

## Saturday Star

# Youth behind an aged mask

**T**HE election of elderly men to three of the ANC's five top executive positions masks a process of rejuvenation within the organisation. In a sense, the election of trade union leader Cyril Ramaphosa to the key post of secretary general is a more reliable pointer to the changes taking place in the ANC.

Nelson Mandela (72) was predictably the unanimous choice for president. Less predictable, until only a few days ago, was the election of the even older Walter Sisulu. The third key post, that of treasurer, went to the incumbent, Thomas Nkobi, a man in his mid-60s. Add to the trio at the helm 73-year-old Oliver Tambo — for whom the special position of national chairman was established — and the impression of the ANC as an organisation led by ageing men is complete.

Looking ahead, observers could be forgiven for assuming that South Africa may be heading towards a gerontocracy. But the impression is misleading. The choice of Mr Sisulu was a temporary measure, taken to avoid a potentially divisive struggle between two younger men, Thabo Mbeki and Chris Hani, both under 50. Sooner, rather than later, one of the two is likely to take over from Mr Sisulu, who was a reluctant candidate.

At 38, Mr Ramaphosa represents the new generation moving up to replace the older exile leaders. With him, as part of the new wave, are many young men and women who will almost certainly join him on the national executive. Most were blooded in the struggle against apartheid during the Botha presidency.

AP1991-8-7-6

Popo Molefe and Patrick Lekota, who were leaders in the United Democratic Front, come to mind. So do Moses Mayekiso and Sydney Mafumadi, who occupy leadership positions in the trade union movement and the SA Communist Party. Then, too, there are former guerillas now turning their attention to the political struggle. A good few young women can be added to the list.

Many of these people will be elected to the national executive today. They will help leaven the experience of the older leaders with youthful vigour and on-the-ground experience of "the struggle".

Friends and foes alike of the ANC should take note: it is poised to emerge from the conference with a leadership better equipped for the task ahead of bringing minority rule to an end.



# Soviet 'bear' has advice for SA Communist Party

Saturday 6 July 1991

DURBAN — "The SA Communist Party has a right to make its own mistakes — but not to repeat ours." This pithy advice to the SACP comes from no less an authority than the top Soviet official who has "minded" the African National Congress and SACP for 23 years.

The ANC chief contact person in the USSR since 1969, Dr Vladimir Shubin, head of the Africa section in the Soviet Union's Communist Party and member of the Central Committee, is visiting South Africa for the first time this week to attend the ANC's national congress here.

He was given one of the loudest ovations by the 2 000 delegates when the many foreign visitors were introduced to them.

The USSR has sent a four-man delegation, others being the head of its interest section in SA, Dr Alexei Makarov and two members of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee — the ANC's chief point of Soviet contact.

Dr Shubin, a big bear of a man, looks like a caricature of a Russian, but scoffs at what he regards as stereotype images and perceptions of the Soviet Union's role in South Africa.

He guffaws at the "total on-

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
Political Correspondent

slaught" perception that the USSR was the sinister puppet-master manipulating the ANC in order to seize South Africa.

Even under Brezhnev, he claims, the USSR had no designs on SA's strategic minerals, as successive National Party governments used to proclaim from election platforms.

But he concedes that Mr Gorbachev's perestroika policy, with its termination of the USSR's military involvement in regional conflicts, contributed to the unbanning of the ANC and SACP.

It helped South Africans overcome the "bogeyman" image of the USSR as leader of a total onslaught on SA.

"After that it became easier for whites here to accept that the Soviet Union was a country of peace and political settlement."

He says white SA has wrongly characterised the relationship between the USSR and the ANC as almost entirely military.

In fact it extended much further, with scholarships to attend Soviet universities, medical treatment for Umkhonto we Sizwe ca-

sualties in the war with the SA Government, and material help in building schools such as the Solomon Mahlangu school in Tanzania.

On current relations, he dismisses suggestions that the rapidly-reforming Soviet Communist Party has become embarrassed by the still-doctrinaire SACP.

Rather than damaging relations with the SACP, perestroika has enhanced them, he says, and has made the dialogue between them "more profound."

It is "nonsense" to suggest that the USSR has snubbed ANC leader Nelson Mandela by putting off two planned visits to Moscow.

The tendency in SA to brand SACP chief Joe Slovo as a Stalinist is a big joke, he says.

"He was always a very sober politician, very critical of the mistakes of (pre-perestroika) communism."

"Cave anti-communism" is Dr Shubin's colourful epithet for what he regards as the local vilification of the SACP and Mr Slovo.

He says that the USSR/ANC relationship has been wrongly characterised as a dependent one of patron to client.

He claims it is rather a relationship of equals — and says that other countries such as Sweden



**"MINDER" OF THE ANC:** Dr Vladimir Shubin, visiting South Africa for the first time this week.

and Norway have probably given more support to the ANC than has the USSR.

Dr Shubin claims that his party "does not advise the fraternal parties" — such as the SACP — on policy. (Except, of course, to suggest it should not repeat the mistakes of Soviet communism.)

The USSR is interested only in seeing a non-racial democracy being established here, he avers.

It is for South Africans to decide on their own economic system. He observes that nowhere in its official documents, does the ANC proclaim its policy as socialism.

However, Dr Makarov is unable

Party



Soviet 'bear' has advice  
for S.A. Communist Party.

to say whether the ANC and SACP approved of the Soviet Government's decision to establish a diplomatic presence in SA.

"We discussed it with them and we haven't heard any objections. We are continually in contact."

Both men reject the common wisdom that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Soviet foreign affairs department are at odds over SA policy — with the committee being much more sympathetic to the ANC.

Dr Makarov stresses that although the Soviet Union has a diplomatic presence in SA, it will not establish formal diplomatic relations until it believes the transformation to a non-racial democracy has become irreversible.

Although the USSR has not decided when this point will have been reached, it is likely to be only when a new constitution is implemented.

Both men are critical of what they regard as an inexplicable delay by the Government in releasing political prisoners — a delay they fear might destabilise the delicate political situation.

And both endorse the ANC view that the Government is deliberately trying to destabilise the ANC to weaken it.

But Dr Makarov believes that relations will improve and that the USSR could become acceptable to both blacks and whites.

He alludes to a friendlier past by remarking that Russia assisted the Boer forces during the second Anglo-Boer War. Dr Shubin says the Soviet Union's relationship with the ANC stretches back to 1927 when the ANC president visited Moscow, but only intensified in the 1960s after the ANC went underground and its leaders fled into exile.

His personal contact began in 1969 when he was on the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and was continued there and in Africa.

Dr Makarov relates how in 1981 he took Mr Slovo to visit his birthplace in the town of Obelai in Lithuania — now a republic of the Soviet Union — which he had left in 1935.

"It was mid-September and very beautiful. The leaves were turning yellow and bronze."

They looked in vain for the house in which Mr Slovo was born but did find two old ladies distantly related — all that was left of his Jewish family after the extermination by the Nazis.

6 July 1991



The Saturday News, July 6, 1991

## KwaZulu police chief admits 'certain bias'

KWAZULU Police Commissioner General Jac Buchner yesterday conceded that "to a certain extent", KwaZulu Police members were biased towards the Inkatha Freedom Party, adding, however, that the homeland police force's image had recently improved.

In an impromptu interview in Durban, General Buchner said many of his policemen had been recruited from Inkatha "when it was still a traditional as opposed to a political organisation".

"It is a fact that in the past, most mem-

bers of the Zulu nation were members of Inkatha. It's difficult to find people where I am at the moment that are not Inkatha," General Buchner said.

Questioned on allegations of KZP bias towards Inkatha, General Buchner said: "That must be true to a certain extent."

He added, however, that police bias towards the IFP was "not a good thing, so I try to get policemen to be fair".

He said he also had policemen who were

leaning towards the ANC.

General Buchner explained that the image of the KZP had improved recently with only three complaints of bias towards Inkatha in political conflict, compared with 200 complaints last year and 500 in 1989.

Political violence and violence in general in KwaZulu had cooled off since October, with a 20 percent drop in murders this year compared with the same period in 1990. —Sapa



# ANC MEETS ITS MATCH

**N**OTHING interferes with the Rothman's July, including the conference of the African National Congress currently being held at the University of Durban-Westville in Durban.

July fever has gripped even the most dedicated delegates, with people regularly sneaking off to lay bets at the betting offices in town and a couple of unofficial conference July sweeps creating enthusiasm and provoking avid studying of the latest updates on the odds offered.

It is rumoured that a couple of high-profile delegates are planning to nip out of the conference on Saturday to watch the main race at Greyville. They probably won't be missed — most of the important policy making decisions and voting will have taken place.

One Durban journalist, delighted to see a delegate arriving with a pile of local dailies each day this week, eventually asked how he had found the newspaper coverage of the conference.

Imagine his consternation at the quick reply: "I wouldn't know, I've been following the form!"

Not to be outdone, however, some journalists and photographers have started their own ANC election sweep for the national executive committee.

Current betting makes Mandela an odds-on favourite, with Sisulu close behind as an even-money second favourite.

Cyril Ramaphosa was offered at 2-1 for secretary-general, which he won, and 3-1 were the odds for Mendi Msimang being elected as treasurer general.

However, odds on women being elected to positions of power within the ANC have fallen to an all-time low following a failed bid by the ANC Women's League to secure at least 30 percent of ANC national executive positions for women in an attempt to address the imbalance of power between men and women in the organisation.

Debate on the issue sparked a rowdy protest by women in the conference hall on Wednesday evening, which disrupted procedures to such an extent that chairman Joe Slovo had to call an early supper break.

"You see who is responsible for all the catering and cooking at this conference?" one angry woman asked.

"Just women. That is what men in this organisation think we are fit for, not for positions of leadership or power. All this talk about affirmative action and the need to high-

There have been matters of national importance discussed at the ANC's national conference in Durban this week — but not

all of the happenings have been in keeping with the sombre tone of the occasion.

Saturday News Political Re-

porter **NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN** who attended the conference noticed a few of the lighter moments.

week.

They also have taken a number of guests and delegates sight-seeing and shopping in and around Durban from time to time.

Rumour has it that even Winnie Mandela sampled the delights of Durban department stores and shopping centres. Monday saw her looking for rather scarce cosmetics which would best be obtained at the Musgrave Centre.

Not wanting to be recognised, Winnie donned a wig and dark glasses and proceeded to mingle with Durban's elite shoppers incognito!

The conference itself has also had its lighter moments. Hundreds of journalists and photographers from all over the world have been a constant source of worry for the many security officials keeping a vigilant eye on proceedings, because "these bloody press people wheedle their way in everywhere."

Security officials are also sporting quite a few bruises from over-enthusiastic photographers pushing their way past bodyguards to get pictures of president-elect Nelson Mandela and other high-profile leaders arriving.

"I'd rather deal with the police or the SADF," one disgruntled bodyguard remarked. "At least then you can thump them back."

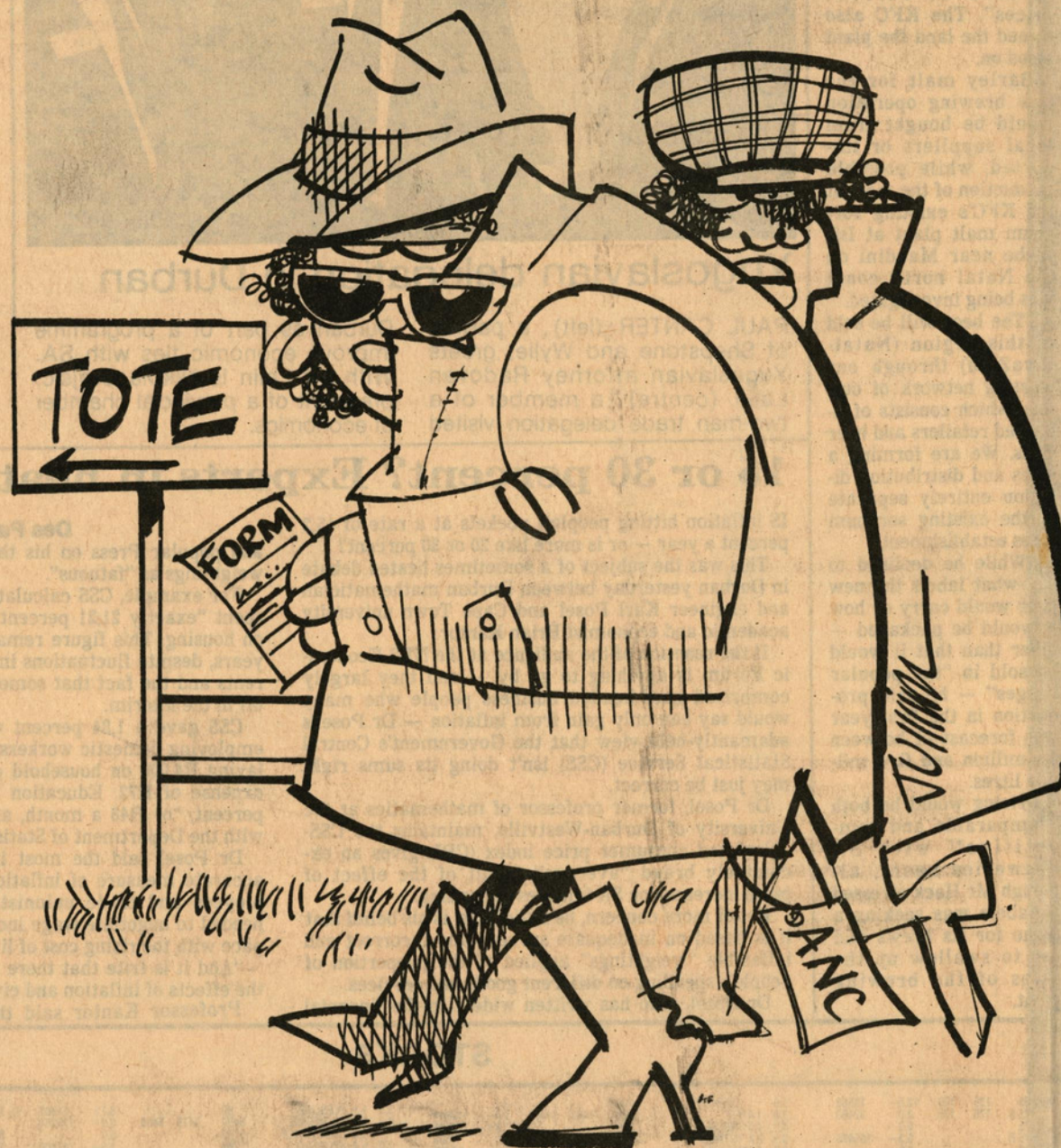
Another amusing moment occurred during Tuesday's open session, watching the delegates' reaction during the messages of support from foreign dignitaries.

Some messages, such as from the Soviet Union and Palestinian Liberation Organisation, were read by representatives in their home languages and then translated into English.

However, the "revolutionary sound" of the messages often had the crowd roaring approval before they heard the translation and knew what the messages said.

The chairman for that session, internal leader Walter Sisulu, was clearly anxious about time as the conference was already running some hours late, and constantly reminded delegates to "keep it short". The representative from Libya, obviously a bit peeved at such constant reminders, doggedly read his entire 15 minute contribution.

The Angolan representative, on the other hand, was nowhere to be seen that day. Repeated calls for him by Mr Sisulu proved fruitless, prompting one noted NEC member to mutter that he was probably to be found seeking liquid refreshment in a nearby pub, "where I would be too if I had any sense".



light gender issues is just that — all talk and no action.

"Until men realise that the oppression of women is equally as important as the oppression of black people, the abolishment of apartheid will do women little good. We are merely swapping one form of oppression for another."

It is understood that women delegates and officials at the conference, many of whom have toddlers and babies to care for, had requested a creche which failed to materialise.

Ironically, one of the issues on

the ANC's agenda for the conference is the need for affirmative action programmes for blacks in the wider South African community.

So much for affirmative action within the ANC itself.

However, the organisation appears to be becoming increasingly aware of its public image in other fields.

ANC president-elect Nelson Mandela was reportedly shocked to find official drivers for the conference rocking up to work in jeans and T-shirts on Sunday, and ordered that they wear shirts with

collars, ties and jackets.

A mad rush to procure the necessary clothing followed, with some people going so far as to hire suits for the occasion at their own expense.

"When you think we're supposed to be a working-class organisation, this is a bit much," one official complained. "I should have worn my overalls, just to make a point."

The drivers have been hard at work ferrying high-profile leaders around both during the day and at night, when "hush-hush" behind-the-scenes caucuses took place this



16/1/11

# I-ANC nombuthano oqopha ikusasa lezwe



**BAGALELEKE eThekwini amathemba ngekusasa lezwe egcwele ebusweni abaholi be-African National Congress (ANC) abethamele inkomfa yesi-48 ye-ANC eqala namuhla (ngoLwesibili) eThekwini. Kusukela kwesokunxele ngaphambili nguMengameli we-ANC uMnuz Oliver Tambo, Mnuz Nelson Mandela, noMnuz Joe Nhlanhla. Ngemufa nguNkk Adelaide Tambo, Nkk Winnie Mandela noMnuz Jacob Zuma. Batheleke eThekwini ngeSonto ntambama. Bheka umbiko ophelele ekhasini 2 no 3.**

I-AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) izimisele kakhulu ukubona ukuthula kubuyela kulelizwe okuyodedela izinyathelo eziya embusweni wentando yeningi nokuyoholela ekutheni izwe libuyele kubanikazi balo beginiso. Ngamazwi agcwele ithemba ngesixazululo senkinga yodlame kuleli ethulwe ngokhulumela i-ANC uMnuz Terror Lekota exoxisana nabazindaba ngeledule. Uchaze ukubaluleka kwenkomfa kazwelonke ye-ANC, eqala namuhla e-University of Durban Westville, njengomhlahlandlela

wenqubo ezothathwa yilenhlangano. UMnuz Lekota uthi kube nokukhuluma okuningi ngokuthi kungani i-ANC ikhethe ukubambela lenkomfa kazwelonke e-Natal izimpande zalenhlangano zibe ziseBloemfontein. "UMengameli wokugcina ngenkathi i-ANC ivalwa kwabekunguChief Albert Luthuli isigagayi sezokuthula esaze sahlo-mula iNobel Peace Prize. Kubalulekile ukuthi lenkomfa ibanjelwe lapha ukukhumbula nokuhlonipha igama lakhe. "Kubaluleke kakhulu ukuthi njengoba iNatal ibisegazini ku-

**Ngu: Bongani Shoba**  
leminyaka edlule sikwazi ukuzovuselela umyalezo woxolo ka(Chief) Luthuli," kusho u-Mnuz Lekota. Ukudalule kuwo lomhlangano uMnuz Lekota ukuthi i-ANC izobhekisisa kabanzi izichibiyelo ezingase zenziwe kusomqulu we-ANC iFreedom Charter. Uthe usomqulu wenqubo okwavunyelwana ngawo embuthanweni owabuseKliptown ngo 1955, kawusabonakali ukhombisa izifiso zenhlangano

esime ngomumo "ukuthatha umbuso". Uthe izinhloso ezabe zibekwe kusomqulu zabe zivuleke kakhulu lapho kwabe kuselukhuni ukubona ukuthi inkululeko iyofika nini. "Manje sekuyisikhathi sokuba sibheke izinto ezinqala. Sekufanele kuthathwe izinyathelo zomnyakazo eziyophumelelisa izinhloso ezikwiFreedom Charter," usho kanje. Yilenkomfa athe izokhetha iqembu eliphezulu nelifanelelele nokuzokhishwa kuyo inqubo ezolandelwa yilenhlangano. I-ANC uthe izodingida nama-

phuzu abhekene nokwabiwa kabusha komhlaba, ezemfundo nezempilo. Izintatheli kulomhlangano zithande ukwazi ukuthi ngabe Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) noHulumeni bamenyiwe yini kulomhlangano. Nokho impendulo kulombuzo itholakale ngoMgqibelo ngenkathi iKomidi eliPhethe le-IFP ichitha isimemo se-ANC ngezizathu zokuthi kusafanele kulungiswe ubudlelwane phakathi kwezinhlangano zombili. Isimemo besikhishwe ngu-Nobhala Jikelele we-ANC, u-Mnuz Alfred Nzo.



# ANC FIREBRAND RETURNS TO THE FRAY

Saturday News Correspondent **SHAUN JOHNSON** looks at firebrand ANC member "Mac" Maharaj.

**"MAC"** Maharaj, one the most powerful and militant personalities in the ANC, confirmed his return to active politics this week with a strong call on the ANC to force the "retreating" South African Government into "genuine negotiations".

His re-emergence — and his wholly unrepentant attitude to the "Operation Vula" saga — will significantly strengthen the position of those ANC members who are deeply suspicious of the Government's motives in the negotiating process, and favour a tougher ANC stance.

Addressing a media briefing during the ANC's national conference, Mr Maharaj said he had accepted nomination to the organisation's executive because of "pressure from

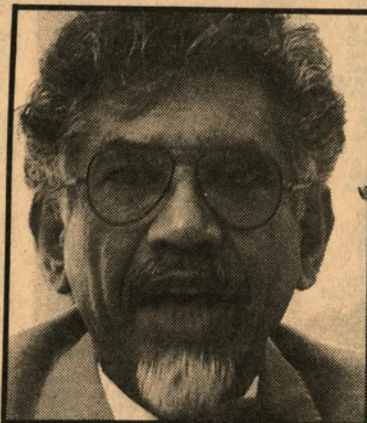
the grassroots". He retired from the executive amid a blaze of publicity last year.

It was speculated that the underground chief — and head of Operation Vula — was angry about the leadership's "lack of interest" in his plight as a Vula detainee, and that he believed the ANC's negotiators were giving too much away to the Government.

On Thursday he declined to expand on his original reasons for pulling out, but said he was satisfied that "the ANC stood by us (in the underground)" and felt he could make a contribution in future. Nelson Mandela had himself appealed to Mr Maharaj not to bow out of politics.

"I think I am returning because people believe here is a colleague who has contributed, and still has something to contribute." Support levels for Mr Maharaj are said to be such in the ANC conference that he is assured of being voted back on to the executive.

It was quite natural for there to be "differences of opinion within a movement". On negotiations, he called for a tough approach from



'Mac' Maharaj: unrepentant the ANC, with mass action. And international pressure playing a key part.

"This is not in order to destabilise the current situation, but precisely because we do not yet have the vote or the democratic right to change the government."

He was critical of the ANC's performance in combining the "pillars of struggle", saying the December

conference had merely "provided the slogans" which now needed to be enacted at this week's gathering.

Mr Maharaj said those in the ANC who proposed a "phasing out" of sanctions under ANC supervision — rather than allowing them to erode according to their own momentum — had the right to raise their argument, but it was based on "wrong premises".

Asked why the ANC appeared to be "swimming against the tide" on the issue, he replied: "If we had not swum against the tide (before), we would not have a liberation struggle at all."

He strongly rejected suggestions that the ANC/SACP relationship was a vote-loser for the ANC. "(A split) might win votes in the Boland," he said in a reference to Dr Alan Boesak's anti-party statements, "but I am not so sure how many you will lose in Soweto."

"My own view is that it is premature to talk about the alliance being disbanded."

He would not be drawn on the current state of the ANC underground, save to say that its existence was ac-

cepted by the Government in the Pretoria Minute, and by the ANC executive. The conference would decide on its future, he said, but he was convinced that the underground had played a crucial role in unifying the internal, exiled and imprisoned sectors of the ANC. It had also proved to Pretoria that the ANC had the capacity to run a sophisticated underground network undetected, and had succeeded in infiltrating the security forces.

Mr Maharaj alleged that he had been assaulted during his detention last year at Sandton Police Station by a Colonel Frik Verster, but said the "torture was insignificant compared to what I underwent in 1964". At the time he was described as the political prisoner who had undergone the harshest treatment, and he claimed to have suffered a serious neck injury. "This recurred during last year's spell in detention," he said, adding that he was pursuing a complaint with the authorities.

"They were trying to intimidate and terrorise me," he said, "but they failed because I knew that I had a stronger hand in my pack of cards."



# KwaZulu police biased towards IFP: General

CITIZEN 6-07-91

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police Commissioner General Jac Buchner yesterday conceded that "to a certain extent", KwaZulu Police (KZP) members biased towards the Inkatha Freedom Party, adding, however, that the homeland police force's image had recently improved.

In an interview in Durban, Gen Buchner said many of his policemen had been recruited from Inkatha "when it was still a traditional as opposed to a political organisation".

"It is a fact that in the past, most members of the Zulu nation were members of Inkatha. It's difficult to find people

where I am at the moment that are not Inkatha," Gen Buchner said.

Questioned on allegations of KZP bias towards Inkatha, Gen Buchner said: "That must be true to a certain extent."

## Not good

He added, however, that police bias towards the IFP was "not a good thing, so I try to get policemen to be fair".

He said he also had policemen who were "leaning towards the ANC".

Gen Buchner explained that the image of the KZP had improved recently with only three complaints of bias towards Inkatha in political conflict, compared to 200

complaints last year and 500 in 1989.

Political violence and violence in general in KwaZulu had "cooled off" since October, with a 20 percent drop in murders this year compared to the same period in 1990.

Only half of the incidents of violence in KwaZulu could be attributed to battles for political supremacy, power and publicity, Gen Buchner added.

He emphasised that he urged his police force to be neutral, saying that the KZP attempted to bring all the perpetrators of violence to book, no matter their political affiliation. — Sapa.



# Cool Cyril's journey to the

top

PATRICK LAURENCE

**C**YRIL Ramaphosa, the trade union leader who won a spectacular victory yesterday in elections to the African National Congress national executive, is a seasoned politician, able administrator and cool negotiator.

Mr Ramaphosa's experience in the political arena was gained at a young age. Born in November 1952, Mr Ramaphosa is only 38 and has years ahead of him as a politician.

His career so far can be divided into three phases: he started his political life as a student activist, moved into the trade union field and then assumed an increasingly important role in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), the Soweto People's Delegation and the ANC.

His election to the key position of secretary-general in the ANC yesterday ended a dilemma which has faced — perhaps even anguished — Mr Ramaphosa in re-

cent years: whether to concentrate on honing his skills as a trade union leader or to focus on a more overtly political role.

Judging from the wide acclaim which greeted Mr Ramaphosa's election yesterday, when he polled three times more votes than either of his opponents, he is a man to be watched in future years.

One observer summed it up when he remarked of Mr Ramaphosa: "He will be the second black president of South Africa after Nelson Mandela."

One word captures his political style: cool. Even when he is angry, he is controlled.

The son of a policeman, he spent most of his boyhood in Soweto. He matriculated at Mphaphuli High School in Sibasa in the Northern Transvaal and later attended the University of the North.

As a young man, Mr Ramaphosa served his political apprenticeship at university as a member of the pro-black consciousness student movement, Saso, and the Student Christian Movement. It was a tough experience: in 1974 he was detained and held for 11 months

for his role in organising a pro-Frelimo rally at the university.

After the 1976 student rebellion, during which he was again detained, Mr Ramaphosa studied law at the University of South Africa. His legal studies — he obtained a B Proc — took him into trade unionism.

He joined the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) as a legal adviser in 1981 after qualifying as a lawyer. The next year Cusa de-

cided to establish a trade union for mine workers. Mr Ramaphosa emerged as the natural candidate to help launch the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

It was as the NUM's general secretary that he quickly attracted attention as an efficient administrator and a methodical negotiator. Within a short time the NUM became a force to be reckoned with.

A turning point came in the next

year or two, when he was instrumental in the decision to take the NUM out of Cusa and into the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Cusa was inclined to black consciousness. Cosatu was part of the non-racial tradition of the Freedom Charter and the ANC. By then the NUM was the biggest black trade union and its decision to join Cosatu was a major coup for the Freedom Charter camp.

Mr Ramaphosa was held in such

high esteem by trade union organisers and workers that he was asked to deliver the keynote address at the launch of Cosatu.

At a press conference last night Mr Ramaphosa identified the NUM's decision to leave Cusa as one of the two turning points in his journey from black consciousness to non-racialism. The first was his detention in 1974.

During his 11 months in solitary confinement he realised that the "ideology of black consciousness had come full cycle" and that it "could take us no further", he told scores of journalists.

When Cosatu joined forces with the United Democratic Front to resist attempts by the Botha administration to fetter extra-Parliamentary opposition movements Mr Ramaphosa began to play an increasingly political role.

He was on the National Reception Committee which welcomed Nelson Mandela back to freedom after 28 years of imprisonment.

During 1990 he appeared to suffer a setback in the political arena, perhaps because he had aroused the ire of Winnie Mandela for his role, as a MDM leader, in the criticism of her "undemocratic" behaviour after the death of Stompie Moketsi. The boy was kidnapped from the Methodist manse in Soweto along with three others.

But Mr Ramaphosa came back strongly as a leader of the Soweto People's Delegation, which helped end the Soweto rent boycott by negotiating an accord with the Transvaal Provincial Association.

He played a pivotal role, too, in the formation of the Metropolitan Chamber, an institution which links civic associations, black town councillors and their white counterparts and which may help rescue local government from paralysis.

But all these achievements now pale before his election yesterday as secretary-general of the ANC.



Saturday Star 6 July 1991

# ANC must search its soul in privacy

**A**T the ANC jamboree in Durban this week — on which all of South Africa's and half of the world's political journalists appear to have converged — a great deal has been made of the organisation's decision to shut all but its opening and closing sessions to the public. There are dark mutterings about anti-democratic practice, secretive *konkelinge* and general political *verneukery*.

I believe this is unfair and an example of double standards — or at least differential expectations — being applied in the case of the ANC. It is hardly unheard of in Western (or indeed white South African) politics that an organisation should choose to keep some of its most sensitive soul-searching to itself.

And, when you are dealing with a group that is coming together openly for the first time in more than three decades, that is effectively unifying its different components for the first time, it is eminently understandable.

Journalists have a right, if not a duty, to try to open doors that are closed to them by politicians.

But the fact of their closure should not skew their overall judgment.

Two tests should be applied to the ANC at this stage.

One: is what is going on *inside* the conference hall entirely democratic? And two: is there a gen-

## Undercurrent Affairs

SHAUN JOHNSON

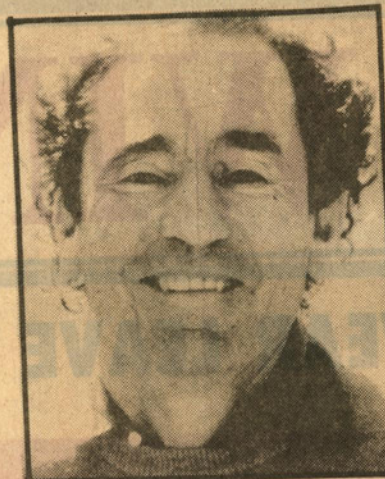


uine will to open sessions of future conferences, once the foundations have been laid? Many of us who have spent the week in Durban believe there is cause for optimism on both counts.

The fact that the race for top positions remained so open right up until the end is in itself revealing of the first. A briefing by ANC constitutional expert and bomb victim Albie Sachs says a lot about the second.

Mr Sachs, whose mutilation by a car bomb in Maputo has not altered his gentle, soft-spoken character, is a man whose integrity is unquestioned even by the ANC's more energetic opponents. His views at this crucial stage in our history therefore deserve careful consideration.

He says the closed sessions this time round should not be regarded as a precedent: "It was an arrangement for this particular con-



**ALBIE SACHS:** You must understand that some of the feelings are still so raw.

ference, under very particular circumstances...

"You must understand that some of the feelings are still so raw... We are now dealing with the very soul and character of the ANC."

The intensity of open discussion on the floor was "enough to give one a headache." He adds: "In fact the debates have been so rich and wonderful that I personally wish

the public could have seen them — hundreds of hands shooting up from the floor on every point raised."

Mr Sachs points, moreover, to the wider, extraordinary significance of the process now unfolding in Durban.

Black South Africa is having its first taste of real democracy at home, and is seeming to find the flavour very much to its liking.

"These are very special moments in South African history," says Mr Sachs. "In that hall over there we have what must amount to thousands of years of imprisonments, bannings, exiles and (what they are talking about is) democracy coming together."

"We are establishing for all of our members, from all over the country, that it is through the vote, tolerance and free speech that our problems will be solved. They will be reporting back to their constituencies on secret ballots and the like, on how democracy works."

Away from the clangour of electioneering and sloganeering, away from the famous faces on the podium, ordinary delegates are undergoing — are wrestling with — a political lesson which could determine our future for years to come.

Perhaps the ANC could do with a bit of goodwill from its detractors right now, not for the sake of the ANC, but for South Africa and all of its people.



# ANC CHOOSES ITS TALKS TEAM

SATURDAY NEWS 6/07/91

## Atmosphere of jubilation at conference as leaders elected

THE African National Congress has emerged from elections for its top six positions with a skilled negotiating team in place, including unchallenged presidential candidate Nelson Mandela, compromise candidate Walter Sisulu as deputy president and trade unionist Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary general.

The other three are national chairman Oliver Tambo, treasurer general Thomas Nkobi and deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma.

The revitalised leadership would now move forward to negotiations with the Government with confidence, Mr Sisulu said at a Press conference afterwards.

Singing, clapping, and swaying delegates came to their feet yesterday afternoon when the results were announced at the national conference.

Mr Mandela's election was virtually

MARTIN CHALLENGOR and  
VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

a rubber stamp, and delegates sang "you have been chosen". Swept up in the emotion, Mr Mandela seemed close to tears.

Former ANC president Oliver Tambo was unequivocally elected national chairman.

Mr Sisulu, brought into the elections to head off a possible tussle for the number two position, beat Natal Midlands ANC chairman Mr Harry Gwala by 1 567 votes to 412. Mr Sisulu was greeted with songs saying "no one can match you".

Mr Ramaphosa polled 1 156 votes to beat Southern Natal chairman Jacob Zuma with 450 votes, and former secretary general Alfred Nzo who got 371 votes.

However, Mr Zuma was later elected deputy secretary general with 1 039 votes to beat Popo Molefe with 659 votes and Mr Nzo with 258.

Mr Ramaphosa (38) will now have to give up his job as general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. The NUM is the largest affiliate in the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Jubilant supporters carried a thrilled Mr Ramaphosa from the back of the hall at the University of Durban-Westville to the platform where Mr Tambo and a smiling Mr Mandela hugged and welcomed him. Mr Nzo also hugged him.

Mr Thomas Nkobi retained his position as treasurer general by beating British ANC representative Mendi Msimang by 1 277 votes to 680 votes.

Mr Ramaphosa is highly thought of in top Government circles. Government members have been encouraged by the fact that the labour movement in South Africa worked closely with organised business and state officials to hammer out the Labour Relations Amendment Act that went through Parliament in February.

Through tough negotiations over two years, hard attitudes were moulded into the first nationally agreed upon legislation in South Africa.

Asked how the office-bearer elections would influence negotiations with the Government, Mr Sisulu said: "The conference has shown confidence in the leadership. It has been a tremendous success."

"I think we are in a way revitalised. We will be able to move forward with the confidence that has been shown to us at this conference."

Delegates will vote for the 50 members of the national executive committee today.

There will be a mass rally at Kings Park rugby stadium tomorrow.



DELIGHTED supporters of the new secretary general of the African National Congress carry Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on their shoulders from the back of the hall at the University of Durban-Westville to the platform.



Nelson Mandela now the unchallenged leader of the ANC.



Oliver Tambo now ANC national chairman.



Mr Walter Sisulu now deputy president.

16/1/11





Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa



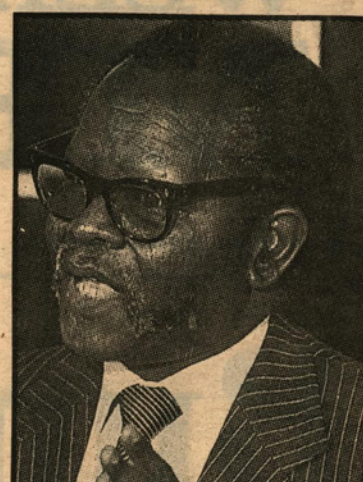
Deputy president Walter Sisulu



President Nelson Mandela



Alfred Nzo, outgoing secretary-general



National chairman Oliver Tambo

## Bop Govt no longer after alleged coup leader

ALLEGED coup leader Rocky Malebane Metsing has had the extradition proceedings against him withdrawn by the Bophuthatswana Government.

He claimed yesterday that the South African Government had granted him indemnity for his alleged involvement in the military coup in 1988 and the Bophuthatswana Government could not 'lay a finger' on him.

Last night, Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau said extradition proceedings against Mr Metsing had been terminated and would be formally withdrawn in Mr Metsing's absence on Monday.

Mr Metsing was speaking at the ANC national conference in Durban yesterday, where he hit out the Bophuthatswana Government's refusal to come into line with reforms and political changes in the republic.

### Political Reporter

He said all members of the People's Progressive Party who were involved in the coup had become ANC members, so it was unlikely the PPP would be re-constituted.

He said a number of coup members and other political prisoners were still in jail and the Bophuthatswana Government was refusing to grant them political prisoner status — only criminal status.

He called on the South African Government to 'facilitate the safe return' of a large number of people from the homeland still in exile. 'They are affected by the Pretoria Minute,' Mr Metsing said.

He added that he had been nominated as a candidate for the NEC.



## Wall-hangings' future debated

### Political Reporter

THERE is much speculation among ANC delegates as to what should become of the wall-hangings, designed by artist Andrew Verster and completed by the three ANC regions in Natal.

However, there is a strong likelihood the wall-hangings will be divided and kept by the three regions which painted them.

But delegates from other provinces say they have become attached to the hangings and would like to see commemorative T-shirts made based on the designs.

Other delegates say they would like the wall-hangings to be distributed among all ANC regions to record the historic conference.

The hangings, which have not yet been shown publicly, will be used to decorate the stage at tomorrow's rally at Kings Park.

Mr Verster is currently in Paris and will return in October.

## Organiser of ANC elections is praised

### Political Reporter

In 1973, he became president of the National Union of South African Students.

He qualified as an attorney in Cape Town before moving to Johannesburg and joining the Legal Resources Centre.

He was the first director of the Institute of Mediating Services of South Africa, an organisation which soon developed a reputation for independent resolution of trade union and management industrial disputes.

The organisation was recently involved in the successful resolution of a community dispute involving Inkatha and ANC supporters in the PWV region.

It was one the first instances where an independent organisation has been called in to solve a violent community dispute.

Mr Nupen is married with two children. His wife Drene comes from Durban.

THE quietly-spoken and polite Mr Charles Nupen, one of the four commissioners of the ANC's electoral machinery at the national conference, has been praised all round for his impartial and professional role in arranging the balloting for the NEC.

An ANC spokesman said the electoral commission responsible for overseeing balloting was 'independent to the point that ANC workers were not allowed even to ask them questions'.

'It could have been seen as an attempt to interfere.'

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr Nupen was chosen as a well-known lawyer and a constitutional expert. 'He has also been involved with arbitration and mediation for a long time,' he said.

Mr Nupen studied law at the University of Natal in Durban and was president of the Students' Representative Council.



16/1/91

# ANC has made call to war: Inkatha

Citizen Reporter

THE African National Congress had breached its January peace accord with Inkatha and had made a call to war, according to an IFP spokesman, Ms Suzanne Vos.

She said yesterday it had been brought to the IFP's attention that a publication, the "Congress Militant", was being distributed at the ANC's Durban conference, and contained articles headlined "How to defeat Inkatha", "Stand up and fight back", and "What is Inkatha? The source of the violence".

It also included a highly defamatory cartoon of IFP President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ms Vos said.

"We are amazed the ANC permits such things in the midst of peace talks, and this is clearly encouraging and proliferating war-talk."

Ms Vos claimed the document was in contravention of the January peace accord between the ANC and Inkatha, which read in part: "Both parties agree to call on their members to stop the vilification of the other party and its leadership and to promote the quest for peace."

She said the article entitled "How to defeat Inkatha" did nothing to pro-

mote peace and was in fact, a call to war.

The article said the ANC should build a trained and disciplined army prepared to force any action at any time.

The authors of the article, Ephram Ndlovu and Nkululeko Nomji, added that as soon as there was a threat of attack from a hostel, defence committees should come in and immediately mobilise and destroy the hostel.

Ms Vos said the article also appeared to admit the ANC was responsible for destroying hostels in KwaThema and Dobsonville and included numerous vicious and derogatory statements about Inkatha leaders and its membership.

"The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is called upon to ban Inkatha members and workers and the document says they must choose between Inkatha and Cosatu. Ms Vos said.

The ANC leadership was obliged to make its position clear. Did they support the statements contained in the articles or were they prepared to repudiate them? Ms Vos asked.

She also asked the ANC if the programmes of action outlined in the articles were official ANC policy or not and whether they believed that rhetoric encouraged political tolerance and freedom of political association.

"The publication and distribution of Congress Militant does considerable harm to the quest for an end to the violence and the IFP seeks assurance that this kind of war-mongering, which has a direct impact on the violence and intimidation, will cease," Ms Vos said.

Speaking from Durban, senior ANC spokesman, Mr Saki Macozoma, said Congress Militant was not an ANC publication and had been circulated without the ANC's approval.



16/1/11

# ANC votes out the hardliners

Memory 6/27/91

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday gave negotiations a resounding endorsement and handed the hardliners an almost humiliating defeat.

New president Nelson Mandela's mandate to negotiate was underwritten when key posts in the top five positions went to candidates committed to talks, and unionist Cyril Ramaphosa, a gifted negotiator, was chosen as secretary-general.

Natal Midlands chairman and arch-militant Harry Gwala — strongly opposed to talks with the Government — was thumped in the election for deputy president, recording only 412 votes to Walter Sisulu's 1 567.

Mr Sisulu, a former Robben Islander, close friend of Mr Mandela and internal leader of the ANC until yesterday, is a prominent member of the ANC's negotiating team.

Late last night, in another boost for negotiation, Jacob Zuma, from Natal and at the forefront of moves to halt the violence in the province, was elected as deputy secretary-general. He polled 1 039 votes to former UDF leader Popo Molefe's 659 and former secretary-general Alfred Nzo's 258.

Mr Zuma is a Zulu and his election to the top five could boost the ANC prospects in Natal.

The results were met with prolonged cheering, singing and dancing in the packed conference hall at the University

of Durban-Westville.

As anticipated, National Union of Mineworkers' general-secretary Ramaphosa earlier won comfortably in the contest for secretary-general. He was carried on the shoulders of supporters from his seat on to the stage.

He got 1 156 votes to the 371 for the incumbent, Mr Nzo. The other candidate, Mr Zuma, got 450 votes.

Both Mr Nzo and Mr Zuma, the organisation's head of intelligence, then joined the contest for deputy secretary-general with Mr Molefe.

Significantly, Mr Ramaphosa is also regarded as a skilled organiser and his election will enable the ANC to address the need, highlighted by Mr Mandela, for the organisation to start moving towards becoming a smoothly-functioning political party.

The organisation 'does need a well-oiled administrative machine', said Mr Ramaphosa.

The treasurer-general's post went to incumbent Thomas Nkobi, who got 1 277 votes to London representative Mendi Msimang's 680. Mr Nkobi had been expected to retain his seat, but the size of the

majority was described by some delegates as a surprise.

In a formality, Mr Charles Nupen, the head of the independent electoral commission which supervised the balloting, announced to the delegates that Mr Mandela had been elected as president unopposed and outgoing leader Oliver Tambo had been unanimously chosen for the newly created position of national chairman.

Amid the cheering and clapping, some representatives from the Natal Midlands region remained seated when it was announced that Mr Sisulu had beaten Mr Gwala.

ANC sources said the bulk of support for Mr Gwala came from his Natal Midlands region, with only limited support from the other Natal regions.

It is understood that Mr Gwala savaged his own chances of winning by his contributions to the conference commission on violence.

Voting for the other 50 positions on the national executive committee takes place today.



# KwaZulu police biased towards IFP: General

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police Commissioner General Jac Buchner yesterday conceded that "to a certain extent", KwaZulu Police (KZP) members biased towards the Inkatha Freedom Party, adding, however, that the homeland police force's image "had recently improved."

In an interview in Durban, Gen Buchner said many of his policemen had been recruited from Inkatha "when it was still a traditional as opposed to a political organisation".

"It is a fact that in the past, most members of the Zulu nation were members of Inkatha. It's difficult to find people

where I am at the moment that are not Inkatha," Gen Buchner said.

Questioned on allegations of KZP bias towards Inkatha, Gen Buchner said: "That must be true to a certain extent."

## Not good

He added, however, that police bias towards the IFP was "not a good thing, so I try to get policemen to be fair".

He said he also had policemen who were "leaning towards the ANC".

Gen Buchner explained that the image of the KZP had improved recently with only three complaints of bias towards Inkatha in political conflict, compared to 200

complaints last year and 500 in 1989.

Political violence and violence in general in KwaZulu had "cooled off" since October, with a 20 percent drop in murders this year compared to the same period in 1990.

Only half of the incidents of violence in KwaZulu could be attributed to battles for political supremacy, power and publicity, Gen Buchner added.

He emphasised that he urged his police force to be neutral, saying that the KZP attempted to bring all the perpetrators of violence to book, no matter their political affiliation. — Sapa.

## KwaZulu police chief admits 'certain bias'

KWAZULU Police Commissioner General Jac Buchner yesterday conceded that "to a certain extent", KwaZulu Police members were biased towards the Inkatha Freedom Party, adding, however, that the homeland police force's image had recently improved.

In an impromptu interview in Durban, General Buchner said many of his policemen had been recruited from Inkatha "when it was still a traditional as opposed to a political organisation".

"It is a fact that in the past, most mem-

bers of the Zulu nation were members of Inkatha. It's difficult to find people where I am at the moment that are not Inkatha," General Buchner said.

Questioned on allegations of KZP bias towards Inkatha, General Buchner said: "That must be true to a certain extent."

He added, however, that police bias towards the IFP was "not a good thing, so I try to get policemen to be fair".

He said he also had policemen who were

leaning towards the ANC.

General Buchner explained that the image of the KZP had improved recently with only three complaints of bias towards Inkatha in political conflict, compared with 200 complaints last year and 500 in 1989.

Political violence and violence in general in KwaZulu had cooled off since October, with a 20 percent drop in murders this year compared with the same period in 1990. — Sapa