of which was the complaint about "ex ante and ex post facto ministerial approvals" for the use of Special Defence Funds.

This type of approval by himself and the Minister of Finance had been based on a long-standing interpretation of the Special Defence Account Act. There had been nothing underhand about it, and the current interpretation by the Auditor-General for new approvals was being implemented.

Secondly, the Joint Committee referred to "oral approvals", and again note had been taken of the committee's opinion.

Referring to the CCB issue as a whole, General Malan said that some people on the political Left and the Right had tried to keep it alive artificially in order to use it for political gain. This had been "the height of political opportunism", including attempts to divide the Cabinet and the National Party.

General Malan said he accepted overall responsibility for the CCB concept, which had been to achieve the maximum disruption of the ANC and to gather information outside South Africa, "at a

time of particular conflict".

He had no feelings of guilt about that. The CCB had done very good work, and with its disappearance South Africa had lost a specific ability.

"What remains is that, when it was brought to my attention that some individuals, who could be counted on the fingers of one hand, were not abiding by the rules of a particular covert organisation, I acted. That was towards the end of 1989.

"Since the end of 1989 there had been the creation of a climate around the CCB and criticism which had reached the wildest imagining," General Malan added.

Led campaign

Leading this campaign had been the ANC, certain Democratic Party members and media people, and especially, "weekend armchair writers".

"Many of these DPs, it seems to me, are only trying to find nests for themselves under a future possible government, which they incorrectly assume will be the ANC. And media people have been among those doing it.

"It seems to me they are buying future policies, and the premiums they are paying is to tackle the SADF and myself," said General Malan.

Violence will destroy hope for the future — SACC

JOHANNESBURG —

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) believes that violence threatens the negotiation process and will destroy the hopes people have for the future, according to SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane.

He said in a statement last week that all efforts should be made to stop the violence.

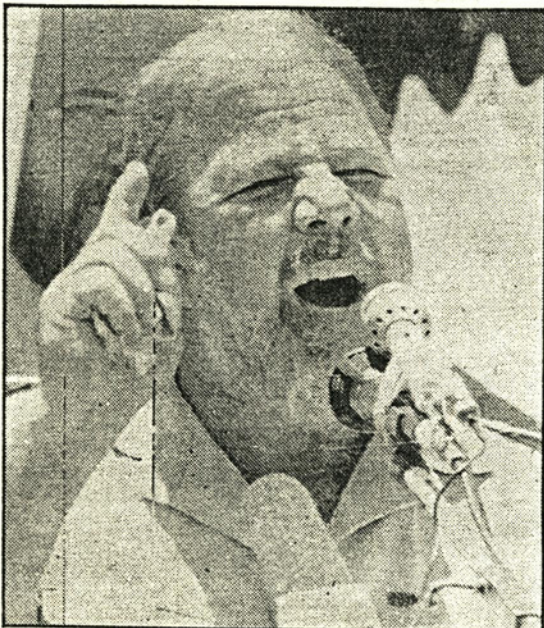
"Extensive consultations with leaders of the affected communities, which have been facing escalating violence in the country, have been held since the beginning of last week.

"In the course of these consultations Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met to address the violence."

Chikane said further consultations were being undertaken by church leaders and it was hoped that a meeting would be made possible in the near future to "open the doors for all South Africans to contribute in the efforts to stamp out the endemic violence in the country".

"We believe as churches that the violence threatens the process of negotiation in the country and will destroy the hopes people have for the future, and all efforts must be made to stop it," Chikane said.

— Sapa



AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche (above) and other rightwing-ers were arrested on Saturday for trying to disrupt an African National Congress rally being held in Pretoria.

— AP

Most 'violence' deaths are by gun — Institute

THE Inkatha Institute claimed on Monday that between 70% and 90% of all 'violence' killings over the two month period from January 29 were as a result of shootings.

The institute was responding to what it termed the 'tribal weapons' debate, following an African National Congress call to government to have the carrying of these weapons banned.

In a press statement the Inkatha Institute asked: "The question must therefore be asked — why is there no outcry for the banning of guns?"

The statement said January 29 had produced the greatest hope that ANC and IFP would be able to bring about an end of violence in Natal and Transvaal townships. Two months later it had become clear

there had been no such end to the violence and this period had recorded many serious incidents in which "high numbers" of people had been killed and injured.

It said "of the 24 more serious incidents in Natal and Transvaal, 84% were regarded as attacks against Inkatha supporters."

— Sapa

Govt 'willing to discuss ultimatum'

STAR
11/4/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is prepared to discuss the ANC's seven demands for action to combat violence and is continuing with plans for negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said today the Government was going ahead "with all activities on the negotiation terrain".

"We do not plan to bedevil or jeopardise them. Negotiations are inevitable and are the only way to find lasting solutions."

If negotiations had gone off track they would have to be put back on track, he said at a briefing in Cape Town.

He disclosed that there had been continuing contact between the Cabinet and the ANC national executive on matters other than violence since Friday's ultimatum.

The ultimatum had strained the "special chemistry" between President de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela — which was so important for negotiations.

"One really has the impression that this is not the sort of action of the Mr Mandela we have known all along in the promotion of negotiation and peace."

But Dr Viljoen added he was convinced the relationship between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela was strong enough to survive the strain.

Dr Viljoen dodged all questions about whether the Government considered any of the ANC's seven demands as reasonable and whether it would meet any of them.

"We've been consistent in not ruling out of the discussion any matters on a bottom-line basis."

"We would be prepared to discuss several of the items in the ultimatum and have in fact been doing so."

That was why the ultimatum had come as "quite a shock. It was a real somersault by the ANC in its methods of dealing with matters which were already on the agenda and are still on the agenda".

Dr Viljoen said it was still possible — but unlikely — that the multiparty congress (MPC) could take place before the ANC's planned national congress in June.

Dr Viljoen said he accepted the ANC was genuinely concerned about the violence but so were other parties such as the PAC and Azapo, who had been the subject of ANC "wrath" in the past.

The Government rejected only the ANC's diagnosis of the causes of the violence, especially its continuous shifting of the blame on to

others.

Dr Viljoen said the Government had not expected the "drastic" ultimatum, which had "come out of the blue" just when President de Klerk had been trying to arrange a meeting with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Dr Viljoen asked if Mr Mandela was a free agent or was the subject of internal tensions and pressure from radicals in the ANC leadership corps. Those leaders not in favour of negotiations had been displeased by the ANC decision to take part in an MPC.

A confidential ANC document, "Guidelines on Strategy and Tactics", had shown that the ANC acknowledged that it was losing the tactical initiative to the Government.

The ultimatum seemed to be an effort to "regain hold of the driver's seat, to improve the ANC's image and sort out internal tensions".

But it was a serious matter for the ANC to risk the whole peace process to strengthen its own position.

Asked what would happen if the Government did not meet the ANC's conditions, he said it would be up to the ANC to decide. He added it was encouraging that Mr Mandela and others no longer interpreted Friday's statement as an ultimatum.

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Mandela tries to mend relations

In an effort to patch up strained relations with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday telephoned the Inkatha leader to explain the purpose of the ANC's open letter to the Government, in which Inkatha was labelled a "minor" political player and which demanded drastic State action to halt the township violence.

The ANC said Mr Mandela had initiated the telephone conversation with Chief Buthelezi to explain that the open letter had been directed at Govern-

ment "inaction" and not at the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The ANC's department of information and publicity described the telephone conversation as lengthy and cordial.

"Both leaders agreed to lend their immense personal authority to ensuring that relations between the ANC and the IFP are not disturbed by these developments."

Chief Buthelezi said last night he had told Mr Mandela only

the IFP central committee and the ANC national executive could take any step towards rectifying the "very difficult position into which the ANC's letter thrust IFP/ANC relationships". The IFP's central committee would consider the matter on Sunday.

On Monday, Chief Buthelezi responded heatedly to the ANC's letter and the accusation that perpetrators of the protracted violence aimed to "in-

flate the image of the IFP from that of a minor to the rank of the third major player in the political arena".

He warned that negotiations between the Government and the IFP would now proceed without the ANC.

From Cape Town Shaun Johnson reports that the ANC is attempting to make a diplomatic comeback after the avalanche of criticism following

with Buthelezi

Friday's "ultimatum".

Diplomats and political observers are revising their earlier assessment that the ANC was being disingenuous in threatening the negotiation process because of the Government's failure to halt violence.

After extraordinary briefings for senior diplomats, community representatives and some journalists in Cape Town on Tuesday by Mr Mandela, a vari-

ety of sources said they had found the ANC's explanation of its reasons for issuing the ultimatum "convincing".

"I think they have a point when they say no one realises the seriousness with which they regard the violence in which some 3 000 people have died," said one source.

According to the sources, Mr Mandela rallied against the media for interpreting the let-

ter as a stalling tactic and an ultimatum seeking to derail negotiations. He argued that the peace process would collapse if the Government was not prompted into dramatic action.

Mr Mandela is reported to have said in closed-door briefings: "We want to create an ideal climate conducive to negotiations. But the violence is a priority issue. I live in the townships, where people are dying."

"De Klerk lives in the Union Buildings."

"Black life is cheap in this country... My attempts have been fruitless... We thought we could persuade the Government of this, but we have failed."

CITIZEN 11/4/91

CCB CHIEF AND OTHERS SACKED

**Court bid
to recover
files**

By Bryan Stuart
CAPE TOWN. — Members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) who did not accept retrenchment packages offered to them, including CCB chief, Colonel Joe Verster, have been sacked, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, told Parliament yesterday.

Civil action is being taken against Colonel Verster for the recovery of CCB files and records, while the full R3,1 million paid out to CCB members

in the so-called Operation Samoesa "advances" will be recovered by the end of June.

Charges have been laid with the South African Police about the missing documents to which the Auditor-General, Mr R P Wronsley, referred in a report to Parliament this year on the funds of the CCB.

Action has now been taken in these ways, and he will not proceed with legislation to indemnify the State against unreasonable claims by CCB members.

General Malan said

there had been justifiable criticism of this proposal.

Real issues

"What I have done is to take the CCB issue off the table. I hope we can now devote our attention to the important issues concerning the future of South Africa," General Malan told The Citizen after his speech.

He said he had previously undertaken to report to Parliament on terminating the CCB. Having done that, he trusted that people with ulterior

TO PAGE 2

The ANC moves to appease its disillusioned supporters

by Lakela Kaunda

THE African National Congress moved last week to come closer to its members and supporters who were becoming disillusioned with its inaction, and further away from the government and Inkatha Freedom Party who were beginning to be seen as their allies by the extreme left such as Azapo and the PAC.

The ANC issued the most militant statement since February 2 to the state President F.W. de Klerk to sort out his security establishment and ensure that perpetrators of violence were brought to book, or face a suspension of the spirit of negotiations by May 9. The move has been endorsed by Cosatu, South African Communist Party and the ANC Youth League.

The anti-collaboration line is expected to be furthered after the Harare summit of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ANC this weekend. The PAC has stated unequivocally that the ANC should choose between the other members of the liberation movement and the National Party government; they cannot have it both ways.

The new ANC position may have shocked the

international community and the white community in the country, who believed all was well between the ANC and the government, but it has appeased the communities who have been calling for visible tough action from the organisation.

The ANC has admitted that the violence is curbing their recruitment drive. The youth league has failed to make the one-million mark they had intended, and the ANC itself had only 200 000 members in December. The Youth League has 210 605 paid-up members.

In their open letter the ANC says the killings, maimings and beatings in the townships have inflamed feelings of ethnic antagonism among various sections of the African people, have distracted public attention from root causes of poverty, hunger, deprivation in the country, and have "rendered it more difficult to achieve united action among the African people for generally accepted and commendable goals".

They said the perpetrators have a clear intention to sow divisions and stoke up a psychosis of fear, inse-

curity and mutual distrust among the African people. At the same time, they "hope to prey on the worst fears and prejudices of our white compatriots and thus make them more apprehensive about a democratic transformation."

The ANC has been losing the initiative and been reacting to the government since its unbanning. It has also come under fire from supporters who say it fails to defend them when they are attacked. Most have opted to become apolitical or non-aligned. At the same time, it has failed to convince supporters that the Peace Accord with Inkatha will work, in the light of continuing violence. Most of all, they have been seen to have been co-opted by the government, and the youth in particular fail to reconcile the new collaborationist ANC with the fighting ANC they hero-worshipped from exile.

The youth have also been brought up to believe that Inkatha is part of the oppressive machinery, hence they challenge Nelson Mandela's contention that there is a "third force". They argue that there are two camps, the oppressor and the oppressed and no in-betweeners.

In a statement issued on Monday the ANCYL said they ruled out the notion of a third force.

"The reluctance of government and its security forces to act to stop violence, even when notified of imminent attacks, left us with no illusion that there could be any other force that is responsible for this violence other than the government and its surrogate forces."

Mandela and the rest of the NEC have been under pressure mainly from the Youth League not to "legitimise" Inkatha and elevate it to the rank of a liberation movement which they believe it is not. This has put the January 29 Accord with Inkatha under more stress.

The ANC has demanded:

- That the government take legislative measures during the current session of parliament to outlaw the carrying of weapons, traditional or otherwise, at public assemblies, processions, rallies etc.

- The dismissal of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and General Magnus Malan from public office and the rustication of all the officers of the SADF and SAP who bear direct responsibility for the setting up, management, the crimes and misdemeanours of the CCB and other hit squads.

- The visible, public dismantling and disarming of all special counter-insurgency units such as the Askaris, Battalion 32, the CCB, Koevoet, the Z Squad etc and the establishment of a multiparty commission to oversee this process.

- The immediate suspension from duty of all police officers and

constables who were implicated in the massacres at Sebokeng on March 22 and the commencement of legal proceedings against them, and the immediate suspension from duty of all the police officers and constables responsible for the shootings in Daveyton and Benoni on March 24 pending a commission of inquiry into that incident.

- Satisfactory assurances that in future the SAP, SADF and other security organs will employ acceptable and civilised methods of crowd control, and that the issuance of live ammunition to the police on such occasions shall be disallowed.

- That effective steps are taken to begin the process of phasing out the hostels and other labour compounds and transforming them into family units and single occupancy flats.

- The establishment of an independent commission of inquiry to receive, investigate and report on all complaints of misconduct by the police and other security services.

If by May 9 these demands have not been met the ANC will suspend any further discussion with the government on the all-party congress and suspend all exchanges with the government on the future constitution of our country.