

Ethnic intolerance: Dutch depend on social control

AMSTERDAM. —

The Dutch are counting on social control and a tradition of tolerance to keep ultra-Right extremists from disrupting this multi-ethnic society.

Discrimination is taboo and attacks on foreigners are almost unknown in the Netherlands. But alarm bells have sounded following ultra-Rightist electoral gains and assaults against immigrants in neighboring nations.

"It's happening in Germany and in France and in Belgium. It can happen here," said parliamentary deputy Mr Doeke Eisma of the Leftist Democrats '66 party.

"The rising Rightist extremism based on hatred of foreigners greatly disturbs us, even more so by ... its happening so close to home in Belgium," said Mr Elco Brinkman, parliamentary leader of the governing Christian Democrats.

In Belgian elections last month, the ultra-Rightist Vlaams Blok won 12 seats in the 212-member Parliament by advocating expulsion of Third World foreigners.

Mr Eisma sees the stable Dutch political climate as a major deterrent

to expansion of the extreme Right.

Four percent of the Dutch population of 15 million are foreigners, among them 350 000 Turks and Moroccans. Those nationalities have been targets of anti-foreigner outbreaks in Germany and Belgium.

The Netherlands has one ultra-Right political party, the Centre Democrats, which has never held more than one seat in Parliament. Other deputies and the news media shun its chief ideologue, former schoolteacher Mr Hans Janmaat.

A law making it illegal to incite racial hatred is strictly enforced.

Dutch experts say the tradition of tolerance, anti-discrimination laws and anti-bias educational programmes have kept the Netherlands almost free of anti-foreigner backlash.

Mr Ilham Akel, (40), who immigrated from Turkey as a 20-year-old student, says immigrants are treated better in the Netherlands than in surrounding countries.

Mr Akel, a spokesman

for the Dutch Centre for Foreigners, said groups that would use violence against foreigners "have no moral support or societal support".

Some minorities say there's latent racism but that it's not strong enough to cause xenophobic violence or lead to ultra-Right political victories.

"There is racism here, it's mostly hidden," said Mimoun Bouchlarhan (25), a Moroccan-born, unemployed electrician.

"It's hard to find a job if you're a foreigner. But you do have rights and

there's always somewhere to go for help."

Mr John Bika (40), an ethnic Surinamese, said Whites sometimes get preferential treatment over him at Dutch stores and when applying for jobs.

But he believes the Netherlands is a better place for foreigners than most of Europe because Dutch society is more integrated.

Mr Bika immigrated 14 years ago from the former Dutch colony of Suriname because of the better living standards.

— Sapa-AP.

Insight

Hani still believes in socialist vision

Communist leader doesn't want to stop identifying with 'wretched of the earth'

ON why he changed his mind and accepted the SACP leadership:

"It was tremendous pressure from delegates, who wouldn't take no for an answer. They threatened to put it to the congress floor. The ANC congress had made no such binding decision on me, and the MK conference (which refused to release him) is only a branch of the ANC. I had no choice in the end.

"The SACP needs a formidable team at the top. The ANC has established itself. This is the time for the party to benefit from the experience of a few of us."

On where his ultimate political loyalties lie:

"Objectively and finally my loyalties lie with the Communist Party. I joined the party three years after I joined the ANC. It has a lot to do with growing up amongst the poor in the Transkei.

Poor people

"I don't want to move away from my association with the wretched of the earth. I will move away materially of course — I won't be living in a rondavel — but I want to be a crusader. I want to do something about the poor people."

Chris Hani knows that many South Africans — most whites, certainly — think he's crazy to have accepted the stewardship of the Communist Party, thus leading a detachment of an ideological army that is in full retreat all over the world. But he also thinks they don't understand why he has sacrificed

his role as a "crown prince" in the ANC. The answer is simple, he says: he is a completely committed socialist; a true believer. Daily News Correspondent **SHAUN JOHNSON** presses the new SACP general secretary on why he is loyal to a doctrine that has been discredited even in its birthplace.

On his own political future:

"I've accepted that I'll no longer be central in the ANC. This gives me the opportunity to go down to the grassroots — to take a high profile in the campaigns of the people, to inspire the people.

"I don't even think I'll be in the next government, in the Cabinet. I would like to be building the party, even under the next government."

On the ANC's limitations for socialists:

"The ANC cannot take my vision (a socialist South Africa) to its logical conclusion. It is a multi-class movement, deriving its unity from opposing apartheid. Remove apartheid, and of course there will be tensions. There are people who join the ANC because they want to be capitalists. There are blacks who are against the unions. We have seen in Africa the emergence of a greedy, immoral, capitalist class. Capitalism has nothing to do with race."

Basic things

On his vision of socialism:

"I'm a socialist because I want to live better than I live now, and I want poor people to live better too. But I don't believe in vulgar egalitarianism, where we must all wear the same terrible shoes. That is wrong."

On socialism in the South African context:

"We accept social democracy as an interim phase. But it is a phase leading towards socialism."

"I accept the gradualist vision. We do not have the resources to bring about a drastic restructuring straight away. For me it will be revolutionary if in the South African context we begin to attack basic things, housing, water, schools, transport."

On why he is still a Leninist:

"The principles of Marxism-Leninism have been proved to be historically correct. So in a general way we are guided by him, in a similar way to how capitalists are guided by Adam Smith. You do not take everything and follow it — it is not a Bible — but you are guided."

On the relationship with the ANC:

"Socialism is our agenda, not that of the ANC. The ANC's is a mixed economy. We don't want to force our agenda on to the ANC, but through the ANC we want to ensure that the first building blocks (of socialism) are set up."

White prosperity

"We do not expect our programme to be implemented by the first democratic government in South Africa."

On whether whites will be "punished" for apartheid:

"There should be a ceiling (on wealth). Wealth becomes vulgar when an individual has five houses or 20 000 hectares of land that is not being used — when it becomes a status thing. But we are not really worried about individuals' material possessions; someone who owns a BMW and a Mercedes Benz. They should sleep well — we are not going to be grabbing their cars.

"But we believe whites have got something to pay back. Their prosperity is due to their skills — I accept that — but also to

those who picked up spade and shovel, and died in a shallow grave with nothing. Whites have to examine their consciences and say: Did we reward that labour properly? And the black middle class will have to face exactly

the same questions."

On interim government:

"In my view we don't (in the interim period) want to run agriculture, education etcetera. Why lumber ourselves with unpopular things? We would be looking at areas like policing, broadcasting. And even there you are not talking about involving high-profile politicians like Mandela. Rather we would involve technocrats, church people, neutral people."

On how the SACP and ANC will approach elections:

Party people

"My personal view is that the alliance must sit down and talk before elections. We must accept that the ANC is the senior partner, but we must not split the vote — for example, a contest between me and Thabo (Mbeki) in Diepkloof would be bruising."

"The new Parliament and government must reflect the input of Cosatu and the SACP. They must reflect the radicalism of the party. Before the elections we must say this is a joint programme, and in the list (of candidates) there must be party people. One could look at percentages."

On why socialism failed in eastern Europe and the USSR:

"Socialism was imposed (in eastern Europe) as a result of the victory of the Red Army. The objective conditions for socialism did not exist."

"If socialism in the USSR had been allowed to follow its course without outside interference, and no second world war, would the economy have stagnated to that extent? Stalin went for total and ruthless nationalisation and collectivisation. He paralysed people's initiative. We were wrong as communists, and we accept that. We thought there were no antagonisms and contradictions (in the USSR). Meanwhile, internal bleeding was taking place. By saying every

worker has a right to a job, no matter how unproductive, you destroy natural incentives."

"But don't forget that in Russia and Cuba, there were achievements. What went wrong was that technology was applied incorrectly. A country that could make spaceships couldn't make shirts for its own people."

On whether socialism is dead:

"Every social system has had to face a crisis. Capitalism faced its crisis in the 1930s. Socialism is now passing through a similar crisis."

"You can never say this is the end of the class struggle. There's a lot of poverty in the world, and it's not due to socialism."

On loyalty to the Soviet Union:

"How can the working class forget the Soviet Union? I went to Moscow when I was 21, for military training. I was accepted there, treated wonderfully. For me, I cannot forget that internationalism."

Outside world

On how a socialist South Africa would relate to the world:

"A socialist country needs the market, but I can't accept that there isn't a role for the state."

"We are realistic. This is why we accept that there will be a mixed economy. We realise the outside world is largely hostile to socialism. We will make ourselves acceptable to the world through our own practices. We're not going to be grabbing things from people."

"The world economy is so internationalised. In 1917 you could still go your own way — it is just not possible now. We need new investments to reverse this cycle of non-growth. But at the same time we say we want benefits for South Africa's people."

Outlaw state

"We must convince the international community that we are not going to act as an outlaw state. Our primary responsibility is to our own people, and we know you can't move out of poverty without assistance from abroad."

On whether the SACP would accept an election defeat:

"If we are defeated in an election, we will accept this. We are going to try peacefully to convince people that we offer the best alternative. We do not want to impose the party on the country."

HANI STILL BELIEVES IN SOCIALIST VISION.



CHRIS HANI — gave up the "crown prince" role in the ANC to become general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

December 12 1991

Natal peace group set up

16/1/11
A.W. 12/12/91

by MARY PAPAYYA
and LAKELA KAUNDA

Richmond ANC leader detained

NATAL has established the first Regional Dispute Resolutions Committee (RDRC) in terms of the National Peace Accord.

The Natal-RDRC, officially formed in Durban yesterday, will have as its main tasks to identify areas of violence in the region and act as mediator, so it may have no difficulty in identifying the detention on Tuesday of the ANC's Richmond chairman, Sifiso Nkabinde and his colleague Mondli Zuma, as a possible area for dispute.

Nkabinde was supposed to attend the formation of the RDRC in Durban.

The Natal-RDRC will also oversee the formation of Local Dispute Resolution Committees (LDRC) in "trouble spots", according to the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) Antonie Gildenhuys. The NPS is responsible for initiating the establishment of RDRCs. This will be undertaken by a seven-man executive committee which will identify local facilitators. Members of the executive committee include Pierre Cronje (DP), Sipho Gcabashe (ANC), Johan Steenkamp (NP), Frank Mdlalose (IFP) and a member of the SAP.

The committee has already identified Bruntville, Richmond, Umbumbulu, Port Shepstone and Ozwathini, Makwaveni near Tongaat as the main flashpoints of violence in Natal.

The Natal-RDRC is co-chaired by Catholic Archbishop of Durban Denis Hurley and president of the Natal Chamber of Industries, Matthys Pretorius. At least 21 organisations are represented, including the SADF and religious groupings.

Both the ANC and IFP are optimistic and see it as a solution to the violence. ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said the RDRC will promote the principles of political tolerance in areas which experience intense political violence. IFP National chairman Frank Mdlalose said the RDRC will succeed because it has "peace as its main objective".

Meanwhile, the midlands region of the African National Congress yesterday demanded the immediate release of Nkabinde and Zuma. They were detained in Ndoleni on Tuesday night under the new unrest regulations.

Richmond was declared an unrest area

last week and police confirmed the detention of Zuma and Nkabinde under the new regulations.

According to people who were with Nkabinde when he was detained, police said they were arresting him because he does not reside in the area. In terms of the unrest areas legislation, police have the power to detain people who do not reside in unrest areas whom they regard as a threat to peace there.

Nkabinde owns land in Richmond's Magoda township but his house was burnt down last year. He has since been living out of Richmond. His lawyer said Nkabinde and Zuma could be held for up to 30 days without trial, but chances are they may be released sooner.

Midlands ANC leader Harry Gwala said Nkabinde's detention is an "act of bad faith" and said the aim of the detention is to disrupt the activities of the ANC in Richmond.

He said Nkabinde is an important figure in the Natal midlands who has always worked for peace and the upliftment of his people. "This has earned him the wrath of those who are against the progress and liberation of our people." He said the detention can only "provoke the wrath of the people, not only in the midlands but nationally and internationally".

He demanded the immediate release of the two men because "they have done nothing to provoke the detention".



Mrs WINNIE MANDELA welcomes a child refugee yesterday at Jan Smuts Airport when the first group of 120 ANC exiles from Tanzania returned to South Africa under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Mandela back, looking forward to Codesa

ANC president Nelson Mandela returned to South Africa from his United States visit yesterday saying he was looking forward to the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic SA.

On hand to greet him at Jan Smuts Airport were his wife Winnie and Adelaide Tambo, wife of former ANC president Oliver Tambo.

The ANC delegation, including ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, landed on a British Airways flight from

London about 40 minutes late.

Pressed from comment from national and foreign journalists, Mr Mandela would only say he was looking forward to Codesa — but added a Press conference would be held at a later stage.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said it was unlikely that the Press briefing would be held until the ANC leader had been briefed by his organisation.

A smiling Mr Mandela was warmly welcomed by

a small group of supporters and admirers before being rushed away in a black luxury car.

His wife Winnie stayed behind to receive the first group of 120 returnees from Tanzania which arrive at the airport later on a chartered Tanzanian Airways flight.

Their return is part of the \$30 million (R84-m) United Nations High Commission for Refugees repatriation programme of refugees to South Africa. — Sapa.

SACP's gains and losses

African 12/12/91
By Sechaba ka Nkosi

JOHANNESBURG - Despite the significant swelling of the South African Communist Party (SACP) to 25,000 within two years of its unbanning, it has suffered some losses as well.

A few of the party's pre-February 1990 'big shots' were nowhere to be seen during the party's eighth congress held in Nasrec, near Johannesburg. Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad and Jacob Zuma did not attend either as guests or observers.

Central Committee (CC) member Ronnie Kasrils says they are still welcome to join the legal party at any time.

'Not specifically referring to the four, we have said that from the time of this congress we would have no secret membership. Those

who have been in the party in the past have to decide whether they would like to emerge as members of the party.

'If they do not, if they make that decision for whatever reason, it's up to them. And if they do not want to emerge openly, they will no longer be considered members of the party,' says Kasrils.

Another critical issue that is haunting the party is that although it has finally been truly Africanised, it still has only a handful of African 'theoreticians'. Presently most of those who reportedly prepare theoretical drafts for the party are white: notably Joe Slovo, Jeremy Cronin, Ronnie Kasrils, Brian Bunting and Raymond Suttner.

Kasrils says this temporary imbalance is because of historical developments and educational

backgrounds. But, he adds, there are some exceptional black theoreticians emerging.

'Of course Slovo is one of the most outstanding theorists of the South African revolution. We have Cronin who has an academic and philosophical background as a university lecturer.

'In building the party on the basis of the working class and labouring masses, a communist party does tend initially to have theoreticians coming from the educated, professional class.

'But in the past, we had theorists like Govan Mbeki, Moses Kotane and Duma Nokwe. Today we have Chris Hani, Blade Nzimande and Sidney Mufamadi coming out with bright ideas and good analysis.'

16/1/11

MK's 30 years of struggle

By Fraser Mtshali

'THE time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices: SUBMIT or FIGHT. That time has come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom...'

This is part of the manifesto issued by Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) when it was founded on December 16, 1961. On Monday, December 16, 1991, MK celebrates its 30th anniversary.

To mark the occasion, MK rallies are to be held all over the country where different speakers are expected to brief thousands on the present and the future role of the 'people's army'.

The addresses are expected to deal with a variety of issues impacting on MK such as the suspension of the armed struggle, the on-going violence and defence units and the future role of MK in a new political order in the country.

Three ANC members, two of them pioneering commanders in the Natal structure of MK, described the guerrilla

army as a highly disciplined organisation even 'in the face of difficulties and utmost provocation'.

The former commanders are Billy Nair, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, Curnick Ndlovu and the vice-chairman of the Southern Natal region of the ANC. The third member, spoken to by The New African, is Dipuo Mvelase of the Department of Political Education of the ANC at the organisation's head office and one of the two women arrested in the Operation Vula project.

Nair said it was crucial for people to know that before the formation of MK the ANC had used peaceful means in fighting for the rights of the oppressed black majority.

'But the regime made it impossible for us to demonstrate and register our dissatisfaction peacefully. Our non-violent campaigns were met with violence,' Nair said, citing the Sharpeville incident and the subsequent state of emergency and the bannings of the ANC and the PAC.

Nair, who spent 20 years on Robben Island for sabotage and terrorism, said although the South African government was well-equipped militarily, the MK exe-

cuted daring operations resulting in successes such as the bombing of Sasol and the military installations at Koeberg.

Nair sees MK playing an important role in a future non-racial South Africa.

'If the negotiations succeed, I see MK joining hands with the armies of other liberation organisations in the shaping of new forces to defend a future democracy.

Ndlovu, who also served 20 years on Robben Island, spoke of the high discipline that existed in the formative years of the MK.

'We tried to get disciplined people to be in the forefront. That discipline was reflected even in the operations that we undertook where our acts of sabotage were marked by the absence of human casualties.'

Ndlovu said infiltration by state agents was one of the biggest factors contributing to failures experienced by MK.

'But those setbacks did not deter us,' Mvelase, speaking from her home in Alexandra, Johannesburg, said women made important contributions in the functioning of the MK 'despite the fact that our numbers were very small'. A product of two years in the camps of Angola, Mvelase



MK cadres at their conference in Venda earlier this year. Pic: Cecil Sols (Dynamic Images)

said the MK success that gave her excitement was while working in the Operation Vula project.

'Vula was able to display successfully that local command structures could be established to eliminate the risks of long lines

of communication brought about by the big distances between the targets of MK and the command structures situated out of the country.' Durban's MK rally is to be held at the Curries Fountain Stadium from 11am. Among

speakers expected are Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the ANC, Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Harry Gwala, chairman of the ANC Natal Midlands branch.

16/12/91

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Wise

THE decision by State President De Klerk not to go to Moscow at this time was a wise one. Although he was assured that he would be welcome, the Soviet Union is collapsing, with Russia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine forming a commonwealth of independent states.

Soviet President Gorbachev's position is very much in the balance — and though an aide's claim that his resignation was imminent has been denied, we have no doubt he will have to quit.

Mr De Klerk was to have met Mr Gorbachev, but it wouldn't have meant a great deal if Mr Gorbachev later resigned.

A meeting was scheduled with Mr Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, but though he is the strongest leader at this point, he is not yet in total control.

As for signing a protocol establishing full diplomatic ties, the Soviet Union, to all intents and purposes, has already collapsed.

The postponement of Mr De Klerk's visit was, therefore, the best thing he could have done in the circumstances.

Moreover, it gives Mr De Klerk more time to prepare for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) which is to be held on December 20 and 21.

The CP, we hope, will forgive us if we treat with a pinch of salt its claim to be "particularly disappointed" that Mr De Klerk is not going to Moscow.

The visit, according to CP general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, would have given Mr De Klerk "a unique opportunity to observe at first hand the reality of ethnicity and nationalism and the collapse of the Soviet Union as a unitary State."

He adds: "What happened in the Soviet Union in recent days has, in fact, made a laughing stock of all attempts to create a unitary state in South Africa, where ethnic differences are far more pronounced than in the Soviet Union."

Mr De Klerk, of course, cannot win with the Right.

If he had gone to Moscow, the Right would have accused him of being in cahoots with Soviet Communists.

A picture of Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Defence, shaking hands with Mr Joe Slovo, now national chairman of the SA Communist Party, at the preparatory talks which resulted in the decision to hold Codesa, was enough to send Right-wingers up the wall.

Mr De Klerk shaking hands with Mr Gorbachev or Mr Yeltsin would have caused similar anger.

But we have to break out of our isolation and win friends and influence foreign governments — and that was the objective of Mr De Klerk's intended visit to Moscow.

As to ethnicity, the creation of Black homelands and independent states has proved a costly failure.

That is one reason why there is a demand for a unitary state.

We don't think a Boerestaat is the answer to this country's problems, since it would have to cover most of South Africa as it is now, or if it were much smaller, it would have neither viability nor be acceptable even to the great majority of Afrikaners, especially those excluded from it.

The best solution for South Africa would be a federation, but it does not seem that a Boerestaat would seek to be part of it.

However, we make this clear:

If any settlement does not take into account the feelings of the Afrikaner; if it means the Afrikaner is to be placed under the yoke of the Blacks; if the settlement does not protect his interests, and if it is not acceptable to all reasonable men, including Afrikaners, then this country will most likely be torn apart by civil war.

That is why we want the Right to take part in Codesa, for it is in this forum that it can put its case.

If, in the event, no account were taken of its views, the Right could then express its rejection of any settlement through the referendum which Mr De Klerk is committed to hold — or by other means, hopefully peaceful.

First peace committee is set up in Natal

DURBAN. — The National Peace Accord's long-awaited Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (RDRC) for Natal was established in Durban yesterday.

Similar structures are expected to be set up elsewhere in South Africa before the end of the week.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said 10 areas had been identified for RDRCs, the most urgent being in Natal.

"We hope to establish more committees this week. If not they will stand over until next year."

He said the Border, Western Cape and Witwatersrand regions would receive priority in setting up the committees.

At an "extremely smooth" meeting in Durban's City Hall, Dr Gildenhuys said Natal's RDRC — comprising 21 political, church and other organisations — had been established and the next step would be to set up local committees to deal with grassroots violence.

The RDRC would be

co-chaired by Durban's Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and the chairman of the Natal Chamber of Industries, Mr Matthys Christian "MC" Pretorius.

An executive committee within the RDRC comprising one delegate each from the African National Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party, National Party, Democratic Party and the SA Police was also established.

One issue discussed was this weekend's IFP rally in Umlazi, Durban, to be addressed by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. According to ANC southern Natal Chairman, Mr Jeff Radebe, a monitoring structure would be set up to "ensure what happened at Jabulani doesn't happen here".

Three killed in shootings in Zululand

ULUNDI. — Three people have been shot dead at Mahlabatini and Mtubatuba in northern Zululand.

The KwaZulu police said a 39-year-old man was gunned down at his home in the Okhukhu district at Mahlabatini at about 5.30 am on Tuesday morning.

Thirty minutes later another man, aged 25, was shot dead just a few metres away.

Spent cartridges of AK-47 rifles were found at both scenes.

Police suspect that the attacks had been launched by the same group.

Meanwhile, a man believed to be a taxi-owner was shot dead at

the Somkhele Reserve at Mtubatuba at 4.30 am yesterday morning.

No arrests have yet been made. — Sapa.

Richmond ANC leader held

THE ANC leader in troubled Richmond, Natal, was detained on Tuesday in terms of unrest area legislation, according to lawyer Mr John Jeffery.

Mr Sifiso Nkabinde and another unnamed ANC official were detained in Ndeleni township, after the Richmond area was declared an unrest area last week.

Police could not immediately confirm the detentions yesterday morning, but a Pietermaritzburg police spokesman said police were "working on a statement".

According to Mr Jeffery, Mr Nkabinde was detained because he did not reside in the Richmond area. In terms of legislation, police have the power to detain people who do not reside in pro-

claimed unrest areas and who they regard as a threat to peace there.

Mr Jeffery said Mr Nkabinde owned land in Richmond's Magoda township and his house was burned down in the political conflict that has ravaged the region for the last year. Mr Nkabinde had since been living out of the Richmond area. — Sapa.

120 exiles return to S Africa from Tanzania

By Sandy Baer
and Sapa

THE First group of exiles from Tanzania, most of them teenagers, arrived in South Africa yesterday on a chartered Air Tanzania flight.

The flight arrived at Jan Smuts Airport at about 11.15 am and the 120 returnees walked through customs about an hour later to cheers and applause from a group of well-wishers.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, the ANC's social welfare secretary, Mrs Adelaide Tambo, other members of the ANC's welfare department and members of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were at the airport to meet the returnees.

"I'm happy, so happy," said Mrs Mandela when

asked how she felt about the return.

She said the integration of the returnees posed formidable problems.

"We have an extraordinary situation here. Normally, it would have been the government's responsibility to assist us with accommodation and the various social problems we are faced with.

"We have not got the resources to afford this process ourselves."

She said many of the teenagers had left the country in the wake of the 1976 pupils' uprising against the government.

The teenagers expressed their happiness at being back in the country, saying their first aim was to find family members.

Not all the returnees were youngsters. Mr William Twala (61), had tears

in his eyes when he told reporters how happy he was to be back after nearly 30 years in exile.

The returnees were to be taken to a reception centre in Johannesburg, from where many would be reunited with their families in a day or two, said the ANC's deputy head of social welfare, Mr Dali Mpofu.

"We are exploring various ways of integrating the children, many of whom are orphaned. Our first prize would be to find their family members.

"We are trying to prevent adoption until we are sure we are unable to find family members. If that is not possible we will rely on the broader community."

Mrs Tambo said: "it is very emotional and we

would like to try our best to make them feel as happy and as comfortable as possible. These are difficult times, but things will come together."

The newly appointed chief of the UNHCR, Mr Kallu Kalumyia, said it was a historic event.

"There were no problems at all. Everything went smoothly. All procedures and requirements were met with no hitch."

The homecoming was part of the UNHCR's \$30 million (R84 million) repatriation programme for South Africans who fled the country due to former apartheid policies.

Mr Kalumyia said the repatriation of 10 000 refugees from Tanzania would be completed by the end of this month. This included the return of 7 000 ANC and 1 000 Pan Africanist Congress members, as well as non-affiliates and some dissidents.

A total of 6 000 refugees had already returned from various countries and 24 000 more were expected.

He said the UNHCR would have to revise its budget as the reintegration of exiles was proving more expensive than previous repatriation programmes in southern African states.

Ugandan-born Mr Kalumyia said the UNHCR would pay for immediate welfare needs, temporary accommodation and education placements.

Exiles still in schools in Tanzania had been encouraged to remain there until they had completed their education.

He said projects to provide employment for the returnees were being discussed between the government and the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR).

AK-47 trade 'due to arms race'

By Tony Stirling

THE major reason why thousands of South Africa's most feared weapon — the AK-47 — have become available in the country's townships is that a "classical arms race" has developed between rival political organisations seeking to ensure that their members are as well armed as other groups in the present violent climate, Ministry of Law and Order

spokesman, Captain Craig Kotze, said yesterday.

Major security concerns and companies agreed that country's huge illegal weapons problem and massive crime wave included a link between crime and political elements.

"In other words, the weapons are not only be-

ing used in the violence in townships, but they are being used to perpetrate ordinary crime," said Capt Kotze.

"We have evidence of this in a number of cases, and the market for weapons has been created because of the political climate."

It was therefore of the utmost importance that

the various parties involved made sure that the peace accord began to work effectively, so that the arms race could be ended.

"We believe that once the rivalry between organisations, each striving to become better armed than the other, stops, the

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AK-47 trade in 'arms race'

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black market in weapons will dry up," he said.

Police have told The Citizen that trucks such as that seized near Baberton on Tuesday are going round the townships selling AK-47's and other weapons to whoever is prepared to pay for them.

The going price for an AK-47, depending on factors such as condition, ranges from about R250 to R1 200.

Capt Kotze said that combating the illegal weapons trade was a top priority for the police, both in terms of manpower put in and the gathering of intelligence on the networks.

The police have had their successes. More than 1 230 AK-47 rifles have been seized, along with 5 714 other weapons this year. But according to Mr Roy MacFarlane, head of Fidelity Guards, "this is a drop in the ocean".

Mr MacFarlane, who has lost nine of his security guards in armed robberies this year, said the gangs were becoming bigger and more heavily armed.

"In a recent case where two of my men were killed, there was a gang of nine involved, seven of them with AK-47's with armour piercing bullets. The gangs used to number two or three."

Mr MacFarlane believes that harsher penalties for all offences involving weapons would help curb their use.

But he believed the biggest deterrent would be a hugely increased police force, with 20 000 extra policemen for "visible" policing duties, a move with which Mr Gerald Heine, the co-ordinator of Business Watch agrees.

Mr Heine, who is also active in the South African Chamber of Business, said that moves were afoot to make representations to government for a massive injection to the police budget for additional recruitment.

"We believe that the need at present is for more police, as opposed to soldiers, whose training is not aimed at combating crime."

"Defence expenditure could be trimmed and more money spent on the police."

Capt Kotze said there were financial limits governing the extent to which the police could increase its manpower, but that effective visible policing, and using civilians to do administrative tasks within the police force, was policy and being given priority.

He did not believe the total answer lay in visible policing, but in the political solutions to which he referred earlier.

Because of the fact that

the ANC was known to have hidden arms caches, there was a perception among other organisations that its cadres were well armed, and it was this which had started the weapons race in the townships.

"We would thus like to see the ANC and all other organisations carrying out their undertakings in terms of the National Peace Accord, and for the ANC to put into effect the agreements it reached with the government governing weapons, in particular the DF Malan agreement," he said.

Mr MacFarlane suggested that the Peace Accord could, in fact, be extended to incorporate aspects dealing with crime, because of the relationship between crime and political elements.

Both he and Mr Heine agreed that the high level of unemployment was contributing to the crime wave, but this was something that could only begin to be addressed in the longer term.

Mr MacFarlane said that a security guard or a policeman armed with a 9 mm pistol or a shotgun was no match for an armed robber with an AK-47 capable of firing a burst of 20 shots within seconds.

The security industry was thus having to revert to increasingly sophisticated technology, which was extremely expensive.

Hitting the armed robbers quickly and with the right weapons has proved effective according to Mr Heine. The special police units of Business Watch have a two-minute response time, and are armed only with shotguns and Uzi sub-machine guns.

In areas where they are in operation, armed robberies have dropped by up to 70 percent, he said.

16/1/11

16/1/11

SIZA NTSHAKALA reports

Socialism is the solution for SA, says SACP

N/Mercury 12/12/91

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) has sent a clear message to the world that its future is firmly entrenched in Marxist-Leninism. At the conclusion of its eighth annual congress, the SACP resolved to remain a revolutionary party committed to the radical transformation of this country into a socialist society. This might have come as a bombshell to SACP critics who had speculated that it would emerge from its congress with a watered-down version of socialism.

At its first legal congress to be held in South Africa in more than 41 years, the oldest communist party in Africa made it quite clear that socialism was not dead and remains the future solution for South Africa. This mood was reflected in the theme and posters of the conference which boldly

pronounced that "The Future is Socialism."

The congress unequivocally resolved to pursue an independent profile instead of being submerged in ANC structures. Senior party leaders repeatedly explained that this decision should not be misinterpreted as a rift between the two organisations but a situation warranted by current circumstances in the country.

There is no doubt that the SACP's national congress has been hailed as the most successful and well organised of any liberation movement in the history of South Africa. The SACP also surprised many of its critics by allowing the media to witness the entire congress with the exception of the session dealing with the financial report. This openness led to praise from media representatives on the

level of democracy and free access to some of the most controversial debates in the organisation.

The congress was attended by representatives from socialist countries around the world. Also present was a representative of the South African Government's Department of Foreign Affairs.

The SACP will enter 1992 with a brand new central executive committee — one which draws extensively on the experience of some of the most gifted South African trade unionists. Chris Dlamini, John Gomomo, Moses Mayekiso and Sam Shilowa all hold key positions in Cosatu and its affiliates. And Sydney Mufamadi, Billy Nair, Stan Nkosi and John Nkadimeng all bring extensive experience in the trade union movement.

They are joined by several newcomers to the national leadership, including Jenny Schreiner, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Nozizwe Madlala and Thenjiwe Mthintso — the only four women to have been elected onto the central committee.

The most testing moment of this watershed event was when delegates occupying leadership positions at local branch level and who convey grassroots aspirations to senior levels, demanded that Chris Hani, ANC Mkhonto we Sizwe Chief of Staff, should stand for the position of secretary-general. This situation forced the SACP leadership to convene an urgent meeting with Walter Sisulu, ANC deputy president, to inform him of these developments. Sisulu in turn had to immediately consult with Nelson Mandela, ANC president, who was visiting

USA regarding the release of Chris Hani to assume these SACP responsibilities.

It was also interesting that the leadership took their cue from delegates, rather than as happened in the past when the rank and file would wait for direction from senior leaders. This was evident when the congress voted on dropping the word "democratic" as a prefix to "socialism." Ever Joe Slovo, chairman of the SACP, Chris Hani and Jeremy Cronin, one of the most popular central committee members, were among a host of senior party members defeated on this vote.

This development in many ways reflected the emerging political maturity among the party's membership. Debate and discussions were pitched at an unexpectedly high level and of a quality which stirred excitement among delegates.

Sti

Sting — re
celebrate
CHRIS SALE

"LIFE is when second That grim j Summers, the which, 10 year ular rock grou wilful talent, and ferocious Summer's mind recently once the grou songs at the Angeles.

Now equally Sting was cele day with a co the centre of kled and explo show.

"Most people been more disc day, but as I h that night, wh celebration of "I feel really

THE CITIZEN

Thursday 12 December 1991

Imminent betrayal

ACCORDING to an article in an afternoon newspaper, "sources said the government had agreed to carry out the decisions of Codesa?"

The ANC/SACP, its allies and camp followers have a built-in majority in this convention and their demand that Codesa's decisions be given the force of law has thus already been acceded to — the PAC's allegation appears to have been correct.

Our cowardly government has now sunk so low that it even lacks the courage and honesty to inform its fellow Afrikaners and other Whites that it has finally abandoned them to the evil forces of Communism. Instead, it leaves it to a liberal newspaper to inform them of their imminent betrayal.

There would now seem to be no doubt that the government has already decided to include radical Marxists-Leninists in an interim government or some transitional arrangement, probably with effect from February 1992.

Even the Russians in their efforts to arrive at a new constitution for their country are willing to meet the wishes of ethnic nationalities for independence and self-rule within some form of Russian commonwealth.

But in this even more divided country, our frightened, craven government refuses to grant this right to its own people for fear of offending radical Marxist-Leninists.

Will millions of South Africans, including Chris-

tians, other religious groups, organisations and individuals who strongly oppose Marxist-Leninist Communism and everything this discredited ideology represents, now find the courage and determination to voice their opposition, or are they all prepared to commit suicide during the Christmas season.

Thousands of brave, loyal South African soldiers and policemen were killed, maimed and injured in defending their country against the Communist menace — will they have made these sacrifices only to see their country handed over to Marxist-Leninists by a bunch of gutless gurus?

J R LAMBSON

Chairman

University Freedom of Speech Association

Sandton

The Star 12-12-1991

Come to Codesa, CP urged

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

In a further attempt to draw the Conservative Party into negotiations, the ANC last night gave the assurance that the CP principle of self-determination for all peoples could be addressed at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) which starts on December 20.

Asked how far the ANC was prepared to go to attract the CP to Codesa, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at a press briefing that the principles

which every party held dear — such as self-determination or black consciousness — could be addressed at Codesa.

"The CP should come to Codesa in the full knowledge that their fears, concerns and demands will be addressed in the discussions at Codesa level."

Mr Ramaphosa's assurances fell far short of an agreement to guarantee the right of self-determination — which seems likely to be the CP's minimum condition for joining negotiations.

● Talks pave way for
Codesa — Page 8

The Star 12-12-1991

Violence 'not ethnic'

WELKOM — A representative of the National Union of Mine-workers yesterday denied that last month's violence which claimed 84 lives at the President Steyn gold mine was racially inspired.

A branch chairman of the union, Zenzeni Sokwana, told a committee of the Goldstone Commission into the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation that security officials

had ordered the warring factions at the mine's No 4 shaft to form groups along ethnic lines.

For that reason, the union had objected to the fact that mine management had held talks with ethnic leaders.

Mr Sokwana also said the union had taken measures to combat intimidation between the factions.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

The Star 12-12-1991

Joy, frustration of returning exiles

By Zingisa Mkhuma
and Esmaré
van der Merwe

Thembu Sithole (16) searched frantically for her parents among the 120 exiles who returned yesterday — but in vain.

Having left her parents behind in Tanzania in November, she has gone to Jan Smuts Airport each time a group of exiles has returned hoping to be reunited with her parents.

But after the cameras' flashes had stopped and the arrival hall was left deserted, she turned and walked away.

Tomorrow, she will be back at the airport when another group of exiles under the auspices of the

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees returns home.

"I come here every time hoping my parents will be here. I miss them terribly. At the moment I stay with my grandmother and the ANC is still trying to get a school for me for next year," she said.

Many of those who arrived home yesterday faced similar disappointment. There were no familiar faces to welcome after years in exile.

Some left as long ago as 1976 during the height of the school uprisings; others went into exile during the township unrest and school boycotts of the '80s.

Despite the joy of being home, the former

students at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania remarked bitterly that they would probably be forced to complete their studies under the "bantu education" system which had been one of the main reasons they had fled the country.

Kabelo Dikgatle (26), who left the country last year, said he had lost contact with his parents in Potchefstroom and doubted they were alive.

An activist who left the country in 1985 identified himself as Mandoza. He could not hide his disappointment that the Government was still in power and that the education system was the same as six years ago.

Clutching a teddy-

bear, Azana Thwala (13) who was accompanied by her parents, seemed to be slightly overwhelmed by the crowd and the glaring television lights. Born in Tanzania, she has never been to South Africa but said she was looking forward to the experience.

Abe Nameng said he came to welcome his brother, Johannes (35), who had "just disappeared" in 1983.

"We're just taking a chance. We saw on TV that people are returning today. I phoned the ANC office and they said my brother's name was on the list. Now we're just hoping."

Much later, Abe was spotted talking excitedly to his brother.

The Star 12-12-1991
 Hani had more US coverage than
 Mandela, writes Hugh Robertson

A lesson for the ANC — and SA

IT MIGHT come as a thought-provoking revelation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to know that his seven-day visit to the US last week was eclipsed — in terms of media coverage — by the rousing hyperbole of his friend and ANC colleague Chris Hani, newly-elected general-secretary of the SA Communist Party.

And it is bound to come as a worrying revelation to many South Africans to know that a computerised scrutiny of the major newspapers and news agencies in the US last week showed up almost as much coverage of Mr Hani's election and the SACP's congress as was given to the multiparty talks that were hailed in South Africa as a watershed.

Why all this should be so is something upon which Mr Mandela and the ANC might usefully reflect, for there can be little doubt that in their still evolving relationship with the US something is woefully amiss and the dysfunction is bound to have as much impact on SA as it does on the ANC.

Already, for instance, it would be reasonable to assume that at least some of the constructive message that Mr Mandela delivered to the movers and shakers of US banking and business last week was undermined by the SACP and Mr Hani, since they are seen — with every justification — as being as much a part of the ANC as Mr Mandela.

When a party, which by all accounts is small but has a significant representation at the highest levels in the ANC, declares itself to be a revolutionary organisation committed to the radical transformation of SA into a socialist state, Americans cannot be expected to disbelieve it, or to lightly dismiss the implications. Neither, surely, can South Africans.

When it also denounces the US and launches a campaign of solidarity with Cuba aimed at exposing US "imperialism", the ANC could hardly expect American hackles not to rise, or doubt not to emerge about the words of friend-

ship uttered in the US only a few days before by the ANC president.

And when the ANC president lends credence to the doings and sayings of Mr Hani, he cannot expect to be received with anything more than the friendly politeness that, reportedly, characterised his discussions in the US.

When Mr Mandela was asked about the ANC's attitude to Cuba at a Washington press conference, he made an ill-advised comment.

"Do not make the mistake of believing that your enemies are our enemies," he said.

The US had turned its back on the ANC during the years of the armed struggle, while Cuba had embraced it and given it the means with which to wage the battle. The ANC would not turn its back on Cuba.

Therein, perhaps, lies the reason for so much continuing doubt in the US about the ANC, for Mr Mandela's statement begged the question: does the ANC place political indebtedness above principle, its sense of obligation to Cuba above its commitment to human rights? And that leads to a host of other questions.

If there is doubt about the ANC's commitment to human rights, what about its commitment to democracy and free enterprise?

And if Mr Hani and the SACP can embark on a campaign to vilify the US and prop up the crumbling edifice of communism in Cuba, and with Mr Mandela sharing their support of the Castro regime, have they not indeed become what the ANC's right-wing critics in the US disparagingly call them — the only moving parts in the ANC machine?

To many Americans there seem to be no parts in the machine moving in a contrary direction, and until there are they will continue to believe they were justified in placing greater importance on the rantings of Mr Hani and the machinations of the SACP than on the visit of Mr Mandela or the start of constitutional talks. □

The Weekly Mail
6-12 DEC 1991

Christian aid's R12m to spread Nat gospel

A CHRISTIAN aid organisation is using government funds — perhaps as much as R12-million in three years — to spread National Party propaganda in the coloured community.

A former executive of one of the affiliates of the South African Christian Cultural Organisation has given *The Weekly Mail* details of large amounts made available to his group each month, ostensibly for training, but used largely to further National Party aims.

The man at the centre of the funding web is a former assistant director of national education Dr Louis Pasque, who was awarded the Star of Africa in 1987 for "services to state security". He also does consultancy work for the coloured Labour Party.

Full story: PAGE 3

'IFP leader at Midlands massacre'

TOWNSHIP residents in Bruntville, near Mool River allege they saw Inkatha leader David Ntombela at Bruntville hostel shortly before hostel-dwellers staged a bloody massacre that left about 20 people dead.

The volatile Natal Midlands township erupted at dawn on Wednesday when witnesses say men armed with spears and pangas stormed out of the hostel gates and indiscriminately attacked residents.

Ntombela said he went to the Bruntville hostel on Tuesday night to collect two residents, Alex Sokhela and Heavystone Zaga, for a meeting in

Estcourt. While at the meeting, Ntombela said, they heard that members of the African National Congress had attacked the hostel. One Bruntville resident, however, charges that Sokhela was one of a group of men who stormed his house.

This latest spate of violence brings the death toll in Bruntville since September to almost 70, according to lawyers. Lawyers have estimated that this week's figures include nine women, two pensioners and two children. Scores of people have fled the devastated area after their homes were petrol-bombed or stoned.

The trouble began on Tuesday

A three-phase attack that began early on Tuesday morning and ended 24 hours later left at least 20 people dead. **CASSANDRA WOODLEY** reports on the bloody Mool River massacre

when hostel inmates allegedly went on the rampage twice in less than 10 hours and then unleashed the final attack early on Wednesday morning, say residents.

Accounts by witnesses detail a seemingly expertly planned three-phased attack; Ntombela's co-incidental presence; a police raid on resi-

dents' homes for AK47s and police allegedly failing to apprehend hostel-dwellers during the attack.

South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union organiser Maki Maphalala, who lives in Bruntville, related how it all started: "On Tuesday morning 300 armed hostel-dwellers began advancing towards the location."

According to Maphala about 80 "comrades" brought the mob to a halt when they "fired a few shots into the air".

"At about 7pm I saw Ntombela coming out of the hostel. He spoke to some policemen in a Sierra and then

drove off. Fifteen minutes later a larger mob emerged from the hostel, this time with guns." Maphalala said a battle broke out when ANC supporters tried to prevent the mob from entering the location. A South African Defence Force Casspir and a police van drove past the scene but "they did nothing to stop the inmates from advancing". The scene ended in one resident being stabbed and later dying.

Shortly after this second attack, alleges Robinson Ngubane, "police fired on me. Two police Kombis and a van were parked under the trees. As I approached, I saw a flash of light and heard a shot coming from where the police were parked."

After the 7pm attack police allegedly began raiding residents' homes. Mxolisi Mthombu told how "four white policemen stormed the house. They held a gun to my throat, hit my friend and demanded we give them our guns".

spent to 'convert' coloureds

National Party propaganda is being spread in the coloured community under the guise of 'Christian culture'. A Weekly Mail investigation reveals that more than R12-million has been spent on the campaign.

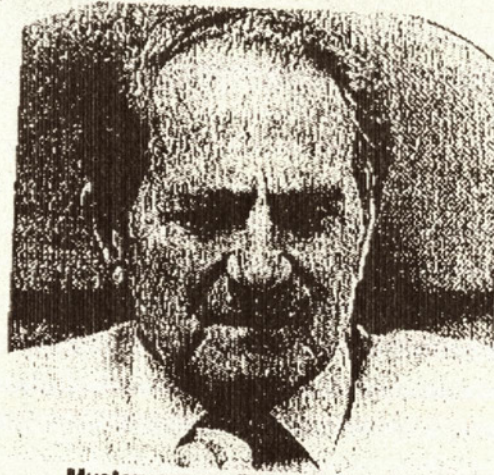
By DREW FORREST and GAVIN EVANS

R90 000, as well as office and audio-visual equipment worth about R40 000.

The NWCCCO was one of Sacco's 15 other affiliates, according to Van Balen. These included branches in the coloured areas of Kimberley, De Aar, the Cape Peninsula, Port Elizabeth, East London, Ceres and Vredenburg, as well as several organisations in the African communities.

If they all received the same funding over a three-year period as the NWCCCO — and the Peninsula branch is likely to have received much more — the money involved would total more than R12-million.

Saal also said officials of the various organisations were brought together on a regular basis for weekend training courses at expensive hotels and resorts at no cost to themselves.



Mystery man ... Dr Louie Pasque

In addition to Dia/Plus, he knew of three similar consultancies in other parts of the country. The Cape Peninsula consulting organisation, called Go-High, according to Saal, is not listed in the phone book.

Saal said he had seen the monthly pay-cheque

of one of the Dia/Plus staffers. This had been for R14 000.

He also understood that Dia/Plus' predecessor in Kimberley, Joset Housing and Management Services, had been given more than R2-million to establish new cultural organisations in the Transvaal and Free State — a project which never got off the ground.

A number of incidents had made him suspect direct government funding of the project, Saal said:

- Pasque had repeatedly dodged questions about the source of funding, finally telling the NWCCCO that it had come from "donors who wished to remain secret".

- The Dia/Plus manager, Johan van Vuuren, had told him the NWCCCO would have to become self-sufficient after 1994, "when elections have taken place".

- The NWCCCO's vehicles had been purchased for it by a Pretoria outfit called the "Central Co-ordinating Control Company".

● To PAGE 8

The Star 12-12-1991

Tiff may have led to killings

The jealousy of a jilted lover appears to have been behind the Dobsonville massacre which claimed the lives of nine people on Sunday night.

Relatives of those who died said this week that one of the victims of the massacre, Lillian Motsumi, had left a boyfriend with whom she had been staying at the Dobsonville hostel — the place from which the merciless gunmen who slaughtered nine people are believed to have come.

Miss Motsumi had been staying with the hostel inmate since her previous boyfriend was killed in a fight over her three weeks ago.

But on Sunday, Miss Motsumi told Beauty Seleke, the owner of the "massacre house", that she had been having problems in her relationship with her new

boyfriend.

She said she did not want to stay at the hostel on Sunday night as she was "fed up" with her new boyfriend.

"She came here on Sunday morning and told us she wanted to return home," Mrs Seleke said.

"But she said she would not stay here.

"She said she wanted to stay with her brother Joseph because she would not be safe here.

"I asked her on Sunday morning why she was still living in the hostel because her boyfriend had died.

"But she said she would come back later to explain."

Miss Motsumi returned to the house that night.

Minutes later, the gunmen stormed in and shouted that

they were looking for a woman who had just entered the home.

They shot dead seven members of the Seleke family and two friends.

Three other people — two family members including Beauty Seleke — were injured in the attack.

They were taken to the Leratong Hospital near Krugersdorp.

Those killed were Joe Seleke, Piet Mogapi and his wife Makosia, Robert Gabonelwe, Elias Mkhuna, Abel Tselane, Lillian Motsumi, and family friends known only as Thando and David.

Soweto police have appealed to Miss Motsumi's friends to help them trace her last lover. — Crime Staff-Own Correspondent.

The Star 12/12/1991
Joyous return dampened by major job and housing problems

Exiles face bleak future

By Zingiso Mkhumbi and
Esmat van der Merwe

A massive operation under the auspices of the United Nations to bring an estimated 30 000 exiles home has begun — but many returned exiles face an uncertain future.

The group of 126 who arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday to a joyous welcome marked the beginning of the official repatriation

process administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Despite scenes of jubilation at the airport, exiles and the organisations involved in their return are acutely aware of the bleak prospects facing many.

Unemployment and the recession, coupled with high expectations, have resulted in the return of 8 000 exiles in advance of the UN programme being blighted by disappointment.

Many returnees, jobless

and desperately looking for homes, are struggling to make ends meet. Organisations handling the repatriation programme, including the ANC and the National Co-ordinating Committee for Repatriation, are short of cash.

And the UNHCR — which expects the repatriation process of exiles to be completed by April and the "reintegration" to last until October — has said that the R100 million under its administration would be insufficient, given

the economic prospects.

The returnees, some of whom have been in exile since 1976, said they were elated about coming home but aware of their dismal prospects.

They had heard of the protracted township violence, the lack of jobs and the housing shortage.

Some returnees, mainly students at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, ironically returned to complete studies under the "Bantu education"

system which they fled from.

Exiles said after fleeing South Africa they had been "demoted" to lower classes at the Solomon Mahlangu school because of the poor quality of education in black South African schools.

Among the huge group of well-wishers at the airport were the head of the UNHCR's mission in South Africa, Kalla Kalumiyi, the head of the ANC's welfare department, Winnie Mandela, and Adelaide Tambo, wife of Oliver Tambo.

Mrs Mandela said problems concerning the integration of the returnees were formidable.

"We have an extraordinary situation here. Normally it would have been the Government's responsibility to assist us with accommodation and the various social problems we are faced with."

"We have not got the resources to afford this process ourselves."

Mr Kalumiyi said the pilot programme had presented no hitches.

"This is a momentous moment for the returnees and the UNHCR. Many of these South Africans left years ago, some were born in exile. It is an historic day," he said.

As the teenagers walked into the arrivals hall at Jan Smuts Airport they were welcomed by a cheering and ululating crowd.

"Welcome home, my babies," cried an elderly woman.

Describing the event as an

● To Page 3 ●

Returning exiles face hard times

● From Page 1

emotional experience, Mrs Tambo said: "We would like to try our best to make them feel happy and comfortable."

She added that her husband had saved his 70th birthday cake from October 27 to share with the youths.

They will temporarily be accommodated at the Safari Hotel in Hillbrow, then relocated to UNHCR centres around the country while attempts are being made to trace their parents and relatives. Those with known addresses will start going home later today.

Three more flights carrying 180 returnees are expected to arrive this month, bringing to about 7 000 the number who will have returned this year.

● Joy and tears - Page 15

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The Star 12-12-1991

Democratic socialism by any other name . . .

EXCEPT for the name and some of the rhetoric, communism is as dead in South Africa today as it is everywhere else.

There were strenuous efforts at the SACP's congress last weekend to pretend that nothing had really changed, that it was still the same old party it had always been. It stuck proudly to its old name, rejected use of the phrase "democratic socialism" in its new manifesto, and reinserted a description of itself as "Marxist-Leninist".

But even as the congress delegates put on this show of a return to communist orthodoxy, against the revisionism which Joe Slovo had scripted for it, they contradicted themselves by the manner in which they did it. In throwing out the word "democratic" they voted against both the outgoing and incoming general secretaries, Mr Slovo and Chris Hani, as well as the interim party chairman, Raymond Mhlaba, and so asserted the very thing they were rejecting.

It was as vigorous a display of democratic self-expression as I have witnessed at any political congress — and a thoroughly un-

communist style of political behaviour.

It was the same with the election of Mr Hani as the new general secretary. The ANC had said it would not release him, the party leadership had accepted this and Mr Hani had declared himself unavailable. But the delegates were not having any of it. They were mostly young "comrades" who are not accustomed to feeling anyone's party line, least of all one laid down by their elders. They wanted Mr Hani, so they demanded and got him.

If this is still communism, then it has undergone such a mutation as to be no longer recognisable. I would describe it as a new form of populist socialism, driven by grassroots sentiment rather than the top-down authoritarianism of the true Marxist-Leninist "vanguard party". Mr Hani himself is a populist leader rather than a dialectic ideologist.

Mr Slovo has tried hard to present his concept of "democratic socialism" — the verbal form of which was rejected but the concept effectively endorsed by the congress — as a return to original



Allister Sparks

communist principles before they were perverted by Stalinism.

It was Stalin, he says, who turned an essentially humane and democratic movement into an authoritarian one and so discredited the cause of socialism. To which the congress added the notion that it was really "bureaucratic socialism" that had failed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

I don't buy this. It was Lenin, not Stalin, who introduced the one-party state in 1918 and who formed the notorious "Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-revolution, Sabotage and Speculation" — The Cheka, which became OGPU, which became the NKVD, which became the KGB, and which began the long and grisly business of purging ideological nonconformists.

Apologists argue that the hos-

tile environment in which Soviet communism was launched, beset by enemies within and without, made this brutally enforced conformity necessary. Again, I don't buy it. The terror continued long after this period of instability ended, reaching a peak in the mid-1930s and again after World War 2, during which struggle the Soviet people had shown an unprecedented loyalty and solidarity.

No, I believe it is in the nature not only of communism but of all such Utopian movements to become authoritarian in this way. It is inherent in their vision of an ultimate truth, of a scientifically correct way to reorganise society, rationally and programmatically, so as to create a just and harmonious world, that they can brook no opposition, for who can be allowed to stand in the way of the attainment of the perfect society?

As the Oxford philosopher Isaiah Berlin has observed, notions of Utopia can be inspiring, expanding the horizons of human imagination wonderfully, but they can also be hideously dangerous. For they bring with them the notion of a "final solution".

"If one really believes that such a solution is possible," Berlin writes in a recently published collection of essays, "then surely no cost would be too high to obtain it, to make mankind just and happy and creative and harmonious for ever — what could be too high a price to pay for that?"

"To make such an omelette, there is surely no limit to the number of eggs that should be broken . . ."

Again and again Berlin comes back to this theme in all eight of these essays, published under the title of "The Crooked Timber of Humanity". It is the leitmotif of his philosophy.

"Since I know the only true path to the ultimate solution of the problems of society," he writes, "I know which way to drive the human caravan, and since you are ignorant of what I know, you cannot be allowed to have human choice even within the narrowest limits, if the goal is to be reached."

"You declare that a given policy will make you happier, or freer, or give you room to breathe, but I know that you are mistaken. I know what you need,

what all men need; and if there is resistance based on ignorance or malevolence, then it must be broken and hundreds of thousands may have to perish to make millions happy for all time."

That was the faith of Robespierre, of Lenin, of Stalin, of Trotsky, of Mao, of Hitler, of Verwoerd, of Pol Pot. It was the faith, too, of the Christian Crusaders, the Inquisition, the Ayatollah Khomeini and other religious fundamentalists who have committed, and continue to commit, great atrocities in the name of a greater good.

That is the faith the SACP has at last relinquished. Thanks to the collapse of international communism, it has lost its Utopian vision. It still has its socialist ideals, but accepts now that in putting them forward it is but one legitimate competitor among many, that it has no monopoly on the truth.

It has become politically agnostic, if not yet atheist, and is the more acceptable for that. For all the Marxist-Leninist garb it tried to wrap itself in last weekend, it is no longer a dangerous movement. It is a sheep in wolf's clothing. *CS*