



NATIONAL CONFERENCE
1991

Govt, ANC row over prisoners continues

By Chris Whitfield
and Dominic Mitchell

THE row between the Government and the ANC over the release of political prisoners continued yesterday with both sticking to their positions.

A Justice Ministry spokesman hit out at ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela for claiming that no agreement

between the Government and the ANC had been reached on their release.

'The Government reiterates the statement made by the State President regarding the agreement reached between representatives of the ANC and (Justice Minister) Mr Kobie Coetsee on behalf of the Government on the process of release,' the ministry said.

However, Mr Mandela said statements by the Government had created an impression that the issue had reached finality. 'The impres-

sion is not correct,' he said.

'For the ANC the issue will reach finality when all political prisoners are released. According to our count in excess of 900 are still in South African prisons.'

He added that 'productive discussions with the Government' in the relevant working group were continuing and 'resolution of this obstacle is, therefore, not completely out of sight'.

President de Klerk had said: 'Finality has now been reached in terms of the process set out in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes. It was also agreed that the results of the process were acceptable to both sides.'

● See Editorial Opinion

Image change needed for support

THE ANC's image as an organisation which reflected 'instability' and which was 'responsible for the violence' were among the reasons why it failed to attract white, coloured and Indian support, Mr Aziz Pahad, said yesterday.

Political Staff

Mr Pahad, a member of the national executive committee, was addressing the media on the secretary-general's report discussed behind closed doors yesterday.

US tour funds not yet received

NONE of the funds raised by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela during his tour of the United States more than a year ago 'have been remitted to the ANC', finance committee spokesman Vusi Khanyile disclosed yesterday.

Mr Khanyile declined to state how much money had been pledged, but it is understood to be in the region of \$3 000 000 (about R9 000 000).

In another development, a representative of the Mayor of Detroit, Mrs Margaret Baylon, arrived at the conference and told journalists she had travelled to South Africa with letters to the ANC from the city to find out what the ANC had planned to do with the \$1 100 000 (about R3 300 000) it had raised.

She said the money had not yet been sent to the organisation because the city had no idea what the ANC wanted to do with it. 'Whatever they say, we will do,' she added. — (Political Correspondent)

Diplomats praise Mandela's speech

DIPLOMATS yesterday gave Mr Nelson Mandela's speech at the opening of the ANC conference in Durban warm, if qualified, praise.

The diplomats particularly welcomed his commitment to negotiations and his call for the organisation to transform itself by preparing for elections for a constituent assembly.

However, his strong support for the ANC's close links with the South African Communist Party was cause for concern.

They pointed out that the ANC had been steadily losing ground on the international front by maintaining its association with a political party whose policies are now discredited throughout the West and former Eastern Bloc.

The diplomats noted that Mr Mandela's reference to sanctions was ambiguous.

They believe sanctions are on the way out regardless of the ANC's views and if the ANC does not get in step with changing international realities, it will lose its ability to wield influence. — (Political Staff)

Elections start tonight

TONIGHT delegates at the ANC national conference will start the long-awaited process of electing officers and members of the national executive committee.

This morning, delegates who have been split into groups or 'commissions' will continue discussing the ANC constitution, violence, negotiations, organisation-building and strategy and tactics.

Other specialised commissions will discuss the ANC's policy concerning land, economics, health, local and regional government, education, a national constitution and other issues.

Later in the day delegates will vote on the adoption of the resolutions of the specialised commissions. — (Political Reporter)

Secret visit

JOHANNESBURG—Rocky Malebane-Metsing's alleged key co-conspirator in the abortive 1988 Bophuthatswana coup, the Rev John Lamola, slipped undetected into SA from London yesterday morning to attend the ANC national conference. — (Mercury Correspondent)



Pamphlet peeves ANC

Political Reporter

RESIDENTS from some areas in Durban North were yesterday surprised to find an anonymous anti-ANC glossy-print pamphlet in their post boxes.

A number of Umgeni Park residents confirmed receiving the pamphlets, which likened the ANC's national conference currently taking place at the University of Durban-Westville to the July Handicap horse race.

Yesterday ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus denounced 'anonymous pamphleteering' and urged members of the public to judge the ANC according to the public pronouncements made by its president and deputy president.

'These people obviously do not have the courage of their convictions, and they are using a smear campaign and the old red-threat tactics,' Mr Niehaus said.

The full-colour pamphlet was described as a 'tongue-in-cheek, anti-communist cartoon'. The name 'African Free Marketeers' was stamped on the back of them, but all attempts to trace the group yesterday failed.

Mr Philip Bloem, of Natal Newspapers' commercial printing section said the pamphlets would cost over R1 each to produce per thousand.

Part of the anonymous poster pamphlet

Multi-party Natal Mercury conference call

4 July 1991

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, called for a multi-party conference last night to determine the future of South Africa.

He was speaking at a National Student Federation congress in the Midrand.

'We in the Inkatha Freedom Party say that the next move in South Africa must be a multi-party conference. It is already overdue and we must eliminate all obstacles to it.'

One of these, he said, was that the ANC did not want to be a 'party amongst parties'.

In the words of Dr Nelson Mandela, the ANC regards itself as a government in waiting.

'The ANC wants all-or-nothing negotiations in which it is either Mr de Klerk's political blood or there will be mass ac-

Mercury Reporter

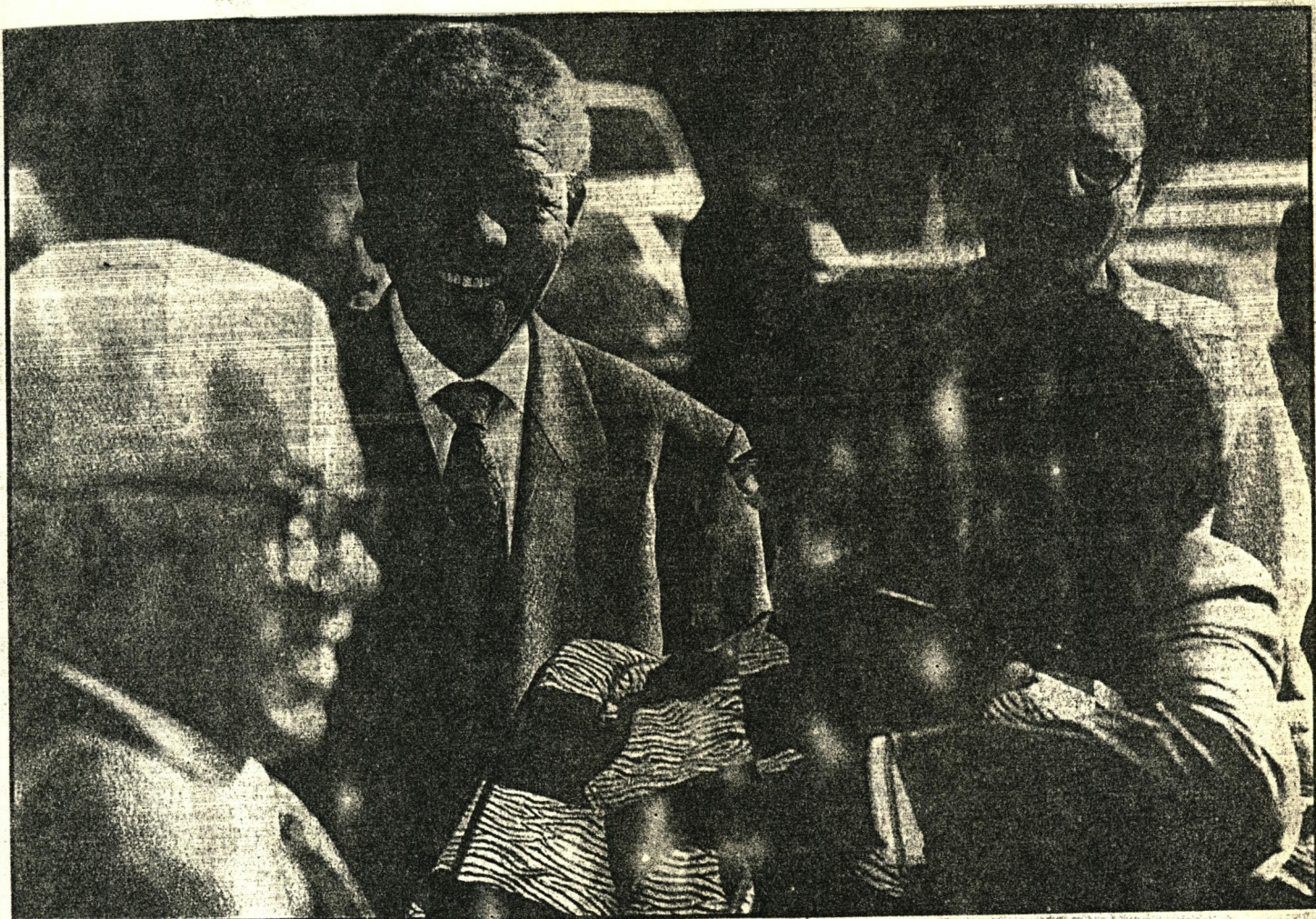
tion, power plays, disruption and protest.'

This was also obvious from Dr Mandela's speech at this week's ANC conference.

'The ANC says one thing but it does another. It says it is committed to democracy and will negotiate for a multi-party democracy, but in reality it is taking issues which should be resolved at the negotiating table and trying to use mass action.'

He said he believed the ANC would emerge from its congress 'remaining committed to determining the constitutional future for SA through mass action programmes.'

Dr Buthelezi ended his speech by calling for a multi-party summit conference where 'a true South Africanism can emerge'.



Mr Oliver Tambo hugs a friend while Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu (in the foreground) look on, during a break in yesterday's conference. Picture by ROB GREAVES

Boesak nominated for top ANC position

IN A surprise development yesterday, Dr Allan Boesak's name was included on the list of nominations for the ANC's national executive committee—in spite of his not being a member of the organisation.

The unprecedented step is bound to prove controversial, with some delegates already having questioned his eligibility to take up a position.

The list includes 103 names for the 55 posts still available in the 90-strong NEC.

Each person had to be nominated three times by the ANC's 14 regions to be included in the voting, which takes place tomorrow. The results are expected on Saturday.

Five of the present 35-strong NEC have already lost their posts. The names of Robert Conco, Steve Dlamini, Anthony Mongalo, Dan Tloome and Mfenyana Sindiso do not appear on the nominations list. It is understood, however, that some of them may have declined to stand.

Ten ANC members from Natal have been nominated,

Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

two for posts in the key 'top five' positions.

Southern Natal region chairman Harry Gwala has been nominated for the deputy president's job and Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC's chief of intelligence, for both secretary-general and treasurer.

The others nominated from Natal are: Sandy Afrika, Frene Ginwaia, former UDF chairman Archie Gumede, Billy Nair, Blade Nzimande, Jeff Radebe, Linda Zama and Nkosazana Zuma, Mr Zuma's wife.

The only uncontested 'top five' nomination is for the president's post, with all regions voting for Mr Nelson Mandela. It has been reported that the incumbent, Mr Oliver Tambo, will retire from active politics. However, his name appears among the nominees for the other 50 NEC posts.

Both Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Gwala have been nominated for deputy president,

but sources have said they will make way for the only other nomination, veteran internal leader Walter Sisulu.

The most tightly-contested position is expected to be that of secretary-general. Besides Mr Zuma, unionist Cyril Ramaphosa and the incumbent, Mr Alfred Nzo, have been nominated.

Mr Ramaphosa, Mr Nzo and former UDF leader Popo Molefe have been put forward for the deputy secretary-general's job. Border region leader, the Rev Arnold Stofile, London representative Mendi Msimang and Thomas Nkobi, join Mr Zuma in nominations for the treasurer's post. Mr Nkobi holds the post at present.

Included among the nominations for the other 50 positions is Mrs Winnie Mandela.

It is understood that the election commission still has to rule on the candidacy of Dr Boesak, a former UDF patron.

His nomination is expected to exacerbate tensions within the ANC's Western Cape region and some delegates have

flatly stated that Dr Boesak was merely a guest at the conference and, as such, would not be considered for election.

In the past, Dr Boesak has made it clear that he would not join the ANC until it had clarified its relationship with the SA Communist Party and 'personal and ideological' differences with the ANC's Western Cape leadership were resolved.

It is known that Mr Nelson Mandela has held discussions with Dr Boesak about joining the ANC.

It has been suggested that Dr Boesak could improve the low level of recruitment to membership of the ANC in the Western Cape, particularly among coloured people, because of his widespread popularity.

However, the Western Cape leadership have made it clear that they feel Dr Boesak should first join the organisation and become a member of a local branch, instead of leapfrogging into a top leadership position.

Mandela's great balancing

act

IN December, ANC delegates emerged from the opening day of their consultative conference somewhat confused, and potentially divided. This week, they were all smiles. President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela had something for everyone in his opening address.

President de Klerk's administration and some Western governments will no doubt be smarting after the start to the watershed conference in Durban — both came in for robust attacks.

But Mr Mandela's speech was not really written for them. In a crucial internal pre-election period, he delivered an address that was finely tuned to strike chords with both the more militant and more moderate (or "revolutionary" and "reformist") tendencies that are present in the organisation.

That the ANC remains committed to negotiations as the solution to the South African conundrum was never in question: what the conference must pronounce upon is whether the organisation will enter those negotiations in a mood that is suspicious and unyielding, or trusting and magnanimous.

This is the crucial nuance within the ANC — it is certainly not about to split, but there are important differences in emphasis. Some believe the current struggle with the Government is the primary challenge, while others look beyond this period and want to concentrate on an ANC government's post-apartheid policies. In plainer language, there are those who want to trust the Government more, and get on with negotiating, and those who want to trust it less and weaken it before starting to strike a deal.

This makes for deeply-felt, albeit by-and-large "comradely", disagreement.

In his keynote speech Mr Mandela, displaying the characteristics of a consummate politician, offered palliatives to both sides.

He managed, subtly and plausibly, to swop emphasis almost paragraph by paragraph. His juxtapositions were revealing, and some examples will demonstrate this.

On the one hand, Mr Mandela argued that mass struggle had forced the Government "to accept the fact that it has no strength to maintain the apartheid system".

On the other, he conceded that "we have not defeated the regime".

He insisted that there must be a "transfer of power to the people" (this terminology is crucially distinct from "power sharing"), but also warned that the conference must reach "rational, constructive and realistic" decisions.

He lambasted the Government for acting in bad faith, but left open the possibility that in the matter of violence, mavericks within the State rather than the State itself could be responsible.

He endorsed the idea of "self-defence units" and intensified "mass action" (the rallying cries of the cynics), while at the same time saying "we must proceed beyond the mere removal of obstacles" and plan swiftly for both negotiations and elections (a key concern of the less hard-line delegates).

Furthermore, he said detailed electoral policy was an "urgent" task, but that "elaboration of policy itself cannot go on forever."

Mr Mandela repeated unambiguously the ANC's conviction that an elected Constituent Assembly is the correct mechanism via

which a new constitution should be drafted, but did not include this in his list of ANC "non-negotiables". These latter were much broader issues: "Among others, our demands for one person one vote, a united South Africa, the liberation of women and the protection of fundamental human rights."

On sanctions, Mr Mandela delivered a ringing endorsement of the need for "political and material support from the international community for the present phase of our struggle".

He added the rider: "Undoubtedly, we will also continue our discussion of the sanctions question which began at our consultative conference last December. The challenge that faces us is to find ways and means by which we arrest the process of the erosion of sanctions and help create the situation whereby we do not lose this weapon which we will need until a democratic constitution has been adopted."

Regarding armed struggle and Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Mandela said: "We need to pay better attention to our heroic army than we have done during the past year

or so. MK has been at the centre of our struggle in the past and delivered the telling blows that brought us to the point where a negotiated solution became possible", and he called for the rapid integration of a new defence force.

He added: "It also requires that MK continues to be an army that is committed to the democratic perspective that we represent."

On the persistent controversy surrounding the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party, Mr Mandela's double-edged approach was at its clearest.

"The SACP is a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule," he said, "and we will therefore rebuff all attempts to drive a wedge between our two organisations."

"At the same time, the point must be borne in mind that the SACP is a separate organisation... the policies of the ANC are not decided in the SACP as neither are the policies of the SACP decided in the ANC, regardless of the number of people who might be members of both organisations."

Finally, and against the background of his stern rebuke in December to those who sought to put the national executive committee on a shorter leash, Mr Mandela said the ANC's new internal constitution must ensure that "the membership is enabled to participate in the formulation of policy and direction... while the leadership we will elect recognises that it is accountable without compromising its ability to lead".

The ANC leader also stated pointedly that the organisation "could not tolerate the formation of factions. The best means of ensuring this is through open democratic discussion within our ranks so that no one feels excluded or denied the right to express his or her opinions".

This latter sentiment might have been the inspiration for his entire speech. In any event, it is likely to have ensured that while there will certainly be hot debate in this week's closed sessions — perhaps even as heated as it was in December — a much firmer foundation has been laid for the ANC to be able to present a unified face to the world when its conference closes on Saturday. □

16-7-91
STARS

THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1991

DAILY NEWS

It's no wonder teachers' morale at its lowest ebb

SIR — Allow me space in your widely read paper to air some of the grievances of our Indian teachers.

So much publicity was given to the above and so many assurances made that the general body of teachers must have thought that this was a real long-awaited, much-desired handout for our teachers beleaguered already by circular upon circular of redundancies, repetitions, about-turns and duplications regarding matters in Indian schools.

I write on behalf of those educators who turned 55 in the course of 1991 and were denied the option of retirement because the closing date was 28th February 1991.

May I know from the so-called authorities who set the date as 28th February 1991 as no consideration was given to those educators who turn 55 in the course of the year 1991, yet the retirement date is November 1991 which covers the entire year in which a number of educators would be turning 55 ... And remember it took the department almost ONE year to decide who could be retired and who could not. This "efficiency" of the department speaks volumes.

Why could the date not have been set for 31st December 1991 as this would have accommodated all those who are almost there as regards completion of 55 ... and what about those who turn 55 in the course of 1992?

A number of other matters also need to be addressed:

i) Poor Stop Order facilities — It takes up to six weeks to effect a stop order in this day and age of the computer; and when an inflation-linked higher amount is stipulated the entire stop order is cancelled and forgotten about.

ii) Newly appointed teachers are not paid for as many as three months. Upon inquiry the reply is: "We have no records in our office, of the present teacher. Please send us full details". Then how the hell was this altogether new teacher employed?

iii) Long Service Awards not paid to teachers for as many as three years. Upon phoning the inquirer is told: "The matter is receiving attention".

iv) Certain teachers are placed on the permanent staff without having applied for it while others with 10 to 15 years service are being left out, even if they have applied in writing for permanency.

The morale of the present teachers is at its lowest ebb and the desire for so many teachers to retire and get out is unprecedented in the history of Indian Education.

Our Department is, I believe, one of the 17, or 18, floating in its own orbit, wasting taxpayers' money and taking the prize for being the least efficient.

The House of Delegates should do something about this and Minister Kisten Rajoo should do some introspection and set matters right before the situation assumes uncontrollable proportions.

TIRED, BUT NOT RETIRED
Durban

Does the law not protect Buthelezi?

SIR — I refer to a letter that appeared in The Daily News (June 26) 1991 titled "Dubious Claims of Buthelezi's Lawyer" by Professor Paul Maylam.

He castigates both Ms Friedman simply because she did her job as a lawyer and Dr Buthelezi, simply because he had the temerity to protect himself from defamation according to the laws of the country.

Professor Maylam says that Ms Friedman makes unsubstantiated "claims" or "assumptions" that have not been proved in Court. I would have thought that was precisely what Dr Buthelezi promised to do, namely that if the offending book is not removed then he will take the matter to court.

Therefore far from taking unilateral action Dr Buthelezi, through his lawyer offered interested parties a choice of either ceasing the distribution of what he considered defamatory to him or facing a court action.

Now, Sir, in what way is that procedure reprehensible? Is the professor then telling us that the law is not for Dr Buthelezi's protection? Must he just be defamed by all and sundry, anyhow, anytime?

Would Professor Maylam just grin and bear it if I wrote a book in which I stated that he was an adulterous paedophile? What has that got to do with open political debate about which the professor seems to be so protective?

I think people just have to understand that there is a difference between dissension or criticism and vilification, denigration, abuse, and character assassination.

Freedom of speech is certainly precious but it can only be exercised within the bounds of regard for the inalienable rights of others.

The law is there to protect all of us equally. At least that is the ideal to be strived for.

DENNIS MADIDE, Ulundi

Additional apologies that should be made

SIR — Recently there have been calls from certain whites and blacks for President de Klerk to "apologise" for the sins of apartheid.

As reconciliation is now in the air I suggest that these additional apologies be made.

From the African National Congress to whites, for its horrendous acts of murder, arson and intimidation over the years and even now.

From the various African tribes to one another, from past cruelty and killing.

From English-speaking South Africans to Afrikaners for past attempts to stamp out the Afrikaans language.

From Afrikaners to English-speaking South Africans, for keeping the latter out of high Government and civil service posts over the years.

From the SABC to the general public, for its blatant propaganda policy favouring the Nationalist Party for 40 years.

From black African states to the South African Government, for hypocritically demanding "democracy" in South Africa when they themselves had a shocking human rights record.

From India to South Africa, for hypocritically attacking apartheid for 40 years, when she herself had a centuries-old similar system — the Caste system is still in existence.

From multi-national companies, which hypocritically fled from South Africa on the grounds of alleged moral indignation over apartheid, when in fact, their motive was purely profit.

From the World Council of Churches, for constantly attacking South Africa about apartheid, while hypocritically ignoring the shocking lack of human rights in a dozen other countries.

FRANCES DAVEY, Berea

Daily News 4 July 1991

Advocate may face action after outbidding ANC

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The conduct of Danie Heyns, an advocate in the Transvaal Attorney-General's office, in outbidding the ANC in the sale of Grootvlei mining village may lead to disciplinary action by the Attorney-General's office if deemed political.

John Welsh, Deputy Attorney-General of the Transvaal and Mr Heyns's controlling officer, said yesterday he was unaware of Mr Heyns's participation in the auction of Grootvlei — but that it was understood that civil servants had to refrain from political activities.

Mr Heyns on Tuesday bought

the East Rand village for R4,6 million on behalf of a consortium of farmers and businessmen called Grootvlei Ontwikkellings.

Although he said after the auction that he had appeared on behalf of a close corporation and had no political motives, the close of the sale was greeted by cries of "Op die boere!" and "Mooi so!" from residents.

The ANC's attorney, Ismail Ayob, was outbid by R100 000.

"If one of our officials is perceived to have acted politically and not in the interests of justice, we will not hesitate to take steps," said Mr Welsh.

The relevant incident would be judged accordingly, he added.

Bishop does not believe evidence others accept

SIR — As accepted by reasonably intelligent and informed people the world over, South Africa's judicial system is indeed unrelated to government.

Only the lunatic fringe still claim otherwise, despite the courts over-ruling of many government decisions and the State President's over-ruling of court sentences, especially with regards to so-called political prisoners.

Even Mrs Mandela's sentence and conviction was accepted by the vast majority world-wide. Apparently kidnapping is still unacceptable to even the most "liberal".

With these thoughts in mind it was most unedifying to see a church leader, more at home in a rocking chair, complete with shawl and hot-water bottle, standing with demonstrators outside court buildings.

Bishop Huddleston, of a once great church, apparently does not believe evidence most others believe.

M.L. LYLE
Westville

The Daily News

FOUNDED IN 1878

Mandela's speech

NELSON Mandela's opening address to the conference of the African National Congress this week could turn out to be pivotal to the process of negotiation. Whatever his questioning of the good faith of the Government and his criticism of the role of the security forces, his commitment to multi-party negotiation shone through strongly. Unless his more radical followers stage some kind of counter-pressure during the closed session of the conference, the obstacles to multi-party talks seem limited to dispute over the release of political prisoners and continuing communal violence. The ANC is prepared, in principle, to sit down to inclusive negotiations and to participate in an all-party transitional government, which brings it very close indeed to the Government's position.

Mr Mandela managed to convey a positive and constructive message without compromising ANC positions, without militant rhetoric and apparently without offending important sectors of his constituency. It was an adroit performance and if it should be translated into a conference consensus the momentum for negotiation will greatly gather force.

President de Klerk has expressed the wish that the ANC conference should provide such a momentum. The indications so far are that it will and that multi-party constitutional negotiations will take place "sooner rather than later", to use Mr Mandela's own words.

South Africa has been staggering along in uncertainty for too long. The ANC conference could introduce a new sense of purpose.

Teargas at ANC funeral - claim

4/7/91
mourner

By DON SEOKANE

MOURNERS at the funeral of an Umkhonto we Sizwe member, Mr Chester Sehume, in Dinokana were allegedly harassed by Bophuthatswana police for singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

A witness said at least 10 people were injured when the homeland police fired teargas at the mourners - among them elderly people and children - who had converged on a kraal during the ceremony.

The witness said a contingent of about 200 policemen watching the proceedings allegedly objected to the carrying of ANC flags, banners and placards.

He said: "After burial, people started singing the anthem and then police shouted through a loud-hailer that it was not a national anthem.

"They fired teargas into the kraal, which is built with rocks, and a stampede ensued. People started running for cover - others trampling those who had fallen down," he said.

Bophuthatswana police yesterday confirmed that teargas was fired at a funeral in Dinokana, but said this was done only in "limited quantities".

Bophutatswana police spokesman Colonel Dave George said police fired teargas when the crowd of mourners became restive and unruly.

The crowd later dispersed and no incidents were reported, he said.

He denied that people were injured and that there were 200 policemen.

16/1/91

16/1/11

Sisulu, Mbeki in tussle for vital ANC post

Martin Challenor
and Nicola
Cunningham-Brown
Political Staff



THE tussle for the vital post of deputy president of the African National Congress has developed into a battle between veteran internal leader Walter Sisulu and the widely acknowledged moderate, Thabo Mbeki.

Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala was also nominated for the post.

A preliminary list of nominees was released yesterday by the independent electoral commission that is overseeing the ANC elections.

Nelson Mandela is the only nomination for president.

Nominations have not closed yet.

A total of 91 people were proposed for the 50 elected posts on the national executive committee.

Mr Mbeki's nomination as deputy president comes as something of a surprise. ANC sources had indicated earlier that Mr Sisulu had agreed to stand as deputy president as a compromise move to avoid a damaging internal fight for the position.

Mr Sisulu's nomination by three key regions — the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, Border and Eastern

Transvaal — was part of a powerful lobby within the organisation to block Jacob Zuma's bid for the post.

Earlier this year Mr Mbeki, who is backed by the moderate grouping in the ANC, and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani, who enjoys more hardline support, agreed not to contest the position.

However, when Mr Zuma was proposed as a candidate, Mr Hani threatened to re-enter the fray, sources said, as Mr Zuma, who has been deeply involved in negotiations with the Government, was viewed as weak in certain areas by some militants in the organisation.

His own southern Natal region backed hardliner Mr Gwala for the deputy presidency by a vote of about 300 to 17.

However, Mr Gwala is unlikely to accept if elected, as he is reluctant to leave Pietermaritzburg where he is very closely involved with community work.

Mr Gwala is viewed as

a highly controversial character both in the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Another interesting battle is for the post of secretary-general. The incumbent, Alfred Nzo, looks certain to be ousted. He is unpopular within the organisation and has been widely criticised for inefficiency.

The strongest contender to replace him is National Union of Mine-workers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa. Mr Zuma has also been nominated.

Mr Ramaphosa's nomination is part of a strong lobby in the ANC for more trade unionists to become involved in the top levels of the organisation. He is also highly regarded in Government circles.

This lobby feels the organising and negotiating skills of trade unionists are vitally needed by the ANC for negotiations.

ANC sources believe that the majority of the present ANC executive members will lose their positions, with only Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu, Mr Zuma, Mr Mbeki, Mr Hani, Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mrs Gertrude Shope and Ms Ruth Mompoti certain of re-election.

Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Nzo and Mr Ramaphosa have been nominated as deputy secretary-general.

16/1/11

Kudume izihosha abe-ANC bendulela ingqungquthela

I-Langa 4/07/91

XOLANI NXUMALO

ETHEKWINI. - "Sikhokhele Tambo sibuyele emakhaya, oh thina songena kanjani," bekuduma izihosha kucula intsha namalungu oMkhonto weSizwe ku-African National Congress (ANC) eselungiselela ukungena ehholo ngolwesibili ekuseni ngenkathi kuqala ingqungquthela yalenhlangano e-University of Durban Westville, eThekwini.

Ngaletsisikhathi lentsha icula ishayo ujenga

ingena ehholo, besekula ukufika ngokwehluka izikhulu ze-ANC. Ofike ngendlela yakhe nguMnuz. Thabo Mbeki, umQondisi wophiko lweziNdaba zangaPhandle, owehle emotweni kude nehholo weza esezihambela ngezinyawo.

Ngezikhathi zabo 9 ekuseni kufike uMnuz. Walter Sisulu, usihlalo wangaphakathi kulenhlangano ehambisana nomkakhe, uNkk. Albertina Sisulu.

Kulandele uMnuz. Joe Slovo, yena oqhamuke ezihlalele nomshayeli ngaphambili emotweni, kwathi ngemuva kwahlanga umqaphi wakhe. Uthe engehlala nje, kwaduma amakhwela intsha imemukela. Wehle emotweni maqede wahlangatshezwa ngusihlalo we-ANC eNatal emaphakathi, uMnuz. Harry Gwala, babingelelana ngokugonana.

Sekuzoshaya o-10 ekuseni, kuthelake ababholi abaphakeme ku-ANC, oMnuz. Oliver Tambo, uMongameli walenhlangano noDr Nelson Mandela, iPhini lakhe.

Bebehamba ngezimoto ezahlukeni belandelwa ngezinye ezimbili ebezi-

thwele amakhosikazi abo oNkk. Adelaide Tambo noNkk. Winnie Mandela.

Inhlokomo ibenkulu kakhulu ngenkathi sekungena u-Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, otshela abebesengqungqutheleni ukuthi selokhu alifulathela leli eminyakeni engu 35 edlule akakaze aphinde alubeke lapha. Ungene wahashwa yimbongi ngesiXhosa.

Phakathi ehholo bekunemihlobiso elengayo enemifanekiso yabantu abamnyama, izihlahla, izilwane kanye namasonto nesithombe sombhisobhi.

Amalungu ekomidi elikhulu likazwelonke alenhlangano abehleli e'steji' kanye nezinye izimenywa zamazwe angaphandle. Phansi phakathi nehholo kuleli izithunyuwa ezivela eziyinyini zalenhlangano kulo lonke leli. Ematafuleni kunemisakazwana yokulalela kulabo abafuna ukuzwa izinkulamo ngolimi lwabo. Ngemuva kwezithunyuwa ezihlalweni eziphakeme bekuhleli izimenywa ezivela kwamanye amazwe kanye nakwezinye izinhlangano, emuva kwazo kuyizintatheli.

USihlalo wesiyingi seNatal esogwini, uMnuz. Jacob Zuma, futhi oyilungu lekomidi likazwelonke, nguyena owemukele bonke abebekulengqungquthela.

Uthe mhla i-ANC ithatha isinqumo emhlanganweni owawuseKabwe, eZambia ngo 1985, sokuba ingqungquthela eyolandela ibeseSouth Africa, waba nesifiso sokuba ibeseThekwini. Uthe sifezekile isifiso sakhe. Emuva kwalokho uMnuz. Tambo noDr Mandela bethule izinkulamo zabo.

Phakathi kwezikhulu zamazwe angaphandle, bekunezithunyuwa ezivela eNigeria ziholwa ngu-Chief Tom Ikinu, ongusihlalo kazwelonke weqembu lezombusazwe iNational Republican Convention Party, uMnuz. B. Kungibe, usihlalo kazwelonke weSocial Democratic Party, khona eNigeria. EzaseKenya beziholwa nguMnuz. Kamotho, uNgqongqoshe wezokuThutha neziNdaba, futhi onguNobhala-jikelele weKenya African Union Party (Kanu). Ubehambisana noNgqongqoshe wezangaPhandle eKenya, uMnuz. Ndolo Ayah. EzaseMalaysia beziholwa nguMnuz. Rahmat Mohamed.

Anger over US church group's Inkatha appeal

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

protection to minority
groups in the country."

WASHINGTON — A Florida-based religious group is soliciting money from prominent Americans for what appears to be a campaign to support Inkatha against the ANC, and to support the Church Alliance of South Africa (Casa) against the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The group, International Relief for South Africa (Irsa), has angered some Americans who have received a recent newsletter which appeals for funds on the basis of wild and misleading claims, and which accuses the ANC of burning churches and terrorising Christians who disagree with the SACC.

According to the newsletter, from the president of Irsa, Dr Martin Badenhorst, the ANC is mainly responsible for the violence in South Africa. "What is really behind the ANC's campaign," he says, "is a demand for the Government to be turned over to it without elections and without a new constitution that would offer

He portrays the violence as an ideological conflict between Inkatha and the ANC. "Inkatha stands for a multiparty democracy, the preservation of Christian values and norms (Chief Buthelezi is a born-again Christian who speaks openly of his faith on national TV).

Marxist

"The ANC believes in a Marxist philosophy, a one-party state for the future, a Marxist economy — nationalisation of banks, corporations and the mines, equal distribution of wealth (rewarding people regardless of productivity). It is pro abortion on request, it refuses to make any commitment on its stand on freedom of religion. The ANC is completely under the control of the South African Communist Party and this accounts for its policies."

Dr Badenhorst claims that the SACC represents 6.9 million people out of a population of 35 million, and that Casa represents more than 10 million South Africans.

STAR 4/7/91

Kaunda opponents shun meeting

LUSAKA — The main opposition group yesterday boycotted a meeting convened by President Kenneth Kaunda to discuss Zambia's political future.

Four minor opposition groups attended the talks at State House, Dr Kaunda's official residence.

Dr Kaunda said he was disappointed that the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) was absent from the talks.

He said it was not too late for the biggest opposition group to contri-

bute to constitutional reform as "the doors of State House are always open".

MMD vice-secretary Derek Chitala described the gathering as "a mockery".

News reports in the State-run media yesterday quoted MMD vice-president Luke Mwanawasa as saying Dr Kaunda had failed to meet his organisation's three conditions for round-table talks on any future constitution.

Mr Mwanawasa repeated the key demand

that a constitutional Bill intended to legalise the draft constitution be withdrawn from the current session of parliament.

Mr Mwanawasa again warned that if his organisation did not accept a new constitution passed by parliament, it would boycott elections scheduled for later this year.

Dr Kaunda amended the constitution in December to legalise opposition parties for the first time since he declared a one-party state in 1973.

STAR 4-7-91

Pro-Bop leader shot, two killed

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Edwin Moilwa, headman and leader of the pro-Bophuthatswana faction in the village of Braklaagte, was seriously injured and two others were killed when a gunman opened fire on them as they stood at a bus stop on Tuesday afternoon, according to the Bophuthatswana Department of Information.

These killings bring to at least 25 the number of people who have lost their lives in a conflict generated by the involuntary incorporation of Braklaagte and neighbouring Leeuwfontein into Bophuthatswana at the end of 1988.

There are fears that Tuesday's attack will plunge the area back into generalised violence between Mr Moilwa's supporters and those who continue to resist incorporation.

According to Bophuthatswana police spokesman Colonel Dave George the gunman sped off in a car from Mosewu bus stop. He

identified those who were fatally wounded as William Rantoa and Kgosimang Mafora, both of Braklaagte.

Colonel George said investigations were continuing.

A spokesman for Transvaal Rural Action Committee said they had received reports from Braklaagte residents that two people had been arrested in the wake of the shooting.

The attack comes as something of a surprise because recent talks between the Bophuthatswana minister of information and leading opponents of incorporation yielded positive results. Thousands of the anti-incorporation group were forced into "exile" in Zeerust early this year by the violence of their opponents. They were set to return home shortly as a result of the recent talks.

● Bophuthatswana police have also reported the discovery of a body in the boot of a burnt car in Mmakaunyane village north of Pretoria.

The body was believed to be that of Joseph Mathe of Mabopane who was abducted by two armed men on Monday, said Colonel George.

Nonracial student politics a reality

WHEN black students walked out of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) in 1969, the last thing Steve Biko, founder of the South African Students-Organisation (Saso), said was: "We will be back."

Just more than 20 years later, this somewhat visionary statement has become a reality. Black students will not be going back to Nusas, but student politics will finally assume the nonracial character many students aspired to in 1969.

This week, the curtain fell on 67-year-old student movement Nusas when it officially disbanded, laying the basis for the launch of a single, non-racial student body.

The merger of the South African National Students Congress (Sansco), of which Saso was the forerunner, and Nusas will restore nonracial student politics to most universities and technikons after an absence of 21 years.

The Sansco/Nusas nonracial alliance since the early 1980s has certainly paved the way for the amalgamation, and the formation of one student body will take place in September.

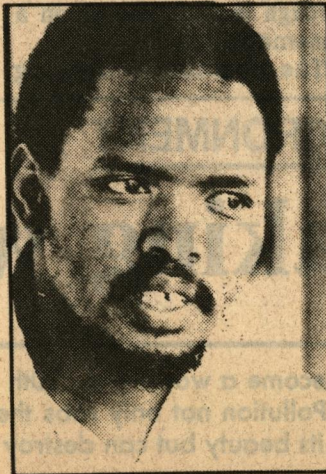
Since the emergence of the alliance, it was argued that one student organisation would be possible when "conditions were ripe" — when nonracialism had been built on campuses to the extent that separate organisations were no longer necessary.

The process was not an easy one because many students on liberal campuses confused nonracialism with multi-racialism.

Said Nusas president Erica Elk: "There is the perception that nonracialism means bringing blacks and whites to-

After a remarkable history characterised by great moments and turbulent times, the curtain has finally fallen on the National Union of South African Students, to lay the basis for a single, nonracial student body.

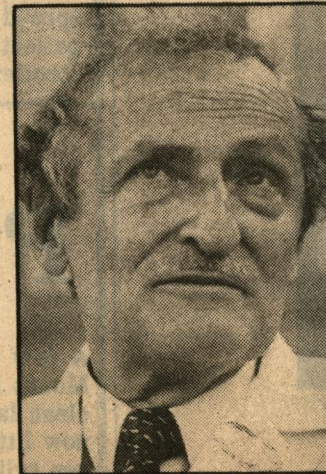
Education Reporter PHIL MOLEFE reports.



Steve Biko ... somewhat visionary statement made in 1969 coming to fruition.



John Vorster ... once called Nusas "the cancer in the life of the nation".



Professor Phillip Tobias ... was once president of the now disbanded union.

gether socially. However, such friendships break down quite quickly, because of the differences created by apartheid.

"Nonracialism, on the other hand, recognises the political divisions in our society and acknowledges that people can only be united on the basis of sharing an anti-apartheid sentiment and a common vision of the future."

Although a Sansco/Nusas merger had been on the cards over the past few years, the main obstacle often raised at meetings was whether the "conditions were ripe" for such a move.

Student leaders argued that blacks were from a different educational background to whites and, as such, their re-

sponses to education problems would differ.

Both organisations abhorred apartheid but their membership tended to differ when it came to strategies to fight it.

While black students on liberal campuses favoured a head-on collision strategy, their white counterparts preferred to engage the authorities in debate rather than a straightforward confrontation.

The other argument was that blacks had suffered more under apartheid education than their white colleagues, who lacked a profound understanding of the hardships the system had caused them.

Issues such as the quota system, exclusions, accommodation and academic progress

tended to affect black students more than their white counterparts.

These practical differences thwarted attempts to create a nonracial student body.

But a spirit of optimism has prevailed in student circles lately.

James Maseko, former Sansco general secretary, says the new situation in the country affected the decision to go ahead with plans to form a single student body.

"New challenges face all sectors of our society and we as students have to respond," Mr Maseko said.

"Separate organisation in student politics had been a strategy, not a principle.

"Black students had to fight issues like racist lecturers, the

bad quality of food and the occupation of black campuses by the SADF, whereas white students fought the lack of adequate parking and representation of students at the different levels in the university," he said.

Ms Elk said the conditions in South Africa and on campuses were changing and the moment was opportune to prepare for the future.

Nusas will go down in history as one of the student organisations that was forever at the receiving end of the Government's wrath.

The union's presidents included such eminent names as Michael O'Dowd, chairman of the Anglo American and De Beers Chairman's Fund; the late advocate, Ernie Wentzel; Mr Justice Didcott of the Natal Supreme Court; Professor Phillip Tobias of Wits medical school; Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre; lawyers Fink Haysom and Jonty Joffe; and Kate Phillip of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Some Nusas leaders were banned or detained by the Government and others were forced into exile.

Former Prime Minister John Vorster once described it as "a cancer in the life of the nation" and set about destroying it.

He did not live to realise this aim, and the organisation bowed out on its own initiative, opting for the path of amalgamation with a view to further strengthening student politics.

All eyes are now on the watershed launching congress in September, which is expected to chart the way forward to true nonracial student politics. □



The artist and his work . . . George Pemba with one of his favourite paintings, Flight to Basutoland.

STAR

4/7/91

PAGE 1

Impikiswano ye-ANC neNkatha ngezidumbu

DAN XULU
ETHEKWINI. - Sekuqu-
buke impikiswano pha-
kathi kwe-African Natio-
nal Congress (ANC) ne-
Nkatha Freedom Party
(IFP) ngezidumbu eziyi-
sikhombisa zomndeni
owodwa zabantu ababu-
lawa eTailor's Halt
ngomhlaka June 22.

Lokhu kuvele esitati-
mendeni esikhishwe nga-
be-ANC bekhala ngoku-
thi abahlanu bomndeni
wakwaNgubane ba-
ngcwatshwe ngabalandeli
balenhlango ngoba be-
bejoyine ngokuphelele
futhi ubulungu babo ba-
buvuselele ekuqaleni
kwalonyaka.

Kwenzeka lokhu-nje
i-IFP ishaya phansi ngo-
nyawo ithi laba ngabantu
bayo futhi basanda kuvu-
selela ubulungu babo
ngomhlaka March 2 no-
nyaka.

Lokhu kufakazwe
nguMnu. David Nto-
mbela, ilungu lo-

Mkhandlu oShayumthe-
tho KwaZulu elimele
i-Elandskop, emuva ko-
kuhambela kulomuzi wa-
thola ukuthi lababantu
balomndeni bebengama-
lungu aphelele e-IFP.
Uthe uphinde wathola
namakhadi avumelana
nokuthi bangamalungu
aleliqembu ngokuphele-
le.

Uthe izingane ezibu-
lewe zakulomndeni bezi-
ngamalungu eNkatha
Youth Brigade ngoku-
chaza kwamakhadi.

Khona manjalo abe-
ANC esitatimendeni
abasithumelele abama-
phephandaba babike
ukuthi lamalungu ayi-
sikhombisa alomndeni
owodwa angcwatshwe yi-
ANC emuva kwenkonzo
ebise-Edendale ngesonto
eledlule. Lenhlango
ithe inkonzo yalom-
ngcwabo ibiholwa ngu-
Mnu. Shakes Cala naba-
nye abaholi ababili baku-
lesisifunda. Yathi ubu-

hanjelwe ngabantu aba-
ngaphezulu kuka-2 000
abangabalandeli bayo.

I-ANC iphinde yakhi-
pha kulesisitativimende
amagama alabo ethi aba-
yo bakulomndeni igcize-
lela nokuthi banezino-
mbolo ezicacisa ngobulu-
ngu babo.

Abanye kulaba abayi-
sikhombisa ithe kukhona
uMnu. Albert Ngubane
ethi ubengaphansi kwe-
nyunyana encike kuCosa-
tu, iNational Union of
Metalworkers of South
Africa (Numsa).

I-ANC iphinde yathi
uMnu. Ngubane ubese-
benza eScottish Cable
eMkhondeni, eMgungu-
ndlovu, kanti ngakolu-
nye uhlangothi i-IFP ithi
uMnu. Albert Maviyo
Ngubane ubeyikhansela
lenduna eTaylor's Halt.

Omunye obalwe yi-
ANC ukuthi ubeyilungu
lalenhlango nguNksz.
Gladys Ngubane.

16/1/14

4/07/91
TANC

ANC elections put into perspective

16/1/11
SOWETAN 04/07/91

FOCUS

RONNIE MAMOEPA, regional spokesman for the ANC, puts this weekend's leadership elections into perspective.

IT is universally customary that elections are a subject of speculation by the Press. The object of such speculation is usually centred on individuals to be elected and the policies they represent. The ANC too has been subjected to such speculation by the media.

We welcome the interest shown by the media in our elections but we think it is misdirected.

While we in the ANC remain committed to the freedom of the Press, we differ on the way in which the nominations of candidates to the National Executive Committee have been handled.

The way in which the media has sought to deal with the question of elections shows a distinct misunderstanding of the nature of the movement. This should be corrected.

Disturbing

A particularly disturbing feature of the way in which the media seeks to address our elections has been its emphasis on the role of individuals. It has sought to interpret developments in such a way as to imply a leadership crisis and struggle for power. Such is not the case.

The root of the problem is that the media does not seem to understand or accept that the ANC is a national liberation movement and not a political party.

In contrast to a political party,

which conducts itself on the basis of a party programme or manifesto, the ANC seeks to carry out the mandate of the people it represents. Accordingly, the emphasis that should be placed on us is not who is in our leadership but what is the mandate of the people.

Having said that, we do not wish to underplay the importance of the role played by individual leaders. After all, it is the charisma and clear-sighted vision of leaders of the calibre of Mr Oliver Tambo, Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu that has been responsible for leading our people to the present heights that the movement presently commands.

While the individual's role in the shaping of destinies of countries cannot be undermined, history is not made by individuals but by society or certain sections of society which have had demands placed upon them in a particular historical moment.

Our society at this juncture demands of its people a transfer of power to the majority of people, who will then use that power to radically transform our society into a non-racial democratic order.

And the forum for such discus-

sion is the national conference, which is the highest decision-making body in the movement.

The strategic objective of our time remains the transfer of power - and this is the guiding light of the national congress of the ANC now being held in Durban. The congress basically will focus on how best and quickly this transfer of power can be achieved.

It is this strategic objective which will and should guide the conference. Those who will be elected will be expected to operate within the broad guidelines of our strategic objective.

Mandate

The office-bearers of the new national executive committee are therefore obliged to carry out the mandate given them. In the fulfillment of duties directed by the conference they do so, not as individuals, but first and foremost as members of the ANC and finally as part of a unit, that of collective leadership.

However, collective leadership does not imply a forum of like-minded people. For obvious reasons, there will be differences of

opinion. There is nothing wrong with this. If the differences are carelessly handled they will result in destruction but, if properly channelled, they will become the force of development in the organisation.

In all the speculations of the Press, there is an implication that the differences within the ANC are so severe that the organisation is likely to crumble. One newspaper even ran the headline: "Knives are out in the ANC."

There are those who emphasise negotiations over all other forms of struggle, particularly armed struggle.

The decision to suspend one form of struggle was not the decision of one leader or a section of the leadership but a result of constructive debates within the ranks of the movement.

It took into account the fact that the armed struggle was one of four main pillars of the struggle and not the only one.

The ANC prides itself on handling differences in such a way that they have led to the growth and development of the organisation in those trying and dark movements in the history of our struggle.

16/1/11



GREETING each other warmly outside the venue for the African National Congress conference in Durban are (left) anti-apartheid movement leader Arch-

bishop Trevor Huddleston, back in South Africa after years of exile, and the Catholic Archbishop of Durban, the Most Rev Denis Hurley.

ANC membership 700 000 strong

THE African National Congress had 700 000 members, Aziz Pahad, a member of the national executive committee, said at a Press briefing on the ANC conference yesterday.

Delegates were busy behind closed doors yesterday with the report of secretary-general Alfred Nzo that focused on the ANC as an organisation, and the treasury report of Thomas Nkobi.

Foreign guests were treated to a day of briefings on ANC policy matters and political violence.

Mr Pahad said the 700 000 members were organised into 1 000 branches.

Delegates felt it was necessary though that the ANC be-

come more active in recruiting in the coloured, Indian and white communities.

Political violence had in the past prevented the ANC from using its full potential to mobilise support, Mr Pahad said, and the ANC also had to put an effort into work in rural areas.

At present the youth league had 400 000 members. Most, but because of age not all, were members of the ANC as well.

Mr Pahad said that in the past, given the state of repression and being in exile, "the question of democracy and accountability sometimes

did not meet the full expectations of our membership".

The ANC hoped to overcome this. It felt though that there could not be accountability and democracy without discipline. So the code of conduct and standing orders would be implemented more fully in future.

Explaining why the conference was closed, Mr Pahad said there were a lot of sensitive issues that had to be dealt with and delegates needed space to discuss these.

The head of finance, Vusi Khanyile, said the treasurer's report dealt with developments from the humble days when grants and donations were R3 000 a year to what they were today.

Sally News 4/7/91
Political Correspondent

16/1/11

Vula operatives unmasked

Exiled Eastern Cape journalist, Charles Nqakula, who had been repeatedly detained without trial in Ciskei and declared a prohibited immigrant in South Africa, secretly re-entered the country as an ANC underground operative in 1988.

Nqakula, a former journalist on the Daily Dispatch in East London and founder of the independent news agency, Veritas, in King Williams Town, was one of the 11 Operation Vulindlela members unmasked by the ANC at a media conference in Soweto at the weekend.

Founder

The 49-year old former official of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) was also a founder-member of the United democratic Front (UDF) in the Border region. He later served as its publicity secretary.

He was a constant target of the security police based inside and outside Ciskei between 1980 and 1982 and was banned and



Senior ANC officials and Vula operatives at the press conference

restricted to Mount Coke. At one stage, he forced the authorities to release him after staging a 15-day hunger strike. Authorities declared him "a prohibited immigrant" in South Africa and he finally left in 1984 to join the ANC in exile.

Return

While in exile, Nqakula served in various Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) structures and quietly returned to South Africa in 1988 while the ANC was still banned. He was deployed as commander of the Vula operation in the western Cape but travelled throughout the country in the course of his duties. At times he met people he knew but they could not recognise him

because of his heavy disguise.

Other Vula members introduced to the media during the conference were Ronnie Kasrils, Janet Love, Farieda Jadwat, Christopher Manye, Ivan Visvanathan Pillay, Riaz Sheik, Solly Shoke, Jabu Sithole, Mpho Scott and Jeremy Sebeer.

Concerned

The ANC said it was deeply concerned about the fate of two other Vula members, Charles Ndaba and Mbuso Tshabalala, they believe were detained by security police between July 6 and July 8 last year.

Despite denials from the authorities, the ANC said the trend of the police investigation of Vula suggested that they had

extracted information from the two men.

ANC secretary-general, Alfred Nzo, explained that they announced the Vula group because the government had given them some kind of indemnity. But the movement added that it still demanded general rather than specific indemnity for all its members.

Commitment

Vula commander, Mac Maharaj, restated the group's commitment to a negotiated settlement of the country's crisis. Earlier Nzo said that Vula was an operation sanctioned by the ANC in 1986.

By the same resolution, ANC president, Oliver Tambo, and SA Communist Party (SACP) secretary-general, Joe Slovo, relocated senior members of the movement to the country to create and integrate political and military structures, provide day-to-day leadership to the struggle and enhance the NEC's work.

South Africa

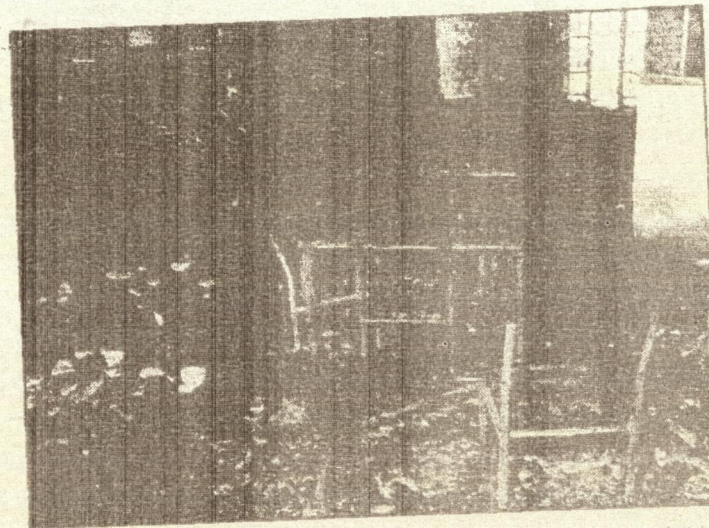
by Oscar Dhlomo

Government and the schools

I WOULD dearly love to praise the Government for suddenly changing its decision on the closing down and disposing of underutilised white schools and arbitrarily retrenching white teachers. But I will not, and the reasons are simple.

Firstly, for several months the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly defiantly went ahead with an obviously short-sighted plan to close down schools and retrench teachers in spite of a national outcry from concerned educationists all over the country. One spokesperson of the Department of Education and Training in Pretoria was even quoted as justifying this madness by claiming that there were enough schools and teachers in black education — a claim that amounts to an insult to black pupils, teachers and parents.

Not to mention the fact that during this whole educational circus, a so-called education renewal strategy document was published by heads of departments of the very same government. The document inter alia argued against race as a criterion for admission in schools and also conceded that more and not less schools and teachers will be needed in future.



Destruction in education . . . "There are numerous instances where the Government has actually ignored citizens who try to reason with and not confront it — only to give in later on the same issue once reason is abandoned and confrontational tactics are adopted."

Under the circumstances, it is thus inconceivable that one department in the same government should have persisted with a policy of closing

down schools and retrenching teachers.

Secondly, I always wonder why the South African Government, in spite

of all the other commendable changes it has initiated, still insists on creating the impression that it is a government that only begins to see reason when there is a crisis or a confrontation threatening. It was only after pupils from Alexandra township in Johannesburg threatened to occupy a school in Orange Grove that we then heard the voice of reason from the Government. One would also say it was only after officials and members of the Natal Teachers' Society began to protest vigorously that the Government changed its stance.

I am quite worried about this state of affairs. Invariably the Government does not seem to listen to citizens who write memoranda, send deputations, pass resolutions and make speeches. It only begins to listen when citizens become more aggressive and confrontational. I wonder if the Government is aware that this attitude helps to breed a culture of confrontation and a "we" — "they" attitude amongst citizens.

There are numerous instances where the Government has actually ignored citizens who try to reason with and not confront it — only to give in later on the same issue once reason is abandoned and confronta-

tional tactics are adopted. I will not forget a remark by one disgruntled pupil some years ago, who told me that the reason why the central government did not provide adequate facilities in KwaZulu schools, was because KwaZulu pupils did not burn down their schools and chase teachers away. This poor child went on to say apparently that was the language the central government understood, judging by educational improvements in places where schools were burnt down and teachers intimidated by pupils.

Indeed in some sectors of black society nowadays a so-called "stooge" is someone who tries to reason with the Government, and a so-called "credible leader" is someone who aggressively confronts the Government and forces it to call the police to defuse the situation.

If the Government's public relations department is still functioning, it would do well to correct this dangerous image. Otherwise at the end of the day no one will be prepared to reason or negotiate with the Government.

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

Left stifling press freedom – book

By Brendan Templeton

Widespread grassroots censorship of journalists through left-wing intimidation is a "chilling" but unreported phenomenon in South Africa, according to the Institute of Race Relations.

The institute last night launched a book, "Mau-Mauing the Media: New Censorship for the New South Africa", which claims the Left has taken over from the Government in stifling press freedom.

The book contains transcripts of talks and discussions at an SAIRR seminar last year attended by senior black journalists and other people working in the media.

"They indicated that in recent years this 'alternative' censorship has been fierce enough to block the publication of much that happened in the country's black townships," the SAIRR said in a statement.

According to senior assistant editor of the Sowetan, Thami Mazwai: "We have a situation in which journalists are far less exposed to arrest, detention and incarceration by the Government than they used to be, but are being threatened and man-handled by political activists in the townships, in the towns and everywhere, and are being told to toe the line or else."

He added that many journalists had fought to retain their independence and credibility,

but not all had succeeded in the face of intimidation.

Accounts of intimidation by the Left included:

- A reporter threatened with necklacing by activists who accused him of belonging to a rival organisation.

- A petrol bomb thrown at the home of a fellow-journalist employed by the paper.

- The circulation of the Inkatha-owned newspaper, Ilanga, dropped by about 23 000 after shopkeepers who sold it were attacked, and people who were caught reading it were forced to eat it and sometimes threatened with death.

- A news editor who could not come to work one day because local youngsters called him to a meeting. "Here were 13-year-olds, who could hardly spell their names, questioning a journalist on the policy of his newspaper."

Warning

- Reporters receiving abusive calls at night.

- A reporter who had to evacuate his wife and children from his house after receiving a warning that he was about to be attacked.

- A threatened boycott of a newspaper after prominent activists accused it of "sowing division".

According to the book, journalists were supported when jailed by the State but blacklisted when they criticised the Left. Senior political reporter at The

Star, Kaizer Nyatumba, said censorship from the Left was worse because it was never reported.

A senior labour and political journalist, Connie Molusi, attributed the current political intolerance "to the period popularly known as the mass insurrection era spanning 1984 and 1986 when a culture of 'people's war' was born, with compulsory attendance at street committees and punishment for disobedience".

White liberals came under attack at the SAIRR conference to launch the book. Black journalists accused them of being reluctant to criticise liberation movements for fear of having their credentials questioned.

The English press was slated for being "sycophantic" towards the ANC for the past seven years.

Funding organisations also came under fire. They were accused of handing over vast sums of money to student organisations which did not have the discipline or skills to use it properly.

Mr Mazwai said: "You have some of these youngsters driving around in cars, with loads and loads of money in their pockets."

"There are countries that are particularly guilty of this ... but I believe they have done a great disservice to the struggle in this country: they have created a monster which has now become uncontrollable."

STAR

4/7/91

SA 'change' only in the media

South Africa is well known for its manipulative tactics using the media, particularly TV. This explains why the liberation movements cannot take Pretoria seriously when it claims that change is irreversible. There is little proof of change for the ordinary man in the street except the cosy terms being used on our TV screens (the regime is well-known for coining these) and far-fetched and uncalled-for comparisons. Take the endless comparison



Gorbachev ... freeing USSR from communism?

of the dreaded, nefarious and ungodly system of apartheid to the almost abandoned stagnating system of communism. Because there is a talk of change in both camps, Pretoria feels that to buy time they can show the populace about the difficulties faced by perestroika in USSR.

That comparison, even if used to show the SA Communist Party how fallacious communism is, can by no means be used to compare communism in USSR with apart-

heid. Communism has never imposed its will and divided communities as apartheid has done to create white beneficiaries, "usable" coloureds and Indians and downtrodden blacks. Russians are one nation in the USSR.

We have been taught from childhood to believe in four descending orders of communities

What the South African Government must understand is that there are no in-betweeners.



De Klerk ... moving away from apartheid?

from the apartheid?

Evaton

Either they do away with apartheid or not.

Failing which, the present regime must step down and allow a Constituent Assembly and Interim Government. Or is what Gorbachev doing in USSR — freeing his country from monotonous communism — the same as De Klerk's moving away from the barbaric system of apartheid?

Zakes Keynes

Whose fault Soweto school was destroyed?

I teach at a black school in the township. It is hard and difficult work, but rewarding. We teach our pupils to care for their belongings, ie their books, suitcases, clothes and their school building and desks.

An article such as "Cold comfort for Soweto schoolchildren" (The Star, June 17) is extremely annoying. Did the Department of Education and Training (DET) hand the building over in that condition? Not once does Mr Phil Molefe mention how it came about that the building is in such a derelict state.

If the DET vandalised it, they should repair it. We all know however that that was not the case. When will black people start taking responsibility for themselves and their actions?

I notice that Mr Molefe received an award for reporting on educational matters. If the abovementioned one-sided, self-pitying article is his style of reporting, it is, to say the least, a sorry state of affairs.

In our school we are endeavouring to educate black chil-

dren to be responsible for their actions and therefore their own destiny and not to always look around for somebody else to blame or beg from.

I do believe that our country can no longer afford the type of attitude displayed in the article.

Township Teacher

Chloorkop

The Star's Education Reporter, Phil Molefe, replies:

I was a teacher in Soweto schools for a number of years and I understand the issues on the ground. My intention was to highlight the appalling conditions under which black pupils have to learn.

Professor P A Duminy teaches in the "Principle of Totality" that learning can be accomplished only if all human faculties — body, mind and soul — are involved in the process. The conditions in that school defy these fundamental principles of pedagogics.

The report clearly said that the building was destroyed during the riots in 1986.

Thursday, July 4, 1991

Opinion

by Oscar Dhlomo

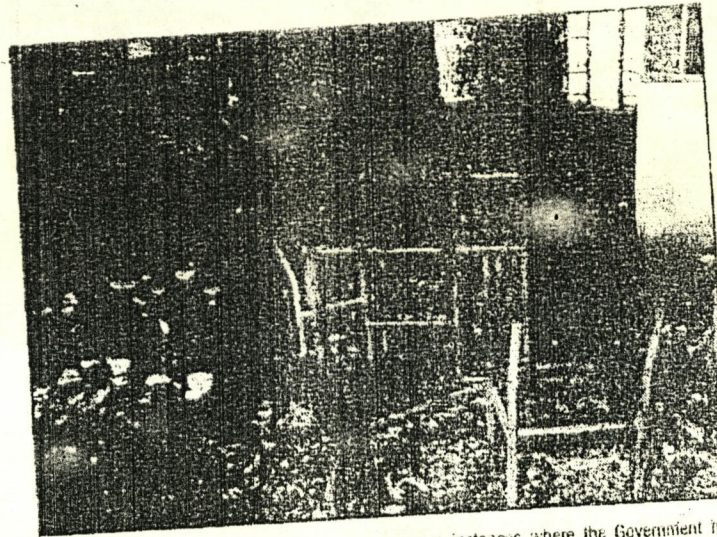
South Africa

Government and the schools

I WOULD dearly love to praise the Government for suddenly changing its decision on the closing down and disposing of underutilised white schools and arbitrarily retrenching white teachers. But I will not, and the reasons are simple.

Firstly, for several months the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly defiantly went ahead with an obviously short-sighted plan to close down schools and retrench teachers in spite of a national outcry from concerned educationists all over the country. One spokesperson of the Department of Education and Training in Pretoria was even quoted as justifying this madness by claiming that there were enough schools and teachers in black education — a claim that amounts to an insult to black pupils, teachers and parents.

Not to mention the fact that during this whole educational circus, a so-called education renewal strategy document was published by heads of departments of the very same government. The document inter alia argued against race as a criterion for admission in schools and also conceded that more and not less schools and teachers will be needed in future.



Destruction in education . . . "There are numerous instances where the Government has actually ignored citizens who try to reason with and not confront it — only to give in later on the same issue once reason is abandoned and confrontational tactics are adopted."

Under the circumstances, it is thus inconceivable that one department in the same government should have persisted with a policy of closing

down schools and retrenching teachers.

Secondly, I always wonder why the South African Government, in spite

of all the other commendable changes it has initiated, still insists on creating the impression that it is a government that only begins to see reason when there is a crisis or a confrontation threatening. It was only after pupils from Alexandra township in Johannesburg threatened to occupy a school in Orange Grove that we then heard the voice of reason from the Government. One would also say it was only after officials and members of the Natal Teachers' Society began to protest vigorously that the Government changed its stance.

I am quite worried about this state of affairs. Invariably the Government does not seem to listen to citizens who write memoranda, send deputations, pass resolutions and make speeches. It only begins to listen when citizens become more aggressive and confrontational. I wonder if the Government is aware that this attitude helps to breed a culture of confrontation and a "we" — "they" attitude amongst citizens.

There are numerous instances where the Government has actually ignored citizens who try to reason with and not confront it — only to give in later on the same issue once reason is abandoned and confronta-

tional tactics are adopted. I will not forget a remark by one disgruntled pupil some years ago, who told me that the reason why the central government did not provide adequate facilities in KwaZulu schools, was because KwaZulu pupils did not burn down their schools and chase teachers away. This poor child went on to say apparently that was the language the central government understood, judging by educational improvements in places where schools were burnt down and teachers intimidated by pupils.

Indeed in some sectors of black society nowadays a so-called "stooge" is someone who tries to reason with the Government, and a so-called "credible leader" is someone who aggressively confronts the Government and forces it to call the police to defuse the situation.

If the Government's public relations department is still functioning, it would do well to correct this dangerous image. Otherwise at the end of the day no one will be prepared to reason or negotiate with the Government.

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